THE EXPRESSION OF TRADITION:

PERENNIAL GARDENING IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

BY

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ABSTRACT

In order to understand the processes which effect the individual realization of garden design, I have studied the practise of perennial gardening in St. John's, Newfoundland. I begin with an examination of the practical constraints on design intentions resulting from difficult growing conditions, and a limited market of plant materials, relevant gardening literature and skilled garden workers. I establish the local repertoire of design models within which individual gardens are executed. Finally, I record the "text" of six perennial gardens and the commentary of their principal designers in order to examine both the implicit and explicit considerations informing the structure of the gardens.

A sample of gardens has been examined in order to represent two principal performance contexts -- the public garden and the private garden -- and a characteristic selection of garden style and plant material is observed. The public gardens typically recall the "traditional" use of perennials in Newfoundland gardens through the selection of "old fashioned" plant species and through the overall design of the bed. In contrast, the private gardeners have generally adopted the style of the more recently fashionable "perennial border". However, below the level of design the private gardeners continue to express a sense of tradition in the repetition of conventions of behaviour and expression among the gardeners' families and friends, in the

propagation of individual plants grown by the gardeners' parents, and in the maintenance of a family interest in gardening. This examination of the practise of gardening, thus, leads away from the folklorists' traditional focus on the continuity of the traditional "item" towards an understanding of tradition as an expression of continuity which is given tangible shape according to the avenues of shared communication within particular performance contexts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am, of course, particularly indebted to my informants for sharing their interest in gardening with me. Mr. and Mrs. Alan Painter, Joan Willett, D'Arze and David Dendy, Dick Hall and Mrs. Angle of the Okanagan Mission, British Columbia; Lieutenant Governor Dr. Anthony Paddon, Ken Proudfoot, Chris Baird, Jose Teotico, Fred Walsh, Sylvia Cullum, Betty Hall, Edna Pippy, Millicent and Gordon Winter, Marian Bugden, and Sophia and Eliza Nott of St. John's, Newfoundland, were universally gracious in guiding me through their abundant gardens.

I would also like to thank my mother, Daphne Houlden, whose example brought me, years later, to a shared pleasure in the pursuit of gardening. And, finally, I must thank Ralph Clemens for providing the quiet atmosphere in which this thesis could be completed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

While growing up as a child in British Columbia, I was regularly sent with my elder sister on parent-less holidays with my maternal grandmother. She lived several valleys from our home in the Okanagan Mission, a community reputed for its fine summer weather, sand beaches and extensive fruit orchards. Years later, during an interval in my folklore studies, I made a return visit. The experiences of my first day vividly recalled memories of those childhood summers -- the pungent smell of apple orchards freshly sprayed against insects, the coolness of the community's tree-lined lanes after walks in the heat of the surrounding countryside, the quick, colourful flashes of half-seen flower gardens hidden from view by the long curve of the driveways. I had been in search of a topic for my thesis and felt, from the strength of these impressions, that an exploration into the nature of such constructed landscapes might provide an interesting beginning point. These thoughts combined with the recollection of my mother's frequent references to the "English gardens" of the community to suggest a closer focus for my enquiries. The term "English garden" conjured up memories of green patches of lawn edged by long beds of blooming flowers -- the settings for the tea parties that I had attended with my grandmother. However, beyond this I could not describe any distinguishing qualities of the form.

I determined, therefore, to begin in search of a closer definition of the "English garden".

At my mother's suggestion, I introduced myself to Alan Painter, a noted local gardener who had settled in "The Mission" in 1923, having emigrated from England some years earlier. Arrangements were made and an interview set for a fine summer's morning. Upon my arrival, Alan Painter began headlong with a tour of his garden. It consisted principally of a bed of herbaceous perennials[1] which had been laid out in a sweeping curve beside the driveway leading to the house. He described his efforts to achieve certain harmonies of colour and contrasts of texture, height and shape, among the variety of plants within the bed. And he discussed his co-ordination of these considerations with regard for the differing times of bloom for the individual plants.

> It gets pretty complicated [he explained]. I mean it takes years and years to work out a really good border, as you can imagine.[2]

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[1]Herbaceous perennials are a type of plant which are described as "perennial" since they live from year to year, and as "herbaceous" since, unlike perennial trees and shrubs, their stems and branches are not woody. The leaves of these plants die down each fall, but the roots remain alive, beginning growth again the following spring. See Roscoe A. Fillmore, The Encyclopedia of Canadian Gardening. (Toronto: Modern Capital Library, 1972), p. 89.

[2]Personal interview with Mr. and Mrs. Alan Painter, Okanagan Mission, B.C., July 6, 1979. Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives, henceforth known as MUNFLA, 80-204, F3558, Side 1, Number 275-280.

He pointed out the lythrum[3] and yarrow which had been planted side by side so that the spikey form of one would contrast with the flat-topped form of the other. He explained that the phlox had been planted in a mixture of colours, and noted that veronica had been grown nearby in order to provide colour in the garden prior to the blooming of the phlox.

On that day, Alan Painter introduced me to an aesthetic of gardening which, as Margaret Mead had observed, "having trained the eye to loveliness and the mind to criticism of form and colour, was an art".[4] Alan referred to the garden as a "perennial border". I was to learn, later, that this was a style of gardening which had been conceived and popularized by professional garden designers working in England at the turn of the century. On one level, then, the "English garden" was simply a style of garden design, which had originally been developed in England. Yet, Alan Painter himself wrote of the "English garden" as an approach to gardening, rather than a particular form of garden design:

> While there is no English garden to which we can point as an authentic example, [he observed] there is a genius for gardening which has long found its best expression in

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[3]See Appendix 1, p. 245. List and Glossary of Plant Names Cited for the full, botanical identification of each plant.

[4]Margaret Mead, "Work, Leisure and Creativity," in Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies: A Critical Anthology, ed. Carol F. Jopling (New York: F.P. Dutton, 1971), p. 141.

> England, and a love of plants for their own sake rather than a mere pride in their display is its keynote.[5]

Painter's own garden reflected such unconsidered nurturing of plant materials running parallel with his interest in design. Despite his careful realization of a complex system of aesthetics within the bed, Alan explained:

> We grow plants simply because we like them, you know, and there are a lot of lame ducks in the garden that we're not going to throw away because they seem happy.[6]

As a folklorist, I became interested in the interplay of this informal approach to gardening as an activity running counterpoint to a studied aesthetic of garden design. My brief encounter with Alan Painter left me with two questions: What were the influences on the design of individual gardens? And, what meaning was expressed by the gardener in his selection and construction of a particular garden form?

There have been few precedents for the examination of traditions of decorative gardening within the study of folklore. Most North American scholars have only turned to the study of the material aspects of folk traditions within

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[5]Alan Painter, "Okanagan Scrapbook," The Garden Beautiful, July 1939, p. 18.

[6]MUNFLA 80-204, F3558, Side 1, Number 315-320.

the past few decades. And as this interest has been inspired in large part by the example of European folk life museums,[7] its focus has been primarily "rural and agrarian"[8] in nature, with a strong historical orientation. In terms of the study of gardening, this pattern of development within the discipline has yielded an emphasis on survival vegetable gardening and crop production, historically and among the contemporary rural and urban poor.

Within this scholarly tradition, Eustella Langdon has, for instance, provided a commentary to the gardens of Toronto's Black Creek Pioneer Village which enumerates the herbs, fruits and vegetables grown and details their uses. Yet, with her eye to the hardships of pioneer subsistence, her treatment of flower gardening remains comparatively sketchy.[9] Though he has chosen a contemporary setting, Larry Smith has, similarly, chosen to study the kitchen gardens common among a low-income, urban black population, with an emphasis on the garden's impact on the subsistence

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[7]See Carole Henderson Carpenter, Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture. Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Paper No. 26 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1979), p. 55.

[8]Simon J. Bronner, "Concepts in the Material Aspects of American Folk Culture," Folklore Forum, 12 (1979), 134.

[9]See Eustella Langdon, Pioneer Gardens at Black Creek Pioneer Village (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972). Or, similarly, Mary Harvey MacKay, "Gardens of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1785-1820," Association for Preservation Technology, 7, No. 2 (1975), 33-72.

economy.[10] The Foxfire magazine follows this pattern, cataloguing techniques of growing and storing vegetables among rural Georgians, while only briefly noting the practise of growing flowers among the more productive crops.[11] Alan Keyser particularly contrasts the interest of the folklorist in gardening as a subsistence craft, with the historian's emphasis on the aesthetics of decorative gardening. In a description of the gardens of the Pennsylvanian Germans, Keyser specifically chooses not to discuss "the pleasure gardens so often highlighted in the histories of gardening", preferring to record the "farm kitchen garden, containing vegetables, culinary herbs, flowers and medicinal plants".[12]

To date, the study of gardening in Newfoundland has followed this craft model, emphasizing the products, techniques and tools of vegetable and crop production. Responding principally to a "Traditional Gardening" Questionnaire prepared jointly by the Memorial University of Newfoundland's Departments of Geography and Folklore,[13] a sizeable number of

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[10]See Larry J. Smith, "The Kitchen Garden: A Case Study in Urban Folk Culture," Pioneer America Society Proceedings, 2 (1973), 83-92.

[11]See Thomas Murray, "Gardening," in Foxfire 4, ed. Elliot Wigginton (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1977), p. 150.

[12]Alan Keyser, "Gardens and Gardening Among the Pennsylvania Germans", Pennsylvania Folklife, 20, No. 3 (1971), 2.

[13]See MUNFLA Q77A.

student collectors have described the traditional hay, potato and vegetable gardens of the "outport"[14] communities. Typically, they enumerate the carrots, cabbage, beet and parsnip, rhubarb, black currants and gooseberries which were grown almost universally throughout the province. In contrast, flower gardening is acknowledged in only the most general manner. A representative citation notes, for example, that:

> There were gardens kept around the house that usually the women tended. These might grow rhubarb, flowers and some secondary vegetables. Usually the potato gardens were found some distance inland. It may or may not contain such vegetables as turnips, carrots, beet, other than potatoes. There were also gardens kept solely for haymaking.[15]

This emphasis within the discipline on gardening as a subsistence craft is reflected, as well, in a continuing interest in the related field of plant lore or ethnobotany. The focus of ethnobotany is on particular plant species rather than on the garden as a whole; and on the use of plants rather than the techniques of production.

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[14]The expression "outport" refers to any coastal settlement in Newfoundland "other than the chief port of St. John's." Dictionary of Newfoundland English, ed. G.M. Story, W.I. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 363.

[15]Everett Rogers, "Material Culture and Work Techniques in Twillingate," MS., MUNFLA 79-189, p. 25.

> It takes up the relationship between people and plants, how wild and cultivated plants were and are still being used in housekeeping as foodstuffs and medicaments, as raw materials for handicrafts and domestic industries, and how children have used plants in their games. It also records the history of plants, their supposedly magic powers, their popular names and many other things.[16]

This field has enjoyed a continuing scholarly and popular interest, particularly with regard to "natural" cures and the religious and symbolic uses of plants.[17]

While an interest in the utility of plants and the craft of food production has predominated within descriptive folklore studies, decorative flower gardening has been clearly identified as a folk art which merits greater attention. In an introductory text to the discipline, Henry Glassie has placed the flower garden within a list of folk art media:

> The dooryard's traditional plot of flowers, whose existence is owed alone to the desire to participate in the creation of beauty and live in its presence, are folk art... The garden decorates the land as the painting decorates the wall.[18]

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[16]Sten-Bertil Vide, "Review of Danish Ethnobotany by V.J. Brondegaard," Ethnologia Scandinavica, n.v. (1979), 171.

[17]See for example, Gordon Wilson, "Local Plants in Folk Remedies in the Mammoth Cave Region," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 32 (1968), 320-327; E.O. James, "The Tree of Life," Folklore, 79 (1968), 241-249; Iowerth Peate, "Corn Ornaments," Folklore, 82 (1971), 177-184; or The Encyclopedia of Herbs and Herbalism, ed. Malcolm Stewart (Rexdale, Ontario: Classic Books, 1979).

[18]Henry Glassie, "Folk Art," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 270.

Nonetheless, more than a decade since the exploration of suburban gardens in southern California undertaken by E.N. Anderson Jr. and his students, his complaint of the neglect of the subject by folklorists remains a just one:

> Perhaps because of its commonness, the commonest folk arts have received little or no attention from scholars. Among the most conspicuously ignored is the almost universal pursuit known as gardening or more formally as landscaping. There are many books about gardening and landscaping, but I have not been able to find an analysis of the art by folklorists or social scientists.[19]

While folklorists have, then, generally failed to study the flower garden as a folk art genre, historians have joined gardeners in a recent upswing of interest in documenting and preserving historic flower gardens. Notable in the study of Canadian gardens, a 1983 Journal of Garden History was devoted to Canadian gardens and landscape designers;[20] while Edwinna Von Baeyer has recently published a history of Canadian gardening during the early twentieth century.[21] The Federal Government has validated this developing interest with its recognition in 1975 of "gardens as an appropriate

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[19]E.N. Anderson Jr., "On the Folk Art of Landscaping," Western Folklore, 31 (1972), 179.

[20]Journal of Garden History, 3 (1983), 167-244.

[21]Edwinna Von Baeyer, Rhetoric and Roses: A History of Canadian Gardening, 1900-1930 (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984).

subject for commemoration"[22] through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, and its designation of four gardens of national importance during the past decade. However, each of these initiatives has concentrated on exemplary, and usually professionally designed, gardens, offering little direction for my own interest in the realization of garden design within a community tradition.

Though the art of flower gardening has indeed received little attention from the discipline of folklore, there has been some discussion of the aesthetic dimensions of vegetable gardening and crop farming. Folklorists have commonly remarked on the expression of aesthetic pleasure voiced at the sight of a straight furrow or an abundant crop.[23] In recording Bess Hockema's garden in Oregon, Barre Toelken has similarly observed that while the plant materials are chosen from the practical desire to discourage insects, the garden, as a whole, is laid out according to a sense of beauty and order.[24] In studying the mixed vegetable and

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[22]Susan Buggey, "For Use and Beauty, Parks Canada Designates Historic Gardens of National Importance," Canadian Collector, 20, No. 1 (1985), 29.

[23]See Stewart G. McHenry, "Eighteenth Century Field Patterns as Vernacular Art," Old-Time New England, 69 (1978), 1-21; and Anderson, "On the Folk Art of Landscaping," p. 180.

[24]See Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), p. 161.

flower gardens of the Pennsylvania Germans and Old Order Mennonites, respectively, both Alan Keyser[25] and Nancy Lou Patterson[26] have noted the replication of the traditional image of the Garden of Eden divided by four rivers in the four-square garden plan.

While each of these studies acknowledges an aesthetic dimension to gardening, again, none addresses my own interest in the potential for individual expression within the media. Keyser and Patterson focus on garden design as a traditional ethnic symbol; Toelken emphasizes the community aesthetic which guides the creation of the individual garden. Generalizing, Toelken posits that "the whole point of folk art is to produce an excellent performance within a customary form".[27]

While preceeding studies of gardening have not, then, suggested directions for my own examination of the expressive dimensions of the genre, numbers of folklorists, working in both oral and material genres, have provided models for understanding the individual performer's creative role in the enactment of traditional forms. Roger Abrahams has,

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[25]See Alan Keyser, "Gardens and Gardening", p. 5.

[26]See Nancy Lou Patterson, "Mennonite Gardens," TS, presented at a conference on Folk Art, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1978, p. 7.

[27]Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, p. 185.

for example, noted the selective transmission of songs within the Anglo-American tradition, as an expression of an individual aesthetic.[28] Michael Owen Jones has commented on the expression of individuality through the manipulation of traditional chair forms by an Appalachian chairmaker.[29] While Simon Bronner has examined the choice of subject by an artist of the Old Order Mennonite community, as a means of personal identification.[30] In these and other studies, folklorists have sought to understand the dynamic interplay between the individual and the pool of traditional expression which serves as a reference point to their creative acts. Following in this behaviorist tradition, I hope to examine the structure of individual performances within a tradition of flower gardening.

While I had become interested in the "perennial border", both as an aesthetic system and as an expressive medium, during my visit to the Okanagan Mission, I determined to explore the topic, more conveniently, in my present day home of St. John's, Newfoundland. I received direction in my

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[28]See Roger Abrahams, ed. A Singer and Her Songs: Almeda Riddle's Book of Ballads (Baton Rouge: State University Press, 1970).

[29]See Michael Owen Jones, The Hand Made Object and Its Maker (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

[30]See Simon Bronner, "Investigating Identity and Expression in Folk Art," Winterthur Portfolio, 16 (1981), 56-83.

choice of individual informants from executive members of the Newfoundland Horticultural Society and from the staff of the Memorial University Botanic Garden at Oxen Pond, asking simply for the names of gardeners who principally used herbaceous perennials in the design of their gardens. From these recommendations, I selected a sample of gardens, intending to represent a range of performance circumstances. Two of the gardens -- Bowering Park and Government House, the official residence of the province's Lieutenant Governor -- are public or semi-public, and are maintained under the supervision of trained horticulturists. One is an extensive private garden designed and maintained by the householder, Mrs. Edna Pippy, with substantial help from a staff of gardeners. While the final three, belonging to Mrs. Millicent Winter, Mrs. Marian Bugden and Miss Sophia Nott, are more modest gardens which have by and large been laid out and maintained by the individual gardeners.

From my initial enquiries, I was soon to learn that not only were the growing conditions and history of settlement in St. John's quite different from those of the Okanagan, but that the gardening traditions reflected these different experiences. The Okanagan is reputed for its fine growing conditions; Newfoundland, in contrast, is renown for its cold climate and rocky soil. Both areas had been settled primarily by immigrants of English origin. However, the Okanagan had first been substantially settled as recently as the last

decade of the nineteenth century,[31] while the principal emigration to Newfoundland occurred during the first quarter of that century.[32] The "English gardeners" whom I interviewed in the Okanagan had either left Britain as young adults or had been born soon after their parents' arrival in Canada. They had, in consequence, simply transplanted their knowledge of the "English" style of the "perennial border" to their new homes. In contrast, my informants in St. John's had grown up within a tradition of perennial "Newfoundland" gardens quite distinct in design from the popular English model. As a result of these differing conditions, my exploration of the design of perennial gardens in St. John's had to begin with a number of additional questions: To what degree do Newfoundland's notoriously difficult growing conditions effect the realization of the individual gardener's design intentions? And in what manner are the forms of St. John's perennial gardens influenced by either the traditional or the popular models of design? Beyond these concerns to establish, first, the practical limitations on garden design, and, second, the context of decorative

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[31]See Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Vancouver: The MacMillans in Canada, 1958).

[32]See W. Gordon Handcock, "English Emigration to Newfoundland," in The Peopling of Newfoundland. Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John Mannion, Social and Economic Papers No. 8 (St. John's: ISER, 1977, pp. 15-48.

gardening traditions practised in St. John's, my question remained as before: what meaning was expressed by the gardener in his selection and construction of a particular garden form?

I will begin, then, with a general discussion of the practical conditions of gardening in Newfoundland, and with an outline of the local repertoire of perennial garden design. Subsequently, I will describe the form of the individual gardens within my sample in terms of my informants' design intentions. Finally, I will draw together the threads of common expression and garden form in order to discuss the implications for understanding the process of garden design and the meaning contained within its practice.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTRAINTS ON THE REALIZATION OF DESIGN

Both environmental and social conditions set practical limits to gardening. The first, self-evidently, affects the types of plants which can be grown in a given area, according to the particular composition of the soil, the numbers of frost free days and the seasonal levels of sunshine and rain. The latter influences both access to non-native plant materials and to information regarding varying techniques of gardening and varying styles of garden design. At each of these levels, extensive gardening is generally felt to be impractical in Newfoundland. Yet, among my informants, it is the social, rather than the environmental conditions which are finally seen as significant constraints to their gardening intentions.

The particular difficulties of Newfoundland's climate and terrain and, hence, of its growing conditions has often been noted. Whether referred to, simply, as "The Rock"[1], or castigated at length as "a large island, but not a fruitful one... more suited to the violence of the hunter than to the patient coaxing arts of agricultural man"[2], Newfoundland

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[1]See Patrick O'Flaherty, The Rock Observed: Studies in the Literature of Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

[2]Percy Janes, House of Hate (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 1.

has a reputation for cold, infertile conditions. Indeed, any agricultural attempts have to contend with a series of natural discouragements. The soils are generally thin, acidic, and rocky, and often poorly drained. Cultivating the land involves a considerable investment of labour in clearing scrub timber, removing the rocks and applying large amounts of fertilizers and lime. Cool, wet summers together with winters of alternate freezing and thawing do much to hamper the growth and survival of non-native plants.[3] The possibility of snow falling in every month of the year, and the promise of only one hundred and twenty frost-free days annually can seem to pose sufficient impediments to any form of gardening in Newfoundland.[4]

However, Bernard Jackson of Memorial University of Newfoundland's Botanic Garden at Oxen Pond argues that Newfoundland's growing conditions do not prevent successful gardening.

> Many people [he notes] seem to think that it is impossible to create a garden in Newfoundland, but I can assure you that, irrespective of what you may have previously

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[3]See Jennifer Bennett, The Harrowsmith Northern Gardener (Camden East, Ontario: Camden House Publishing, 1982) and Robert Alexander MacKinnon, "The Growth of Commercial Agriculture Around St. John's, 1800-1935: A Study of Local Trade in Response to Urban Demand", M.A. Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1981.

[4]Personal Conversation with Betty Hall, "Friends of the Garden" meeting, MUN Botanic Garden at Oxen Pond, June 5, 1984.

> heard, there are many gardeners in our area whom with patience, thought and effort, manage year after year to surround themselves with a considerable amount and variety of beautiful and good quality flowers.[5]

Jackson has chosen, in particular, to promote the growing of herbaceous perennials, both in print and through the Botanic Garden's exemplary flower border. Yet, even his goal is consciously modified to suit local conditions:

> My main interest is to help you enjoy a fair degree of success in this particular branch of gardening, in a climate that is somewhat less than ideal. If you can only be happy with a ribbon at the Chelsea Flower Show, London, England, I suggest you put this booklet down and move to an area of more favourable soil and climate conditions.[6]

Given such conflicting testimony regarding the gardener's likely success, the questions remain: to what degree do local conditions limit the growing of perennials in St. John's? And, more particularly, to what degree are these conditions considered by local gardeners to present significant limitations to their gardening plans?

Relative to the English climate, the Newfoundland spring is both late and cold, inevitably retarding the growing season. At the mid-nineteenth century, Reverend Lewis Anspach noted with some irony that "the various kinds of lilies, roses and other superior flowers succeed very

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[5]Bernard Jackson, Growing Herbaceous Perennials in Newfoundland (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972), p. 1.

[6]Ibid.

well in cultivated grounds, displaying in August and September all the beauties of a European spring".[7] This delay is, however, more detrimental to the growth of annuals[8] than to perennials. As Ken Proudfoot, Plant Breeder for Agriculture Canada and active member of the Newfoundland Horticultural Society explained:

> We have a miserable spring really, so you don't get your annuals out early in the year, so you really only have your annuals in the garden well, certainly in St. John's, from the middle of June at the earliest through July and August. And then that finishes them, because most of them are frost susceptible. So if you get an early frost in September, that's them gone, particularly things like petunias and marigold and those are the two... basic ones... Whereas, your perennials are there longer, well things like aqueligia, columbine, are out in flower now [in early July], and will stay in flower for three weeks; and the old plants like doronicum, leopard's bane. Well, that was out over a month ago and is just over now. And the bleeding heart, of course... So you get colour sooner.[9]

Proudfoot notes that, given the time it takes for newly bedded out annuals to achieve any substance and to begin to bloom after their mid-June planting, two month's pleasure can be had in early perennials.

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[7]Rev. Lewis Amadeus Anspach, A History of the Island of Newfoundland (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1827), p. 363.

[8]"Annuals are plants that grow, flower, produce seed and die in one growing season." Readers Digest Association, Illustrated Guide to Gardening in Canada (Montreal: The Readers Digest Association, 1979), p. 257.

[9]Personal interview with Ken Proudfoot, St. John's, July 3, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7304, Side 1, Number 000-015.

A further impediment to the growing of annuals, resulting from the cold Newfoundland spring, is the difficulty of raising annuals from seed, directly in the flower beds.

> You can't really grow annuals outside very successfully here. The earliest, I suppose, you could seed is about the third week in May... and that, unless you get a reasonably good June, they're not going to make very much growth. So I would say that most people who grow annuals, they're almost all raised under glass or at least in a cold frame or something like that.[10]

Annuals require the expense, then, of either operating your own greenhouse, or purchasing bedding plants each year from commercial nurseries.

> Of course, perennials are more expensive to buy, but you'd hardly be buying a dozen perennial plants. You'd have three or four of this kind, three or four [of another]... and you can split them up after a year or two years and make as many as you'd like.[11]

Though the practice is relatively uncommon, the seeds of annuals can be collected and stored for the next year's use, in order to save costs.[12] But the larger expense of

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[10] Ibid., Number 025-030.

[11] Ibid., Number 035-040.

[12] Among my informants, Jose Teotico, at Government House, is the only one who collects annual seed. Planting petunias and marigold on a particularly large scale, and with greenhouse facilities in place, he finds this practice more economic and more reliable than buying commercial seed. See interview with Jose Teotico, St. John's, June 25, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 2, Number 045-050.

constructing, heating and equipping a greenhouse would nonetheless remain. In contrast, established perennials must be divided every few years, in order to maintain the vigour of the plants and the shape of the beds. The excess plants can then be transferred to a new spot in the garden, stored in a behind-the-scenes plot for later use, or exchanged among friends for different plant materials.

> That's the beauty of perennials [Proudfoot observes], because you can exchange, and once you have them, you have them. You don't have to go out every year and spend money buying plants.[13]

If the late Newfoundland spring favours, in general, the growth and economy of herbaceous perennials, what of the other renowned disadvantages of St. John's growing conditions -- the poor soil, heavy winds and periods of alternating freezing and thawing during the winter months? While the season of growth presents something of a base-line to horticultural possibilities, these secondary difficulties tend to be more localized and more amenable to correction through an investment in labour. If the gardener has chosen to grow perennials, do these considerations limit the manner in which the garden will be planned?

While the preparation of the ground is a standard requirement for all gardeners, Newfoundland's soil is notoriously thin, acidic and rocky. Quantities of peat will be

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[13]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 060-063.

needed to lighten it; natural fertilizers such as manure or the traditional sardine-like caplin can be used to enrich it; and lime will "sweeten" it. At the same time, considerable labour will be expended, first to loosen the soil through "double digging" twice the depth of a spade, and later, to work in the quantities of additives to the bed. Yet, the extent of the work originally required depends on the situation of the particular garden plot. The majority of my informants have acquired well-established gardens. In consequence they were able to forego many aspects of this difficult stage. Moreover, the greater number of their gardens are located in the naturally fertile belts of land skirting the Waterford and Rennie's Mill Rivers. Though now divided into suburban lots, these areas had originally been developed as market gardens to the city of St. John's. Bowering Park, for example, is situated on land which before its 1912 development as a park, had been worked as Neville's farm. Its Superintendent, Chris Baird, is more anxious to praise the fertility of the land, than to express concern about the difficulties with cultivation:

> Of course, Bowering Park is rather unique being that it's a garden that's been worked on over the years. The park is so old and so established that is just exists... Anyone starting a new park or anything like that, it's very difficult to get established growing conditions like we have here... And there's soil here which makes a heck of a difference. I mean I can plant a tree here nearly the same, in some places, in the park like you do in Ontario, and not hit a stone, you know. But that's not what you find in Newfoundland all the time. So I wouldn't say

> Bowering Park was a typical growing area you'd find anywhere else in St. John's. I would say it's unique.[14]

Similarly, Sophia Nott observes that her garden was cultivated as a market garden by the previous owners. "It was fertile ground when we came here,"[15] she explains, contrasting its rich soil to the rocky conditions she had experienced in an earlier garden in Rose Blanche on Newfoundland's south coast. "There wasn't too much soil in Rose Blanche," she recalls, "because that was all rock... you wouldn't hardly drive a baby's carriage around."[16]

Not all of my informants had begun with such well established conditions. New beds and, indeed, newly landscaped yards have been created by two of the gardeners. Millicent Winter brought in six loads of topsoil to build up the perennial bed she wished to add to the established garden she had purchased.[17] Edna Pippy arranged for the extensive redevelopment of "the Hermitage" grounds:

> We landscaped the place from the house down to Topsail Road. We took every tree, lifted every tree other than the spruce trees... We had forty odd men working.[18]

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[14] Personal interview with Chris Baird, St. John's, June 22, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 2, Number 95-108.

[15] Personal interview with Sophia Nott, St. John's, July 22, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7302, Side 1, Number 090-092.

[16] Ibid., Number 113-117.

[17] Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 15, 1984.

[18] Personal interview with Edna Pippy, Topsail, July 7, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 315-316.

Lawns and flower beds were laid out, and the soil prepared. Yet, in either case, the gardeners had the means to have the work done, and neither has seen the requirement to create the soil for their flower beds as a deterrant limiting the scope of their garden plans.

While ready with remedies, my informants do, however, acknowledge some difficulty with the high winds and periods of alternate winter freezing and thawing commonly experienced in Newfoundland. Perennials tend to be taller growing plants than annuals, and as Edna Pippy notes: "You will lose some of course, if you get a terrific wind, you know it devastates the garden."[19] In earlier days, when she knew the wind would be gusting from a certain direction, she would have wind breaks erected to shield the beds. Now, she simply suggests planting the taller perennials towards the back of the bed, where they would receive some protection from the more resilient, lower growing plants placed in the front of the beds. The taller plants will, as well, be staked with wooden rods to provide some additional support. Chris Baird notes, however, that "even if you stake them, if you get a good wind, it will knock them over". Yet, rather than eliminating the plants from use, he simply suggests that they be planted in the more sheltered areas of the garden: "If they're backed by staking and there's a

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[19] Ibid., Number 354-370.

wind break of some description, a building, a house, for example, that would help very much."[20]

In laying out Government House's perennial beds, Jose Teotica has accommodated adverse wind conditions through the selection of appropriate species of perennial. One bed, sheltered by a surrounding belt of trees, has been planted with taller, three to four foot high perennials; another, situated in a more exposed location, has been planted with lower-growing species. Only a foot or two in height, the perennial lilies and foxglove are less likely to be damaged by the high winds.[21] Foresight in the placement of beds, some adjustment in the planned height of the plant materials through the selection of lower-growing species, together with staking of the plants can, then, accommodate the wind conditions.

While Edna Pippy insists that perennials "can stand the climate", at the same time she will note that "the hard part on your garden is the freezing and thawing, that's what damages your garden and you may lose some plants."[22] To prevent such damage, she recommends that the beds be covered in the fall with a layer of manure and, then, a

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[20]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 485-490.

[21]MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 1, Number 290-292.

[22]MUNFLA 84-488, C7305, Side 1, Number 314-320.

layer of fir boughs. The boughs will "collect the snow and keep the things warm".[23] She warns, as well, that the boughs not be removed too early in the spring, since you can never predict the final frost of the year. As a case in point, she observes:

> I never remember a June like this one before, and I'm eighty-nine years old, nor does anybody else I suppose... We put out our geraniums the sixth of June, and I'm blowed, we had frost.[24]

The use of fir boughs, cut from nearby woods, to protect winter beds of perennials is a common, if not a conscientiously followed practise, of my informants. Sophia Nott will use the boughs from a neighbour's Christmas tree to cover a few "special things".[25] While Marian Bugden recommends "earthing up" plants which might be particularly delicate.[26] But, like Chris Baird, most are fairly casual about their efforts at winter protection:

> We do fairly little protection here for our perennials and we lose a few. But if you want to, if you're willing to protect them from the winter and do the extra work that it takes to build a shelter, well that's fine.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., Number 276-314.

[25] Personal conversation with Eliza Nott, St. John's, December 11, 1984.

[26] Personal conversation with Marian Bugden, St. John's, November 13, 1984.

> And you'll find that a lot of good gardeners will do that in order to protect their plants... But there is still a lot of varieties, as you'll see, that do well even with the winter. There's not a shortage of flowers that will grow perennially here in Newfoundland.[27]

Though acknowledging that the Newfoundland climate can generally prove a discouragement to gardening, these gardeners find little hindrance from the growing conditions. Noting that hers is a particularly well-sheltered location, Marian Bugden observes, "I can grow pretty well what I want, you know. The climate doesn't trouble me."[28] Chris Baird describes the Waterford Valley setting of Bowering Park as a sheltered and relatively warmer "mini-climate".[29] Edna Pippy argues that the salt water of Conception Bay, which lies near the foot of her garden, "takes the frost off", extending the season of her garden into November.[30] As she observes, her garden plans are not constrained by Newfoundland's growing conditions: "We grow everything here".[31]

While my informants find no difficulties with local growing conditions which cannot be easily accommodated, they

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[27]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 405-413.

[28]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 080-082.

[29]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 108-110.

[30]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 2, Number 045-050.

[31]Ibid., Side 2, Number 198-200.

do note problems which arise from what might be described as the social climate of gardening. Newfoundland's small population has, in turn, a relatively small and scattered population of avid gardeners. The Newfoundland Horticultural Society has, for example, less than one hundred active members. Such a small number results in a lack of gardening information and a limited, local market of plant materials.

Given his own Philippine based training, Government House's head gardener, Jose Teotico, is particularly conscious of the lack of local garden literature, and the inapplicability of material from other regions.

> Our climate conditions in Newfoundland is different... What you read in the books... You get a very cold temperature here, and it won't work.[32]

Bernard Jackson's 1979 pamphlet "Growing Herbaceous Perennials in Newfoundland" was written with the expressed intention of filling this lacuna:

> There are already, [he explains], many fine books and pamphlets on this topic but none, to my knowledge, deal with the Newfoundland situation with anything more than a few passing comments. This booklet, therefore, is also an attempt to rectify, in some small way, this apparent lack of local information.[33]

Since my informants have been unable to rely on the accuracy of the available garden literature in Newfoundland

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[32]MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 1, Number 080-085.

[33]Jackson, Growing Herbaceous Perennials, p. 1.

conditions, they have generally sought information regarding appropriate plant materials and the means of their cultivation from other local gardeners. And each gardener shares the knowledge that he has learned from experience over the years, about what will thrive or fail in the conditions of his own garden. This natural interchange of common interests has been somewhat formalized through the activities of the Newfoundland Horticultural Society. Since its re-establishment one hundred years following its hesitant beginnings in 1862,[34] the Society has aimed principally at providing a forum for the exchange of gardening information, through monthly lectures, through summer time visits to notable local gardens, and through informal, after-lecture conversations over tea.[35] Each of my non-professional informants is a charter member of the Society, and has faithfully attended the group's functions over the years. These organized encounters draw together individuals with a shared interest, substituting for a more informal "back fence" interchange of garden information and compensating for a lack of garden literature.

The relatively small size of the St. John's gardening community contributes, as well, to a limitation of the quality and variety of commercially available plant materials.

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[34]"St. John's Floral and Horticultural Society," The Royal Gazette, 3 August 1869, p. 1., col. 2.

[35]See Newfoundland Horticultural Society, Flower Show, 1968. (St. John's: N.H.S., 1968), p.2.

