Rethinking the Country House Garden: Creation and Consumption, 1750-1850

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Abstract

This thesis re-evaluates the field of garden history and demonstrates that there is great potential to apply a different kind of analysis to gardens to produce new conclusions about historic landscapes. Existing literature on gardens traditionally focuses on matters of design and aesthetics and often concentrates on the most famous properties, landowners, and designers. Rarely have garden historians explored the practicalities of building and owning a country house garden, where the labour and materials were sourced from, or the experiences of those who worked there. Further, the experiences of garden visitors and the ways gardens were consumed by them are widely under-represented. Drawing on the historiographies of country houses and of consumption, this thesis reframes designed landscapes as sites of consumption and spaces of human experience. It changes the way we look at gardens by re-integrating them within social and economic networks from the local to the international and viewing them as spaces to be enjoyed and used by the people that entered them.

The analysis of this thesis utilises two case study properties: Audley End, Essex and Belsay Hall, Northumberland between 1750 and 1850. It draws on a large and varied body of archival material, including account books and receipted bills, diaries, travel journals, and letters to create new conclusions about how gardens functioned day-to-day, across the seasons, and over many years. The project highlights the economic and material inputs to gardens, the contributions of working people from members of the garden and outdoor staff of country houses as well as their commercial counterparts in nursery and designing firms. Further, it illuminates how gardens functioned and were continuously maintained after the designs were implemented. Gardens were expensive to own and maintain but what were they then used for? This thesis examines the culture of garden visiting and the activities available to different garden users. It also explores how being in a garden was an embodied experience and unique