Seed and plant stock is generally imported from mainland Canada. In consequence, the varieties are often adapted to the climatic circumstances of the larger mainland markets, rather than being selected specifically to suit Newfoundland's growing conditions. The plant materials may, as well, be poorly stored in transit and can, as a result, be of poor quality. In either case, my informants often recommend the use of locally-grown plant stock, which by its very survival has proven its vigour and "hardiness"[36] in local conditions.[37]

Though a number of local nurseries are well-spoken of for the variety of their plants, if the gardener is looking for a certain effect, through the use of a particular species of plant, the supply can be limiting. In such circumstances, my informants simply turn to garden catalogues and import their own plant stock, either from mainland Canada, the U.S.A. or Great Britain. Chris Baird recommends Sheridan's

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[36]Under adverse growing conditions, a non-native perennial may not, in fact, survive from year to year, and hence would not be considered "hardy". The Canadian Department of Agriculture has codified a range of hardiness zones, calculated on low winter temperatures, snow depth, wind speed, frost free period, summer and winter rainfall and high summer temperatures. This scale can be used to judge the likelihood that particular plants will survive in a given climate. As Agriculture Canada's concerns are principally economic, the system deals more with fruit and ornamental trees than with flowers. However, the term is used colloquially in all cases. St. John's is calculated to have a hardiness factor of 5b on a scale from 0, at its worst, to 9. See Bennett, The Harrowsmith Northern Gardener, pp. 173-174.

[37]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 350-385.

of Ontario;[38] Millicent Winter has ordered plants from Cruikshanks in Ireland.[39] The process is a familiar one, commonly spoken of at meetings of the Horticultural Society and referred to in the Society's newsletter.[40]

The Horticultural Society has, as well, made more direct arrangements for improving access to plant materials. By holding occasional plant sales at meetings, and by mediating an autumn exchange of perennials through a sale of tickets, a variety of plants is made available both to Society members and to the general public. The process of securing a variety and quantity of plants, and of replacing them, as necessary, over the years can, as Edna Pippy notes, be an expensive one.[41] Such alternate means, added to the informal exchange of plants among friends, can reduce the cost while, at the same time, expanding the variety of the garden materials.

While my informants have found means to accommodate both the local growing conditions and the limited commercial supply of plant materials, each comments on the difficulty of finding skilled garden help. There are no schools of formal horticultural education locally. Gardeners must, as

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[38]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 2, Number 158-160.

[39]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, July 15, 1984.

[40]See, for example, Newfoundland Horticultural Society, Down to Earth, April 1984, p. 3.

[41]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 140-142.

a result, either travel to mainland Canada for their training or study by correspondence. While the occupation is gradually becoming professionalized -- among my informants, for example, the head gardeners at the two public gardens hold horticulture certificates -- only those aspiring to such supervisory positions have the incentive to acquire such credentials. The majority of working gardeners, as a result, learn, less formally, through on-the-job experience.[42]

Whether they require the full-time services of a number of gardeners, or occasional part-time help, my informants complain of a lack of skill and of commitment to the task. Sophia Nott finds that the people she hires from time to time won't "try to do it for the look of it".[43] Whether cutting the lawn, pulling weeds, or trimming bushes, they will do the work, but without attention to the line of the beds or the shape of the plants. Edna Pippy notes, as well, the loss of favorite plant materials as inexperienced gardeners weed out plants which are, in fact, valued perennials:

> This is the trouble that I've found, sometimes in the fall when the men are putting in the bulbs and that, they root some of the things out. And also in the spring, when they're weeding and that, and getting ready to set out, you lose some of your things, precious little

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[42]Personal conversation with Fred Walsh, Assistant Gardener, Government House, St. John's, July 17, 1984.

[43]MUNFLA 84-588, C7302, Side 1, Number 340-342.

> perennial things that I've grown. I had a lot that I had in back, in the rock garden here, and I'm blowed, the next spring every one of them disappeared.[44]

By similar, uninformed weeding, a large bed of perennial poppies in Bowering Park was severely depleted.[45] Such inattention to the line and content of the bed can destroy the design effect intended by the gardener.

In the smaller gardens, the damage which can be done by unskilled help is limited by the limited nature of their tasks. Normally, they would be required only to do the heavier work of mowing, watering and raking lawns; the maintenance of the flower beds and the development of particular design intentions, can, by and large, be handled by the owner. With a larger scale of operation, however, the garden staff is required to tend the flower beds as well as the grounds. And it is at this scale of gardening that the use of perennials can be limited by an unskilled staff. Bowering Park, for example, was originally laid out with both perennial and annual beds. Latterly, one of the four perennial beds has been abandoned. The three remaining beds are now consciously neglected, while priority is assigned to the beds containing, in succession, spring bulbs and summer annuals. Chris Baird explains:

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[44]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 014-020.

[45]Personal conversation with Chris Baird, St. John's, July 3, 1984.

> There's no doubt that the annual beds and the bulb beds are easier to handle than the perennial beds because the perennial bed... is a high maintenance type of bed. People think its not, you know the flowers are going to be there every year, but the problem you find with a perennial bed is that the plants are there and they expand and grow every year and the grass and weeds get in amongst them. And like a annual bed or a bulb bed, you clean the whole bed... out in one year so that you get all the weeds and everything. So when it comes to the maintenance of a perennial bed, its much higher because you don't take the plants out each year and the weeding still has to be done and it has to be picked in around... Its a little more tedious.[46]

For Chris Baird, the difficulty with perennial beds lies not simply in the skill required of his employees to achieve the appropriate effect through careful maintenance of the beds, but in the expense of their labour. Though the large scale greenhouse production of bedding plants required for a yearly show of annuals is expensive in terms of plant material, the work can be handled by a single trained person. The bulbs and bedding plants can be planted and cleared away by teams of less skilled workers. The result is a reliable show of colour through the summer, with a minimum outlay of labour. Given limited staff time and expertise, Baird has thus chosen the easier maintenance of annual beds as the Park's priority, and has permitted the design of the perennial beds to be lost in the rampant growth of the plants.

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[46]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 095-105.

Each of my informants argues that their intentions for the design of their gardens have not been limited by environmental considerations. As perennials are particularly suited to Newfoundland's late springs the majority emphasize their use. Any climatic deterrants to the growth of perennials, they argue, can, on the whole, be accommodated with minor adjustments in the locale and contents of the beds, and with the use of various gardening techniques. Good soil conditions can be assured by the purchase of previously worked lands; poor soil can be improved with peat, fertilizers, lime and the purchase of topsoil. The effects of high winds can be lessened by planting the taller plants in sheltered locations and by staking them with wooden rods. The cold winter weather and unexpected periods of freezing and thawing can be ameliorated with a protective layer of boughs. Such accommodations are simply a normal part of any gardener's activities. Newfoundland's harsher climatic conditions require only a change in degree of such considerations, and present no insurmountable obstacles to my informant's gardening plans.

Similarly, local market conditions effecting the availability of plants and the availability of gardening information, while presenting some difficulties, can be accommodated. Particular plants may not be commercially available, but might be acquired from friends or imported from abroad; local garden information may not be commercially available, but can

be found in conversation with fellow gardeners. The only consideration which has an acknowledged impact on the individual's garden plans is the lack of skilled garden help for hire and the cost of their labour. While this situation may influence the selection of perennial gardening in preference to annuals, and while it may effect the skill with which the garden's design will be maintained, it becomes an impediment only when the scale of gardening exceeds what can be done by the individual gardener. Beyond this, my informants feel that the form of their gardens reflects their intentions for its design.

CHAPTER 3

MODELS OF DESIGN

Roger Abrahams has remarked that:

> If we are to obtain any meaningful information about the range of choice and change and individuality within any tradition,... then clearly we must discover the criteria by which the group itself judges a performer and a performance. We must find out what traditions the community shares and how far the individual is allowed to go in introducing new features and items of performance into the community.[1]

As my informants argue that their gardening is not limited by technical constraints, it is possible to look at the form of their gardens simply as products of their individual aesthetics of design. Yet, prior to examining the gardens for evidence of their expressive qualities, it is necessary, as Abrahams suggested, to establish the repertoire of design models which form the context of their creation. Finally, patterns of selection and variation within these traditions will permit an understanding of the individual's role in the realization of garden design.

Decorative gardening has never been a wide-spread pursuit in Newfoundland. Historically, the island was used primarily as a base for the prosecution of a seasonal cod fishery on the Grand Banks. Oriented towards the sea, most

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[1]Roger Abrahams, "Creativity, Individuality and the Traditional Singer," Studies in the Literary Imagination, 13 (1970), 7.

eighteenth and nineteenth century settlers from Britain chose to establish their premises on the rocky and often wind-swept promontories nearest to the abundant fishing grounds. For the gardening required to assure a subsistence diet, they found land wherever it came to hand. Nowadays the tradition of using available ground for practical purposes mitigates any extensive practise of decorative gardening. Recalling the mid-twentieth century, one commentator on rural Newfoundland life has, for example, observed that "Few people wasted good ground in flower gardens".[2]

Despite this emphasis on productive gardening, individuals have, with varying degrees of interest, traditionally grown flowering plants. Ray Guy recalls a traditional landscape which melds the picturesque with practical considerations:

> The neatly nibbled border of grass between the road and the weathered paling fence, the old roses tumbling out through the palings, the path leading around to the back door, the steeply pitched roof with its grey shingles, the small paned windows glimpsed through the branches of the lilac bush. It all sounds too much like the water colour pictures in some old book of verse to be true, yet many readers may agree that it is an accurate sketch of the typical house and garden in many of our ourharbours not so long ago.[3]

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[2]Hilda Chaulk Murray, "The Role of Women in a Newfoundland Fishing Community," M.A. Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1972, p. 257.

[3]Ray Guy, You May Know Them as Sea Urchins Ma'am, ed. Eric Norman (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1975), p. 6.

Though remarking on the primarily functional nature of contemporary front yard spaces along Newfoundland's southern shore, Gerald Pocius has similarly observed that "practically every house has a minimum number of perennial flowers or ornamental trees".[4]

While not, then, precluding the practice of decorative gardening, the conditions of the fishery did much to shape its form. Newfoundland's short summer coincides with the peak of the fishery. The season was filled with the labour intensive tasks of fishing and curing the catch, for the men, and of turning the drying fish, tending the farm animals and the vegetable gardens and running the household, for the women. Within this press of activity, there was little time to tend any flower gardens. Living in small settlements scattered along the coastline, and earning little surplus revenue from the fishery which had drawn them there, the average householder had, as well, little access to commercial plant supplies. In such circumstances, permanent plantings of perennials characterized the average flower garden in light both of their economy and their relative ease of maintenance.

The layout of such gardens was typically simple and informal. In Ray Guy's experience, perennial flowers and shrubs would be planted on either side of a narrow walk from

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[4]Gerald Pocius, "Calvert: A Study of Artifacts and Spatial Usage in a Newfoundland Outport", Dissertation University of Pennsylvania 1979, p. 281.

the fence to the door. Allowed to grow naturally, the plants would finally spread until they filled the available space.[5] Philip Hicks describes a St. John's "kitchen garden of one hundred years ago" of a similar, though unusually abundant form. Within a picket-fenced yard devoted to root crops and barley production, beds of flowers were laid out along a cruciform path leading to the house.

> On either side of the path between the two bottom sections, flowers were planted in a three of four foot wide strip. Here were all the old cottage stalwarts -- tough and spreading -- tiger lilies in dense clumps, a great patch of bleeding heart, golden balls, a bush of lad's love, blue lupins, pink and dark red, large-flowered peonies, purple irises, columbines which seeded themselves everywhere else, as well, and a mass of white and mauve rocket... In the height of summer, the plants on either side met in the middle in places and blocked the pathway.[6]

The repertoire of herbaceous perennials normally used to stock these gardens was relatively limited. In addition to rose and lilac bushes and dogberry trees, sweet rockets, columbine, and daisies[7]; orange lilies, pansies, bleeding heart, ribbon grass and golden ball[8]; monkshood, bellflower, cornflower, pinks, meadowsweet, yellow loosestrife, musk

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[5]Guy, Sea Urchins, p. 6.

[6]Philip Hicks, "Kitchen Garden 100 Years Ago," Evening Telegram, February 7, 1981, p. 20, col. 1-2.

[7]See Murray, "The Traditional Role of Women", p. 257.

[8]See Guy, Sea Urchins, p. 6.

mallow, peony, phlox, solomon's seal, saponaria, saxifrage, rudbeckia[9]; candytuft and cowslip[10] are commonly enumerated as the "old" perennials of the "outport" garden. Ordinarily, the individual gardener would utilize only a handful of these, taking clippings from her mother's garden and from friends in order to plant her own garden.[11] Typically, then, the garden would consist of a few varieties of perennials, growing in abundant clumps adjacent to the front door of the house. (See Photograph 1, p. 42)

The record of the practice of formal gardening in Newfoundland is more obscure. In the early nineteenth century, the St. John's military and bureaucratic elite seem to have taken an active interest both in describing native flora and in experimenting with the cultivation of vegetables, flowers, shrubs and fruit trees. During his tenure as Commanding Royal Engineer from 1842-1845, Richard Henry Bonnycastle recorded that:

> cabbages, cauliflowers, broccoli, lettuce, spinach, cress, the American evergreen cress, beet, parsnips, carrots, peas of all kinds, Windsor bean, kidney and French

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[9]See Jackson, Growing Herbaceous Perennials.

[10]Personal conversation with Sophia and Eliza Nott, St. John's, July 30, 1984.

[11]Personal conversation with Chris Baird, St. John's, July 18, 1984.

Photograph 1. Herbaceous perennials, Carbonear, August 5.

Typical of traditional "outport" gardens, a simple clump of monkshood marks the entranceway to a home in Carbonear.

> beans and thyme, mint, savory, in short all the British culinary plants and herbs grow as well here as in Canada.[12]

Equally, he recounted that:

> In sheltered gardens all the common English flowers thrive, and even the dahlia, by covering its roots in winter, does very well. In fact most of the flowers are larger and more spread than their originals although perhaps not so odorous.[13]

Unfortunately, Bonnycastle and other commentators fail to mention the style in which such gardens were planted. Contemporary sketches and plans do, however, suggest that English fashions of design were being followed in St. John's. (See Illustration 1, p. 45). By 1862, a St. John's Floral and Horticultural Society had been formed and was holding annual exhibitions "under the patronage of his excellency the Governor".[14] At the turn of the century, a nursery on Signal Hill was advertising its proficiency through an elaborate formal garden with circular beds outlined in low hedges.[15] Each of these notations suggests that, at least in St. John's, flower gardening was being pursued in the popular styles of the day by a sizeable community of gardeners.

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[12]Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Newfoundland in 1842 A Sequel to "The Canada's in 1841", 2 vols. (London: Henry Colbourn, 1842), vol. 2, pp. 309-309.

[13]Ibid., p. 315.

[14]"St. John's Floral and Horticultural Society," The Royal Gazette, 3 August 1869, p. 1., col. 2.

[15]Philip Hicks, "An Unusual Garden," The Evening Telegram, 29 January 1983, p. 16, col. 1-2.

Illustration 1. "Government House, St. John's, Newfoundland, Erected 1849".

The initial landscaping of Government House grounds may have consisted of formal topiary shrubs set amidst geometric walkways and lawns, as suggested in this illustration. At the time of its construction, Government House marked the northern limits of the city. Note the "barrens"[16] extending behind the building.

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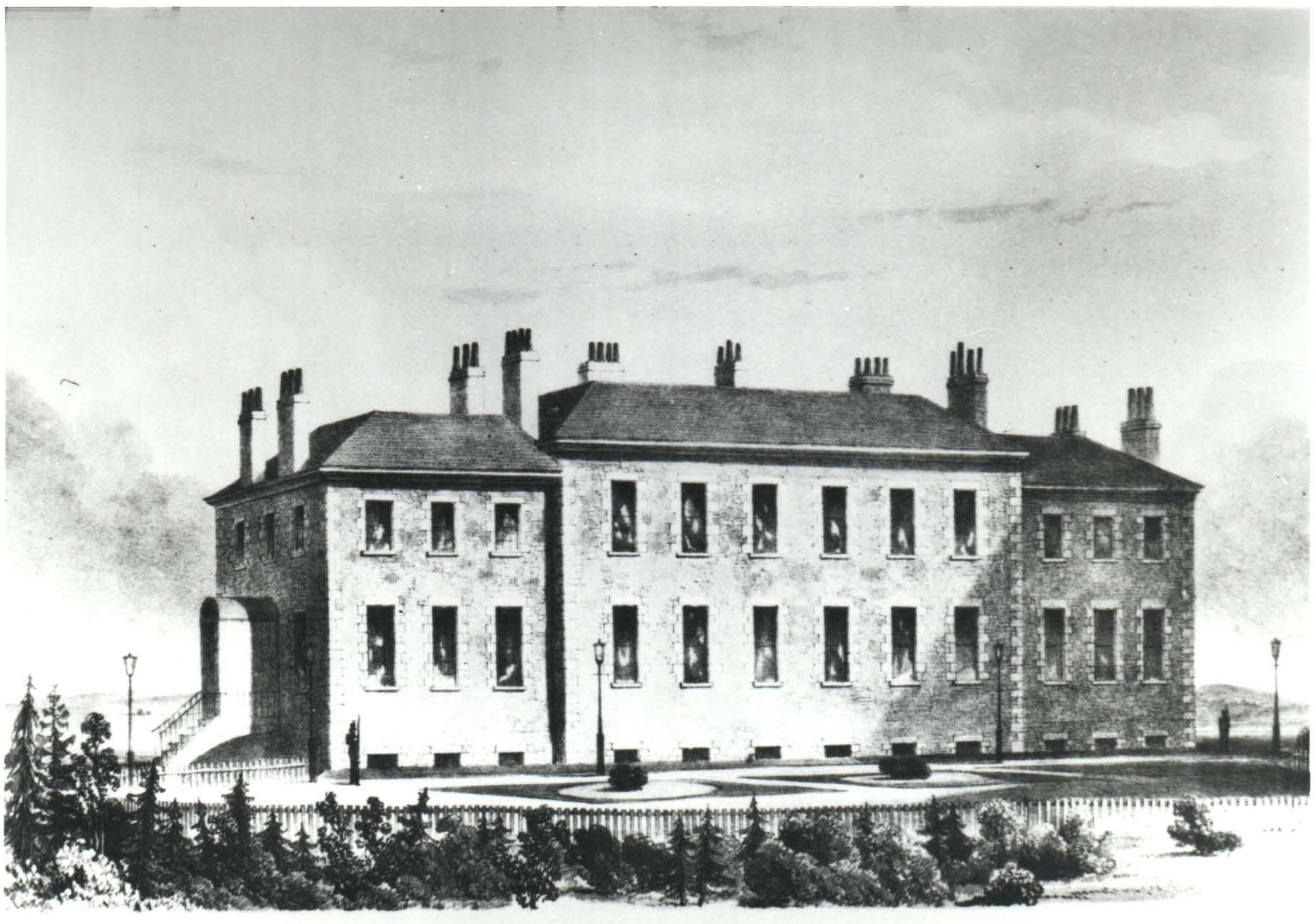
[16]"Barrens" refers in local usage to "uninhabited, treeless stretches of waste land". Dictionary of Newfoundland English, p. 27.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

S^t JOHNS, NEWFOUNDLAND.

ERECTED 1548.

To the Lordship Sir Chas Gaspard Le Marchant Bart & C.C.B. &c &c Governor of Newfoundland
this First is by permission respectfully inscribed by his Lordships

The nineteenth century had seen a considerable expansion in the range of available plant materials, in the variety of garden styles and, finally, in the popularity of flower gardening as a hobby throughout Europe and the Americas. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, exploration and colonization of the "New World" had led to an animated trade in exotic curios. It became fashionable for the upper and middle classes not only to collect geological and anthropological specimens, but to trade in foreign plant materials. Both private and public botanical gardens were developed for the display of these "useful and ornamental plants".[17]

The ornamentals most highly prized were those with "fragrant and colourful blossoms".[18] Showy flowering shrubs, principally the mountain laurel, azalia, leatherwood, fothergilla, rhododendron and magnolia were imported from America.[19] Flowers such as chrysanthemum and peonies were brought from China and Japan. Varieties of the scarlet geranium or pelargonium from South Africa and some twenty species of marigold from Mexico, became part of the British

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[17]Edward P. Alexander, Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983), p. 124. The Royal Gardens of Kew in Richmond, England had, for example, grown from a nine acre medical herbarium in 1759 to a 300-acre resource for "scientific botany" by 1845.

[18]Louise Conway Belden, "Humphrey Marshall's Trade in Plants of the New World for Gardens and Forests of the Old World," Winterthur Portfolio, 2 (1965), 124.

[19]Ibid.

horticultural repertoire.[20] With the ascendancy of such exotics, native English flowers fell out of favour. "Such flowers as perennial sunflowers, daylilies, poppies, biennial hollyhocks, larkspurs, pansies, stock, nasturtiums and seathrift were considered too 'old fashioned'"[21] to find a place in the up-to-date garden of the nineteenth century.

In terms of garden design, the vogue for brilliantly coloured exotics brought a return of flowers into designed landscapes. At the beginning of the previous century, landscape architects William Kent and "Capability" Brown, had refined the layout of country estates into an interplay of only three elements -- flowing, expansive lawns, scattered copses of mixed trees and meandering stretches of water.[22] Towards the close of the eighteenth century, designer Humphrey Repton proposed the addition of architectural terraces and formal flower gardens as a device for easing the visual transition from the architecture of the house to this "natural" landscape. In the face of the nineteenth century enthusiasm for exotic plant specimens, trees, lawn and water gradually became backdrops to the flower garden. Horticultural writer John Claudius Loudon popularized the "gardenesque"

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[20]See Roy Genders, Scented Flora of the World. An Encyclopedia (London: Mayflower, 1978).

[21]Rudy Favretti and Joy Putnam Favretti, Landscapes and Grounds for Historic Buildings (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1978), p. 116.

[22]See Baeyer, Rhetoric and Roses, p. 100-101.

style for the layout of these gardens, consisting of geometric beds, with the plants treated as identical components in a symmetrical plan. A typical bed could, for example, be circular in shape with a tall central flower surrounded by concentric circles of plants arranged in decreasing heights and contrasting colour; or geometric patterns of colour might be laid out in a smooth carpet of plants of uniform size. (See Photographs 2 and 3, pp. 49, 50). Such beds could be constructed with more or less complicated internal patterns, and repeated in greater or fewer numbers, according to the means of the householder.

Initially the cultivation of these new tropical plant materials was limited by the difficulty of adapting the plants to the generally more severe climate of the British Isles. In the 1840's, the development of the Wardian case, with glass sides and top, for transporting plant specimens; and subsequently the invention of large-scale greenhouses to nurture the plants in their new environment, answered this impediment.[23] The plants could either be housed permanently under glass, or they could be raised from seed in the greenhouse and "bedded out" in the garden for the summer season. As the plants would not survive the British winter, the seeds would be collected and sown in the greenhouse for the following year's production.

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[23]See Anthony Huxley, An Illustrated History of Gardening, (New York: Paddington Press, 1978), p. 272.

Photograph 2. Annual bed, Bowering Park, St. John's, August 20, 1984.

In a formation typical of the small annual beds in the park, concentric rings of dusty miller, blue and red lobelia centre on a single castor bean plant.

Photograph 3. Annual bed, Government House, St. John's, July 17, 1984.

A week prior to the garden party, the annual bed begins to reach full bloom. Within a border of red lobelia, central diamonds of red snapdragons are surrounded, in sequence, by contrasting half circles of white and red, pink and yellow, and finally deep purple petunias. This sequence of three is then repeated in reverse, while the whole pattern is finally repeated to fill the length of the bed.

William Robinson, Botanist for the Royal Botanical Society's collection of British wild flowers in Regent's Park, remarked on both the extensive technical requirements of this style of gardening, and its enormous popularity. The fashion, he observed, "was made up of a few kinds of flowers, which people were proud to put out in thousands and tens of thousands, and with these, patterns more or less elaborate, were carried out in every garden save the poorest cottage garden".[24] This mid-century shift to gardening with tender annuals, in bold geometric designs,was as Robinson suggested, paralleled by a marked change in the nature of the gardening clientele. While Brown and Kent had devised the "English landscape" for the country estates of the landed gentry during the eighteenth century; Loudon addressed himself to an ascendant merchant class, backed by the wealth of the Industrial Revolution. Gardening had become a social necessity for the prosperous and aspiring middle classes, both in English and in America.[25]

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Robinson began to voice a dissatisfaction with this style of gardening. From an aesthetic viewpoint, the annual dying away and clearing out of entire beds of tropical flowers in the fall left an unsightly void of dirt in the beds until the late spring once again permitted the planting out of a new

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[24]William Robinson, The English Flower Garden and Home Grounds. (1883, 8th edition, London: John Murray, 1901), p. vii.

[25]Baeyer, Rhetoric and Roses, p. 100.

crop of tender annuals. From a more practical viewpoint, the expense of the technology and the labour required was prohibitive:

> We must take into account the hothouses, the propagation of plants by the thousands at certain seasons, the planting out at the busiest and fairest time of the year, in June, the digging up and storing in autumn, the care in winter... It would be better everyway in so far as the flower garden is concerned if gardeners were to see what could be done unaided by hothouses, by which means the wise man will reduce the expense of glass, labour, fire, repairs, paint, pipes and boilers to something like reasonable proportions.[26]

Robinson suggested that the design alternative was to use flowering perennials in the naturalistic style of landscape designers Kent, Brown and Repton. "The great writers of the past laughed the carpenter's rule out of the parks of England".[27] By the 1880's, William Robinson had determined that his mission was to do the same for the flower bed.

> I saw the flower gardener meanly trying to rival the tile or wall-paper men and throwing aside with contempt all the lovely things that through their height or form did not conform to this idea... And so I began to see clearly that the common way was a great error and the greatest obstacle to true gardening or artistic effects of any kind in the garden or home landscape, and then made up my mind to fight the thing out in any way open to me.[28]

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[26] Robinson, The English Flower Garden, pp. 73-74.

[27] Ibid., p. vii.

[28] Ibid.

Robinson was joined in his crusade for a more natural garden style by a number of gardeners and landscape designers, but most notably by Gertrude Jekyll, a younger woman with an artistic background and independent means. While Robinson had trained as an horticulturist; Jekyll began her career as an artist. She had trained at the School of Art in South Kensington, and had painted and studied in France under Impressionist Hercules Brabazon Brabazon.[29] Influenced, as well, by William Morris's idealization of the medieval artist-craftsman, she had designed and exhibited embroideries along with other followers of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Her later interest in garden design was, in consequence, grounded in Impressionist colour theories and an Arts and Crafts preference for the tangible craft. Jekyll often described the design of a garden in terms of painting and other fine art media:

> That which is contained in a garden or a piece of embroidery is entirely different to the substances from which each is made -- soil and plants, textile and threads -- but whatever gardeners and embroiderers create with their hands out of these elements, is the result of practise, knowledge, wisdom and experience. It is also an expression of their thoughts, imagination and delight in colour.[30]

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[29]See Jane Brown, Gardens of a Golden Afternoon. The Story of a Partnership: Edwin Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll (New York: Van Rostrand and Reinhold Company, 1982), pp. 41-42.

[30]Joan Edwards, Gertrude Jekyll. Embroiderer, Gardener and Craftsman (Dorking: Bayford Books, 1981), p. 1.

Besides designing her own garden and those of other country estates in collaboration with architect Edwin Lutyens, Jekyll contributed to Robinson's magazine, The Garden, and following his retirement in 1899, served as its co-editor for a number of years.[31] The two shared the same philosophy of garden design, but it was Jekyll who extended the treatment of the genre to include an elaborate aesthetic of colour harmonies.

From his experience as Botanist in charge of the British wild flower collection, and from hers of a childhood spent in the West Surry countryside, Robinson and Jekyll both turned for inspiration in their garden designs from the "great private and public gardens"[32] to the woods and lanes of the English countryside, and, more particularly, to the cottage gardens of the rural working class. Much like the traditional Newfoundland garden, which had, indeed, derived from the British traditions of its first settlers, the most usual form of the English cottage garden was "a strip on each side of the path leading from the roadway to the cottage door."[33] Within these strips a medley of plants were grown -- herbs for culinary and medicinal purposes, vegetables, vines and berry bushes for the family's food consumption, and

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[31]See Mea Allen, William Robinson, 1838-1935. Father of the English Flower Garden (London: Faber and Faber, 1982).

[32]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. vii.

[33]Gertrude Jekyll, Old West Surrey: Some Notes and Memories (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904), p. 268.

the "old fashioned English flowers", grown as much for practical purposes as for decoration. Hollyhocks, for instance, could be used as a teas in the treatment of chest complaints; foxglove tea would relieve dropsy; larkspur seeds helped control lice; while the gilly flower or carnation served as a flavouring for drinks.[34] With available space limited in relation to the needs of the household, and with only a minimum of time available to tend the beds, such gardens were characterized by a mixture of perennial plants, set in dense plantings and showing a profusion of growth.

Jekyll and Robinson saw these gardens, not for their utility, but with an eye to their beauty. Both found in their form principles to elaborate an abstract process of garden design:

> Not infrequently in passing along a country road, with an eye alert to note the beauties that are so often presented by the little wayside cottage gardens, something is seen that may well serve as a lesson in better planting.[35]
>
> English cottage gardens are never bare and seldom ugly... I often pass a small cottage garden in the Weald of Sussex, never without a flower for nine months of the year. What is the secret of the cottage garden's charms? Cottage gardeners are good to their plots, and in the course of years they make them fertile, and the shelter of the little house and hedge favours the flowers. But there is something more and it is the absence of any pretentious "plan" which lets the flowers tell

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[34] See The Encyclopedia of Herbs.

[35] Gertrude Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden (Covent Garden: Country Life, 1908), p. 106.

> their story to the heart. The walks are only what are needed, and so we see only the earth and its blossoms.[36]

In reaction to the fashion for the yearly bedding out of tender exotics, Robinson began with the requirement for permanent plantings. Rather than annually duplicating the same, ephemeral floral design, he advocated the establishment of a permanent garden plot, which would require only minor alterations from year to year, in order to maintain and perfect the garden "picture". "No plan which involves expensive yearly effort on the same piece of ground," he felt, "[could] ever be satisfactory."[37]

Though annuals might be used to fill temporary gaps in the bed, the garden was to be characterized by the use of perennials. In order to ensure the hardiness of the plants, one had, then, to develop a facility with their growing requirements, and a sympathy with the physical conditions of the particular garden plot. While some conditions could be altered -- poor soil could be improved through the addition of nutrients; the lie of the land could be reshaped -- Robinson preached adaptation to natural conditions, rather than the wholesale redevelopment of the garden site to fit a preordained design. "The best kind of garden," he suggested, "should arise from its site and conditions

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[36]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 32.

[37]Ibid., p. 74.

as happily as a primrose out of a cool bank."[38]

Furthermore, while the gardener must conform to the conditions of his site, he must do so, not with a single solution, but with a variety of effects which reflect the variety evident in nature.

> In Nature, vegetation in its most beautiful aspects is rarely a thing of one effect, but rather a union or mingling of different types of life, often succeeding each other in bloom. So it might often be in the garden. The most beautiful effects may be obtained by combining different forms so as to aid each other and give us a succession of pictures.[39]

Such variety can be achieved not only through the use of numbers of different species of plants, but again through a preference for herbaceous perennials. Annuals will provide a constant, uniform colour during the summer season, whereas perennials generally have a shorter, two to three week period of bloom. By planting a variety of perennials one can plan a succession of bloom, and a varying succession of garden "pictures".

While both Jekyll and Robinson suggested the use of an awesome variety of plant materials; both railed against the ostentation and monotony of variety unguided by aesthetic principles in reaction to the specimen displays of the botanical enthusiasts:

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[38] Ibid., p. viii.

[39] Ibid., p. 39.

> I am strongly of the opinion that the possession of a quantity of plants, however good the plants may be themselves and however ample their number, does not make a garden; it only makes a collection. Merely having them, or having them planted unassorted in garden spaces... is like having a portion of paints set out upon a palette. This does not constitute a picture, and it seems to me that the duty we owe to our gardens and to our own bettering in our gardens is to use the plants that they shall form beautiful pictures.[40]

From the principles of variety, abundance and naturalness of form, garnered from cottage gardens and roadside woods, the two developed a complex aesthetic system of garden design in which the qualities of height, shape, texture, season of bloom and colour in differing perennial plant materials were played one against the other. As in the cottage garden, the herbaceous perennials were most often planted in a border of earth, fronted by a path and backed by a wall or hedge. The path provided ease of access for tending and viewing; while the wall provided a focus, and contrasting darker backdrop to the garden picture.

In order, first of all, to facilitate viewing of the plants, it was considered necessary to place the smaller plants towards the front of the border, where their sight would not be blocked by taller plants. However, unlike the stiff gradations in size required in the geometry of carpet bedding, the gardener was to intentionally vary this rule

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[40]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. vii.

in the perennial border. Robinson counselled, "Do not graduate the plants in height from the front to the back, as is generally done, but sometimes let a bold plant come to the edge; and on the other hand, let a little carpet of dwarf plants pass in here and there to the back so as to give a varied instead of a monotonous surface."[41] Jekyll picked up the same theme, noting that "the effect is much more pictorial when the plants at the back rise only here and there to a height of nine or ten feet; mounting gradually, and by no means at equal distance, but somewhat as the forms of greater altitude rise in the ridge of a mountain range."[42] The front line of the border, along the edge of the path, was to be similarly varied, with small spreading plants which would soften what might otherwise be a harsh line.

In keeping with this preference for natural, varied lines in the flower border as a whole, individual plants were to be selected for a "free habit of growth"[43] quite unlike the stiff compactness preferred in carpet bedding. The plants were, as well, to be given sufficient room in the border that their true, "untortured"[44] shape could be appreciated.

Rather than being planted singly, the plants were to

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[41]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 80.

[42]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. 78.

[43]Ibid., p. 74.

[44]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 41.

be grouped in clumps of sufficient size to create a bold effect: "It is well to space the plants in groups of a fair quantity of one thing at a time, and in the case of small plants... to put them fairly close together, if they are spaced apart at even distances, they look like buttons."[45] Rather than being spaced at regular, mathematical invervals these clumps were, as well, to be dispersed with an eye to "natural" effects, in overlapping "long, rather than block-like"[46] drifts.

> By having large, simple beds we relieve the flowers and enjoy their beauty of colour and the forms of the plants without 'pattern' of any kind. Instead of 'dotting' the plants it is better to group them naturally, letting them run into each other, and varying them here and there with taller plants. A flower garden of any size could be planted in this way without the geometry of the ordinary flower garden, and the poor effect of the botanical 'dotty', mixed border.[47]

With the shape of the plants highlighted through the choice of plants of free growing habits and through the technique of grouping blocks of plants, shape could be used as a foil in contrasting plants of differing form. Groupings of tall, upright plants can be contrasted with those of cloud-like growth; a spikey leaf might be contrasted with a drooping one, and so on. In similar fashion, the texture

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[45]Gertrude Jekyll and Lawrence Weaver, Gardens for Small Country Houses (London: George Newnes, 1912), p. 121.

[46]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. 24.

[47]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 281.

of the foliage can be used as a medium for playful contrast. Glossy leaves can act as a counterpoint to soft matte leaves, or to those with a hairy appearance.

Colour was, however, the medium which saw the greatest elaboration of this principle of variation. The foremost consideration was to ensure continuous bloom within the border. However, as perennials generally bloom for only a few weeks, such colour would have to be created through a succession of bloom, planned according to the habits of particular plants. Plants that followed one another in time of bloom were to be placed side by side, in order that the colour of the one coming into bloom could compensate for the fading interest of the other. Jekyll estimated that under the best of circumstances a given border could be kept full of colour from one to at most three months.[48]

Jekyll added to this requirement of succeeding bloom, a consideration for the colour harmonies created within the border at any given time. The simplest colour harmony, she suggested, was the sequence of a colour, its tint and white. This might be achieved, for example, in a combination of the pure blue, pale blue and white of bright blue ageratum, pale blue catmint and white gypsophilia or baby's breath. While this sequencing was felt to be beautiful in all cases, some combinations were regarded as more beautiful than others:

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[48]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. v.

"Light blue and white are best, followed by rose pink and white, then deep yellow and white, bright green, violet and orange respectively with white were less beautiful."[49] The harmony of colours lying between any two colours on a colour chart, as in colours ranging from yellow through orange to red, were also recommended. These harmonies could be further enlivened with the addition of white; while a backdrop of a dark green hedge was thought to brighten the whole effect, through contrast.

The working out of such principles reaches formidable proportions when the harmonies of such individual groupings are combined with an overall colour harmony along the length of the border. Jekyll explained the plan for her own late summer border in Munstead. Some two hundred feet in length, the border ran through a colour sequence of grey, pure blue, grey-blue, white, palest yellow, palest pink, stronger yellow, orange, red, deep yellow, pale yellow, white, palest pink, purple and lilac.

> Looked at from a little way forward, for a wide space of lawn allows this point of view, the whole border can be seen as one picture, the cool colouring of the ends enhancing the brilliant warmth of the middle. Then, passing along the wide path next to the border, the value of the colour arrangement is still more strongly felt. Each portion now becomes a picture in itself and everyone is of such a colouring that it best prepares the eye, in accordance with natural law, for what is to follow. Standing for a

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[49]Brown, Gardens of a Golden Afternoon, p. 43.

> few moments before the end-most region of grey and blue, saturating the eye to the utmost capacity with these colours, it passes with extraordinary avidity to the succeeding yellows. These intermingle in a pleasant harmony with the reds and scarlets, blood reds and clarets, and then lead again to yellows. Now the eye has again become saturated, this time with rich colouring, and has therefore, by the law of complementary colour, acquired a strong appetite for greys and purples. These therefore assume an appearance of brilliancy that they would not have had without the preparation provided by the recently received complementary colour.[50]

In order to achieve this effect, Jekyll utilized 57 genus and 75 particular plant varieties within a border two hundred feet long and fourteen feet wide. (See Illustration 2, p. 65).

Beyond these rules regarding the creation of such garden pictures, other considerations, impinging on the selection of particular plant materials, were noted by the two designers. Fragrance was a highly valued quality which favoured the choice of "old-fashioned" species, rather than the more colourful, but often scentless hybrids. Scent was, however, not only prized in itself, but for the "living associations"[51] with past experiences which scent was thought to recall. By the means of plant selection, personal associations could be made tangible in the formal, aesthetic structure of the perennial border. Indeed, in reviewing the

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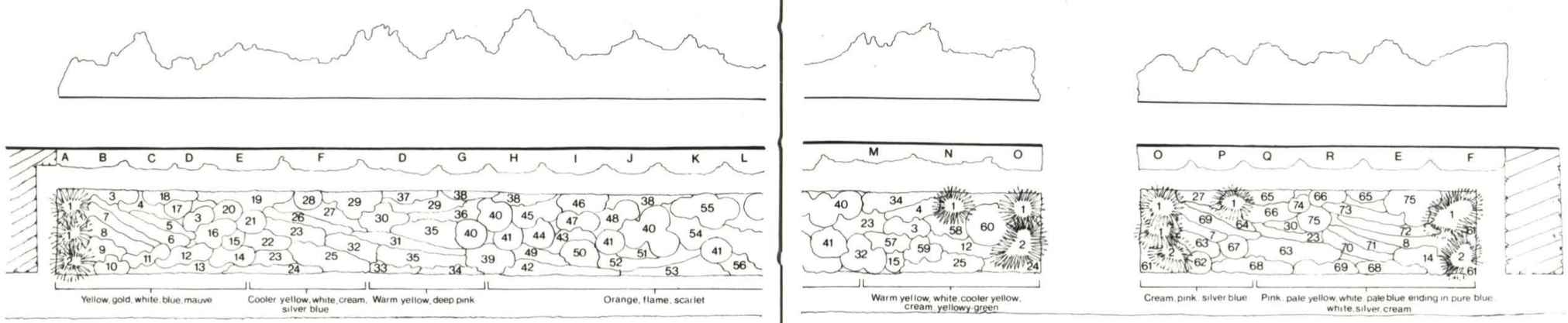
[50]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. 52.

[51]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 288.

Illustration 2. Plan for late summer border from Gertrude Jekyll's Colour in the Flower Garden.

Jekyll's principles for the design of a perennial border were realized in meticulous garden plans such as this. Two hundred feet long and fourteen feet wide, the main flower border at her home of Munstead Wood was filled with seventy five differing plant varieties. Through these materials, she was able to achieve variety of height, shape and texture, succession of bloom and harmonies of colour along the full length of the bed.



14. Munstead Wood: the main flower border was the Munstead masterpiece, the pride of a lady who felt that the best place to be in July and August was at home.

Key to the planting:

A. Crimson rambling rose
B. *Robinia hispida*
C. *Viburnum tinus*
D. *Nandina domestica*
E. *Abutilon vitifolium*
F. *Eriobotrya japonica*
G. *Laurus nobilis*
H. *Punica granatum*
I. *Ligustrum japonicum*
J. Pyrus (hybrid *P. salicifolia*)
K. *Chimonanthus praecox*
L. *Fuchsia magellanica gracilis*
M. *Vitis coignetiae*
N. *Magnolia conspicua*
O. *Choisya ternata*
P. *Cistus ciprius*
Q. *Piptanthus laburnifolius*
R. *Carpentaria californica*
1. *Yucca recurvifolia*
2. *Yucca filamentosa*
3. White everlasting pea
4. Blue delphinium
5. Pale pink astilbe
6. *Elymus arenarius*
7. White snapdragon
8. *Campanula lactiflora*
9. *Lilium longiflorum*
10. *Crambe maritima*
11. *Clematis davidiana (heracleifolia)*
12. *Iris pallida dalmatica*
13. *Iberis sempervirens*
14. *Ruta graveolens*
15. White lily
16. *Salvia officinalis*
17. *Ligustrum ovalifolium* 'Aureum'
18. *Verbascum olympicum*
19. *Thalictrum angustifolium* and *Rudbeckia speciosa* 'Golden Glow'
20. *Miscanthus sinensis* 'Zebrinus'
21. *Aruncus sylvester*
22. *Iris orientalis*
23. Yellow snapdragon
24. *Bergenia cordifolia*
25. *Tagetes erecta* (primrose yellow African marigold)
26. *Filipendula ulmaria flora plena*
27. Foxgloves (*Digitalis ambigua*) (yellow or white) and *Verbascum olympicum*
28. Tall yellow dahlia
29. *Helianthus multiflorus*
30. *Achillea eupatorium*
31. *Monarda didyma* (scarlet) and ligularia (yellow flowered variety)
32. *Eryngium oliverianum*
33. *Helenium pumilum magnificum*
34. *Rudbeckia speciosa newmanii*
35. *Coreopsis lanceolata*
36. *Helenium striatum*
37. Helianthus (tall single hybrid)
38. Dark red hollyhock
39. *Kniphofia galpinii* (dwarf variety)
40. *Kniphofia uvaria*
41. *Gypsophila paniculata*
42. *Salvia superba*
43. *Lilium tigrinum*
44. *Canna indica* (scarlet)
45. Dahlia 'Cochineal'
46. Dahlia 'Lady Ardilaun'
47. Dahlia 'Fire King'
48. Dahlia 'Orange Fire King'
49. *Lychnis chalcedonica*
50. Orange hemerocallis
51. *Phlox paniculata* 'Coquilot'
52. *Gladiolus brenchleyensis*
53. *Celosia thomsonii* (red)
54. *Tagetes erecta* (orange African marigold)
55. *Canna indica* (tall red)
56. *Tropaeolum majus* (dwarf yellow variety)
57. *Eryngium giganteum*
58. *Clematis recta*
59. Peony unspecified but certainly yellow
60. *Euphorbia wulfenii*
61. *Stachys lanata*
62. *Crambe maritima*
63. Blue hydrangeas
64. *Saponaria officinalis*
65. Sulphur yellow hollyhock
66. *Echinops ritro*
67. *Dictamnus (fraxinella)*
68. *Cineraria maritima*
69. *Santolina chamaecyparissus*
70. *Geranium ibericum*
71. *Aster acris (sedifolius)* (blue)
72. *Aster shortii* (pale mauve)
73. *Aster umbellatus* (tall cream)
74. *Clematis jackmanii*
75. White dahlia

practical and aesthetic consideration which guided the planning of his own garden, Robinson listed the selection of his "favorite flowers"[52] before all other concerns.

In creating garden pictures, Jekyll and Robinson did not confine themselves to working with perennial borders alone. Both employed rock gardens,[53] wild gardens,[54] and even the humble vegetable garden within their repertoires. As with the individual flower bed, they sought variety and suitability in the total plan of the site, and urged a progression of decreasing formality from the house, through more formal beds to wild gardens which would finally merge with the surrounding landscape. The herbaceous border was to take a prominent, but private, place within this sequence:

> The owner of a small place often has the desire of making a good show of flowers -- as an amiable form of cheerful welcome -- immediately with the entrance. It is a kind thought, but not the most effective way of arranging a garden. It may be taken as a safe rule that the entrance should be

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[52]Allan, William Robinson, p. 154.

[53]Rock gardens are constructed to replicate alpine soil conditions and are filled with perennial alpine plants. See Readers Digest, Illustrated Guide, p. 319.

[54]William Robinson is, in fact, more often remembered for his development of the wild garden than for his contribution to the perennial border. Such gardening involves the naturalization of perennials, and particularly of hardy bulbs, in the transitional area from the garden to the surrounding woods. See William Robinson, The Wild Garden, or the Naturalization and Natural Grouping of Hardy Exotic Plants with a Chapter on the Garden of British Wild Flowers. (1870, 4th edition, London: John Murray, 1894).

> kept quiet and above all unostentatious. A certain modest reserve is the best preparation for some good gardening on the sunny side of the house, for in most cases, the way in will be on the north or east.[55]

Jekyll and Robinson addressed their garden philosophy both to a traditional gentry in decline, and to an upper middle class growing with the tide of industrialization. As Jekyll explained:

> Without seeking to fill the role of the gloomy prophet, we can hardly escape the belief that the changes in social life and habit which are the mark of our economic troubles, are striking at the maintenance of the great gardens, as of great houses, in this pleasant land. But if those who have built up, kept and loved so well their spacious gardens must need be content with small houses and if, as seems likely, the wider distribution of wealth will lead tomorrow to the creation of many more small country houses, the art of making gardens for such houses will increase in importance.[56]

While Jekyll illustrates her design ideas with beds still some two hundred feet in length, she argues that the same principles could be applied equally to "the little plots which belong to little cottages", and that nothing that she had described "would not be fitting in a small garden when reduced in scale, or which would be wrong so to

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[55]Jekyll and Weaver, Gardens for Small Country Houses, p. xix.

[56]Ibid., p. i.

reduce".[57] Even on the smallest scale of planting, Jekyll called for a careful consideration of aesthetic principles. The interplay of season of bloom, colour, texture, form and mass of both flowers and foliage could, she felt, be as nicely devised in the selection of two plants as in a full border:

> One of the happiest mixtures of plants it has ever been my good fortune to hit on is that of St. Bruno's lily and London Pride, both at their best around the second week of June. The lovely little white mountain lily stands upright with a royal grace and dignity and bears with an air of modest pride its lovely milk-white bloom and abundant sheaves of narrow blue-green leaves... Between and among the Lilies is a wide planting of London Pride... Its healthy looking rosettes of pale leaves and delicate clouds of faint pink bloom seem to me to set off the quite different way of the [other].[58]

While Jekyll and Robinson consciously scaled down their garden plans to suit the circumstances of "small country houses", they nonetheless assumed the presence of at least a few full-time gardeners. Yet the two urged the house-holder not to leave the gardeners to their own devices, but rather, to involve themselves personally in both planning and working in the garden. It was assumed in the first place that the gardeners would fail to understand the requirements of the new fashion. As Miss Jekyll warned:

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[57] Ibid., p. xlix.

[58] Gertrude Jekyll, Home and Garden. Notes and Thoughts, Practical and Critical of a Worker in Both (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), pp. 75-76.

> It is... not to be expected that it is enough to buy good plants and, merely to tell the gardener of average ability to plant them in groups, as is now often done with the very best intention. It is impossible for the gardener to know what is meant. In all cases that have come under my notice, where such instructions have been given, the things have been planted in stiff blocks.[59]

Yet more than a practical necessity to supervise the work of the hired staff, gardening had come to be seen as an appropriate aesthetic exercise and sphere of physical activity, particularly for the Victorian lady. Jekyll herself, as a woman, and one who was independently wealthy, exemplified the acceptability of active involvement in both the design and the work of gardening.

Jekyll and Robinson were not unique in developing an art form for the growing bourgeois class from English folk models. In the contemporary field of the decorative arts, the Arts and Craft Movement, and in that of music, the National Romantic Movement, were exploring similar directions. Travelling in the same London-based circles,[60] each group sought not only to record the folk traditions which they saw declining as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution; they also hoped to create a new "national" art through the adaptation of these traditional forms.

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[59]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. 140.

[60]See Brown, Gardens of a Golden Afternoon, p. 22.

Jekyll had not only noted the garden designs, but had recorded and collected household artifacts and reminiscences of working class life of the early nineteenth century. She mourned:

> So many and so great have been the changes within the last half century that I have thought it desirable to note, while it may yet be done, what I can remember of the ways and lives and habitations of the older people of the working class of the country that I have lived in almost continuously ever since I was a very young child.[61]

Similarly, Baring-Gould, Cecil Sharp and others had undertaken nostalgic collections of folksongs among rural labourers, explaining that "the milkmaid and the girls guarding sheep and cows are things of the past, and with them have largely departed their old ballads and songs."[62]

In each case, the collectors chose not only to record the traditional forms, but hoped to revive their practise among the new middle class, though with some improvements to the original form. Though Sharp, for example, brought folk songs into the classroom and parlour, he first arranged them with a pianoforte accompaniment quite unlike the

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[61]Gertrude Jekyll, Old West Surrey. Some Notes and Memories (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904), p. vii.

[62]S. Baring-Gould, H. Fleetwood Sheppard and F.W. Bussell, Songs of the West. Folk Songs of Devon and Cornwall Collected from the Mouths of the People (London: Methuen and Company, 1905), p. vi.

traditional unaccompanied performance style.[63] Similarly, in developing the form of the perennial border, Jekyll and Robinson went well beyond the country form which had given them inspiration. Both in the diversity of plant materials assembled, and in the complexity of the aesthetic rules which guided their placement, they produced a style of gardening with perennials "which [had] been hardly dreamed of".[64]

Both Jekyll and Robinson were active propagandists for their fashion of "natural" gardening. In addition to writing eighteen books from the years 1868 to 1924, Robinson was a prodigious editor of gardening magazines. He founded The Garden which ran from 1871-1919; Gardening, later to be Garden Illustrated, from 1879-1919; Farm and Home, 1882-1920; Woods and Forests, 1883-1886; Cottage Gardening, 1892-1898; and Flora and Sylva, 1903-1905. Though rather less prolific, Jekyll still had fifteen book titles to her credit in addition to numbers of magazine articles and a short career as editor for Robinson. The success of their popularizing efforts are evident in the breadth of their circulation. For example, Robinson's Gardening Illustrated alone "had a circulation of that of the great dailies"[65] at the turn of the century.

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[63]See Cecil J. Sharp and Charles E. Marson, Folk Songs from Somerset Gathered and Edited with Pianoforte Accompaniment (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Company, 1904).

[64]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 84.

[65]Allan, William Robinson, p. 205.

Popular garden literature has continued to endorse Jekyll and Robinson's vision of the perennial border. During their lifetime North American writers described their successes with the genre in an American setting.[66] Nowadays, "how to" publications, like the 1972 Encyclopedia of Canadian Gardening suggest that in planning your new home:

> you will want, eventually, a nice, smooth green lawn and shrubs growing around the house. You will want a shade tree or two, a hedge, a climbing rose, a perennial border and a bed of geraniums.[67]

The assumption that a perennial border would be included within the garden of the average, suburban householder is indicative of the style's popular acceptance. Moreover, its stability as a form is apparent in the longevity of individual gardening books. America's Garden Book, for example, was first published in 1939, seven years after Jekyll's death. It was revised in its fifth edition in 1980, but still retains its instructions for "planning the perennial border".[68]

The change in the form most often noted is the diminution in size anticipated by Jekyll. Today's recommendations for the length of the border are more likely to measure

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[66]See, for example, Helena Rutherford Ely, Another Hardy Garden (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1905).

[67]Fillmore, The Encyclopedia of Canadian Gardening, p. 1.

[68]James Bush-Brown and Louise Bush-Brown, America's Garden Book (1939, 5th revised edition, New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1980), p. 257.

twenty-five feet[69] than two hundred feet, and the varieties of plant material are more likely to number in the twenties than in the seventies.[70]

Despite this dramatic change in scale, it is the economy of gardening with perennials which continues to recommend the form a century after Robinson. America's Garden Book reminds us, for example, that "the qualities of hardiness, long life and thriftiness under adverse and widely varying conditions [make] perennials particularly welcome".[71] Though the rationale for the principles of design is rarely repeated, the rules for structuring the perennial border remain substantially those first advocated by Robinson and Jekyll. The gardener is still advised that:

> in selecting and arranging plant materials, the most important factors are the ultimate height of the plants, the colour range and the season of bloom. But there are other factors to be taken into consideration, such as the texture and colour of the foliage, the longevity of the plant and its cultural requirements.[72]

The only substantive revision to the original model has occurred in the shape of the bed and in its placement within the garden.

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[69]Barbara Damrosch, Theme Gardens (New York: Workman Publishing, 1982), p. 132.

[70]Bonnie Maraham, "Old Westbury Garden," Better Homes and Gardens Country Home March/April 1984, pp. 45, 47.

[71]Bush-Brown, America's Garden Book, p. 255.

[72]Ibid., p. 257.

> In contemporary gardens, [America's Garden Book comments] the perennial border is frequently liberated from the prescribed, often stereotyped backdrop. It may be placed in a lawn, independent of any single feature or structure... The shape may be linear in general outline, or free form. It may be defining by gently curving lines or sometimes raised in contour and elevation.[73]

This movement of the flower bed away from a background wall or hedge to an open location where the bed can be viewed from all sides has required some rearrangement of the internal plant materials. Taller plants would now be placed towards the centre, rather than to the rear of the bed, with shorter plants ringing the edges. This small revision again allows both visual and physical access to the plants, but in this case, from either side of the bed. In all other regards, the principles of irregular line, contrast and variation of form and succession of bloom remain unchanged. Indeed both the influence and the artistry of the original designers are remembered along with the requirements of the style itself. As one contemporary landscape designer acknowledges:

> The colourful, romantic sprawl of... country gardens was turned into an art by Robinson and by Jekyll, and theirs is the style we still practise today.., when we plan most of our perennial borders.[74]

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[73] Ibid., p. 256.

[74] Damrosch, Theme Gardens, p. 191.

Secondary evidence for the use of Jekyll and Robinson's style of perennial gardening in Newfoundland is as lacking as information regarding gardening generally. However, a few notations hint that the style has been practised along with other contemporary fashions of garden design. A 1968 programme for the Newfoundland Horticultural Society's annual flower show assumes, for example, a knowledge of the style when providing a table for calculating the number of plants required to fill a border of a given size.[75] Since 1977, the Memorial University of Newfoundland's Botanic Garden at Oxen Pond has included a perennial border in its gardens. And in 1979, the Curator, Bernard Jackson, published a pamphlet on herbaceous perennials suitable for growing in Newfoundland's conditions. Both projects were an attempt to "encourage more people to grow herbaceous perennials"[76] by providing them with the information on the cultivation of such plants and a model for how they might be laid out. It would seem, then, that in St. John's at least, gardeners have worked within the context of two models of perennial garden design -- the traditional "Newfoundland" garden and the popular perennial border. An examination of the manner in which these forms have been selected and adapted in the creation of individual gardens will, finally, permit an

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[75]Newfoundland Horticultural Society, Flower Show, 1968, pp. 8-10.

[76]Jackson, Growing Herbaceous Perennials, p. 1.

understanding of the individual's design intentions in fashioning his garden and of the meaning expressed through its particular form.

CHAPTER 4

THE PUBLIC GARDENS: COMMUNICATION THROUGH TRADITIONAL DESIGN

Michael Owen Jones has warned of the shortsightedness of applying only formal criteria to the study of creative production. He notes that:

> To treat any work of art simply as an object without regard for the processes of production and consumption, is to fail to understand the meaning of the art or the reasons for the formal, material and expressive qualities it exhibits.[1]

In his own study of chairmaking, as a useful art form intended for sale, Jones emphasizes the impact of consumer preference on the craftsman's production. A chairmaker might, he observes, add decorative knobs and cut outs to the posts and back splat of a chair, not as a personal design preference, but rather because he has found that the chairs thus decorated were more likely to sell. The singer's adaptation of his song repertoire and performance style to suit a given audience has been commonly noted by folklorists as well. Roger Abrahams, for example, has remarked on the distinctions made by Anglo-American singer Almeda Riddle with regard to particular audiences. She reserves "classic songs", which are sung in a reserved manner with careful fidelity to the text of the song as it had been originally learned, for

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[1]Michael Owen Jones, "The Concept of 'Aesthetic' in the Traditional Arts," Western Folklore, 30 (1971), 102.

performances with adult audiences; while songs performed for children can be rendered with dramatic emphasis and the text can be altered to suit the occasion.[2] Such studies have demonstrated that the context of a performance will have an impact on the performer's choice of repertoire and on his fashioning of the particular form, whether the genre performed involves the attenuated circumstances typical of material culture genre, or the more immediate, face-to-face performance of oral genre. Following these insights, I will discuss my sample of St. John's perennial gardens in light of the contexts of their performance. Within this analytic framework, it becomes apparent that the two principal performance contexts are characterized by a differential selection of garden styles. The public gardens have typically adopted the style of the perennial "Newfoundland" garden; while, with varying degrees of fidelity, the private gardens generally recreate the principles of the "perennial border".

Bowering Park and the Government House grounds are both public gardens. From the time of its original opening, Bowering Park has been a popular picnicking and playing ground for the people of St. John's. It is open year-round and on a fine summer day can attract as many as five thousand visitors. The principal function of the Government House garden, though rather more formally, is similarly one of

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[2]See Roger Abrahams, ed., A Singer and Her Songs.

public display. The area nearest the House is used as a reception area for summer time visitors, and cut flowers from the garden are used for display within the House. While the public is permitted access to the grounds year round, such visits are generally focussed on the day of the annual Garden Party, when the Governor and his family receive St. John's society by invitation. The impact on these varying public roles, as Jones suggests, does much to illuminate the strategy of the individual gardeners in the design and maintenance of their gardens.

Bowering Park

By the mid-nineteenth century, the rapid development and concentration of industry in both Europe and North America had resulted in the unprecedented growth of cities. Populations which had previously been characteristically rural and agrarian began to experience the congestion of city life and the grinding conditions of factory work. While social commentators bemoaned the overcrowded squalor of working class existence, Frederick Law Olmsted, an American engineer and landscape architect, proposed that physical and mental respite could be provided to all classes of city dwellers through the creation of large-scale public parks. His lobbying and, finally, the acceptance of his plan for Central Park, New York City, in 1858, marked an innovation in city planning. Olmsted required that a tract of land be set aside which, while within the city limits in order to be easily

accessible to city neighbourhoods, would be sufficiently large that visual evidence of the surrounding buildings could be obscured by careful landscaping. For the design of the park, Olmsted adopted the "English landscape" style. With the addition of playing fields, he applied this pastoral landscape model to the new, democratic park.[3]

In 1912, this form of public park was introduced to St. John's. In order to commemorate the centenary of their business, the St. John's merchant firm of Bowering Brothers purchased Rae Island Farm on the outskirts of the city, and commissioned landscape architect Frederick G. Todd of Montreal to design the area as a public park. Todd proposed a plan which featured broad belts of trees and sweeping expanses of lawn within the framework of the Kilbride and Waterford rivers. (See Illustration 3, p. 82). The design was subsequently planted under the direction of Montreal based horticulturist, R.L. Cochius. Whether Todd's inspiration came directly from Olmsted's work in America or was influenced by the original "English landscape" style remains unclear.[4] However, Cochius's planting of sixty-one different species of trees, recalls the

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[3]See Julius G. Fabos, Gordon T. Milde and V. Michael Weinmayr, Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., Founder of Landscape Architecture in America (Amhurst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968).

[4]An anglophile nostalgia is often cited as an influence on Canadian landscape design. See Douglas Chambers, "Editorial," Journal of Garden History, 3 (1983), 167. And for more general comments David Lowenthal, "Past Time, p. 81. ... Present Place: Landscape and Memory," The Geographical Review, 65 (1975), 1-36.

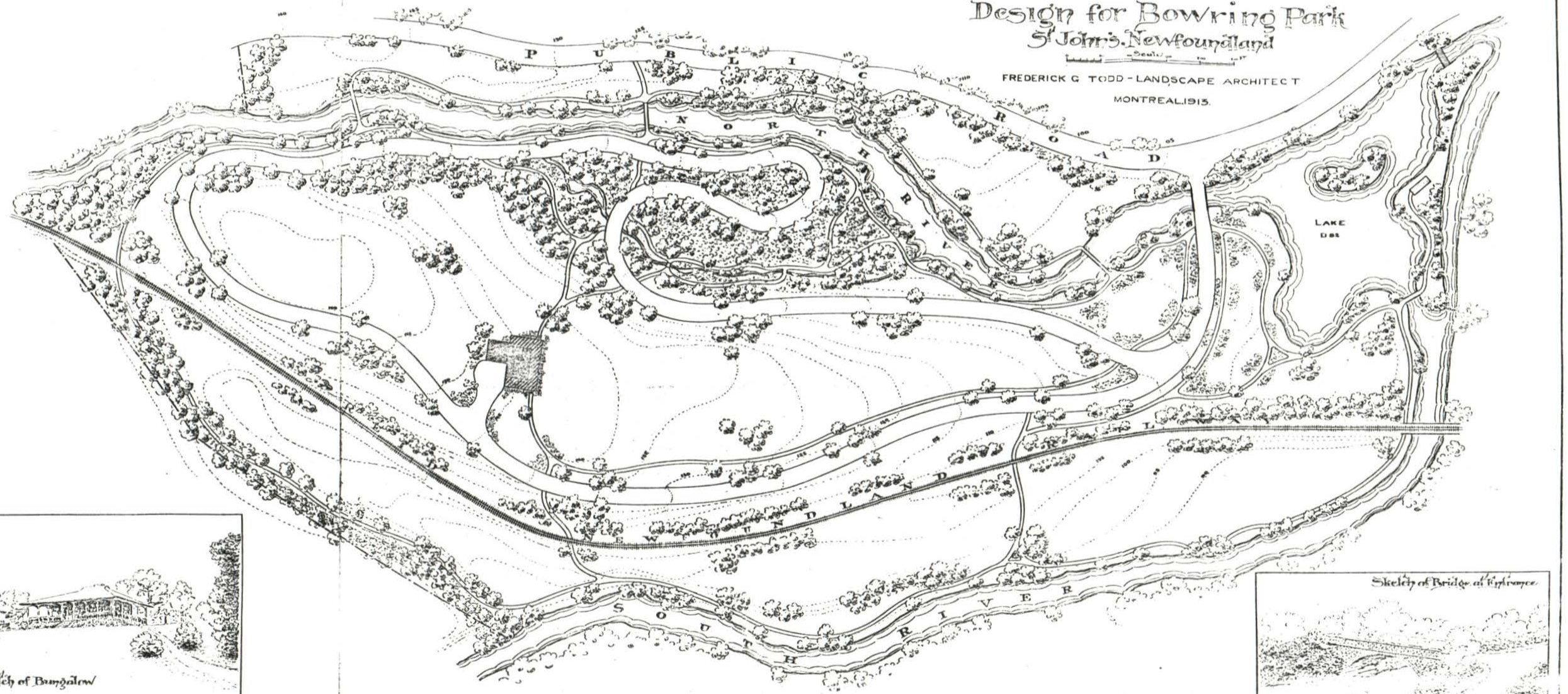
Illustration 3. "Design for Bowering Park, St. John's, Newfoundland. Frederick G. Todd, Landscape Architect, Montreal, 1913".

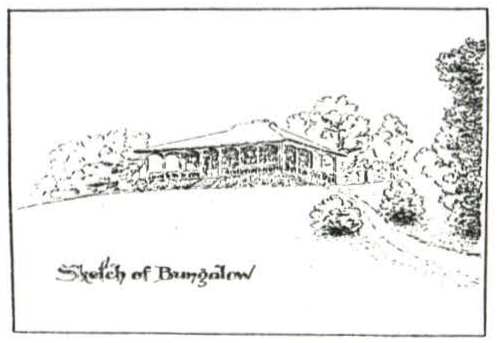
The only surviving plan for Bowering Park's original conception proposes a meandering circuit of paths, open lawns and scattered belts of trees. There is no indication of the use or treatment of flower beds.

Design for Bowring Park
St John's. Newfoundland

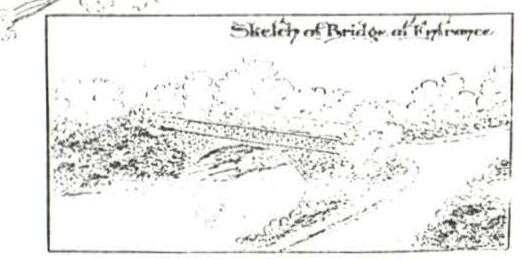
FREDERICK G TODD - LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT

MONTREAL 1915.





Sketch of Bungalow



Sketch of Bridge at Entrance

English preference for variety, in contrast to Olmsted's recommendation that only one species of tree be used in order to achieve a more calming effect.

The completed Park was opened to the public in 1914, with official ceremonies led by the visiting Duke of Connaught. Newfoundland's Premier, Sir Edward Morris, praised the undertaking and commended "Mr. R.L. Cochius, the Landscape Artist, to whose genius and personal direction is due the admirable blending of Nature and Art into rare scenic beauty".[5] Today, Chris Baird, a trained horticulturist and the Park's Superintendent, praises the continued appeal of Bowering Park in words reminiscent of Premier Morris's earlier remarks:

> It's very well laid out because it blends the natural woodland areas with the waterways that are here, and with a sort of formal, but informal plantings at the critical spots in the park. You come around a corner, and you come on a coloured bed of flowers. It's not like a formal garden that you'd see in Europe, it's more relaxed, but there is some formality about it. People comment about the whole atmosphere, especially in the older end, that's what they notice about it, it's the blend.[6]

The naturalistic "English landscape" style had featured the broad effects of trees, grass and water to the exclusion of flower beds. Olmsted had similarly highlighted the pastoral quality of a landscape unencumbered by flowers. Nonetheless, he introduced the use of flowers in two situations

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[5]"Premier's Address," The Evening Telegram, 16 July 1914, p. 4, col. 3.

[6]Personal Interview with Chris Baird, Bowering Park, June 21, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 070-075.

-- as "one species planted in large naturalistic beds, or in decorative gardens confined to narrow beds around buildings and closely associated with them".[7] In keeping with these principles, the design for Bowering Park features only a limited number of annual, perennial and rose beds, adjacent to the principal buildings and along the principal roads and pathways. (See Figure 1, p. 86).

The relative emphasis of the design on the large-scale effect of the trees and lawns is reflected in the concerns of the present day Superintendent. During Baird's four years with the park, the maintenance of the existing trees and the underplanting[8] of new tree stock have occupied the greatest part of his attention. He has, however, revised the design of the annual beds from a mixed planting to create a separation of colour and gradation of height reminiscent of Victorian "carpet beds".[9] The perennial beds, he confesses, have suffered from a certain amount of neglect:

> At one time, I'm sure they were very fine looking beds, but over the years they have lost some of the work that should have been done.[10]

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[7]Galen Cranz, "Changing Roles of Urban Parks: From Pleasure Garden to Open Space," Landscape, 22, No. 3 (1978), 9.

[8]Underplanting refers to the planting of young tree stock adjacent to mature specimens. By anticipating the death of the older tree, a good sized replacement will be established when the older stock must be cut down, thus ensuring continuity in the design of the grounds.

[9]See MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 280-285.

[10]Ibid., Side 2, Number 030-035.

Figure 1. Plan of the Rae Island Farm portion of Bowering Park.

Bowering Park is located at the junction of the Waterford and Kilbride rivers.
Beds of annuals have been established in prominent positions at the entranceway to the Park, and at intersections of the main road and pathways. In contrast, the perennial beds have been located along secondary pathways, and in the case of the upper border, adjacent to the working area of the staff parking lot and lunchroom.

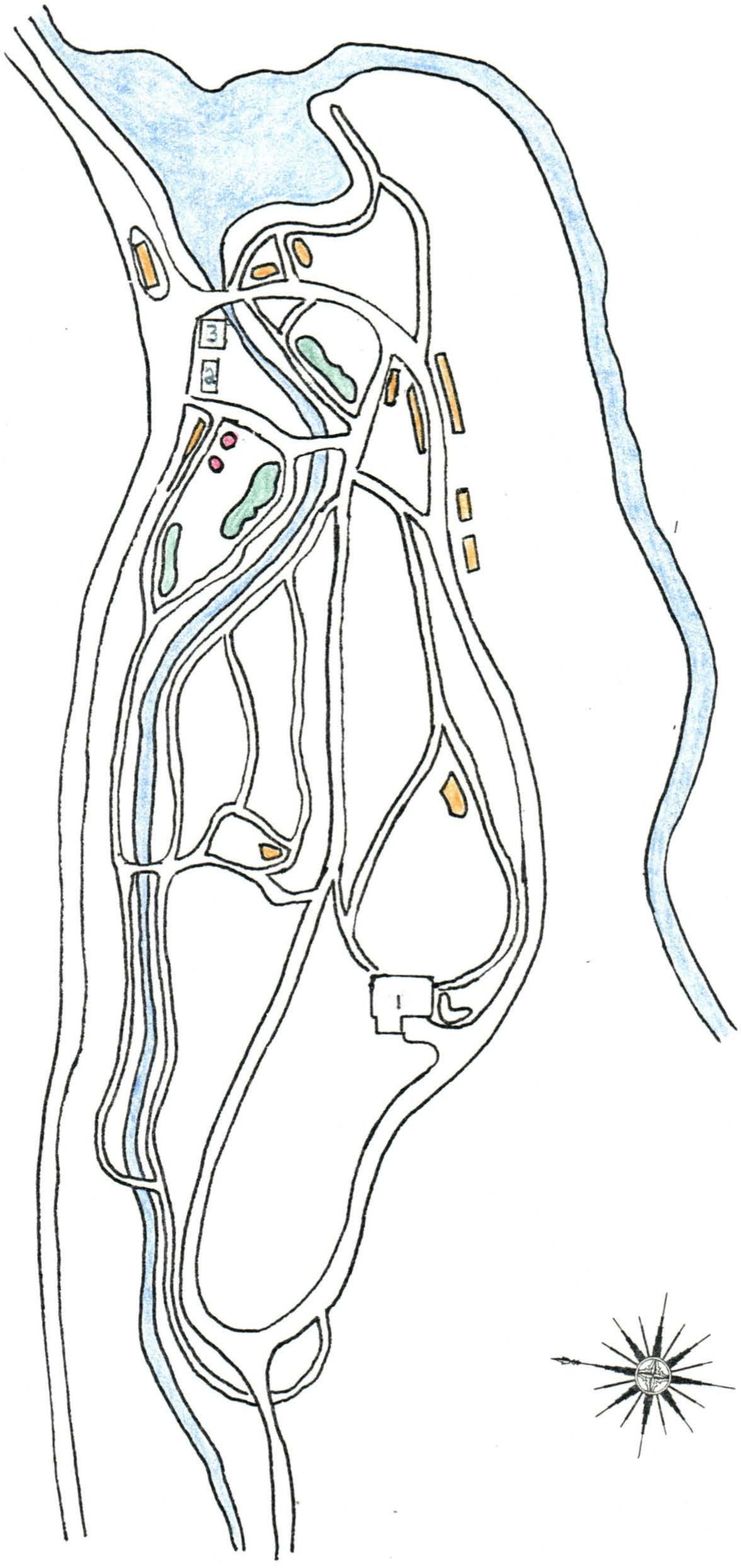
Scale 1/4" = 60'

Legend:
1. Bungalow
2. Original greenhouse, now a public conservatory
3. Staff house

[ ] Annuals

[ ] Roses

[ ] Herbaceous perennials


3
2
1

In his memory a long, serpentine perennial bed has, in fact, been turfed over. Nonetheless, Baird intends that the three remaining perennial beds will be retained and gradually refurbished. As he explains, "They've always been there, so we're not going to eliminate them".[11]

At the present time, the process of renovation has begun. One of the perennial beds has been depleted of plant materials and awaits the replenishment of its soil before replanting will begin. The perennials in a second, lower bed have been thinned in order to create a revised framework for future plantings. The remaining, lower bed has been left much as Baird inherited it, with only minor additions to the edges and ends of the bed. At present, then, only the latter two beds provide any garden show, and only these can provide tangible evidence of Baird's approach to design. (See Figures 2 and 3, pp. 89, 92).

The two extant perennial beds are both worked on a grand scale. Each is approximately one hundred feet in length and from nineteen to twenty-three feet across at their broadest curves. Baird complains that the beds have gradually grown in size as each year's trimming of the edges has cut the bed fractionally larger. While he intends to draw in the size somewhat by laying grass sods along the edges, Baird nonetheless notes that the large scale of the beds is appropriate to the scale of the park.

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[11]Personal interview with Chris Baird, St. John's, July 18, 1984 , MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 2, Number 350-352.

Figure 2. Bowering Park, Lower Perennial Bed, Summer 1984.

Bound by a strip of lawn and a pedestrian pathway, the eastern edge of the irregular, island-shaped bed is marked by a low-growing band of primula. Behind, large clumps of tall-growing phlox dominate the smaller groupings of peony, bleeding heart and shasta daisy which are scattered along the length of the bed. Occasional groupings of delphinium, astilbe, monkshood and columbine appear throughout the bed; while clumps of mallow and poppy are congregated towards its southern end. A band of peony marks the far edge of the bed. The ends are filled with shrubs.

Scale 1" = 12'

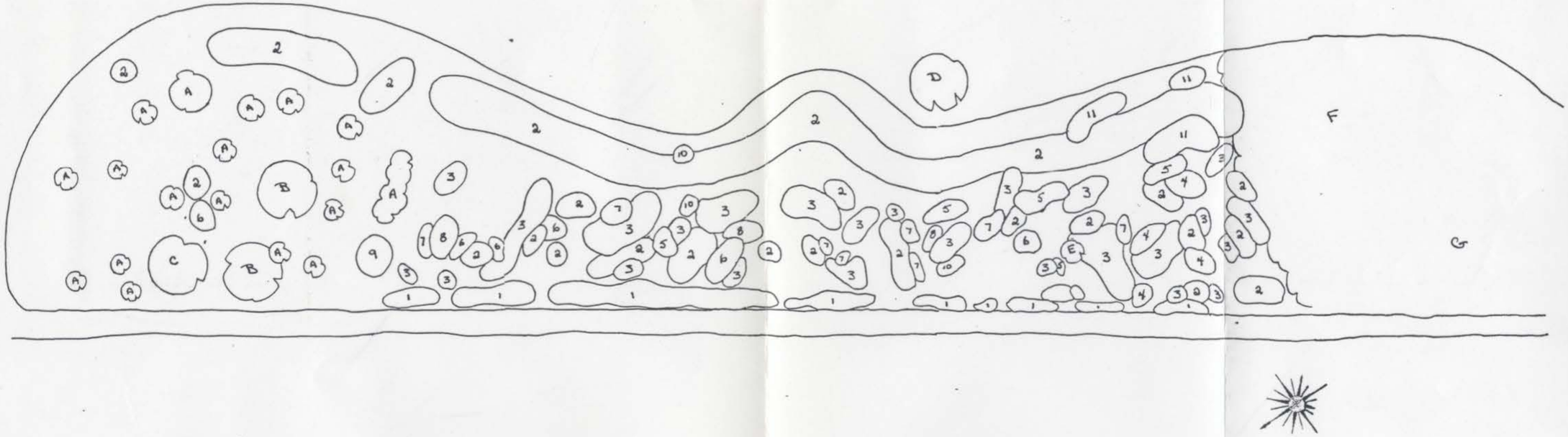
A
B
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Figure 2. Key to plant materials, lower perennial border, Bowering Park.[12]

Herbaceous perennials

1. Primula malacoides 'festival'
2. Peony
3. Phlox (Phlox paniculata) - white and pink
4. Mallow - white and pink
5. Delphinium - white and blue
6. Bleeding heart (Dicentra spectabilis)
7. Shasta daisy
8. Astilbe
9. Monkshood (Aconitum autumnale)
10. Columbine
11. Oriental poppy

Shrubs and trees

A. Rhododendron
B. Cedar
C. Maple
D. Laburnum
E. Dogberry
F. Privet
G. Barberry

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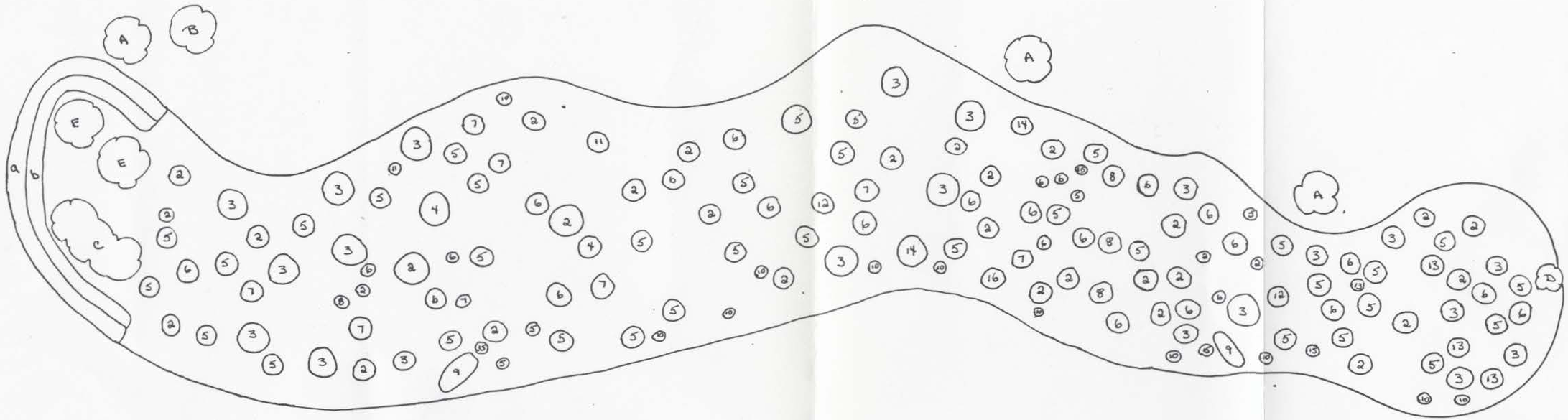
[12]The plant materials are listed according to the name used by the principal informant. In cases when the colloquial name can be applied to more than one variety of plant species, the specific scientific nomenclature will follow in brackets. A question mark indicates that the informant does not know, or had forgotten the name of the plant at the time of the interview. Again, my own identification will follow in brackets. The listing of two names separated by a semi-colon and without brackets indicates an alternate usage by the informant. Variations of colour within a given species follow the name. See List and Glossary of Plants cited for cross-referencing of colloquial and scientific names, p. 245.

Figure 3. Bowering Park, Upper Perennial Bed, Summer 1984.

Recently thinned and awaiting the planting of new varieties of herbaceous perennials, the upper bed is only sparsely filled. Single plants of relatively tall-growing species -- principally shasta daisy, fall aster, bell flower, astilbe and peony -- are laid out along the length of the bed. An edging of low-growing primula has been planted along the northern line of the bed. A single edelweiss has been planted as a novelty, reminiscent of the popular musical drama "The Sound of Music". The eastern end of the bed merges into a clump of shrubs and is finally completed with semi-circular bands of annuals.

Scale 1" = 10'


A
B
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E
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C
D

Figure 3. Key to plant material, Upper Perennial Border, Bowering Park.[13]

Herbaceous perennials

1. Forget-me-not
2. Peony
3. Astilbe - white and pink
4. Mallow
5. Fall aster
6. Shasta daisy
7. Bell flower
8. Doronicum (Doronicum plantagineum)
9. Iris
10. Primula; Primula malacoides 'festival'
11. Phlox (Phlox paniculata)
12. Lupin
13. Matricaria
14. Geum
15. Delphinium
16. Edelweiss

Annuals

a. Petunia
b. Marigold; Tagetes erecta
c. Dahlia

Shrubs and trees

A. Cedar
B. Dogberry
C. Barberry
D. Japanese pagoda tree
E. Newfoundland rose; Rosa multiflora

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[13]Since the plant materials in the bed are currently being reworked, it is not possible to get an accurate sense of the succession of bloom which will be evident in its finalized form. As a result, succession of bloom has not been recorded.

> The scale has to be large for a park. This would be much too big for somebody's garden in their house, because it's on a scale with the rest of the park.[14]

The large size of the beds has, however, occasioned some difficulty, simply in providing adequate stocks of plant material within an operation which concentrates principally on the production of seedling annuals. Baird has, as a result, resorted to filling the northern end of the lower bed with young rhododendron bushes, despite his normal rule of thumb that the perennial beds will contain only herbaceous perennials.

> It sort of cuts down on the number of plants we have to grow, [he explains]. We grow so many annuals, [in the greenhouse], we have little space for growing perennials.[15]

In laying out the beds, Baird seeks to conform to certain general principles of design which focus on the height of the plants, and the succession and variety of bloom. It is, he explains, "just a mass/colour/time bed."[16]

The plants are selected for their generally tall growth, in keeping with the large scale of the beds. They are, further, arranged according to height, in a plan which accommodates a double-sided viewing of the beds, placing "the smaller stuff towards the sides... and the taller plants

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[14] MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 2, Number 305-310.

[15] Ibid., Side 1, Number 540-542.

[16] Ibid., Side 2, Number 267-270.

towards the middle."[17] Seen from the nearby path, the lower bed exhibits, for example, a central aisle of phlox flanked by smaller and more delicately formed mallow and delphinium, and finally by a row of low-lying primrose. Viewed from the roadway, the bed displays similarly, the taller central bank of phlox bordered by a somewhat lower-growing band of peonies.

Baird is particularly interested in arranging the beds in order "to have colour in it at all times, all over",[18] providing a continuous show of bloom to summer-time visitors. This has been achieved through the selection of species of plant materials with succeeding periods of bloom. In the lower bed, for example, early July brings bleeding heart, peony and delphinium into bloom; mid-July sees mallow, delphinium, shasta daisy and monkshood in flower; while mid-August brings the phlox. (See Table 1, p. 96 and Photographs 4 and 5, pp. 97, 98) In order to achieve colour not only throughout the season, but throughout the bed as well, each of these plant types is scattered along the length of the bed. "The colour," as Baird explains, "runs through the whole thing".[19] The bed is, thus, kept full of a mixture of colours which run from one end of the bed to the other.

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[17] Ibid., Side 2, Number 265-267.

[18] Ibid., Side 1, Number 165-170.

[19] Ibid., Side 2, Number 242-244.

Table 1. Succession of bloom, lower perennial border, Bowering Park.

May

Crocus

Early June

1. Primula

Mid-June

6. Bleeding heart
10. Columbine
11. Oriental poppy

Early July

2. Peony
5. Delphinium
6. Bleeding heart

A. Rhododendron
D. Laburnum

Mid-July

4. Mallow
5. Delphinium
7. Shasta daisy
9. Monkshood

Early August

8. Astilbe

Mid-August

3. Phlox

Photograph 4. Lower perennial bed, Bowering Park, July 17.

Early summer colour in the bed consists of the pink bloom of peonies and bleeding heart, and the blue of the delphinium.

Photograph 5 . Lower perennial bed, Bowering Park, August 20.

Late summer colour is achieved with the pink and white blooms of phlox running in a mixed effect along the length of the bed.

Baird is additionally concerned with achieving a certain variety of colour within this sequence of bloom. As he uses only a limited number of plant species, this variety is currently gained primarily through variations in the colour range of given species. The peonies and phlox which dominate the lower bed during succeeding time periods range in colour, for example, from white through pink. Though some variety is added to the peonies by the infrequent clumps of blue delphinium and pink bleeding heart which bloom at the same time, no other bloom competes with the flowering phlox. The variation of colour is, then, carried principally by the range of colour within these dominant species. However, as Baird complains, when the phlox bloomed this year "the bulk of them were the same colour".[20]

Concerned that there is "too much duplication of colour"[21] in the current beds, Baird has initiated the process of refurbishing the upper bed. He has begun by thinning the dominant plant types and intends to gradually extend the colour range, both through the introduction of new perennial species and through the use of different varieties of the current plant stock. He observes, for example, that new hybrids can extend the colour range of columbine and lupin beyond their usual white and purple, and could provide a greater range of colour within the bed. While Baird intends, then, to

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[20] Ibid., Side 2, Number 007-101.

[21] Ibid., Side 2, Number 195-197.

increase the variety of colour evident in the bed, the present work suggests that the layout will remain substantially as before, with each variety of plant scattered along the length of the bed. (See Photograph 6, p. 101).

While Baird is interested in achieving a succession and variety in the perennial beds, he does not extend his design considerations to include the development of colour harmonies. There is, he explains:

> no pattern as far as the colour. It is patterned [only in so far] as the varieties we use are for different times of year, so it blooms constantly.[22]

This relatively simple treatment of the perennial beds occurs in marked contrast to the considered design of the annual beds. These are laid out according to recorded plans, composed with thought to contrasting colour schemes and a careful geometry of height. (See Photograph 2, p. 49). In contrast, the perennial beds are arranged "off the cuff",[23] within rather informal guidelines:

> For the perennial beds we don't have a layout, we're just planting and seeing what happens... As long as the bed is interesting, with a lot of variety, maybe the heights are not even, its sort of an informal planting. Some people would be very particular -- all the tall ones in the middle and shorter and shorter and the colour -- but we don't tend to do that.[24]

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[22] Ibid., Side 2, Number 220-225.

[23] Ibid., Side 2, Number 543-545.

[24] Ibid., Side 2, Number 170-175.

Photograph 6. Upper perennial bed, Bowering Park, August 20.

Two or three summers will be required for the existing plants to fill out and for new varieties of plant material to be added. Until that time, the effect of the bed will remain relatively sparse. Note that the late summer colour -- principally white phlox -- runs along the length of the bed.

Government House

The building or Government House for the use of the Governor of the colony of Newfoundland was completed in 1831. The grounds seem, initially, to have been fashioned into a spare geometric landscape of walkways, lawn and small, geometrically clipped shrubs. (See Illustration 1, p. 45) However, by 1849, a contemporary "English landscape" of meandering paths, expanses of open lawn and scattered belts of trees seems to have been planned, with an extensive geometric parterre indicated to effect the transition from the House to the grounds. (See Illustrations 4 and 5, pp. 104, 106) Whether these plans were effected, in total, can only be conjectured, for in 1886, the Governor of the day commented on the minimal landscaping of the grounds:

> Government House, St. John's, which was our residence during my tenure of the Governorship of Newfoundland, is a solid unpretentious structure of moderate size... The private grounds, of about five acres in extent, cannot be said to be ornate, and there is nothing really which can be properly called a garden.[25]

A later, 1915 "Planting Plan and List" suggests some twentieth century amendations and additions to the garden design. While the meandering paths and wooded lawns were maintained, the formal front beds were no longer indicated. A croquet lawn and overlooking tea house, and a lawn tennis

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[25]Sir G. William des Voeux, My Colonial Service in British Guinea, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia, Newfoundland and Hong Kong with Interludes (London: John Murray, 1903), p. 148.

Illustration 4. Detail of "Plan of St. John's, Newfoundland, William Noad, Surveyor, 1849."

Though originally situated on the northern edge of St. John's, by 1849 the Government House grounds were enclosed by the continued expansion of the city. (See upper left corner) In the 1820's the land on the eastern boundary of what was to be Government House had been reserved as garden plots for British officers and soldiers garrisoned at St. John's. Note the large vegetable plot, divided into four rectangular beds by crossed paths with a central, circular motif, at the northern boundary of the Government House property. As with any pioneer establishment, the first concern would have been to assure a supply of domestically grown produce as supplement both to food imports and to the limited local agricultural market.[26]

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[26]See Robert A. MacKinnon. "The Growth of Commercial Agriculture" and Jane Sledge, "Ontario Gardens", M.A. Thesis University of Toronto 1980.


Government Field
Colonial Building
Cathedral Hill
Military Road
Water Street
Duckworth Street
Gower Street
Prescott Street
Cochrane Street
Queen's Road
Barrack Square
Parade

Illustration 5. Detail of Noad Plan showing Government House and Grounds.

The pleasure grounds of Government House were conceived in "English landscape" terms, with belts of trees and meandering paths. An extensive formal parterre was supposed to effect the architectural transition between house and grounds. However, recent landscaping of this area has failed to uncover physical evidence that this latter plan was, in fact, executed.[27]

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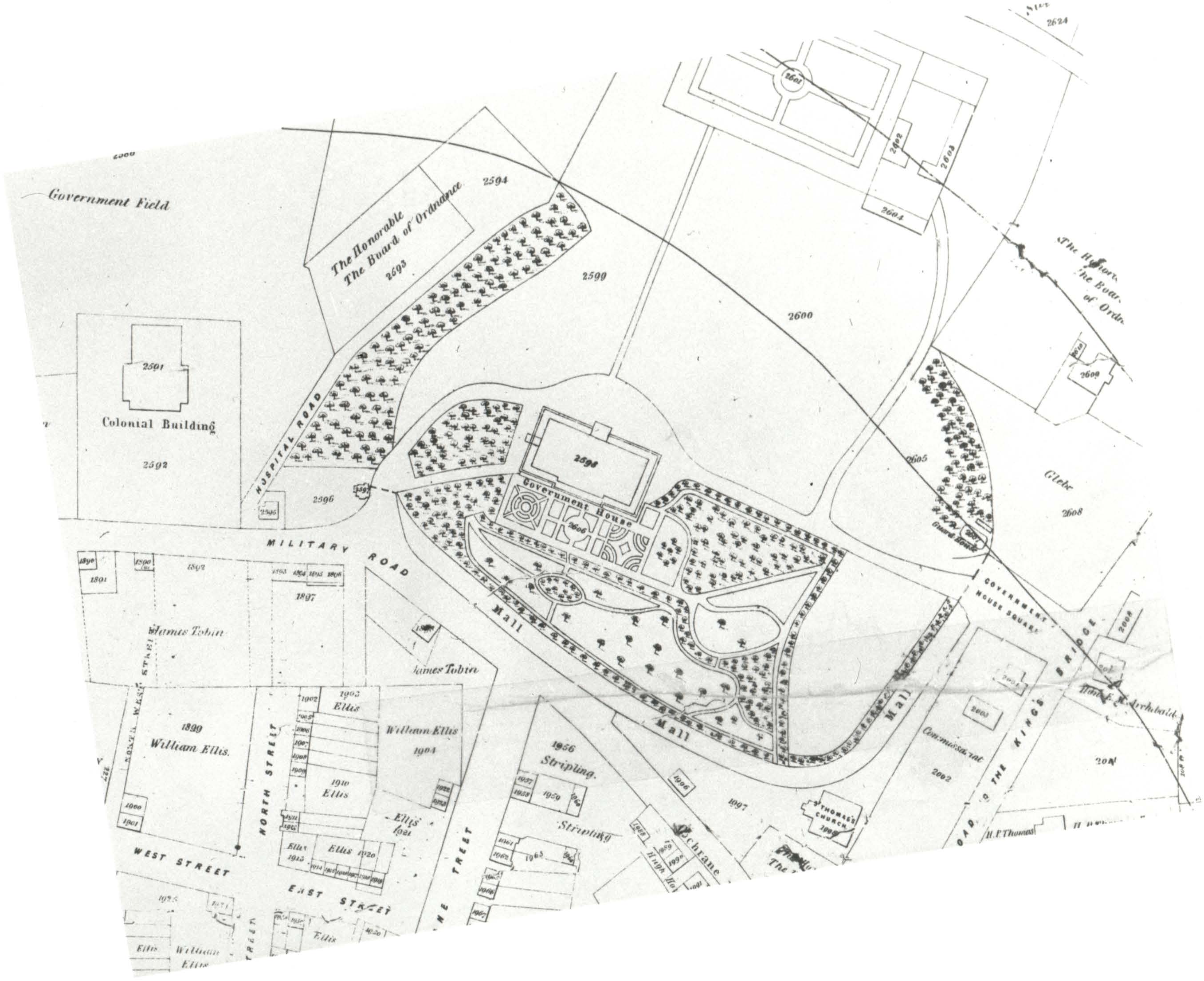
[27]Personal conversation with Jose Teotico, Government House, July 17, 1984.


Government Field
2594
The Honorable
The Board of Ordnance
2593
2599
2600
2601
2602
2603
2604
2624
2591
Colonial Building
2592
2596
2595
2598
Government House
2606
MILITARY ROAD
Mall
2605
Glebe
2608
2609
GOVERNMENT HOUSE SQUARE
1891
1892
1897
James Tobin
1899
William Ellis.
1902
1903
Ellis
William Ellis
1904
1910
Ellis
1920
Ellis
1921
1956
Stripling.
1959
Stripling
1997
Cochrane
2003
Commissariat
2002
THOMAS'S CHURCH
2001
2004
H.F. Thomas
WEST STREET
EAST STREET
NORTH STREET
KING'S BRIDGE

court were placed in the eastern and south-eastern portions of the grounds. Informal beds of ornamental shrubs and Robinson-style "wild" plantings of perennial were proposed "in the woods and along the walks".[28] A 1934 photograph, commemorating the visit of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and his family to Government House, indicates that perennials were also planted in beds within the lawns. (See Illustration 6, p.109). However, the single species planting suggests adherence to Olmsted's principle of simplicity rather than to Robinson and Jekyll's more recent dictum of variety in garden planting. Today, as in 1915, the grounds are dominated by the 1849 "English landscape" design. The croquet lawn and tennis court have gone again, but the meandering paths and belts of mixed trees remain.

During his past seven years as head gardener, Philippine-trained Jose Teotico has been actively grooming the grounds, rejuvenating the existing flower beds and constructing an extensive display of new beds. This garden development has been planned in collaboration, first with Governor and Mrs. Winter and now with Governor and Mrs. Paddon. Formal, geometric beds of roses and annuals have been added, principally at the entrance to the garden from the eastern side of the House, along the private westerly face of the House itself,

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[28]Susan Buggey and John Stewart. "The Grounds of the Commissariat, St. John's, Newfoundland. A Feasability Study", TS., Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, National Historic Parks and Sites, March 1974, Figure 38.

Illustration 6. "The Prime Minister at Government House, 1934"

The Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald, Governor Anderson and their party pose in front of a long and narrow flower bed. It is apparently planted with a single plant species, according to a curving, naturalistic plan. The current head gardener suggests that the plant material may have been perennial astilbe.[29]

The group consists of Captain H.B. Robinson, of the Royal Navy and Lieutenant Commander J.A. Dicken, Royal Navy standing behind Lady Anderson, the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald, His Excellency Governor Anderson, Miss Ishbel MacDonald and Lady Hastings Anderson.

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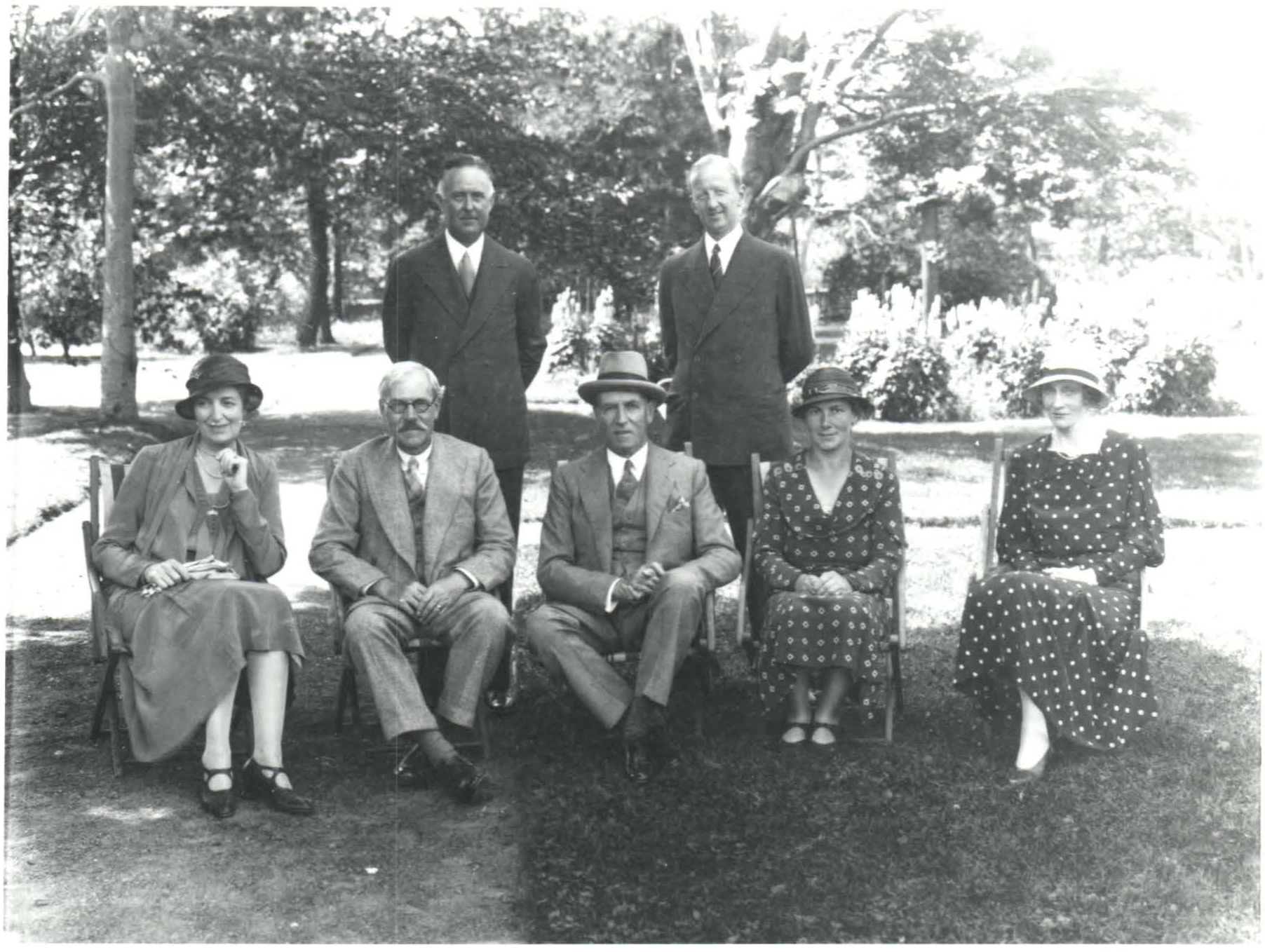
[29]Personal conversation with Jose Teotico, Government House, July 17, 1984.



and along the main front pathway. Perennials have been used primarily in the existing "St. Thomas" bed and, in a recent experiment, in a bed fronting the conservatory. The vegetable beds in the lower garden continue, as in 1849, to feed the household. (See Figure 4, p. 112)

Teotico considers the St. Thomas bed to be the garden's "perennial bed". Located well away from the front of the House, in the south-eastern corner of the grounds, adjacent to the fence and the neighbouring St. Thomas Anglican Church, it had survived from the 1915 renovations to the garden as a neglected bed of mixed shrubs. During her tenure at Government House, Mrs. Winter determined to rejuvenate the bed, hoping thereby to improve the view of the grounds for the St. Thomas congregation as they walked along the bordering mall to the church. Whereas the beds fronting the House had been planted exclusively with either annuals and roses, this bed was to feature perennials. As Teotico notes: "We're concentrating on this St. Thomas ground ... that's where we put our perennial plants."[30]

Teotico recalls that the original bed was triangular in shape, with a straight axis running parallel with the path to St. Thomas's. While renovating the bed, he altered the far edge, somewhat circumstantially, to an irregular curve.

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[30]Personal conversation with Jose Teotico, Government House Grounds, June 25, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 1, Number 012-014.

Figure 4. Plan of Government House and Flower Gardens.

Beds of annuals have been laid out as geometric accents to the principal front areas of the Government House grounds. Circular beds are used as centre pieces to the island lawn dividing the main roadway to the House; quarter circle beds flank the entranceway to the House and the side gate to the grounds; long rectangular beds mark the pathways from the House to the grounds and along the side path. Beds of roses similarly repeat the geometry of the House along the private facade. In contrast, the "St. Thomas" bed of perennials is laid out in "natural" curves in the furthest corner of the grounds.

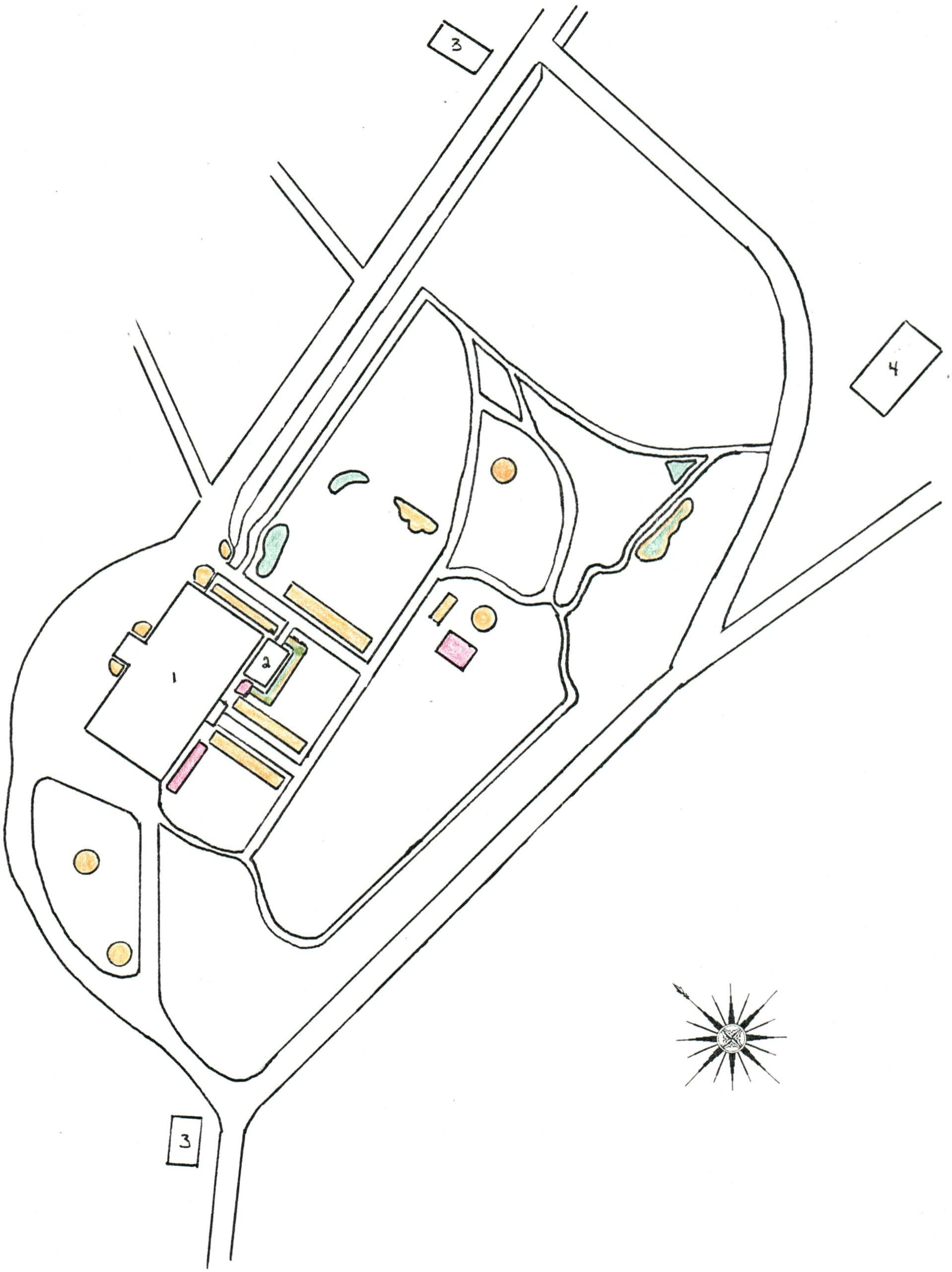
Scale 1/2" = 60'

Legend:
1. Government House
2. Conservatory
3. Staff Houses
4. St. Thomas's Anglican Church

[ ] Herbaceous Perennials

[ ] Annuals

[ ] Roses


3
4
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2
3

Wherever the grass had died back, the bed was extended: "We cut it half round and it turned perfect".[31] (See Figure 5, p.115).

The bed was laid out with regard to a general gradation of height from the middle of the bed. A number of perennial shrubs were massed towards the centre of the bed -- the hawthorn and rose bushes were retained from the earlier planting; while the philadelphus was transplanted from a nearby location where it had served to frame the now-defunct lawn tennis court. Perennial spirea, columbine, lupins and bleeding heart filled the remaining central portions of the bed. "All tall ones in the middle"[32] Teotico observes. Finally, a broad border of assorted annuals, interspersed with a narrow band of perennial polyanthus draws the height of the bed lower towards the edges.

The herbaceous perennials and flowering shrubs exhibit little duration of colour. A quantity of bloom occurs in early July, with the mass of lupins and in smaller portions, the columbine, bleeding heart and bridal wreath spirea simultaneously in season. Thereafter the bed relies principally on the border of annuals for its colour. (See Table 2, p. 117; and Photographs 7 and 8, pp. 118, 119) Teotico explains:

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[31] Ibid., Number 225-230.

[32] Ibid., Side 1, Number 262-264.

Figure 5. Plan of the "St. Thomas" border, Government House, Summer 1984.

Nearest the pathway, the edge of the bed is marked by a single row of drumstick primrose. Behind these, a band of annuals encircles the island-shaped bed. The annuals are planted in approximately twelve inch circles of contrasting species. The south-east corner of the bed is defined by expanding semi-circular bands of annuals. In the centre of the bed, the eastern end is dominated by a row of tall-growing perennial astilbe; while the western end is filled with a grouping of flowering shrubs and trees. The two ends are linked by a band of lupin, interspersed with clumps of bleeding heart and columbine.

Scale 1" - 3.5'

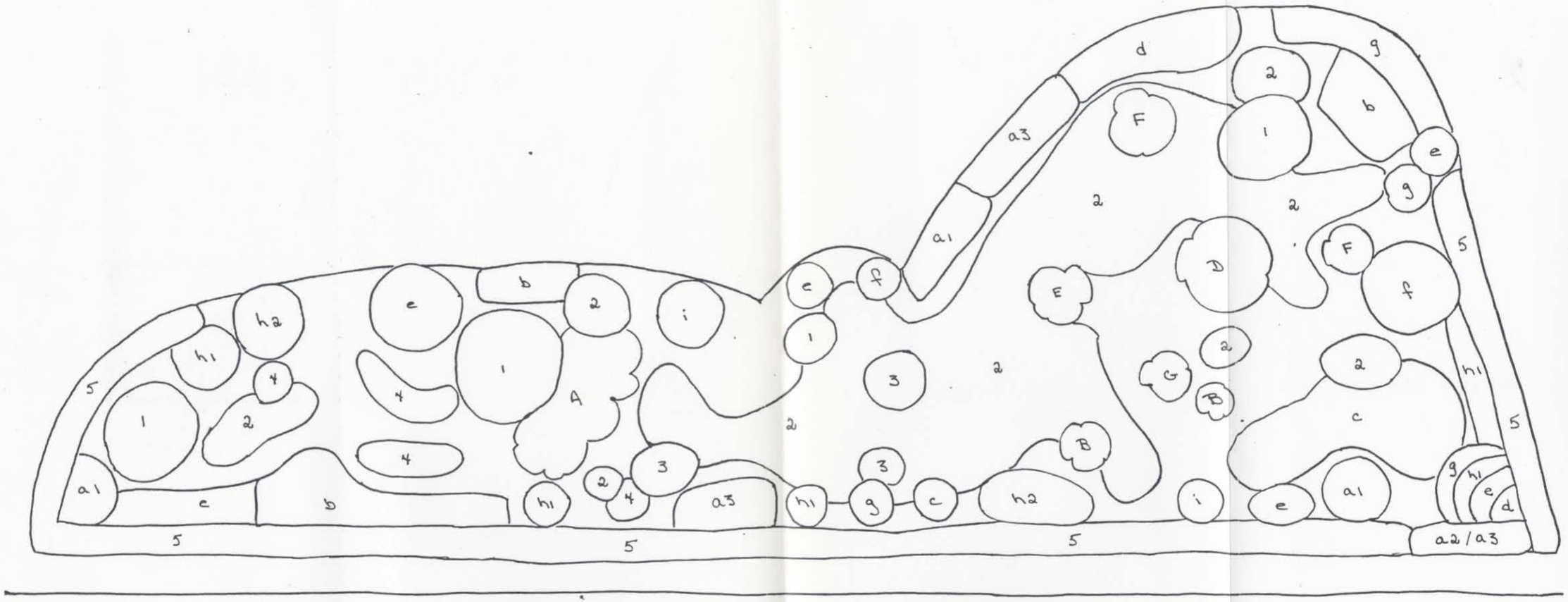
a1
h1
h2
1
2
4
5
e
b
a3
h1
2
3
4
i
A
f
d
F
a3
a1
2
1
b
g
e
D
E
G
B
c
h2
a2/a3

Figure 5. Key to plant materials, "St. Thomas" border, Government House.

Herbaceous Perennials

1. "Old fashioned" Astilbe
2. Lupin
3. Bleeding heart (Dicentra formosa)
4. Columbine
5. Drumstick primrose

Annuals

a1. 'Jubilee' Marigold
a2. 'Lemon Drop' Marigold
a3. 'Space Age' Marigold
b. Nemesia
c. Helichrysum
d. Rudbeckia
e. Statice
f. Gypsophila
g. Cynoglossum
h1. 'Iceland' poppy
h2. 'Double peony'
i. Wallflower
j. Sweet william

Shrubs and trees

A."Old fashioned rose"
B. Beech
C. Hawthorn; Cratageus
D. Mock orange; Philadelphus
E. Weigela
F. Bridal wreath spirea
G. Linden; Lime

Table 2. Succession of bloom, "St. Thomas" border, Government House.

May	
'King Alfred' daffodils	
Bluebells (Scilla campanulata)	
Grape hyacinth; Muscari armeniacum	
Early June	
5. Drumstick primrose	
Mid-June	
2. Lupin	A. "Old fashioned rose"
3. Bleeding heart	
4. Columbine	
Early July	
2. Lupin	E. Weigela
3. Bleeding heart	F. Bridal wreath spirea
Mid-July	
1. Astilbe	f. Gypsophila
3. Bleeding heart	D. Philadelphus
Early August	
3. Bleeding heart	a. Marigold
4. Columbine	b. Nemesia
	e. Statice
	D. Philadelphus
Mid-August	
	a-e, g-j, all annuals

Photograph 7. "St. Thomas" border, Government House, July 17, 1984.

In early summer, the perennial lupin and bleeding heart, and weigela and bridal wreath spirea bushes fill the western end of the bed with bloom. The newly planted annuals have yet to become established.

Photograph 8. "St. Thomas" border, Government House, August 5, 1984.

Looking across the lawn southward towards the "St. Thomas" border little late summer colour is evident. With the exception of the orange and yellow marigolds, a dry summer has hindered the bloom of the annuals, while the perennials have passed their seasons of bloom.

> Because perennials, you're stuck with one colour and then within a couple of weeks, will die down and you don't have any more. We have also to put in between the perennials some annuals to have colour.[33]

While little effort is made to achieve a continuity of bloom, there is some concern to achieve a variety of colour. Currently, the principal contribution to colour variation is made, as in the Bowering Park beds, through varieties of colour within the single, dominant species. Twelve varieties of lupins of differing combinations of colour had initially been planted in the "St. Thomas" border. However, as lupins revert over time to their natural blue shade, the range of colour exhibited in the garden has become gradually restricted. Teotico proposes to remedy this situation with the addition of new plant material.

> I think, [he says], we have to trim a little these lupins. We'll put some delphinium in the middle.[34]

While the central mass of perennials is treated with relative simplicity, the encircling border of annuals is planned with much of the order of the Victorian "carpet bed". As a general rule, varying species are planted in adjacent twelve inch circles of ground, with each area filled by more or less geometrical rows of plants.[35] The south-

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[33] Ibid., Side 1, Number 004-007.

[34] Ibid., Side 1, Number 260-262.

[35] Personal conversation with Fred Walsh, Assistant Gardener, St. John's, July 17, 1984.

west corner of the bed is treated even more precisely, with expanding semi-circular lines of contrasting species. Though the annuals are carefully arranged, the initial selection of the plant stock is relatively circumstantial. If the gardeners wish to experiment with unfamiliar plant materials, they will try it out in the "St. Thomas" bed, before using it in the beds nearer the House; if bedding plants are left over from those required above, they will be used here, in the last bed to be planted. This past summer, the Governor's secretary was getting married and since she required baby's breath for her bouquet, it was planted here though none of the gardeners like its whispy appearance within the bed. In consequence of these random influences, the annuals bordering the "St. Thomas" bed fail to achieve the smooth, carpet-like fullness evident in the more carefully controlled upper beds.

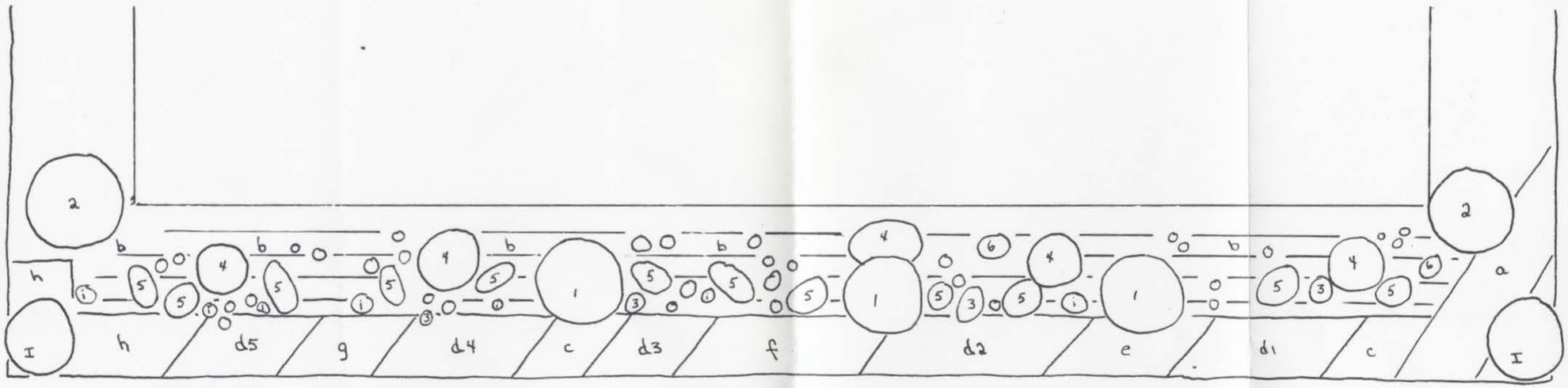
During the previous year, Governor Paddon had asked for the addition of perennials to a bed within the formal area in the front of the house, bordering the south wall of the conservatory. He had hoped that the generally larger-growing perennials might obscure the unsightly foundation wall of the greenhouse. As a result, the four foot wide bed of annuals has been subdivided to include a two foot rear strip of perennials. (See Figure 6, p. 123.)

The slow-growing habit of perennials, which take from one to two years after transplanting to become established, normally requires a patient commitment to a permanent, if

Figure 6. Plan of annual and perennial border, Government House, Summer 1984.

The bed repeats the rectangular shape of the greenhouse behind. The plantings consist of a front band of annuals, layed out in parallel rows to a width of two feet, in lozenges of contrasting colour. Blocks of petunias of differing varieties are interplanted with blocks of annuals of similarly low-growing habit. Three large peony bushes, spaced at fairly regular intervals along the central axis of the bed, dominate the background panel of herbaceous perennials. Somewhat behind, a row of five mountain phlox are, again, spaced along the length of the bed. Perennial foxglove and lilies, and rows of annual cosmos fill the interstices between these features. Pairs of astilbe and hosta mark the inner and outer corners of the bed.

Scale 1" = 4'


I
h
d5
g
d4
c
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e
d1
c
I

Figure 6. Key to plant materials, annual and perennial border, Government House.

Herbaceous perennials

1. Peony
2. Spirea; Astilbe
3. Lilies; Lilium longiflorum, Lilium 'Lady Killer', Lilium 'Monte Carlo', Lilium 'Esther', Lilium speciosum 'Uchida'; - orange, yellow and white
4. Phlox (Phlox paniculata)
5. Foxglove
6. Delphinium

Annuals

a. 'Blue Blazer' Ageratum
b. Cosmos
c. 'Outdoor mix' snapdragon
d1. 'White Magic' Petunia
d2. 'Razzle Dazzle' Petunia
d3. 'Blue Magic' Petunia
d4. 'Pink Magic' Petunia
d5. 'Yellow Magic' Petunia
e. Phlox (Phlox drummondii)
f. 'Pacific Beauty Mix' Calendula
g. Matricaria
h. Lavatera
i1. Dahlia
i2. Red skin Dahlia

Perennial rock garden plants

I. Stonecrop; Sedum orpine

Table 3. Succession of bloom, annual and perennial border, Government House.

Mid-June

'Double Mix' tulips
'King Alfred' daffodils

Mid-July

1.	Peony	b.	Cosmos
3.	Lilies	d.	Petunia
5.	Foxglove		

Early August

2.	Astilbe	a-h, annuals
3.	Lilies	

Mid-August

3.	Lilies	a-i, all annuals
4.	Phlox	I. Stonecrop

Late August

3.	Lilies	a-i, all annuals
4.	Phlox	I. Stonecrop
6.	Delphinium	

not immediately attractive planting; yet Teotico approaches the creation of this new bed of perennials much like the bedding out of seedling annuals. Teotico keeps established perennials in holding beds within the vegetable garden. Here the plants can be used as cut flowers, and, when required, they can be transplanted into the show beds.

> All we have to do is dig it up and put it around. We've got spirea established down there. We've got phlox, different colours. We've got butterball, foxglove...[36]

This resource allows the gardener great flexibility, as it provides him with mature perennial stock. An effect can be created almost immediately, and, as easily, changed. Teotico explains:

> We'll see what will happen. It's only an experiment. We could put it out and replace it. Just for a trial one.[37]

The bed had previously contained a minimal planting of perennials. These were retained and supplemented with additional perennial stock. Two astilbe marked the inside corners of the bed at the corner of the greenhouse; two sedum defined the outside corners; while three peonies, spaced at more or less equal intervals, followed the central line of the bed. Between this foundation, lilies, foxglove, phlox and delphinium have been added in a repeating sequence,

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[36] MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 2, Number 070-073.

[37] Ibid., Side 1, Number 140-142.

which re-enforces the generally geometric layout of the bed. This season, rows of annual cosmos were added to create a fuller effect within this rear space. The front border of annuals was laid out, again geometrically, in repeated lozenge-shaped areas, and planted alternately with varieties of petunia and contrasting species, in a generally low-growing carpet of colour. (See Photograph 9, p. 128)

The newly added perennials were selected with regard to estimates of their hardiness, height and colour. Having, for example, been familiar with delphinium from his days in Labrador, Governor Paddon calculated that the plants would be assured survival in St. John's milder conditions, and so collected specimens for use in the bed.[38] Teotico was principally concerned that the high winds in this relatively exposed location might blow down the taller-growing perennials. In consequence, he selected moderate-sized species which while covering the height of the greenhouse foundations were, yet, less susceptible to wind damage. He additionally selected the plants with regard to colour, inasmuch as variety, rather than harmonies of colour.

> That's blue, [Teotico notes], that's white and then pink, different colours, and then you've got the lilies, different colours also. Arranged to different colours.[39]

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[38]Personal conversation with Lieutenant Governor Dr. Anthony Paddon, Government House, St. John's, July 29, 1984.

[39]MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 1, Number 148-150.

Photograph 9. Annual and perennial border, Government House, August 5, 1984

Blooming clumps of white lilies are spaced between the now-green masses of peonies. The annuals create a somewhat irregular foreground of colour.

Despite the care in arranging the bed, Teotico remains dissatisfied with the use of perennials. He complains that their season of bloom is brief, and can be cut unexpectedly short by unfavorable conditions. This summer, for example, the peonies bloomed for only a few days before the blossoms were destroyed by heavy winds and rain. Teotico comments briefly on the scheme:

> The Governor wants to experiment a new one again. So we put that last year, we put some phlox, foxglove, delphiniums, high ones, and lilies. But lilies only takes two weeks and then they're finished.[40]

While Governor Paddon maintains his interest in perennials, he is displeased, as well, with the current results of the experiment. He criticizes the relative sparseness of the perennials, but nonetheless anticipates that as the plants naturally increase over time, the result will be a fuller, more pleasing show.

Teotico feels that the difficulties experienced with the use of perennials can be answered by a reliance on annuals. Indeed reflecting this preference, the bulk of the Government House beds consist solely of annuals. Annuals, Teotico explains, will bloom consistently from mid-summer until the first fall frosts. Moreover, the yearly replanting of seedling annuals permits the alteration of the layout of the beds from year to year, in search of better combinations

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[40] Ibid., Side 1, Number 127-129.

of colour, or to mark a particular occasion. Mrs. Winter recalls, for example, that as a novelty, they tried one year to re-create the newly designed Newfoundland flag in one of the main beds.[41] This year, the same bed consists of a slightly raised diamond of snapdragons, interlocked with semi-circles of petunias in contrasting colours. (See Photograph 3, p. 50). As Teotico notes, the annuals are "more colourful, and we could change the colours every year, that's the main purpose".[42]

Teotico's treatment of the annuals is markedly different from that he gives to perennials, and particularly to the perennials in the "St. Thomas" border. The annuals are selected with a deliberate precision, and laid out in complex geometric patterns. In contrast, the perennials were planted according to relatively simple guidelines, and are permitted to grow in virtual abandon.

Initially, the differing treatment of the annual and perennial beds in both the Government House and the Bowering Park grounds is rather puzzling. Both gardens were originally planned in terms of contemporary landscape fashions; both have been maintained by trained gardeners and are currently superintended by professional horticulturists. Yet, while the annual beds are treated in the style of the Victorian

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[41]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 16, 1984.

[42] MUNFLA 84-588, C7303, Side 1, Number 002-005.

"carpet bed"; the perennial borders follow none of the obvious professional models, being neither the single species border prescribed by Olmsted, nor the varied herbaceous border developed by Jekyll and Robinson.

Both Baird and Teotico are anxious to produce an exemplary floral show during the public display of their gardens. Given the season-long nature of his audience, Chris Baird hopes to achieve a consistently colourful effect for the visitors to Bowering Park. Jose Teotico is interested in securing predictable, rather than long-term, colour for the single day when public interest is focused on the Government House gardens. To meet these varying requirements both Baird and Teotico have chosen to emphasize the use of annuals. Baird prefers them for their long-lived bloom; while Teotico relies on their consistent season of bloom, which can be gauged, through manipulation of growing conditions, for a peak performance at the time of the Garden Party.

Both gardeners have, as well, treated their annual beds with an exactitude which is reflected in their precise naming of the varieties of the plant materials used.[43] Both formulate the design of the beds in prepared garden plans and both achieve second-hand control of the planting through the establishment of standard methods of procedure. Teotico remarks that the preparation of a drawn plan for each bed

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[43]Note, for example, the precise naming of annuals in contrast to the relatively generalized naming of perennials, in the Government House Keys to Plant Materials, pp. 116 and 124.

permits the Governor to judge the proposed colour combinations and the selection of plant material -- some of which will be required for use as cut flowers in the House -- prior to planting. The approved design is then transferred by the undergardeners to the beds with the aid of semi-circular wooden templates and the straight edge of a rake handle. The individual plants are subsequently spaced, according to geometric rules of thumb, within the designated areas. This process not only assures Teotico of the Governor's approval of the design, but allows him control over the planting as it is done by the undergardeners. Furthermore, if the results are deemed successful, the design can be repeated in future years, with reference to the plan.

In his study of the work of Anna Bock, an Old Order Mennonite artist, Simon Bronner, has commented on a similarly patterned approach to creativity. Anna's landscape paintings are designed within a standard, geometric framework. She achieves a basic structure for her canvasses with a triangular layout of the primary elements. A basic, central unit -- whether it be a house, covered bridge or buggy -- is balanced on either side by smaller motifs, such as trees, groups of people or the like. Smaller design elements are also treated with standardized techniques. Crossed roads are placed perpendicular to one another; and houses are consistently duplicated as two-storey, central chimney structures. Bronner describes this process of establishing a traditional means of representation through the standardization of design

elements and the patterning of design processes, as a technique for achieving control over technical error through "a predictable standard of action".[44]

The adoption of the Victorian "carpet bed" as a formula for the design of their annual beds, by both Chris Baird and Jose Teotico, seems to reflect much the same design strategy exhibited by Anna Bock. The intensely controlled manipulation of plant materials prescribed by the style conforms to the gardeners' requirements for replicable and reliable displays of colour. The treatment of the plant materials as standard components within a geometric layout establishes a formulaic process of design; while both mental and physical templates for the planting of the seedling stock provide standardized procedural techniques.

Teotico's emphasis on control seems to extend beyond his "carpet bed" treatment of annuals to a similarly, geometric treatment of perennials, and particularly of the perennials in the bed fronting the greenhouse. As has been noted, the bed had previously consisted solely of annuals, but at the request of the Governor was subdivided to include a back row of perennials. Continuing the geometric plan created by three existing peony plants, Teotico has arranged five mountain phlox, at approximately regular intervals, in a range behind the peonies. Within this

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[44]Bronner, "Investigating Identity and Expression", p. 81.

framework, a mixed planting of lilies and foxglove has been repeated along the length of the bed. Such a plan seems not to arise from prevailing fashions for the design of perennial beds, but rather seems to reflect the same "repeated formulaic techniques" of design which are evident in the treatment of the Government House annuals. This application of familiar techniques to guide the process of design provides evidence, in turn, of Teotico's concern about the short-lived bloom of perennials and his desire to gain control of the plant material through the standardization of gardening processes.

In contrast to the complex control of the annual beds, and of the mixed annual and perennial bed in front of the greenhouse, the beds which have been planted explicitly as perennial beds in both public gardens -- the two extant beds in Bowering Park and the "St. Thomas" border at Government House -- have been laid out according to similar, relatively simple aesthetic principles. Each bed is located in an area somewhat distant from the front portion of the grounds. Each bed is laid out as an irregular island, with the larger plants massed towards the centre and the smaller ones placed nearer the edges. Each achieves a limited succession of bloom through the season, with a limited variety of colour.

While both gardeners are conscious that the season and variety of bloom could be extended in these beds through a more extensive and careful treatment of perennials, neither

feels that the undertaking would be appropriate to their gardens. Teotico doubts that the effect would be either sufficiently or reliably colourful; Baird suggests that the effect would be too formal to suit the atmosphere of formal informality which he prizes in Bowering Park. Moreover, he notes that the intensity of gardening care required would be beyond the resources of his staff, at least for the present.

> Most people, [he explains], that are into perennial gardening will plant a perennial bed so that they will have constant bloom from June through September or when we get the first frost... so that you'll have plants that come early in the spring, plants that will come in the middle of the summer and you will have plants that will bloom in the fall. And when people are getting to that degree of detail that's a formal perennial garden. And they can also do it with colour variation as another way of doing it, or patterned, they often pattern their beds and that is a more complex way. It's not terribly difficult. It's probably higher intensive care.[45]

This consideration of the degree of "formality" or "colour" appropriate to the gardens rests for both men on an estimation of the level of interest of the visiting public. Baird feels that people are primarily concerned that the grass in Bowering Park is neatly trimmed and the garbage collected. Teotico complains that visitors rarely walk down from Government House to see the "St. Thomas" border. In each case, the relative simplicity of design and,

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[45]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 212-225.

indeed, the relative neglect of the perennial beds can be excused by other, more pressing, demands from their audiences.

Despite this perception of public disinterest, Chris Baird and Millicent Winter have wished to retain the perennial beds in consideration of the traditions of each garden. Chris notes that it has been his particular intention to preserve the historical quality of the older portion of Bowering Park. From the evidence of historic photographs, he has restored the park bungalow's original green paint with white trim, has continued the replacement and extension of the rustic fencing, and has had the original reflecting pools refurbished. He similarly explains the retention of the perennial beds, with the comment that: "They've always been here, so we're not going to eliminate them".[46] The "St. Thomas" border had historically been part of the Government House gardens, but had been allowed to fall into decline. Millicent Winter's intentions had been simply to restore it.

Though they were motivated by a sense of history, in neither case did the gardeners have original garden plans available to provide them with a guide to the original plantings. Each has had to rely on the evidence of the existing plant stock and on a general sense of gardening traditions to determine the design of the beds. The selection of plant stock has, thus, been based on an assumption of traditional

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[46] Ibid., Side 2, Number 030-035.

practise. Though she could not specifically remember the plantings of the "St. Thomas" bed from her girlhood visits to Government House, Millicent Winter wished to use the plant materials that "would have grown there".[47] The "old" rose and hawthorn were left within the bed as they were found, and herbaceous perennials that she associated with old Newfoundland gardens -- lupins, columbine and bleeding heart -- were added. Though Baird is anxious to extend the range of colour in the beds, his choice of plant materials is similarly tempered by evidence in the extant beds of plants which have traditionally been used in Bowering Park:

> We'd still have our bleeding hearts, our mallows and delphiniums. We have always used those and I don't intend to stop using them. We'll stick to the traditional. Phlox has always been here, delphiniums, shasta daisy is another one that has always been here and they'll still be grown.[48]

While the use of perennial beds and the selection of plant materials is explained, first, in terms of each garden's particular traditions, Chris Baird further likens these beds to traditional Newfoundland gardens generally. "Newfoundlanders have traditionally had perennial beds",[49] explains Baird, and these have contained bleeding hearts, columbines, lupins, delphinium and perennial poppies. The

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[47]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 15, 1984.

[48]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 200-205.

[49]Ibid., Side 1, Number 120-122.

plant materials in the Bowering Park beds are not, then, simply traditional to the Park, but are traditional components, as well, of the "outport" garden.[50]

Yet, it is not simply in the preference for perennials and the selection of particular plant materials that the Bowering Park beds adhere to Newfoundland tradition. The simplicity and informality of the layout reflects, as well, the Newfoundlander's traditional approach to garden design.

> Usually Newfoundlanders don't have formal beds, usually as far as a perennial bed, it's just, they like this flower, they plant that there. Especially the older members of the population, they like this plant and they let them go, they don't look after them to the point that it's a beautiful looking facility, but the flowers keep coming back year after year. And people like it that way, they just like that, they've been let go wild. I mean a lot of people like not an organized, formal type of garden, but the plants are there and they come and one particular plant or two particular plants. It's always been like that.[51]

While deprecated for filling too much space and offering too little variety of colour, the masses of phlox evident in the Bowering Park beds are, thus, excused by Chris Baird in terms of the local practise of relying on one or two species of plant, and allowing them to increase naturally from year to year.

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[50] Ibid., Side 1, Number 155-160.

[51] Ibid., Side 1, Number 125-135.

> Phlox is another one that's often used in Newfoundland. [He explains] We found that our beds have become overpopulated by [this] one particular plant, which is probably the way it would be in Newfoundland.[52]

Finally, Baird turns to the character of his audience to justify the retention and treatment of perennial beds. He feels that the average visitor wishes simply to see a show of colour, and to meet this interest Baird provides the vivid and dependable show of the annual beds. He notes, however, that visitors also enjoy a variety in the types of beds on display and that Newfoundlanders visiting the Park would particularly enjoy seeing a perennial garden laid out in the familiar manner of the "outport" garden. With the maintenance of the perennial beds, Baird intends to provide this variety, while with his selection of "old fashioned" plant materials and his re-creation of the design of the "outport" garden, he hopes to give particular pleasure to the "outport" members of his audience.

In contrast to the newly added perennial components in the bed which border the Government House greenhouse, the other perennial beds maintained by my informants are placed at some distance from the main portion of the gardens. The perennial borders in Bowering Park are located along the smaller, secondary pathways, while the "St. Thomas" bed lies well away from the Government House itself. From his experience in the theatre, sociologist Erving Goffman has developed

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[52] Ibid., Side 2, Number 162-165.

a theory regarding "front" and "back regions" in order to explain varying behavioural situations in everyday life.[53] He describes "front regions" as formal, carefully managed stages in which the behaviour of the performers is designed to present an appropriate image to strangers. The "back region", in contrast, is characterized by intimate and personal communication among friends. Each of the gardens exhibits a similar physical differentiation of performance styles. The "front regions" are filled with beds of annuals which in their numbers and their adherence to professional rules of design clearly communicate the professional status of the gardeners. The "back regions" are occupied with perennial beds which are both informally tended and which recall the audience's memories of familiar landscapes.

Yet, for both Chris Baird and Millicent Winter the use of the "outport" garden as a model for their perennial beds seems to go beyond a decision to create a bed suited to the traditions of their gardens, to the pleasure of a particular audience, in a suitable location within the grounds. Both gardeners are themselves Newfoundlanders, with an obvious interest and fondness for aspects of the traditional "outport" lifestyle. Whether describing the tedious process traditionally undertaken by Newfoundlanders in supplementing their thin soil with loads of caplin, or describing the limited

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[53]See Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Anchor, 1959).

repertoire of traditional plant materials in terms of the exchange of plants as momentos among family members, Chris speaks with an enthusiastic and sympathetic tone.[54] In her own garden, Millicent Winter has planted a number of perennials which she notes are "old fashioned" and which she describes in familiar, colloquial terms, including, for example, lily of the valley, blue bonnet and columbine.[55] For both, then, the relatively simple and unconstrained style of these perennial beds gains value through its nostalgic association with traditional Newfoundland life.

In analyzing the considerations which influence the singer's selection of material in particular performance contexts, Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham have remarked on the purely personal significance of some songs within the performer's repertoire.[56] Following their identification of varying levels of relevant factors, it becomes apparent that while the selection of particular garden styles conforms to practical considerations, such as the skill and time required in the execution of a particular form, contextual considerations such as the location of the garden and the design

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[54]MUNFLA 84-588, C7307, Side 1, Number 140-149.

[55]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 15, 1984.

[56]See George J. Casey, Neil V. Rosenberg and Wilfred W. Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples," Ethnomusicology, 16 (1972), 402.

preference of the anticipated audience, the style must, as well, be relevant to the individual gardener. Chris Baird and Millicent Winter's use of the "Newfoundland" garden as a model for the design of their perennial borders appears, then, to be not only a pragmatic selection made with regard to the appropriateness of the particular location, the anticipated audience and the capacity of their gardeners. It is, as well, a meaningful choice, reflecting the gardeners' personal associations.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRIVATE GARDENS: TRADITIONS OF ACTIVITY AND IDENTITY WITHIN A POPULAR GENRE

Unlike the public gardens which have been designed to communicate, in familiar terms, with a significant portion of the garden "audience", the private gardens of my informants have been shaped to downplay any public involvement. These gardens are designed to be private territory. Rather than recalling generalized memories of old "Newfoundland" gardens, the gardeners have each adopted the new, and relatively uncommon, "perennial border" fashion for the design of their gardens. Rather than emphasizing public communication, each gardener expresses a sense of individual creativity in her conception of the garden's design.

E.N. Anderson has described the "typical" North American suburban garden in terms of Erving Goffman's "front" and "back" regions. He characterized these gardens as exhibiting a groomed, socially conforming "front" region to the public, while maintaining a private, and largely utilitarian, "back" region for family use.[1] In contrast, the gardens of my informants suggest little involvement in a public show. The first garden to be discussed, Mrs. Edna Pippy's country estate "The Hermitage", is in fact entirely hidden from public

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[1]E.N. Anderson Jr., "On the Folk Art of Landscaping," p. 183.

view by a high, closed board fence. And nowhere is the casual scruffiness normally associated with back regions in evidence. Inside the fence, each portion of the yard is carefully groomed to create an harmonious, private landscape. (See Figure 7, p. 146) The three remaining private gardens which I have studied are located on suburban plots more typical of Anderson's garden examples. Yet in each case, the gardener has deemphasized the dichotomy between public and private faces. Marian Bugden settled into an established suburban garden, with front and back flower gardens of relatively equal proportions and a back "scrap garden"[2] of vegetables and excess flower stock behind. (See Figure 8, p. 148) Though she has not screened the garden from public view, she treats both the front and back flower gardens on equal terms. Both areas include patios for suntanning and outdoor lunching, and both gardens receive the same careful attention to trimming and refinement of garden detail. Despite the division created by the placement of the house, the garden is treated as a single sphere of continuous activity. Millicent Winter's suburban home is placed well towards the front of the lot. A small front garden provides a minimal public show, while an intensely cultivated "back garden", filled with beds of vegetables, roses and perennials, is screened from general view by the house itself. (See Figure 9 , p. 150)

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[2]Personal conversation with Marian Bugden, St. John's, August 20, 1984.

Figure 7. Plan of "The Hermitage".

Within its closed board fence, the grounds of "The Hermitage" are encircled with a belt of trees, shrubs and flower beds. Matched rose beds provide a focus of interest in the near foreground of the house. A large perennial bed dominates the visual horizon as the land begins to fall away towards the sea.

Scale 1/4" = approximately 18'

Legend: 1. House
2. Garage
3. Greenhouse

[ ] Annuals

[ ] Roses

[ ] Vegetables

[ ] Herbaceous Perennials

[ ] Perennial Rock Garden Plants

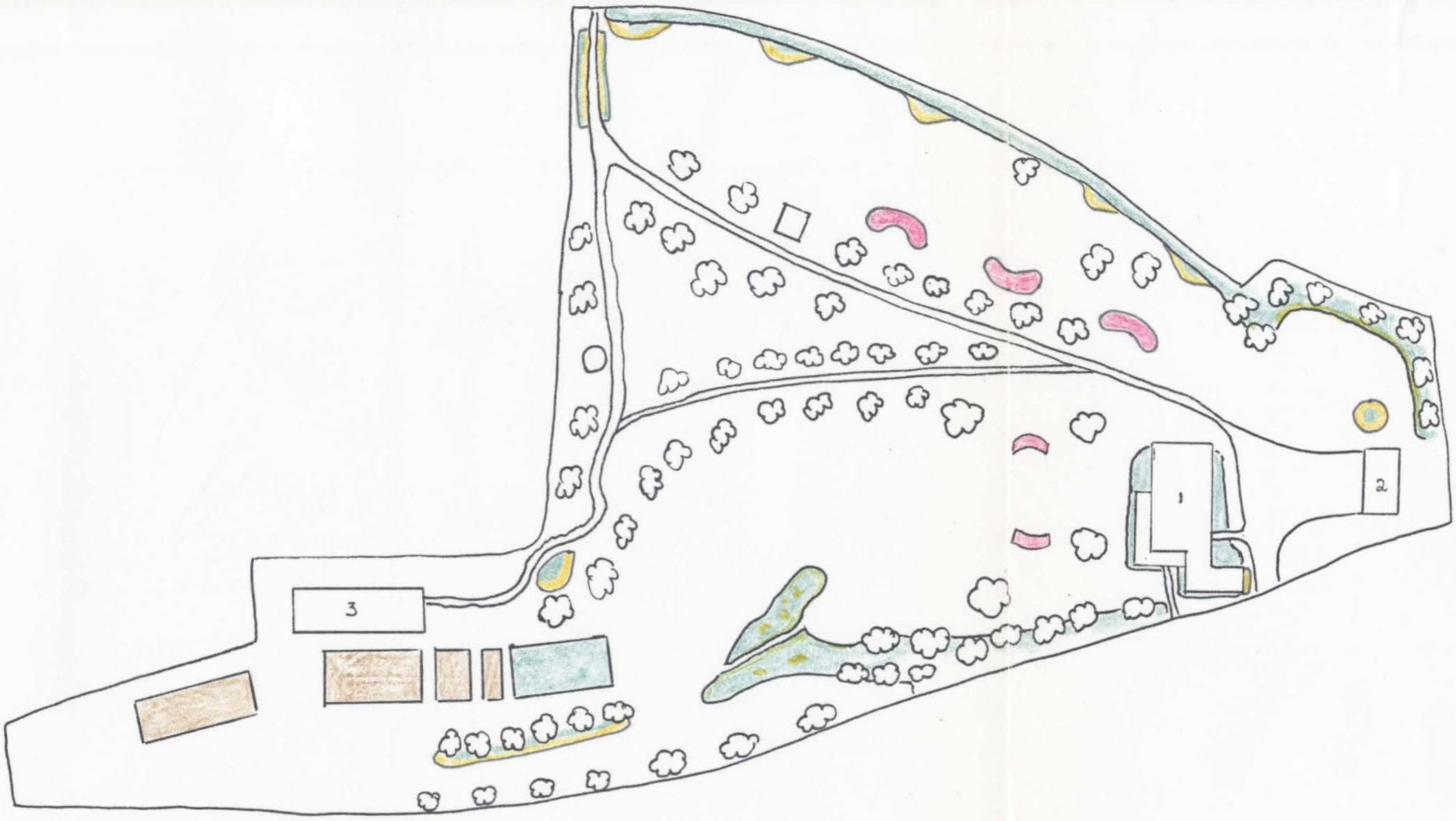

1
2
3

Figure 8. Plan of Marian Bugden's Home and Garden.

Though exact definitions are treated flexibly in order to permit the maximization of "bloom" in the garden, the front bed is intended as a "rock garden" to be filled with smaller-growing alpine perennials, while the rear garden is filled with taller herbaceous perennials. Behind a screen of shrubs, the "scrap garden" provides growing space for excess plant stock, for flowers to be used as cut flowers in the house, and for a small vegetable patch. Narrow foundation beds repeat the architecture of the house and garage.

Scale 1" = 16'

Legend:

[ ] Annuals

[ ] Roses

[ ] Vegetables

[ ] Herbaceous Perennials

[ ] Perennial Rock Garden Plants

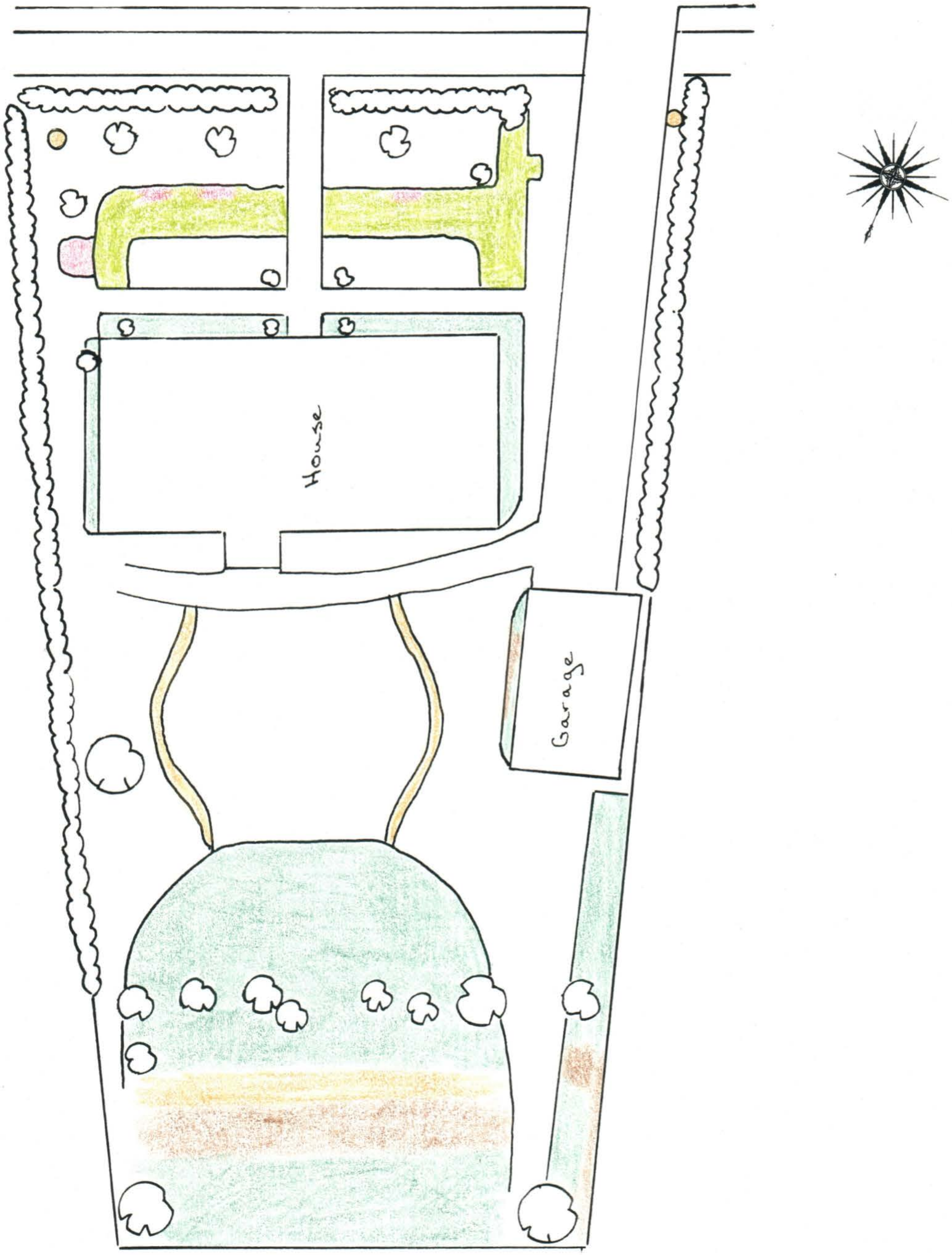

House
Garage

Figure 9. Plan of Millicent Winter's home and garden.

The small area to the front of the house is embellished with a band of annuals and a bed of "old-fashioned" herbaceous perennials. However, the principal garden display is screened from public view by the house. Behind, terraced beds of roses and perennials are laid out for viewing from the house's south facing sunporch.

The rear boundary of the property is defined by a trimmed hedge and a rectangular flower bed. Though originally intending to fill the bed with perennial rock garden plants, Millicent Winter has included annuals and herbaceous perennials in order to extend the duration of the garden's bloom.

Scale 1" = 16'

Legend:

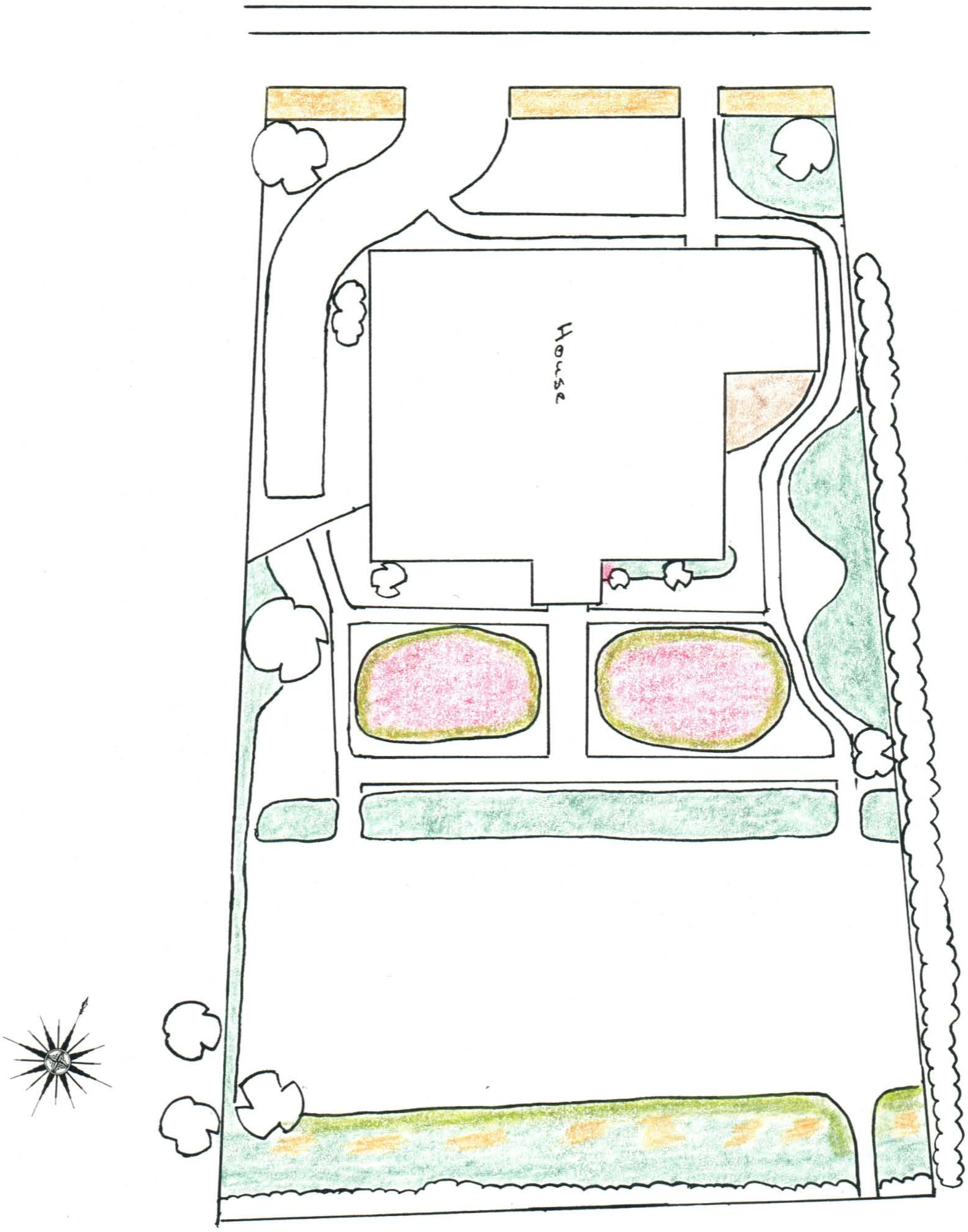
[ ] Annuals

[ ] Roses

[ ] Vegetables

[ ] Herbaceous perennials

[ ] Perennial rock garden plants


House

Sophia and Eliza Nott's garden follows the same pattern. The façade of the house is embellished with a modest display of flowers, while the rear of the lot, to the side and back of the house, is filled with a riot of garden beds just visible from the public road behind a screen of trees. (See Figure 10, p. 153) Again, the front view offers only a token observation of a public show, while the remainder of the garden is treated as a region of intense, personal activity. Unlike the outward looking gardens described by Anderson, each of these gardens is characteristically self-contained, designed for the private pleasure of the gardeners and their friends, rather than for viewing by the passerby.

Commentators on garden design frequently remark on the contrast between the open front lawn and the enclosed, tree- or hedge-screened garden. Fred Schroeder, for example, has described the former approach to landscape design as growing from an expanded forest clearing and, thus, typically American in inspiration. He observes that this tradition of openness is quite distinct from the English garden tradition which developed from the earlier walled garden plan and which archetypically "contains inward".[3] James Duncan Jr. has argued, further, that the two styles are not simply re-created by individual homeowners as bearers of distinct traditions, but that the garden types are selected and

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[3]Fred Schroeder, Outlaw Aesthetics: Arts and the Public Mind. (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Press, 1977), p. 99.

Figure 10. Plan of Sophia and Eliza Nott's home and garden.

The layout of the lot provides only minimal space for a public display at the front of the house. In contrast, the larger area to the side and rear of the house, while screened from public view by a band of trees, is filled with flower and vegetable gardens.

The principal flower bed to the west of the house consists of an outer ring filled primarily with herbaceous perennials, and four smaller, loosely geometric central beds filled with perennial rock garden plants and annuals.

Scale 1" = 16'

Legend:

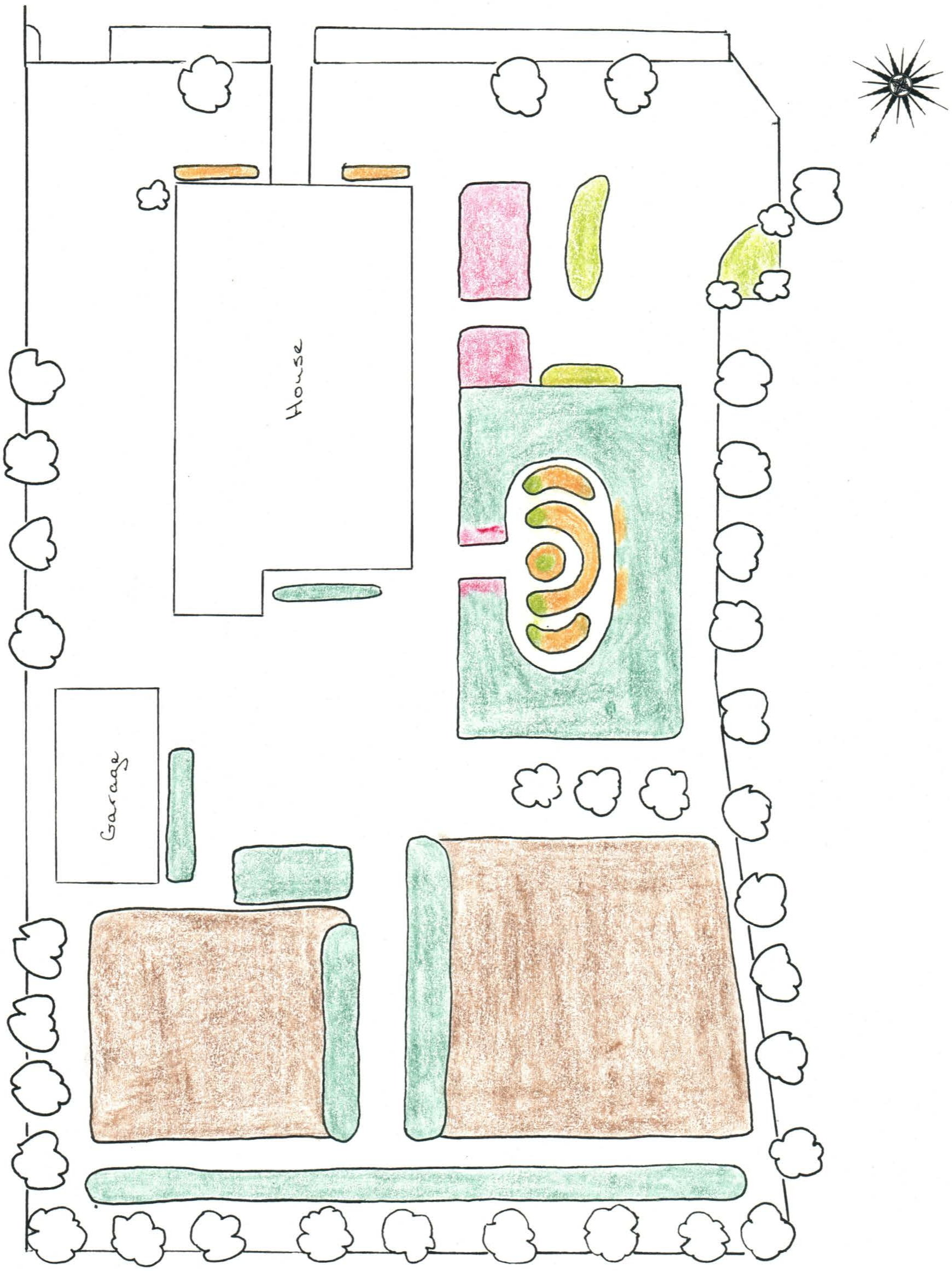
[ ] Annuals

[ ] Roses

[ ] Vegetables

[ ] Herbaceous perennials

[ ] Perennial rock garden plants


House
Garage

enacted in order to signify membership in a given social group. Both he and Anderson have observed that the English tradition has become associated with upper-class status and has been adopted in America as a symbol of comfortable, cultivated wealth.[4] The open lawn, in contrast, typifies the middle-class landscape, while varying degrees of orderliness and embellishment signify both the range of class affiliation from lower- to upper-middle class, and the social aspirations of the individual gardener.[5]

The gardens of my St. John's informants participate in this level of social communication. The reserved public facade, combined with glimpses of extensive and abundant gardens, suggests wealth, leisure and sophisticated taste. From the broad, public view, then, each of my informants has manipulated their garden to signify, in varying degrees, a sense of upper class status.

While these private gardens certainly communicate a public image, I would suggest that the garden provides, as well, the medium for the development of a more private expression of meaning. In considering another tradition of garden decoration -- that of "yard art" -- folklorists have

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[4]See James S. Duncan Jr., "Landscape and the Communication of Social Identity," in The Mutual Interaction of People and Their Built Environment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, ed. Amos Rapoport, (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), p. 394.

[5]See Anderson, "On the Folk Art of Landscaping", p. 185.

often commented on the dual, public and private functions of the performance. Gerald Pocius has, for example, observed that the folk artist combines personal expression and public display when he fills his front yard with spinning whirlygigs and brightly painted "old things". Objects which symbolize private associations as well as common experiences -- the wooden wheels of horse-drawn carts, miniaturized models of lighthouses and churches -- are preserved, enhanced and shared with the audience of passersby.[6] Further emphasizing their private function, Richard MacKinnon has noted that such displays are often situated away from public view.[7] Both agree with Diane Tye that beneath their public meaning these objects often have a private, though visually inarticulate, significance. In speaking with a St. John's yard artist, Tye observes:

> These ornaments have a particular significance, perhaps not quickly recognized by everyone who views them. This is true of many articles displayed on front lawns. In talking to my informant, she spoke of each item in her yard individually, telling me of its origin and personal significance.[8]

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[6]See Gerald Pocius, "Newfoundland Yard Art," in Flights of Fancy: Newfoundland Yard Art, ed. Patricia Grattan (St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland Art Gallery, 1983), pp. 6-11.

[7]See Richard MacKinnon, "Carriage Making in St. John's, Newfoundland: A Historical Study of the Products of a Folk Industry," M.A. Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1982, pp. 197-198.

[8]Diane Tye, "There's More to a Front Yard Than Meets the Eye: Yard Art in St. John's," TS., MUNFLA 79-728, p. 8.

Like such yard art objects, the materials which compose a flower garden bear little overt meaning. Beyond the popular symbolism linking the red poppy with the casualties of World War I and II,[9] and the generalized sense that certain plants are "old fashioned" or typical of "Newfoundland" gardens, my informants do not ascribe to a language of flowers.[10] And none manipulate their plant materials into textual or graphic messages akin to the floral "Welcome" of Bowering Park or the Newfoundland flag worked into the Government House gardens. However, the time and care taken by my informants in constructing and maintaining their gardens suggests that the garden "performance", like the work of the yard artist, might provide the medium for the development of a personal expression. Furthermore, the relative visual obscurity of their gardens suggests that while this expression may not be communicated in a public language, it would be known more privately to the intimate audience of the gardener's family and friends. By employing the research techniques of folklore, by speaking to the gardeners about the processes of design and by recording the details of the individual gardens, I hope, then, to determine

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[9]Personal conversation with Chris Baird during tour of Bowering Park with the Newfoundland Horticultural Society, July 3, 1984.

[10]Such a language, ascribing particular meanings to individual plants, was a popular literary conceit during Victorian times. See Miss Carruthers, Flower Lore (1879; rpt. Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1972), p. 165.

whether their gardening is, indeed, an expressive genre at a level of meaning deeper than the signification of social affiliations. And I hope, finally, to understand the private meanings which these gardens communicate.

The Hermitage

Situated in the relatively temperate conditions of Conception Bay, the community of Topsail has served as a summer retreat for St. John's residents since the turn of the century. In 1935, Mr. and Mrs. Chesley A. Pippy purchased "The Hermitage", an extensive Topsail property, named for a small stone and slate building on the grounds which is supposed to date from the 1700's, and to have housed in its early years a court and, later, a hermit.[11]

Intending to use the property as a summer home, the Pippys began the process of renovating both the house and the grounds. The original garden plan had consisted of flower beds along the front and sides of the house, a vegetable garden and small fruit orchard in the near foreground, with trees in their natural state and waste ground beyond. The grounds have since been entirely reworked. Edna Pippy recalls:

> From the house down to Topsail Road we took out every tree, lifted every tree

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[11]Personal conversation with Edna Pippy, "The Hermitage," Topsail, July 7, 1984.

> other than the spruce trees. We had forty odd men here working.[12]

Nowadays every portion of the original grounds and an additional triangular section on the northern side of the property, which was purchased in later years, is thoroughly cultivated. Hidden from public view behind a tall, closed board fence, a belt of flowering shrubs, trees and flowers encircles the property. Smaller flower beds surround the house. Two curving rose beds define the nearer foreground of the principal lawn. A large perennial bed occupies the horizon on a small rise of land. While holding beds for perennial stock, a vegetable garden, fruit trees and bushes, and a large greenhouse fill the distant end of the property. (See Figure 7, p. 145)

The earliest redevelopment of "The Hermitage" grounds was undertaken under the direction of Alfred Edward Canning, a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society of Great Britain and Superintendent of Bowering Park.[13] Canning seems to have planted the grounds in the Victorian "picturesque" manner -- a style which minimized the use of flowers and prescribed the mixed planting of shrubs, evergreen and deciduous trees "to define a lawn area, at the edges of the property, or at

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[12]Personal interview with Edna Pippy, "The Hermitage," Topsail, July 7, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 040-043.

[13]Who's Who In and From Newfoundland, 1927, ed. R. Hibbs (St. John's: R. Hibbs, 1927), p. 99.

junctures of paths and roadways within the landscape".[14] In this manner, Canning planted a prominent semi-circle of trees and shrubs on the small mount of land in front of the house.

Edna Pippy had not been involved in these early landscaping efforts. She supposes now that "she didn't know enough about it then".[15] However, in succeeding years, she became increasingly dissatisfied with the results and determined, particularly, to redesign the front portion of the grounds to suit her own taste. She recalls the effect the circle of trees had on her:

> It began to close in, these trees. As you know, they were in layers. They were getting taller and taller and I was beginning to feel smothered. I thought, my glory, I'm going to do something about this. So I started in just with our gardeners. We had this head gardener who was marvellous... You could tell him what you wanted, you know, give him an idea. I'd describe what I wanted exactly and he'd go ahead and do it.[16]

With the assistance of her Bowering Park trained head gardener, Gordon Fowler, Edna Pippy directed the thinning of the encircling band of trees. She saved only a few specimens to frame the distant view and had the same area converted into a large flower bed. (See Photograph 10, p. 160)

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[14] Favretti and Favretti, Landscapes and Gardens, p. 47.

[15] MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 045-050.

[16] Ibid., Number 070-075.

Photograph 10. Looking from the house towards the "Rock Garden", "The Hermitage", July 7.

Copses of mixed trees mark the extent of the principal lawn and provide a backdrop to the "rock garden". Highlighting the view from the front facade of the house, this extensive bed attracts the wandering viewer as it meanders behind a screen of trees.

This newly-devised bed was shaped into an irregular horse-shoe, which merged on the west into a belt of trees and formed on the east an island at the summit of the lawn. A rustic stone walk-way crossed its apex. Edna refers to the bed as the "Rock Garden", applying the colloquial nomenclature of an early twentieth century fashion for a rock bordered bed filled with a mixture of plants, rather than intending the more ex-acting, professional criterion that a rock garden contain only alpine plants in a bed which simulates alpine conditions.[17] The garden is defined by a line of rounded field stone. Fur-ther rocks are scattered throughout the rich beds, while the intervening space is filled with an abundant mixture of an-nuals, herbaceous perennials, and perennial alpine plants. (See Figure 11, p. 163 and Photograph 11, p. 166)

Whether calculated by mass or by variety, herbaceous perennials dominate the bed. Edna Pippy argues that peren-nials provide the necessary foundation to a flower bed. "You really have to have some perennials," she explains, "as a background for your garden and then you work around them."[18] The perennials are prized both for their bloom and for the bulk of foliage which serves as a foil to the later-blooming annuals:

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[17]Diane McLeod, Horticulturist at Memorial University's Botanic Garden observes that this usage is traditional among St. John's gardeners. Private conversation, July 17, 1984. See Favretti and Favretti, Landscapes and Gardens, p. 71.

[18]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 400-405.

Figure 11. Plan of the "Rock Garden", "The Hermitage".

Giving the bed its name, smooth field stones mark the boundaries and dot the interior of this irregular, horse-shoe shaped garden. A foundation of herbaceous perennials is supplemented with yearly plantings of annuals. Perennial rock plants soften the edges of the bed, while a background of flowering shrubs along its southern extent merge, finally, into the belt of trees which encircle the property.

Scale 1" = 6'

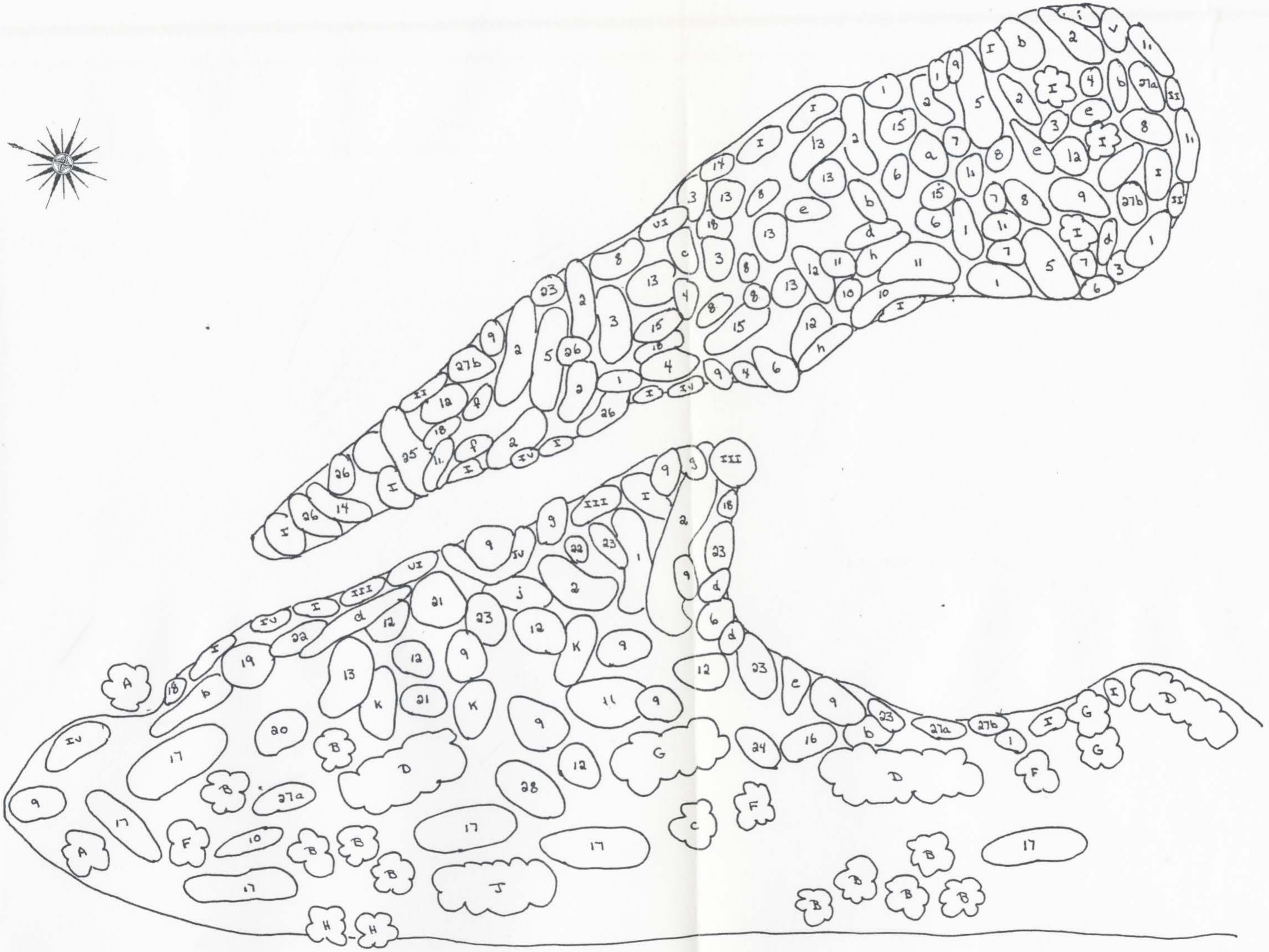

Figure 8. Key to plant materials, "Rock Garden", "The Hermitage".

Herbaceous perennials

1. Cornflower
2. Bearded iris
3. Mallow - white and pink
4. Golden ball
5. Garden geranium
6. Tiger lily
7. Day lily
8. Oriental poppy - red and pink
9. Columbine
10. Solomon's seal
11. Peony
12. Astilbe - white and red
13. Sweet rocket
14. Forget-me-not
15. Shasta daisy
16. Veronica
17. Monkshood
18. Polyanthus
19. Foxglove
20. Yellow loosestrife
21. Phlox
22. Viola
23. Prince's feathers
24. Delphinium
25. Bleeding heart (Dicentra formosa)
26. Evening primrose
27a. Hosta (Hosta caerulea)
27b. Hosta (Hosta japonica)

Annuals

a. Love lies bleeding
b. Dahlia
c. Rudbeckia
d. Salvia
e. Calendula
f. Chrysanthemum
g. Matricaria
h. Nemesia
i. Blue ageratum
j. Nicotiana
k. Cosmos
11. Tagetes; Marigold (Tagetes patula)
12. Tagetes; Marigold (Tagetes erecta)
13. Tagetes; Marigold (Tagetes signata pumila)

Figure 8 (cont'd)

Perennial rock garden plants

I. Sedum (Sedum acre)
II. Sedum (Sedum spectabile)
III. Pinks
IV. Saxifrage (Saxifraga umbrosa)
V. Heather
VI. Snow in summer

Shrubs and trees

A. Laburnum
B. Spruce
C. Weigela
D. Privet
E. Dogberry
F. Lilac
G. Rhododendron
H. Fir
I. Barberry
J. Philadelphus

Photograph 11. "Rock Garden", "The Hermitage", July 7.

The early summer garden is filled with the bloom of herbaceous perennials and flowering shrubs. Clumps of plant material, of varying colour and shape, are arranged according to a "natural" plan of uneven contours.

> You have your perennials to give you colour always. Different perennials come into bloom different times... Now when they finish, they will be a mass of green, a block of green. And then we'll put in the annuals.[19]

Perennials are significant components of the flower bed, as well, since they provide, when blooming, colours which would not otherwise be available. "Certain colours that you want in your garden you won't get with annuals"[20] she notes, citing the blue of the garden geranium, the "lovely, pure white; deep, deep purple; deep blue and pale blue" of varieties of delphinium and the "soft, fluffy, creamy mass of blue" of meadowsweet. Without the use of such perennials, particular harmonies of colour would not be possible within the total garden effect.

The bed has been stocked primarily with perennials in consideration, as well, of their permanence. The particular varieties of perennials have, additionally, been planned to achieve a succession of bloom. Now well established, the garden has only to be supplemented with yearly additions of annuals and bulbs in order to provide a season of bloom running from early spring into late summer. The resultant show of colour is particularly full during the early summer. (See Table 4, pp. 168, 169) By early August, however, the perennials have generally finished flowering. While the annuals

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[19] Ibid., Number 425-433.

[20] Ibid., Number 405-410.

Table 4. Succession of bloom, "Rock Garden", "The Hermitage".

April

Crocus

May

'Darwin' tulips
'Cottage' tulips
'Rock Garden' tulips
Grape hyacinth
Scilla
Daffodils

Mid-June

4. Golden ball	IV. Saxifrage
10. Solomon's seal	
14. Forget-me-not	A. Laburnum
18. Polyanthus	F. Lilac
25. Bleeding heart	

Early July

1. Cornflower	d. Salvia
2. Bearded iris	
5. Garden geranium	I. Sedum
8. Oriental poppy	III. Pinks
9. Columbine	IV. Saxifrage
11. Peony	VI. Snow in summer
13. Sweet rocket	
14. Forget-me-not	G. Rhododendron
22. Viola	
25. Bleeding heart	

Mid-July

3. Mallow	a-13. all annuals
11. Peony	
19. Foxglove	I. Sedum
23. Prince's feathers	III. Pinks
25. Bleeding heart	IV. Snow in summer
26. Evening primrose	
27. Yellow loosestrife	C. Weigela
	J. Philadelphus

Table 4 (cont'd)

Early August

3.	Mallow	a-13, all annuals
7.	Day lily	
12.	Astilbe	II. Sedum
15.	Shasta daisy	
16.	Veronica	
17.	Monkshood	
19.	Foxglove	
20.	Yellow loosestrife	
26.	Evening primrose	
27b.	Hosta	

Mid-August

6.	Tiger lily	a-13, all annuals
8.	Oriental poppy	
12.	Astilbe	II. Sedum
15.	Shasta daisy	V. Heather
16.	Veronica	
17.	Monkshood	
21.	Phlox	
22.	Viola	
27a.	Hosta	

increasingly fill the "rock garden" with colour, the two rose beds in the near foreground of the house come into full bloom at this time. And the principal garden interest passes to their colour. (See Photograph 12, p. 171)

In keeping with the irregular outline of the bed, the "rock garden" has been laid out according to principles of natural irregularity. In placing the plant material within the bed, Edna Pippy has consciously eschewed geometric design:

> I don't do things all in symmetrical piles [she explains] ... a pile of blue, a pile of pink and a pile of yellow. I mix it all up... The beds are all done in masses, they're not done in lines. I wouldn't let them do that. But I said 'Now look now, that's got to stop. No lines at all. Masses, masses of everything as it goes in, a bunch of it.' With the different colours it looks pretty when it's all in bloom.[21]

While contending with the tendency of her gardeners to arrange the plants in symmetrical lines of contrasting colour, Edna has preferred to arrange the plants in drifts of colour. Though she has not attempted to elaborate an overall colour scheme, she has established minor variations of complimentary colours, in a range from pink through blue and purple, with contrasting clumps of white. The effect is one of natural abundance and variety of colour.

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[21] Ibid., Number 385-400.

Photograph 12. "Rock Garden", "The Hermitage", July 20.

By mid-summer, the season of bloom among the perennial plant materials is largely passed. Clumps of "pinks", of blue columbine and white mallow continue to provide some colour until the interplanted patches of annuals come into bloom. However, the primary interest has been taken up by the rose beds in the foreground of the garden. Having come into flower, these will continue to bloom until the first frosts of October.

Edna Pippy's "rock garden" exhibits a great number of the principles of design which had been recommended by Gertrude Jekyll and her followers for the perennial garden. The bed is filled primarily with herbaceous perennials, which provide a permanent foundation of colour from year to year. The plants are laid out in massed clumps of single varieties. And they are arranged with the taller plants towards the centre of the bed and the smaller plants towards the front edges, in a plan which is tempered by a degree of "natural" randomness. While Edna Pippy has not intended to create an overall scheme of colour harmonies, she has used a variety of colours, shapes and textures, "combining different forms so as to aid each other" in creating the garden effect.[22] Finally, the garden unites these principles of design within a concern for a succeeding display of bloom during three months of the summer.

Though exhibiting a simplified treatment of colour and a relatively limited period of succeeding bloom, the design of the "rock garden" adheres to the principles for the "perennial border" originally recommended by Robinson and Jekyll. Not only is the form of the garden and the conception of its design reminiscent of these literary origins, but the metaphors used by Edna Pippy to describe the design process are also phrased in pictorial metaphors characteristic of

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[22]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. 39.

Jekyll's writing. She had often described gardening as the process of manipulating plants "so that they shall form beautiful pictures".[23] In a similar spirit, Edna remarks of her own gardening:

> People do painting and that. I say that my paintings are the garden. I do my paintings in the garden.[24]

Rather than expressing any individual meaning in her rendering of the garden, Edna seems to have fully absorbed both the principles and the spirit of the naturalistic style of perennial gardening. The form of her garden exhibits conformity to established standards of taste and communicates, simply, the gardener's standing within fashionable society.

A second informant has developed her perennial bed in the smaller-scale circumstances envisioned but not extensively addressed by Jekyll. Working in a bed less than half the size of "The Hermitage" "rock garden" and with only occasional aid from casual garden help, Marian Bugden has yet achieved a garden which incorporates many of the same principles of design.

Marian Bugden's Garden

Though she has been a St. John's resident throughout her seventy-eight years, Marian Bugden moved to her current

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[23]Jekyll, Colour in the Flower Garden, p. vi.

[24]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Number 129-132.

home in the suburbs of the city in 1968. In moving, she left behind the garden she had planted during the early years of her marriage and inherited, in turn, a larger, well-established garden. Marian was quite pleased with the general lay-out of this new garden. Since the move, she has, as a result, maintained the garden with only slight modifications to its extant framework.

The yard is relatively long and narrow, with two principal flower beds, one in the front and one to the rear of the house. (See Figure 8, p. 148) A small bed of mixed perennials provides a foundation to the front facade of the house, but from the street, the primary display is created by a "rock garden" running in a terrace parallel to the front of the house and along its western side. Behind the house, a flower-edged brick patio abuts a large, semi-circular bed of perennials which is framed, in turn, by a backdrop of trees and flowering shrubs. Hidden behind this screen lies a final "scrap garden". Here Marian grows sweet peas for cutting and a few vegetables for her own use; and here she maintains a stock of perennials which have outgrown their place in the front gardens, but which might yet be returned to the garden to fill an appropriate gap, or given away or traded with friends and visitors.

As St. John's garden reviewer Edith Mitchell has noted, the perennial bed is a "hidden garden",[25] screened from the

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[25]Edith Mitchell, "Devotion Evident in Garden", Evening Telegram, July 21, 1984, p. 12., cols. 4-6.

passerby's view by both the house and the garage. Yet the bed receives no less attention from the gardener than the more public "rock garden". Indeed, with a recent decline in her health, Marian has been urged to cut back on her gardening activities and the elimination of the perennial bed has been suggested. Yet, as this garden is the one she sees and enjoys while working at her kitchen windown, Marian is determined to continue its upkeep.

While Marian approved the original semi-circular layout of the perennial bed, she felt that the garden lacked "bloom". She remembers:

> There wasn't much in it... I wanted more bloom, because I found that I didn't have the bloom and so to make it have colour nearly all the time, something or other, I had to put more things in it and more variety and then you get more out of it. That's the way I look at it, it's the bit of bloom we're after.[26]

By "bloom" Marian refers to the ephemeral sequence of colour provided by a succession of flowering perennials. She finds the more constant colour of annuals less satisfying.

> Some people [she explains] have bulbs in their beds and they take up their bulbs and they put annuals in. And then they have a nice, big bed of bright bloom. But with me, I only have bloom whenever it blooms.[27]

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[26]Personal interview with Marian Bugden, St. John's, July 8, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 275-300.

[27]Ibid., Number 090-100.

In keeping with her preference for changing bloom, Marian has relied solely on perennials to supplement the back garden. She has selected a variety of plant materials with staggered seasons of bloom, with the intention of achieving a summer-long succession of colour. (See Figure 12, p. 178, and Table 5, pp. 181-182)

The primacy of this interest in achieving variety and duration of bloom is evident, as well, in Marian's redevelopment of the front "rock garden". The front garden had initially been reserved for lower-growing perennial rock garden plants, while the back garden was to feature the taller growing herbaceous perennials. But as the rock garden plants alone did not produce sufficient bloom, herbaceous perennials have gradually been added. Marian comments:

> I find if I want to have a little bloom, well, I've just got to put it in even if it is a little higher than I would like it... It's not too bad, you know, to have it a little taller.[28]

Layered over this interest in filling the beds with a succession of "bloom" runs a complementary intention to expand the range of colour exhibited in the flowers. Marian articulates this principle most clearly in a discussion of colour in the front garden. Here, she felt that she would "like to get more blue"[29] than was originally evident. Her solution was not, however, to plant a single blue species; rather she has added five different species

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[28] Ibid., Number 225-260.

[29] Ibid., Number 225-230.

Figure 12. Plan of Marian Bugden's Perennial Bed

A band of trees and flowering shrubs provide a backdrop to the semi-circular bed. Clumps of perennials, selected to maximize colour and bloom, are crowded into the space with virtually no duplication of individual plant varieties. A handful of annual petunias -- a gift from a friend -- have been given growing space at the front of the bed.

Scale 1" - 4'

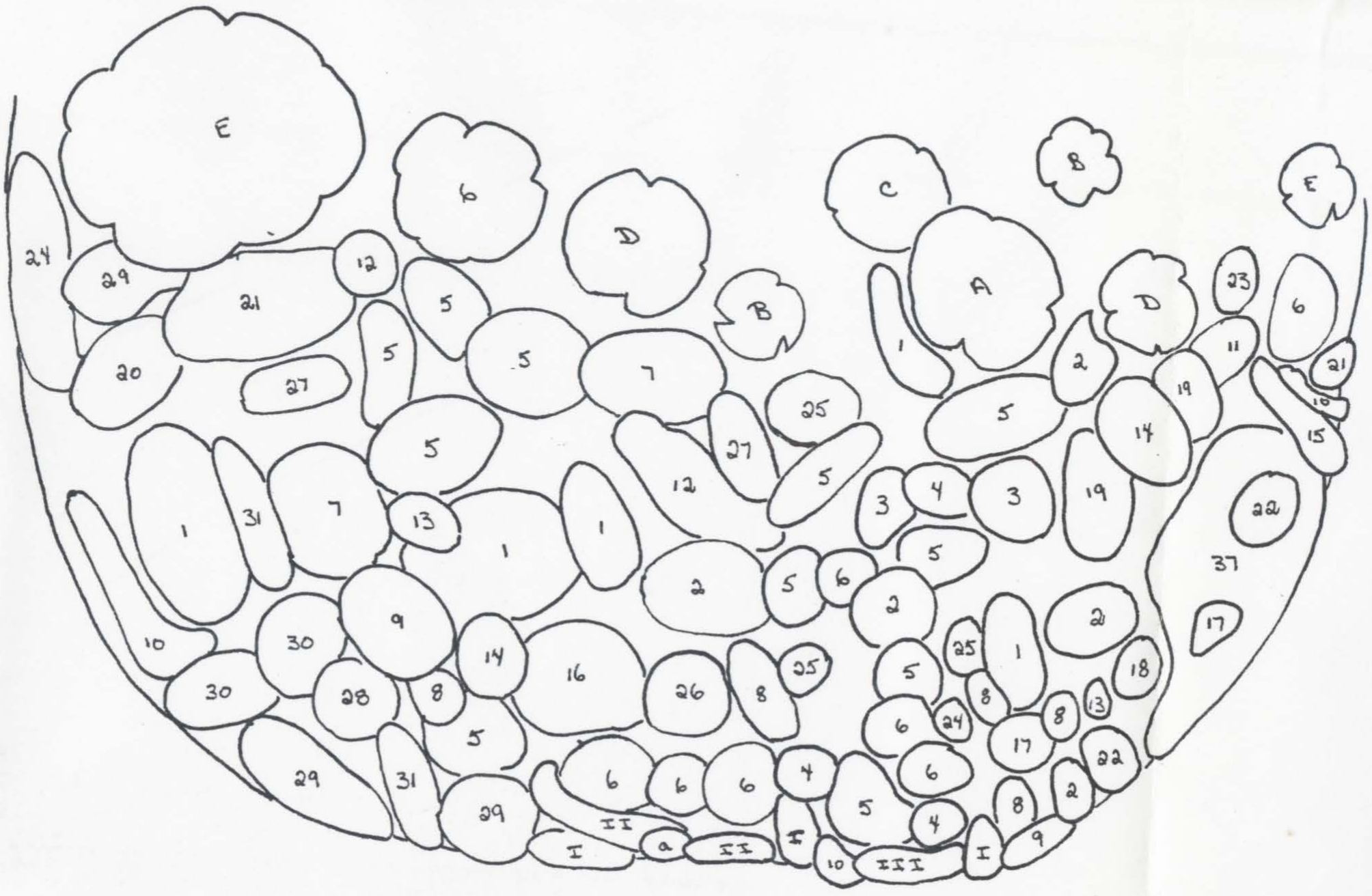
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Figure 12. Key to plant materials, Marian Bugden's perennial border.

Herbaceous perennials

1. Lupin - blue, white and pink
2. Poppy - "red flag" and pink
3. Peony - pink and red
4. Columbine
5. Phlox (Phlox paniculata) - pink and white
6. Astilbe - white, pink and red
7. Bleeding heart (Dicentra spectabilis)
8. Chives
9. Aster dazzler
10. Forget-me-not - blue and white
11. ? (Doronicum plantagineum)
12. Delphinium
13. Viola
14. Monkshood
15. Strawberries
16. Day lilies
17. Bluebonnet
18. Goldenrod
19. Blackeyed susan
20. Campanula
21. Ragged robin
22. Shasta daisy - single and double
23. Mallow
24. Veronica
25. Iris
26. Golden ball
27. Bachelor's buttons
28. Lamb's ear
29. Garden geranium
30. Geum - orange and pink
31. Painted daisy

Annuals

a. Petunia

Perennial rock garden plants

I. Sedum (Sedum acre)
II. Mossy saxifrage
III. Golden crest

Figure 12 (cont'd)

Shrubs and trees

A. Topsail rose
B. Honeysuckle
C. Snowball
D. Lilac - purple and white
E. Blue spruce

Table 5. Succession of bloom, Marian Bugden's perennial border.

May

Crocus

Early June

Tulips
"Baby" hyacinth
Jonquil

9. (Doronicum plantagineum) III. Golden crest
10. Forget-me-not
13. Viola

Mid-June

7.	Bleeding heart	IV.	Mossy saxifrage
26.	Golden ball		
30.	Geum - orange	E.	Lilac - white

Early July

3.	Peony	I.	Sedum
4.	Columbine	II.	Mossy saxifrage
7.	Bleeding heart		
8.	Chives	E.	Lilac - purple
10.	Forget-me-not		
25.	Iris		
29.	Garden geranium		
30.	Geum - orange		
31.	Painted daisy		

Mid-July

1.	Lupins - blue, white and pink	a.	Petunia
2.	Red flag poppy	A.	Topsail rose
6.	Astilbe	C.	Snowball
7.	Bleeding heart		
10.	Forget-me-not		
13.	Viola		
17.	Bluebonnet		
21.	Ragged robin		
22.	Single shasta daisy		
29.	Garden geranium		
30.	Geum - pink		
31.	Painted daisy		

Table 5 (cont'd)

Early August

6. Astilbe - red	a. Petunia
16. Day lilies	B. Honeysuckle
19. Blackeyed susan	
20. Campanula	
22. Double shasta daisy	
23. Mallow	
27. Bachelor buttons	

Mid-August

5. Phlox	2. Petunia
12. Delphinium	
14. Monkshood	
18. Golden rod	
23. Mallow	
24. Veronica	

of perennial -- scottish bluebells, thistle, cornflower, iris and jacob's ladder -- each with a particular shade of blue and a varying season of bloom. In the rear garden, Marian has undertaken a similar development. Recently, for example, she had hoped to add a clump of pink poppies as a contrast to an extant group of "red flag" poppies. Unfortunately, a mistaken purchase has yielded a poppy of the same red as the original.

To these principal considerations of variety and succession of bloom, Marian adds the consideration of single colour harmonies. She explains:

> I think about that, whether things will go with one another ... You know the colour of the flowers and then you judge them, I like the blue and yellow together.[30]

However, the evanescent nature of perennials means that such a concern need not be overstrict. If the colour of adjacent plants is not pleasing, it is likely that:

> One will bloom this week and perhaps the other will bloom next week, and then you don't mind having it too close together because it may not be out at the same time.[31]

However, the achievement of the garden design is not completed simply with the planting of a variety of plant materials. As Marian comments, the selection of plants

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[30] Ibid., Number 197-203.

[31] Ibid., Number 205-210.

must be continuously re-enforced during the routine maintenance of the bed. For one plant will flourish while another will die away, threatening again the balance and range of variety within the bed. Currently, for example, Marian feels that the rampant growth of the pink lupin is overcrowding the white lupin. (See Photograph 13, p. 185) Once this season of bloom is complete, she will cut back the one in order to permit the freer growth of the other, hoping to regain a balance among the various plants.

While Marian manipulates a large number of plant species in order to maximize the season and variety of bloom, she feels that the visual effect of variety can be heightened by the use of clumps of contrasting materials rather than the mixed planting of a number of single plant specimens. As a result, she requires that each variety be planted in a sufficiently large mass to "give a little splash"[32]; and again, having arranged the plants in clumps, when maintaining the garden she tries to keep each grouping "a little separate [since] one thing will show off a little better than having too many colours together".[33]

These two requirements -- the first for variety of plant materials and the second for the physical integrity of each species -- place conflicting requirements on the

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[32] Ibid., Number 225-230.

[33] Ibid., Number 220-225.

Photograph 13. Marian Bugden and a Portion of her perennial border, July 8.

In order to achieve a continuing succession of bloom throughout the summer, Marian has arranged the perennials in particularly dense plantings. While she notes that the separation of the plant species into distinct clumps has been lost in the resultant profusion, "it's the bit of bloom" which is given priority.

gardener's use of space. One principle suggests an expanding repertoire of plant materials; the other requires provision of adequate space for each species. Giving priority to the first, Marian rarely duplicates the use of a particular variety within the bed. In consequence, though hers is the smallest of beds among my sample of informants, Marian's perennial bed contains the greatest number of plant varieties. Furthermore, the varieties have been planted with remarkable density. Marian notes that the final effect is overcrowded, nonetheless she delights in the garden's abundance. "You want" she says "to come every week to appreciate it".[34] (See Photograph 14, p. 187)

Marian Bugden's approach to garden design, again, reflects many of the aesthetic principles originally formulated by Robinson and Jekyll. The emphasis on a succession of bloom within a permanent planting of perennials, the massing of individual species, and the development of variety and harmonies of colour particularly recall these formal antecedents.

Both Edna Pippy and Marian Bugden work on a scale considerably reduced from that originally proposed by Gertrude Jekyll. Edna Pippy gardens in somewhat more than half the space of the main flower border at Munstead Wood; Marian Bugden utilizes approximately one-sixth of that garden area.

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[34] Ibid., Number 103-105.

Photograph 14. Marian Bugden's perennial border, August 20.

Clumps of pink and white phlox provide colour in the late summer garden.

And each manipulates less than half the number of plant varieties used by Jekyll in her principal "garden picture". While each of my informants pays considerable attention to the creation of harmonious combinations of colour within the garden, neither has developed an overall colour plan akin to Jekyll's elaborate sequences of colour harmonies. Except for this simplification, the two gardeners each repeat the principles of succession of bloom, variety and harmony of colour, and the massing of plants arranged according to a natural irregularity of line, as originally popularized by Robinson and Jekyll. Marian Bugden has, however, compressed these principles to a remarkable degree in order to maximize colour and succession of bloom within the constraints of her suburban-sized plot. One gardener might be said to represent relative conformity to the principles articulated for the design of the perennial border, while the other might be said to represent innovation within the tradition. Yet, in either case, the gardener's approach to design seems to arise from different technical circumstances rather than differing communicative intentions.

However, neither gardener would describe the process by which they have designed their gardens in such a manner. Neither conceives of the process of design as the re-interpretation of an established text, and neither would cite literary references as models of design. Rather, each woman has assimilated the principles of design evident in their gardens from experience and from oral sources, and

each experiences her garden as a field of personal creativity.

Despite the formal relation between "The Hermitage" rock garden and Jekyll's perennial borders, and the similarity of phraseology by which the two enterprises have been described, Edna Pippy's sense of garden design does not consciously arise from garden literature. Edna's intention in planning the Hermitage garden was to create "a sort of English garden... with flowers here and there"[35] from the example of country estate gardens she had seen while traveling in England. Such visual memories, combined with personal contacts with professional and amateur gardeners, have provided her with general models for the garden's design. Marian Bugden has similarly developed her sense of design within an informal network of fellow gardeners, and with little reference to garden literature. While garden books are occasionally given to her as presents, Marian remarks that she has little time for reading. She prefers to spend her time in social gatherings of garden enthusiasts. Both she and Edna have been members of the Newfoundland Horticultural Society since its 1952 founding. And Marian particularly acknowledges the monthly meetings which feature an exchange of gardening advice, and the organized tours of noteworthy local gardens, as sources of her gardening information.

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[35]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 2, Number 88-92.

> Well, you know [she observes] you pick up this and you pick up the other thing and you get to know the things. Now when we visit gardens we see a lot with the Horticultural Society. You really learn a lot by seeing other people's gardens and what they do.[36]

Though the "perennial border" is historically a literary genre, these two gardeners work within a tradition which is enacted within a small circle of friends and fellow garden enthusiasts and which is more characteristically transmitted by imitation and by word of mouth than in print.[37] Certainly, some of the other members of the Horticultural Society have a more literary and historical bent. Ken Proudfoot, for example, is not only the editor of the Society's Newsletter, but is known as a gardening bibliophile. He recently reminded the membership that Jekyll's books have been republished and that "there are lessons to be learned on garden design from these books".[38] Yet his interest in garden texts and garden history appears to be treated as a personal specialty rather than a common source of information for all Society members.

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[36]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 106-112.

[37]Loring M. Danforth notes a similar interplay of oral and written transmission in the Greek shadow theatre. Though the performer's repertoire of plays is learned and performed orally, plot summaries are often recorded to reinforce the individual's memory, "See "Tradition and Change in Greek Shadow Theatre," Journal of American Folklore, 96 (1983), 291.

[38]Ken Proudfoot, "Editor's Comments", Down to Earth, March 1984, p. 1.

Marian Bugden describes her approach to design as an incremental process undertaken without reference to garden literature. As she works in her kitchen, she will assess the effect of the garden and plan further alterations and additions. She explains:

> I looked out the window and I planned it in my own mind. That's the way I do things. I didn't write it down, but I planned it from the window. I'd look out on a bad day and I'd size up what was there and what I wanted to put there.[39]

Edna Pippy describes her gardening in very similar terms. She recalls planning her garden in the same manner that she would begin a landscape painting:

> I just look at it... I just have an idea, what I want, where I want it and how I want it. I didn't copy anything. I just sat down and put in my sky and then I started. I just make things out of my head.[40]

Though other gardens and gardeners are acknowledged as sources of information, the process of design is personalized and the inspiration is said to be drawn "out of my head".

Working within a verbal tradition which derives from a literary one, these gardeners have adopted a rhetoric of individual identity which is traditional in its own right.

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[39]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 20-25.

[40]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 83-88.

In carving and painting miniaturized human figures, prairie model maker Arthur Fleet has been similarly quoted as ascribing his inspiration to ideas which "have come out of my head".[41] In my own experience, an old Newfoundland fisherman, Francis Careen, explained the designs which he had cut from wood and painted in bright colours to embellish the front façade of his house, as coming "from his head" though such fancy work was evident on many of the houses along the Cape Shore.[42] For each person, then, the models of design seem to have become internalized, and each adopts a traditional expression to voice their sense of individual creativity.

While the rules which guide the design of their perennial gardens may derive historically from the literary models originally established by Robinson and Jekyll, my two informants work more characteristically, within a folk tradition. Regardless of the formal parallels between the popular model and the individual gardens, the conception of the design is explained as a process of personal inspiration. In practise, then, the popular model is absorbed by the traditional means of transmission and the traditional expression of individuality within which the genre is enacted.

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[41]Jean-Francois Blanchette and others, From the Heart: Folk Art in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart in Cooperation with the National Museums of Canada, 1983), p. 154.

[42]See Penelope Houlden,"'Just for Scenery': The 'Fancy Work' Doorways of Point Lance", TS., MUNFLA 78-488, 24 pp.

Millicent Winter's Garden

Like Marian Bugden, Millicent Winter inherited a well-developed garden when she and her husband purchased their present home some forty years ago. During the intervening years, Millicent has modified and extended the flower beds until today all of the available space is cultivated. While there is a small display of flowers along the front, the principal focus of the garden is sheltered by the house itself from public view. Built in terraces upon a relatively steep slope, the back garden includes a patch of vegetables tucked into the easterly angle of the house, a small bed of perennials along the eastern boundary, and within a principal view from the sun porch, a number of oval-shaped beds filled with roses. On the terrace below, a rectangular lawn is bounded on the north by a single row of peony and phlox. A border of mixed annuals and perennials marks its southern boundary, and the boundary of the grounds. (See Figure 9, p. 149)

This border has been the principal addition made to the garden by Millicent Winter. The bed had originally been planned as a rock garden. However, over the years, Mrs. Winter had found that she could get neither the succession of bloom nor the variety of colour that she wished when using perennial rock garden plants alone. As a result, she has included a substantial number of herbaceous perennials as a foundation to the bed, and plants additional clumps of

annuals on a yearly basis. (See Figure 13, p. 196)

The bed was originally constructed from truckloads of earth, brought in, shaped into a narrow rectangular border, and built up higher along the back and lower towards the front of the bed. The arrangement of the plants further exaggerates this angle. The taller plants are placed towards the rear of the bed, while smaller plants are arranged in decreasing size until the perennial rock garden plants tumble over the edging of the rocks (See Photograph 15, p. 198) Lying below the house, the orientation of the bed opens the garden to full view from above. Behind, a tall, clipped hedge provides a back-drop to the border, while shielding the garden from the adjoining public playing fields.

Though Millicent Winter has been anxious to achieve a smooth, geometric base to the layout of the bed, she complains that the results would never win a prize.[43] The slight angle of the lot has been followed by the bed, leaving the line of the terraced lawn somewhat awry. Furthermore, the gradation of plant materials is occasionally broken by unevenness. The general effect of the bed is nonetheless one of regular orderliness. Fronting the trimmed hedge, the bed proceeds in layers: first, a long row of astilbe, then a line of regularly spaced clumps of bleeding heart interplanted with shasta daisies, candytuft and garden

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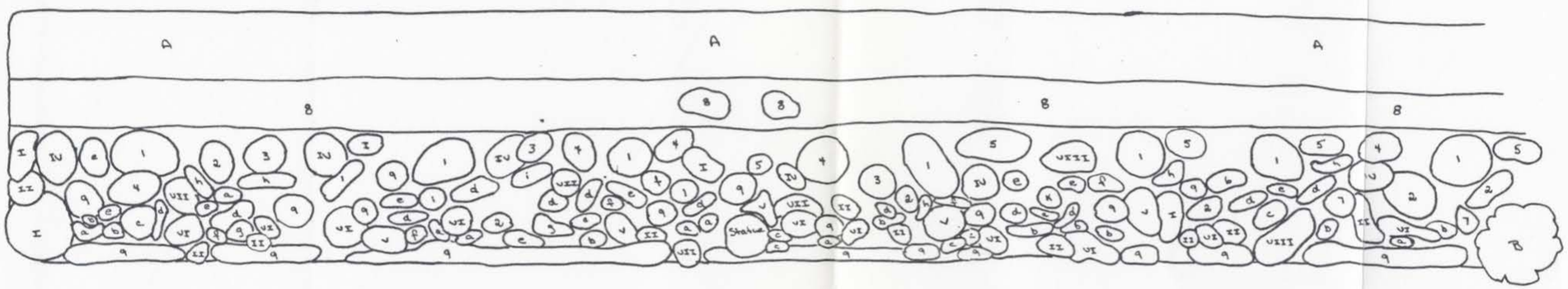
[43]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 15, 1984.

Figure 13. Plan of Millicent Winter's Perennial Border.

The border is backed by a tall, rectangular clipped hedge and a row of white and pink astilbe. Below this line, a series of bleeding heart are spaced at approximate 9' intervals along the length of the bed and interplanted with shasta daisy, candytuft and garden geraniums in the eastern and central portions of the bed, and with poppies on its western side. Below this lies a row of geum and polyanthus primula, interspersed with clumps of assorted annuals. And below this again runs a line of perennial rock plants, including snow-in-summer, sedum, saxifrage and allysum. Finally, a row of smaller primrose borders the lawn. Single specimens -- a clump of heather, hen and chickens, hosts and incorvillia -- are dotted within these more regular ranks.

Scale 1" - 4'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Statue

Figure 12. Key to plant materials, Millicent Winter's perennial border.

Herbaceous perennials

1. Bleeding Heart (Dicentra formosa)
2. Geum
3. Shasta daisy
4. Garden geranium
5. Oriental poppy
6. Forget-me-not
7. Hosta
8. Astilbe - red and white
9. Primula polyantha

Annuals

a. Wax begonia - red and white
b. Lobelia - blue and white
c. Pansy - blue, orange and yellow
d. Petunia - pink and white
e. Dusty miller
f. Marigold
g. Ageratum
h. Calendula
i. Snapdragon

Perennial rock garden plants

I. Snow in summer
II. Sedum (Sedum acre)
III. Hens and chickens
IV. Candytuft
V Mossy saxifrage
VI. Pinks
VII. Yellow alyssum
VIII. Heather

Shrubs and trees

A. Privet
B. Oak

Photograph 15. Millicent Winter's Perennial Border, July 19.

At mid-summer the alpine perennials have passed their peak season of colour, while the annuals are only gradually coming into bloom. Clumps of pink dicentra formosa, chosen rather than the more common dicentra spectabilis variety of bleeding heart for their longer period of bloom, are spaced along the rear of the bed. Clumps of blooming "pinks" repeat the geometry of the layout at the level below.

geranium, then a row of geum and Primula polyanthus interspersed with clumps of annuals, a row of alpine perennials and finally a row of low-growing primula.

The geometry of the layout is further underlined by the uniformity of certain of the plant materials. A number of the perennial species repeated along the length of the border have been nurtured and divided from a single, original plant. For example, the astilbe lining the back of the bed has been propagated primarily from a single stock. As the result, the majority of the plants exhibit a uniform colour and season of bloom.

The annuals are newly selected each year and are arranged, on site, with a careful attention to small-scale color harmonies. While Millicent favours, in general, the pinks, yellows and whites of petunia and marigold, this year she has interplanted blue flowered pansies and silver-leaved dusty miller as a contrast to the brighter colours.

While treating the garden with particular attention to an orderly foundation, Millicent Winter combines this interest with the common principles of perennial garden design. Varying plant species have been selected to create both a variety of forms and of colour. A succession of bloom has been achieved from the bloom of spring bulbs through an early July peak in the colour of the perennial rock garden plants and herbaceous perennials to a mid-summer flourish of annuals. (See Table 6, p. 200) The plants are laid out in clumps of sufficient size to create a strong visual effect. Again, the formal

Table 6. Succession of bloom, Millicent Winter's perennial border.

Early June

Tulip
9. Primula

Mid-June

1. Bleeding heart
2. Geum
9. Primula

V. Mossy saxifrage
VII. Yellow alyssum

Early June

1. Bleeding heart
2. Geum
5. Oriental poppy
6. Forget-me-not

I. Snow in summer
II. Sedum
IV. Candytuft
V. Mossy saxifrage
VI. Pinks
VII. Yellow alyssum

Mid-July

1. Bleeding heart
3. Shasta daisy
4. Geranium
6. Forget-me-not
7. Hosta

I. Snow in summer
VI. Pinks

a-g annuals

August

3. Shasta daisy
7. Hosta

a-g annuals

antecedents established by Robinson and Jekyll are evident in the approach taken to the garden's design.

Despite the evident patterning of his wife's border, Gordon Winter wonders aloud whether gardens are generally planned. He suggests, rather, that the layout of the plants results from a series of impromptu decisions: "You are given a plant and then you stand around thinking, well, where could I put this?" Gardens, he would propose, ordinarily "grow like Topsy".[44] Edna Pippy voices a similar sentiment, suggesting that the final effect of her garden resulted from natural developments outside of her design intentions:

> I worked with the men all the time... I told them how I wanted it and I wanted the little steps made and the path and that sort of thing. And when it was all finished and it was all blooming, "My," [Fowler] said, "it's just like you see in books." He was delighted with it. But that's how the garden grew.[45]

This expression of modesty, which emphasizes the circumstantial selection and natural growth of the plants rather than the gardener's role as designer, was expressed as well by my Anglo-Canadian informants in British Columbia's Okanagan Valley. Remembering the first development of his

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[44]Personal conversation with Gordon and Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 17, 1984. "Topsy" is a fictional black servant girl whose antic behaviour serves as a test to the Christianity of her conservative New England mistress. See Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or Life Among The Lowly (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1852).

[45]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 083-088.

garden, Alan Painter echoed Gordon Winter's comments:

> It was a funny garden. It just grew... like Topsy. It wasn't planned. We had to find a place for the peonies when we brought them down, so we went to the edge of the orchard and started planting the peonies there.[46]

Such conventionalized expressions recall the traditional modesty observed by folklorists in a number of performance settings among Anglo-Americans. Abrahams, for example, has remarked on Almeda Riddle's restrained performance style and fidelity to the song's text when singing ballads;[47] while Toelken has described Bess Hockema's observance of a "community decorum" which prescribed excellence of performance within conservative forms as she constructed a range of material genre including crocheted afghans and mixed flower and vegetable gardens.[48]

Such comments are not simply a matter of etiquette, however, but express a substantive approach to gardening which values the nurturing of plants over abstract design principles. Marian Bugden demonstrates this process in a number of circumstances. Despite her dislike of a particular combination of red and pink polyanthus which had unintentionally

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[46]Personal interview with Alan Painter, Okanagan Mission, July 6, 1979. MUNFLA 80-204, C4899, Side 1, Number 330-335. See also, personal interview with Joan Willett, Okanagan Mission, September 17, 1979. MUNFLA 80-204, C4906, Side 1, Number 003-007.

[47]See Abrahams, "Creativity, Individuality and the Traditional Singer," p. 8.

[48]Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, p. 182.

occurred in her garden, Marian shows a marked disinclination to disturb the established plants:

> I don't like it, so I'm going to move it, [she explains]. It's sort of red and I didn't like it last year and this year, so I think I'll pull it out, either that or I'll pull more of the pink out.[49]

Though the effect is displeasing, the remedy of removing one or the other of the plants is undertaken with considerable hesitancy. In a reverse situation, this summer Marian planted a number of annual petunias, which had been given to her by a friend, along the front edge of the back-yard bed. As she was unable to find a place for them elsewhere in the garden, Marian chose to break her normal rule-of-thumb that the bed contain only perennials, rather than allow the plants to die. Through such day-to-day decisions in the maintenance of the garden, Marian encourages the growth of individual plants despite the implications for the design of the garden.

The significance of circumstance over design is evident, as well, in the informality of my informants' approach to the incremental development of their gardens. To use Marian Bugden as an example again, though she describes the process of conceiving of the garden's design, in the abstract, while looking from her kitchen windown, rather than checking horticultural source books for plant material with suitable

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[49]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 209-213.

abstract characteristics and securing the appropriate plants with reference to their scientific names, Marian most commonly accepts plants as they are offered to her and finds a place for them within the existing framework of her beds. This process is reflected in the informal naming of the plants common to the private gardeners. Many of the plants are remembered by the name -- whether colloquial or scientific -- which was used by the original donor. Marian recalls that one of her plants, which flowers in a "beautiful globe of purple", was called "bluebonnet by the man who gave it to (her)".[50] Other plants are named in reference to personal associations. Marian refers to a favorite rose bush as a "Topsail" rose, because "they used to have it in (the nearby community of) Topsail years ago".[51] Edna Pippy refers to the goldenrod growing in her garden only as "a wild yellow flower".[52] She had found it growing in the roadside and, liking its effect, had transplanted it into her garden. Occasionally, the plant names are forgotten entirely. Marian apologizes:

> I'm not much good at names, I know only the ordinary names. Some people, you know, know all of them. You see, I forget names.[53]

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[50]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 290-293.

[51]Ibid., p. 075-077.

[52]MUNFLA, 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 009-101.

[53]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 170-175.

While the professional gardeners consciously memorize the botanical names and commercial varieties of their plants, the private gardeners rely generally on the "ordinary names", or forgetting the name, refer to their plants according to the circumstances by which they were acquired. The professional gardeners often require a more exact record of their plantings in order to control the garden effect. The private gardeners, in contrast, do not treat their gardens as a blank field to be worked to a preconceived design, using components of certain prescribed qualities. Each tinkers continuously with the plant materials and their placement. With thought to general aesthetic principles, circumstantial finds are simply accommodated into the established structure of their gardens.

Both in their conventional deference to "Topsy" and in their informal approach to gardening, my informants downplay their role as designers. In a similar spirit, while they conceive of their gardens "in their own heads", they do not establish a particular identity through the creation of a unique garden form. Though the treatment of each garden has an individual quality, all follow in broad terms the principles for the design of the perennial border -- succession of bloom, variety and harmony of colour, gradation of height tempered by a "natural" unevenness. Equally, none of the gardeners established a unique identity through the use of unusual plant materials. The total repertoire of herbaceous perennials used by my informants numbers only some thirty-nine

different genus, while some of the gardeners employ as many as thirty-two genera of these standard components. The gardener's identity is expressed neither through uniqueness of the garden's design nor through uniqueness of its plant materials; rather, identity is established through the activity of gardening itself.

The sense of individuality developed by my informants begins in their adoption of gardening as a hobby. Edna Pippy describes her own interest in gardening as a personal idiosyncracy. None of her friends were avid gardeners. They urged her, instead, to join them in playing golf. But, she explains:

> I couldn't see myself going out from here when I had a gorgeous garden. I never did.[54]

Marian Bugden echoes these sentiments:

> Now my friends, some of them, can't be bothered with it. But the way I look at it, I get just as much kick out of that as if I went to a show or something. I'm not a bit tired doing gardening. It's just relaxing to come to do the things and see it nice.[55]

Both Edna Pippy and Marian Bugden had husbands who enjoyed their gardens; but neither shared in their wife's knowledge or devotion to gardening.

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[54]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 2, Number 003-005.

[55]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 345-349.

> But of course, [Edna Pippy notes] the thing is, my husband, now, he didn't know a thing. He knew a rose and he knew a polyanthus, and if anybody would ask him "What's that?" "Oh, that's a polyanthus", he'd say, though half the time it wasn't you know. But he didn't do a thing in the garden. He hadn't the first knowledge about anything, but he loved flowers.[56]

Marian Bugden observes rather more succinctly that while her husband loved the garden, he only offered occasional help with the work. "He wasn't a gardener," she explains, he was an accountant."[57] Gordon Winter similarly disclaims any particular knowledge of plants, despite his daily habit of picking and wearing the roses that his wife grows.[58]

The role of the gardener is, thus, set within traditional modes of behaviour which dramatize the performer's individuality. Close friends and family members may take some interest in gardening, but they are not themselves "gardeners". A traditional deference, commonly remarked in such performance genre as storytelling or singing,[59] similarly marks the performance of the individual gardener.

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[56] MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 150-155.

[57] MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 123-125.

[58] Personal conversation with Gordon Winter, St. John's, July 17, 1984.

[59] See, for example, Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, p. 158, or, the mutual, but separate, roles taken by family members in the development of a family photograph collection. Pauline Greenhill, "Record, Communication and Entertainment: A Functional Study of Two Family Photograph Collections in St. John's, Newfoundland," M.A. Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1981.

While the role of the gardener is marked by such behavioral conventions, the individual's identity is finally established through their garden work. A visit to Marian Bugden's garden involves a constant flurry of activity. While pointing out the qualities of the blooming flowers, she continues to pull back plants that have overgrown their bounds and pick out invading weeds. Chores of watering and spraying against insects involve a constant rotation from bed to bed, around the house. However such work is not simply a means to the end of a particular garden effect, rather it is a source of pride in itself. On a number of occasions, Marian has won prizes for "Best Garden" from the Newfoundland Horticultural Society. Commenting on the award, she observes that it recognizes both the effect of the garden and the work of the gardener. Marian acknowledges that other gardens were as nice as hers, but that hers was created through her own work, without the assistance of "regular gardeners".[60]

Though Edna Pippy has employed a permanent staff of gardeners at "The Hermitage", she similarly emphasizes her own role as a working gardener. Now, at eighty-nine years of age, she confines herself to the supervision of her staff, but she vividly recalls her earlier, more active days:

> I'd go out after breakfast in the morning
> and the next thing the maid would be calling
> me for lunch, I'd be over weeding the rock

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[60]See MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 110-115.

> garden or doing something. And the same way in the fall when we lift the plants and divide them, or lift them to get all the old weed out of them. I used to do it all with the men.[61]

Laughingly she complains that people used to describe "The Hermitage" garden as her husband's:

> People used to say, "Have you been in to see Mr. Pippy's beautiful garden?" And I used to think,"His beautiful garden, and I do all the work".[62]

For each woman, then, personal identity is not expressed through the design of their garden, but lies rather in their work as gardeners.

Robinson and Jekyll had proposed principles of "natural" garden design which were to inform, rather than prescribe, the form of individual gardens. They insisted that:

> the happiest design is not to have any stereotyped style for all flower gardens ... The best kind of garden should arise out of its site and conditions as happily as a primrose out of a cool bank.[63]

In this manner each of my informants has developed a "garden picture" which exhibits individual nuances of design within the general principles suggested for the layout of the perennial border. Each garden reflects the conditions of its location, as well as the circumstances and preferences of

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[61]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 2, Number 030-035.

[62]Ibid., Number 180-185.

[63]Robinson, The English Flower Garden, p. viii.

the individual gardener. But to what degree can these realizations of generalized principles be said to be expressive?

In a broad sense, the abundance and the order of their landscaping efforts defines the individuals as "gardeners" to an outside audience and suggests a social identity based on evidently comfortable circumstances and cultivated tastes. Their facility with the particular principles of the perennial garden establish a further degree of status within the gardening community which is evident in their receipt of garden prizes and in requests, over the years, that they host garden visits from the Newfoundland Horticultural Society. Beyond such statements of identity, however, the particular configuration of each garden does not overtly express any individualized meaning. Rather than establishing a particular identity through the form of their gardens, my informants establish their identity through the activity of gardening itself. Each has been involved in a lifetime of garden work and each continues from day to day the process of maintaining and renewing their well established gardens. Focussing on the activity, rather than the form through which it is enacted, Edna Pippy sums up her years of gardening. "That was my life," she explains, "that was what I loved, that and my family."[64]

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[64]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 207-209.

CHAPTER 6

THE PRIVATE GARDENS: THE EXPRESSION OF FAMILY TRADITIONS

While their gardening is enacted within traditions of expression and behaviour, the design of my informants' gardens is not, in itself, traditional. The principles which they have followed in laying out their gardens were first developed and popularized at the beginning of the twentieth century, just as they were themselves beginning to develop their interest in gardening. The form was neither used by their parents, nor was it common within the St. John's community at large. Each of my informants describes their parents' gardens in terms of the Victorian "bedding out" fashion. Each was characteristically geometric in design, with annuals and roses as their principal plant materials. Edna Pippy remembers, for example, that her parents' garden featured a "circular bed in the middle of the garden"[1] which was filled with pansies, nasturtiums and roses. Millicent Winter recalls a row of calendula and a scalloped border of mixed annuals defining the boundaries of her parents' front lawn.[2] Marian Bugden similarly describes her parents' front garden as a series of squares, planted in annuals, in blocks of contrasting colour. "People," she explains, "did that

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[1]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 025-030.

[2]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 17, 1984.

years ago."[3] Their own use of perennials within a fashion for naturalism suggests the establishment of an individual identity through the selection of a contrasting garden style.

In his discussion of the performance of Bess Hockema, a rural Oregon gardener, Barre Toelken has isolated the expression of individual creativity as a distinguishing quality which separates "the high art aesthetics of formal gardeners" from the customary garden style of folk gardeners. While the "fine artist" is said to emphasize his personal virtuosity, Toelken suggests that the "folk artist" would not characterize his production as unique since "the whole point of folk art is to produce an excellent performance within a customary form".[4] My own informants have chosen to practise a style of gardening which does not follow from an inherited tradition. And each gardener emphasizes the individual quality of their work through conventions of behaviour and expression which describe the source of their garden designs as individually inspired and their practise of gardening as an idiosyncratic pursuit. Given the characterizing features of Toelken's folk art/fine art dichotomy, these gardeners would be designated as minor practitioners of a high art form, and their work would seem to fall outside the proper scope of folklore studies.

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[3]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 005-010.

[4]Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, p. 161.

The outcome of Toelken's search for definition denies, however, my informants' sense that as they garden they are, indeed, continuing a traditional practise. By examining the work of a fourth private gardener, whose garden exhibits a more overtly traditional approach to design, and by returning to the commentary of the other private gardeners, I hope to explore this emic[5] sense of tradition. Finally, I hope to suggest an expanded view of the folklorist's conception of traditional process.

Sophia and Eliza Nott's Garden

Since 1951, Sophia and Eliza Nott have tended their St. John's garden. The two sisters had grown up in various "outport" communities, moving from the regional centre of Twillingate to the smaller fishing communities of Rose Blanche and Belleoram as their father transferred within the branches of the Harvey and Company merchant firm. While the women have retained an attachment to these early experiences which is evident in their frequent reminiscences, they are well-established in their St. John's home where they enjoy, particularly, the interest of their large and fertile garden.

Though the area has since been engulfed by the city's growing suburbs, the grounds of the Nott's home had originally been developed as a small market garden. Sophia and

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[5]See Alan Dundes, "From Etic to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales," Journal of American Folklore, 75 (1962), 95-105.

Eliza purchased the property at the time of its re-development, and they have since converted the all-encompassing beds designed for vegetable and cut-flower production into a more domestic setting. Today the yard is surrounded on all four sides by a screen of trees. Inside, the grounds consist of a wide L-shaped swath of land along the western side and the rear of the house. Narrower strips of land along the eastern and front sides of the lot permit just enough space for a driveway to the garage at the rear of the property and a small interval between the house and the public sidewalk. (See Figure 10, p. 153 and Photograph 16, p. 215)

While both women are avid gardeners, they have, like my other informants, developed individual spheres of expertise and activity. Sophia is an active member of the Floral Art Group and the Newfoundland Horticultural Society; Eliza becomes involved only once a year during the Society's annual Flower and Vegetable Show. Sophia has developed the western side of the lot; Eliza is responsible for the rear portion. Sophia is the flower gardener; Eliza the vegetable gardener. Though Eliza will keep Sophia's excess flower stock in her back garden until it might be required, only once did she "get artistic"[6] and plant a row of perennials along the fence at the back of the garden. Eliza suggests a purpose for this amicable division of labour:

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[6]Personal conversation with Eliza and Sophia Nott, St. John's, July 30, 1984.

Photograph 16. Sophia and Eliza Nott's Home and grounds, August 25.

A line of trees shade the house from the roadway. Balanced beds of annuals on either side of the steps provide a minimal "frontstage" display. In contrast, a vibrant show of colour can be glimpsed towards the rear of the yard.

> Reverend Armour took a sermon from the lesson. People were so concerned about themselves only and really jealous of one another. And he spoke about two brothers who had too much and they weren't agreeing with each other very well, and so they divided their land. And when we came out of St. David's Church... my sister said, "You can talk about 'those things but what can you do about it?" "Well", he said, you and your sister do it. One takes the vegetables and one takes the flowers." I said, "Yes, one goes to the east; one goes to the west."[7]

While smaller, specialized beds of roses and rock plants dot the front portion of the yard, Sophia's principal flower garden consists of a large rectangular bed with an open, central oval which is accessible by way of a rose-trellised walkway. This area is filled, in turn, with smaller, quarter- and half-round beds, converging on a central, circular bed. (See Figure 14, p. 218) The main bed is filled with herbaceous perennials; the smaller beds are planted, in contrast, with perennial rock garden plants and annuals. The larger bed is planted according to an expansive, naturalistic plan; the smaller beds are arranged more geometrically, with the rock garden plants marking the ends of the elongated beds and the centre of the circular bed, and with the annuals filling the remaining spaces.

The larger perennial bed reflects a number of the design influences of Jekyll's "perennial border". Layers of plants

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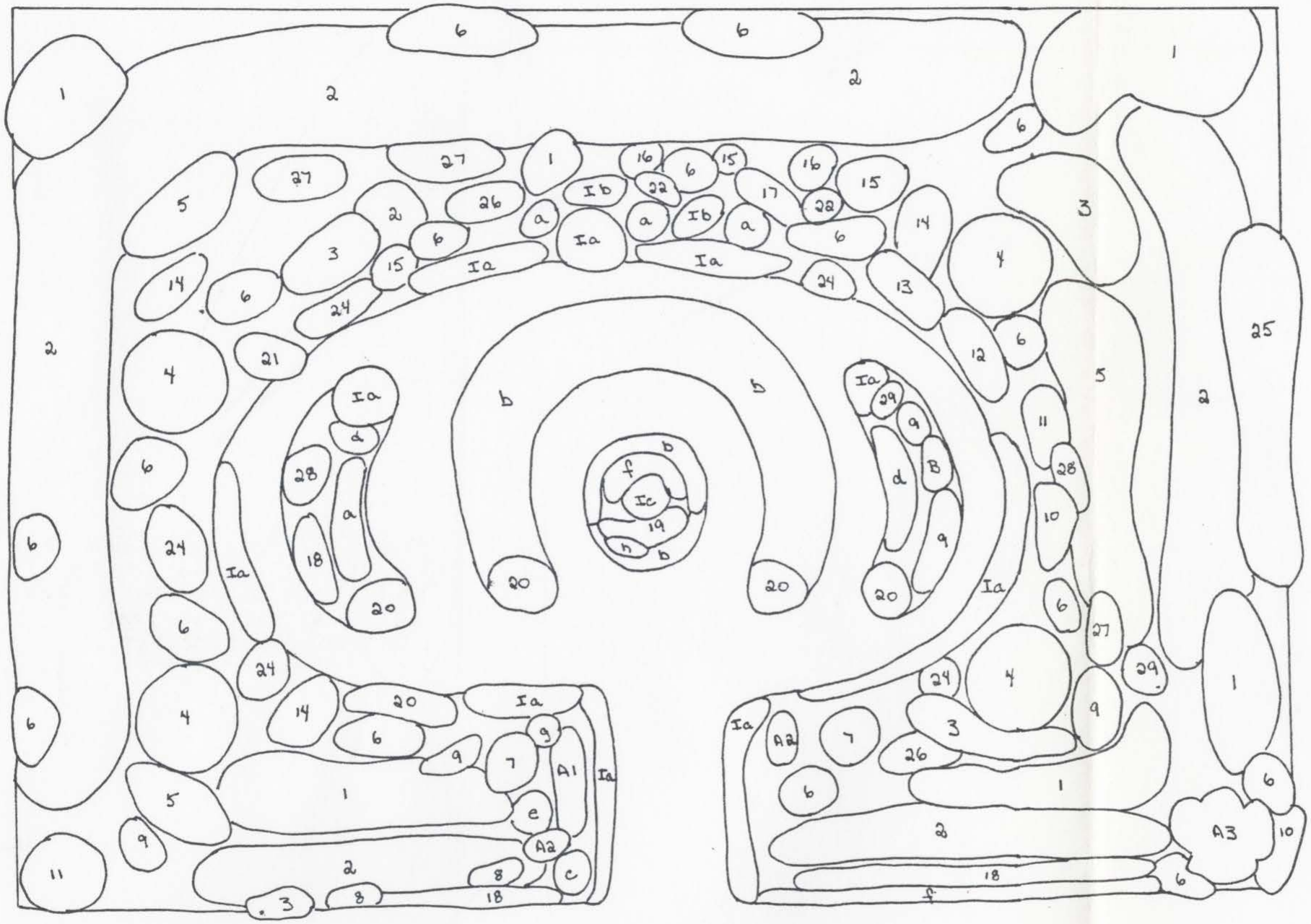
[7]Personal interview with Eliza and Sophia Nott, St. John's, July 30, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7302, Side 1, Number 454-490.

Figure 14. Plan of Sophia Nott's Principal Flower Garden, Summer 1984.

While the perennial plant material in the outer ring of the garden grows with an appearance of informal abundance, balanced plantings provide a geometric framework to the bed. Roses mark either side of the entranceway. A band of phlox encircles the bed. Clumps of monkshood highlight the farthest corners and repeat the symmetry on either side of the entranceway. Four peonies mark the corners of the inner oval, and so on.

Scale 1" = 4'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f

Figure 14. Key to plant materials, Sophia Nott's principal flower garden.

Herbaceous perennials

1. Lady slipper (Aconitum autumnale)
2. Phlox (Phlox paniculata)
3. "a wild plant" (Lysimachia punctata)
4. Peony
5. Day lily
6. Columbine
7. Delphinium
8. Mallow
9. Bluebell (Campanula rapunculoides)
10. Autumn aster
11. Lupin
12. Garden geranium
13. Geum
14. Gladioli
15. Sweet rocket
16. ? (Matricaria capensis)
17. Shasta daisy
18. Polyanthus
19. English daisy
20. Hosta (Hosta japonica)
21. Boy's love
22. Jacob's ladder
23. Bleeding heart (Dicentra spectabilis)
24. Cocks and hens
25. Meadow rue
26. Golden ball
27. Canterbury bells
28. ? (Campanula persicifolia), white
29. Foxglove

Annuals

a. Snapdragons
b. Pansies
c. Impatiens
d. Begonia
e. Lobelia
f. Phlox (Phlox drummondii)
g. Geranium
h. Alyssum

(cont'd) . . .

Perennial Rock Garden Plants

Ia. Sedum (Sedum dasyphyllum)
Ib. Sedum (Sedum spectabile)
Ic. Sedum (Euphorbia)
II. Pinks

Shrubs

A1. "Dorothy Perkins" rose
A2. "Pink shower" rose
A3. "Old fashioned" rose (Rosa rugosa), double white
B. Lavender

are arranged across the width of the bed, with the taller plants generally towards the outside, the shorter ones towards the inside of the bed and the perennial rock garden plants tumbling over the boundary of rocks. The plant material is grouped in clumps and has been selected to achieve a succession of bloom throughout the summer. (See Table 7, pp. 222, 223) Yet, the garden reflects, in equal measure, the form of the traditional Newfoundland perennial garden. While the garden exhibits a variety and succession of colour, this is achieved principally through a small number of plant species exhibiting individually a range of colour and succession of bloom, and grown in profusion, rather than through the use of a larger variety of plant materials. The August garden is, for example, filled with bloom, yet this is achieved, by and large, through a single belt of red and white phlox which encircles the bed. (See Photograph 17, p. 225)

Within these patterns of design, the garden exhibits, as well, a portion of the geometric order which characterized the formal Victorian garden. The emphasis on annuals and the geometric disposition of the perennial rock garden plants in the smaller beds, together with the general layout of the garden in an enclosed progression of beds strikingly recalls such nineteenth century antecedents. Beyond this, a certain geometry has also been followed in the layout of the larger perennial bed. Four peony plants mark the four inner corners of the bed; while clumps of columbine are placed nearby. Patches of delphinium lie next to the roses,

Table 7. Succession of bloom, Sophia Nott's principal flower garden.

Spring

Grape hyacinth
Hyacinth
Tulips
Daffodils
Snowdrops
Bluebells (scilla campanulata)

Early June

18. Polyanthus
20. Lavender

Mid-June

19. English daisy
23. Bleeding heart
26. Golden ball

Early July

4. Peony
6. Columbine
11. Lupin
12. Garden geranium
19. English daisy
21. Boy's love
23. Bleeding heart

Ia. Sedum

Mid-July

3. (Lysimachia punctata)
5. Day lily
8. Mallow
9. Bluebell
11. Lupin
12. Garden geranium
13. Geum
15. Sweet rocket
16. (Matricaria capensis)
20. Hosta
22. Jacob's ladder
27. Canterbury bells
28. (Campanula persicifolia)
29. Foxglove

a. Snapdragons
b. Pansies
e. Lobelia
f. Phlox
h. Alyssum

Ia. Sedum
II. Pinks

A2. "Pink shower" rose
A3. "Old fashioned" rose

(cont'd) . . .

Early August

1. Lady slipper	a. Snapdragon
3. Yellow loosestrife	b. Pansies
5. Day lily	c. Impatiens
7. Delphinium	d. Begonia
16. (Matricaria capensis)	e. Lobelia
17. Shasta daisy	f. Phlox
24. Cocks and hens	g. Geranium
25. Meadow rue	
27. Canterbury bells	Ib. Sedum
29. Foxglove	
	Al. "Dorothy Perkins" rose

Mid-August

2. Phlox	a. Snapdragons
10. Autumn Aster	b. Pansies
14. Gladioli	c. Impatiens
	d. Begonia
	e. Lobelia
	f. Phlox
	g. Geranium

Photograph 17. Sophia Nott's principal flower garden, August 25.

The late summer garden is dominated by a tall band of phlox which encircles the rectangular outer bed. Variety of colour is achieved by the contrasts of red and white among the blooming phlox.

which in turn flank either side of the trellissed entrance-way. On the opposite, western edge of the bed, three groupings of annual snapdragon are interlaced with three clumps of perennial rock plants. Underlying the naturalistic abundance of the bed lies, then, a geometric framework which orders the placement of the individual plants.

Sophia's garden exhibits a blending of three garden forms historically evident in Newfoundland. The geometric design of the garden, the use of annuals and the geometric layout of the central beds are reminiscent of formal, Victorian beds. The use of sweeping masses of single species of perennials in the largest bed recalls the "Newfoundland" garden. While the development of a succession of colour with a variety of plant materials, laid out according to an irregular, progression of height follows the "herbaceous border" as styled by Robinson and Jekyll.

This amalgamation of forms seems to reflect, in turn, the Notts' varying experience of garden design. Sophia and Eliza first lived in Twillingate. Sophia recalls that, with the exception of a few perennial pansies which were nurtured indoors through the winter months, their mother's Twillingate garden was composed entirely of annuals. The plants were laid out in geometric beds at the front of the house, using seed which was imported from England each year. However, the gardens of their Twillingate neighbours were rather different. Eliza notes that their flowers were not grown "for show" but "for the love of the plants themselves". The beds

were "not designed", rather the flowers were planted in patches among the vegetables at the rear of the house.[8] More recently, in St. John's, Sophia has extended her knowledge of the "naturalistic" fashion of gardening through her involvement with the Horticultural Society and through her friendship with other of the Society's members.

The designs of my informants' gardens have not followed directly from an inherited tradition. Edna Pippy, Millicent Winter and Marian Bugden have developed gardens which differ quite radically from those of their parents, while Sophia Nott has created a subtle, individual blend of traditional and popular forms. Yet each woman acknowledges the continuity of their family's garden interest in their own work. Rather than seeing the expression of individuality as a quality which separates them from tradition, as Toelken would suggest, my own informants experience their design efforts within a larger, overriding tradition of involvement in the activity of gardening.

Sophia Nott attributes her fundamental interest in gardening to the example of her mother:

> We always, mother always had a garden [she explains]. She was always fond of flowers.[9]

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[8]Personal conversation with Eliza and Sophia Nott, St. John's, July 30, 1984.

[9]Personal interview with Sophia Nott, St. John's, June 21, 1984. MUNFLA 84-588, C7302, Side 1, Number 010-012.

Edna Pippy has similarly observed:

> We were always interested in flowers, my parents were you know. They had a vegetable garden and they also had flower gardens.[10]

Millicent Winter remembers that while her father was the family vegetable gardener; her mother was the flower gardener.[11] Marian Bugden had learned to care for both flowers and vegetables on her parent's mixed dairy and vegetable farm on the outskirts of St. John's. She credits these "farm girl" experiences with her continuing interest in gardening.[12] From these reflections on the origins of their gardening it becomes apparent that my informants' sense of tradition is based on a re-enactment of shared activities and common interests, rather than on the repetition of customary forms.

While this sense of tradition is carried principally in the abstract knowledge of the continuity of the family's interest in gardening, it does receive some expression in the form of the garden. Yet as the tradition is characteristically a family one, the "language" employed is not public and is not recognizable, as Toelken would say, "to the

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[10]MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 002-005.

[11]Personal conversation with Millicent Winter, St. John's, July 17, 1984.

[12]Personal conversation with Marian Bugden, St. John's, July 8, 1984.

outsider".[13] The folklorists' techniques of inquiry, rather than the formal assessment of the garden historian, must then be employed in order to understand such communications.

Though Sophia Nott has worked her beds principally in perennials, while her mother had emphasized the use of annuals, and though she has fashioned the outer ring of her garden in broad sweeps of colour quite unlike the careful symmetry of her mother's garden, Sophia has consciously memorialized her mother's Belleoram garden in the layout of her own. More than reflecting a general Victorian fashion for geometry, the form of Sophia's garden specifically repeats that of her mother's. The beds in the original garden would have been more definitely rectangular in shape, as they were edged with wooden boards, but the basic shape of Sophia's rock-outlined garden nonetheless recalls to herself and to her sister memories of their mother and of their family's past.[14]

While the shape of the flower beds enacts a symbolic tie with the past, the Notts carried with them more tangible momentos, as well, when they moved to St. John's. The four peony plants which now anchor the inner corners of Sophia's perennial garden were transplanted, first from their Rose Blanche garden, to Belleoram and later, to St. John's. In a similar fashion, Edna Pippy has retrieved and now greatly

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[13] Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, p. 161.

[14] Personal conversation with Eliza and Sophia Nott, St. John's, July 30, 1984.

prizes plant material from her parents' garden. When she was a child, the family had owned a summer home on Windsor Lake, on the outskirts of St. John's. The property was later expropriated to accommodate widening of the road and the well-stocked gardens were used by the City for plant materials to add to their own Victoria Park. With the establishment of her garden, Edna Pippy returned to the property and retrieved some perennial stock which had survived the intervening years.

> One thing [she recalls] I always loved, and I did manage to get a little bit. I don't know what it's called, I have no idea, but it has bunches of little tiny, white flowers, almost like miniature mums.[15]

This pursuit of plant material is clearly more than the provision of plant stock from an available, and free, source. Edna articulates the use of particular plants from her parents' garden as a token of her family and of her own childhood memories. During her foray to the old garden, Edna was able to recover the remnants of a clump of meadowsweet that she recalled seeing in the yard:

> I remembered that as a child in our garden at home. That's why I had it in here, as a matter of fact. I went in and dug it up, the little roots that I found where the flowers used to be. I went in and dug up the little roots and brought them out and set them.[16]

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[15] MUNFLA 84-588, C7305, Side 1, Number 005-010.

[16] Ibid., Side 1, Number 445-450.

Marian Bugden further elaborates on this theme. She, too, had transplanted a peony plant, first from her mother's garden, and later from her own first home to her present-day garden. While she has more peonies given to her by an acquaintance, Marian clearly distinguishes between the different plants:

> A woman gave me a couple of peonies, that lived on Freshwater Road. But the one down [in the back] was really my own you know. I like to think that the things came from my mother's garden.[17]

For each of my informants, then, the link between the past and present does not lie, as it has usually been understood by folklorists, in the re-creation of the design of their parents' gardens. Rather, it lies below the level of the outsider's perception, in the specific continuity of particular plant materials, and for Sophia in the duplication of the specific outlines of her mother's garden.

Michael Owen Jones has commented that "the important factor much of the time in most individual's response to the arts is that of association."[18] His informant, Charley,

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[17]MUNFLA 84-588, C7306, Side 1, Number 050-060.

[18]Michael Owen Jones, "The Concept of 'Aesthetic' in the Traditional Arts", Western Folklore, 30, No. 2 (1971), 82. This impression has been quantified by Mihaly Cziksentimihaly and Eugene Rochberg-Halton who note that art objects were valued for their intrinsic qualities by only 26% of their American respondents, while the remaining 74% remarked on the object's relevance to associations with family, friends and personal history. The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and The Self (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 65.

expressed his preference for songs which spoke of a "troubled life" in terms parallel to his own experience. "Constant Sorrow" was a particular favorite, for example, while the rendition he most valued was sung by a man who had lived in the area where Charley had been born and raised.[19] At one time both symbolic and direct, the song emcompasses Charley's own difficult life and his nostalgia for his childhood home. In creating their gardens, my informants have heightened the private, emotional force of the garden form by including quite specific tokens of their own past. They have not enacted the generalized associations with nostalgic "Newfoundland" landscapes, evident in the public gardens, but like Charley's direct link to the past through a particular individual, they have brought particular plants from their mothers' gardens as representatives of these emotional ties.

Acknowledging the significance of the association in traditional responses to the arts, Jones has proposed a correction of both the aesthetician's and the folklorist's traditional emphasis on structure by combining the two factors "apperception of form and emotional involvement through suggested meanings and associations"[20] in a holistic

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[19]Jones, The Hand Made Object and Its Maker, p. 233.

[20]Jones, "The Concept of 'Aesthetic'", p. 82

approach to the understanding of "taste". Jones echoes Toelken in emphasizing the stability of form as a characteristic of folk art produced for public consumption.[21] Yet his clarified definition of the components of sensibility suggest the possibility of variation of form within a stable emotional tradition. As their parents had done before them, my informants utilized newly fashionable models in the design of their gardens. Their parents had principally grown flowers in the geometric, Victorian "bedding out" style; while they followed the naturalistic style of the perennial border. Each generation, thus, signalled its membership in a smaller, "elite" group, rather than expressing its solidarity with the general community or with the previous generation of gardeners. Yet their concerns were not simply, as Toelken's dichotomy would suggest, those of the "fine artist":

> related to an ever-developing intellectual sense of proportion, design and individual creativity, held by and judged by people of educated and sophisticated taste.[22]

Within these changing expressions of fashionable taste, my informants retain the stable emotional core of their family gardening traditions. To return to Jones' definition of "taste", it would appear that given the stability of "emotional involvement" in the context of a family tradition, external form can be rendered more variably.

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[21] Ibid., p. 94.

[22] Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore, p. 182.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In 1951, Herbert Halpert admonished folklorists to record "local songs", without prejudice in favour of the old and rare Child ballads, if they wished to understand "the function of folk song in a community".[1] Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham subsequently commented that "every song in a singer's repertoire is in some way a local song, no matter what its content or source".[2] They further observed that the performance of particular songs from within the individual singer's repertoire both reflected the singer's strategic selection of material in light of a given performance context, and expressed his preference for songs which carried some personally-felt meaning. In order to understand the function of perennial gardening in St. John's, it has similarly been necessary to record the practise of two principal gardening models -- one the traditional, Newfoundland garden, the other the popular "perennial border" -- in the community repertoire of garden design. An examination of the layout of individual gardens has yielded, in turn, a realization that regardless of its formal origins or the aesthetic requirements of the style, the selection of a particular design model, the

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[1]Herbert Halpert, "Vitality of Tradition and Local Songs," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 3 (1951), 40.

[2]Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization", p. 397.

individual rendering of its form and the use of particular plant materials resulted from the gardener's consideration of the context of his performance. His wish to address a certain audience, his estimation of an appropriate setting and his calculation of the resources of space, time and labour available to him are each accommodated in the final realization of the garden's design. Additionally, the process of constructing a particular garden form has been seen not simply as a skillful adaptation to varying performance contexts, but also as the enactment of a personal sense of tradition. Whether, with regard to the context of his garden, the gardener recalls a generalized, public tradition, or more private, family traditions, in either case he works into his garden some tangible expression of a sense of "relationship between the past and the present".[3]

An exploration into the meaning of the individual gardeners' form leads, then, to an understanding of tradition which is not based on the origins of the design models or on the repetition of its particular form. Rather, it suggests that tradition is a process by which the performer adapts familiar models and constructs "traditional" components -- whether they be memories of "old fashioned" gardens, specific plant materials transplanted from a family garden, or, as with William Robinson, associations with past experience

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[3]Charles W. Joyner, "A Model for the Analysis of Folklore Performance in Historical Context," Journal of American Folklore, 88 (1975), 255.

borne in the scent of a particular species -- which link the performer with the past and, thus, add meaning to the form. Dell Hymes has suggested that folklorists abandon the "naming of objects" as a means of identifying tradition, and that we recognize, instead, the creative process by which people "'traditionalize' aspects of [their] experience".[4] In this manner, we can understand the perennial gardens crafted by my informants, as forms selected from the local repertoire of garden design, adjusted to suit the performance context of the individual garden, but, finally, expressing the gardener's personally constructed sense of tradition.

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[4]Dell Hymes, "Folklore's Nature and the Sun's Myth," Journal of American Folklore, 88 (1975), 353.

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APPENDIX 1

LIST AND GLOSSARY OF PLANT NAMES CITED

A full list of the plant names used by my informants is compiled below, according to their own usage, whether in the vernacular, or in the Latinized, scientific form. When the common form is used, it is cross-referenced to the scientific nomenclature. Scientific identification ideally consists of two or three names, indicating in sequence the genus, species and variety of the individual plant. In colloquial usage, the genus is frequently used alone to name the plant. When this occurs, the full scientific name will follow.

In botanical nomenclature, the genus is capitalized, while the species and variety remain in the lower case. The whole designation is underlined. Anglicized varietal names appear within single quotation marks and are not underlined.

The botanical identifications have been made by myself, with the assistance of Bernard Jackson, Curator of the Memorial University Botanical Garden at Oxen Pond and Chris Baird, Superintendent of Bowering Park. On site observations have been undertaken to determine these identifications as accurately as possible. However, scientific analysis has not followed, either to verify the varietal identifications or to determine those that cannot be established by observation alone.

Ageratum - Ageratum houstonianum
Alyssum - Lobularia maritima
Asterdazzler - Aster novae-belgii
Astilbe - Astilbe x arendsii
Autumn aster - Aster novae-belgii
Barberry - Berberis thunbergii
Bachelor's buttons - Centaurea cyanus
Bearded Iris - Iris vars.
Beech - Fagus sylvatica
Begonia - Begonia tuberhybrida
Bell flower - Campanula rapunculoides
Blackeyed susan - Rudbeckia hirta
Bleeding heart - Dicentra spectabilis or D. formosa
Bluebell - Scilla campanulata or Campanula rapunculoides
Bluebonnet - Mertensia maritima
Blue spruce - Picea pungens
Boy's love - Artemisia
Bridal Wreath spirea - Spirea x vanhouttei
Calendula - Calendula officinalis
- Calendula officinalis 'Pacific Beauty Mix'
Campanula - Campanula rapunculoides or C. persicifolia
Candytuft - Iberis sempervirens
Canterbury Bells - Campanula medium
Castor bean - Ricinus communis
Cedar - Cedrus
Chives - Allium schoenoprasum
Chrysanthemum - Chrysanthemum spp.
Cocks and hens - Pulmonaria saccharata
Columbine - Aqueligia hybrida
Coral bell - Heuchra sanquinea
Cornflower - Centaurea montana
Cosmos - Cosmos bipinnatus
Crocus - Crocus
Cynoglossum - Cynoglossum amabile
Daffodils - Narcissus
- Narcissus 'King Alfred'
Dahlia - Dahlia
- Dahlia 'red skin'
Daisy - Bellis perennis
Day lily - Hemerocallis fulva
Delphinium - Delphinium elatum
Digitalis - Digitalis purpurea
Dogberry - Sorbus americana
Doronicum - Doronicum caucasicum or D. plantagineum
Drumstick Primrose - Primula denticulata
Dusty miller - Senecio cineraria
Edelweiss - Leontopodium alpinum
English daisy - Bellis perennis
Evening primrose - Oenthera tetragona
Fall aster - Aster novae-belgii
Fir - Abies balsamea
Forget-me-not - Myosotis alpestris

Foxglove - Digitalis purpurea
Garden geranium - Geranium
Geranium - Pelargonium hortorum
Geum - Geum chiloense
Gladioli - Gladioli
Globe flower - Trollius europaeus
Golden ball - Trollius europaeus
Golden crest - Alyssum saxatile
Golden rod - Solidago hybrida
Grape hyacinth - Muscari botryoides or M. armeniacum
Gypsophila - Gypsophila elegans
Hawthorn - Cratageus oxycantha
Helichrysum - Helichrysum bracteatum
Hens and chickens - Sempervivum tectorum
Honeysuckle - Lonerica
Hosta - Hosta japonica or H. caerulea
Hyacinth - Hyacinthus
Impatiens - Impatiens wallerana
Iris - Iris
Jacob's ladder - Polemonium caeruleum
Japanese pagoda tree - Sophora japonica
Jonquil - Narcissus
Laburnum - Laburnum
Lady's slipper - Aconitum autumnale
Lad's love - Artemisia
Lamb's ear - Stachys lanata
Lavatera - Lavatera trimestris
Lavender - Lavendula spica
Leopard's bane - Doronicum
Lily - Lilium 'Esther'
- Lilium 'Lady Killer'
- Lilium 'Monte Carlo'
- Lilium longiflorum
- Lilium speciosum 'Uchida'
Lily of the valley - Convallaria majalis
Lime - Tilia cordata
Linden - Tilia cordata
Lobelia - Lobelia erinus
Love lies bleeding - Amaranthus caudatus
Lupin - Lupinus hybrida
Lythrum - Lythrum
Mallow - Malva moschata
Maltese cross - Lychnis chalcedonica
Maple - Acer
Marigold - Tagetes erecta, T. patula or T. signata pumila
- Tagetes erecta 'Jubilee'
- Tagetes erecta 'Lemon Drop'
- Tagetes erecta 'Space Age'
Matricaria - Matricaria capensis, perennial, may be grown as an annual
Meadow rue - Thalictrum
Meadow sweet - Filipendula ulmaria
Michaelmas daisy - Aster

Mock orange - Philadelphus coronarius
Monkshood - Aconitum autumnale
Nasturtiums - Tropaeolum majus
Nemesia - Nemesia strumosa
Nicotiana - Nicotiana
Oriental poppy - Papaver orientale
Painted daisy - Pyrethrum roseum
Pansy - Viola hybrida
Peony - Paeonia officinalis
Petunia - Petunia hybrida 'Blue Magic'
- Petunia hybrida 'Pink Magic'
- Petunia hybrida 'Yellow Magic'
- Petunia hybrida 'White Magic'
- Petunia hybrida 'Razzle Dazzle'
Philadelphus - Philadelphus coronarius
Phlox - Phlox paniculata, or annual P. drummondii
Pinks - Dianthus plumarius
Polyanthus - Primula polyanthus
Poppy - Papaver 'Double peony', annual
- Papaver 'Iceland', annual
Poppy, oriental - Papaver orientale, perennial
Primrose - Primula polyanthus, P. denticulata or P. malacoides
Primrose, drumstick - Primula denticulata
Prince's feathers - Aruncus sylvester
Privet - Ligustrum vulgarae
Ragged robin - Lychnis flos-cuculi
Rhododendron - Rhododendron
Rose - Rosa hybrid 'Dorothy Perkins'
- Rosa hybrid 'Pink Shower'
Rose, "Newfoundland" - Rosa multiflora
Rose, "Old fashioned" - Rosa rugosa
Rose, "Topsail" - Rosa rugosa
Rudbeckia - Rudbeckia hirta
Salvia - Salvia splendens
Saxifrage - Saxifraga umbrosa
Scilla - Scilla
Scottish bluebells - Campanula rapunculoides
Sedum - Sedum acre, S. spectabile, S. dasyphyllum or S. orpine
Shasta daisy - Chrysanthemum maximum
Snapdragon - Antirrhinum majus 'Outdoor mix'
Snowball - Viburnum opulus
Soldiers and sailors - Pulmonaria officinalis
Solomon's seal - Polygonatum multiflorum
Spirea - Astilbe x arendsii
Spruce - Picea glauca
Statice - Limonium sinnatum
Stonecrop - Sedum
Strawflower - Helichrysum bracteatum
Sweet rocket - Hesperis matronalis
Sweet william - Dianthus barbatus
Tagetes - Tagetes patula, T. erecta or T. signata pumila
Thistle - Echinops ritro

Thyme - Thymus serpyllum
Tiger lily - Lilium tigrinum
Tulip - Tulipa 'Cottage'
- Tulipa 'Darwin'
- Tulipa 'Double Mix'
Viola - Viola tricolor
Veronica - Veronica spicata
Wallflower - Cheiranthus allionii
Wax begonia - Begonia semperflorens
Weigela - Weigela
Yarrow - Achillea filipendulina
Yellow alyssum - Alyssum saxatile
Yellow daisy - Doronicum
Yellow loosestrife - Lysimachia punctata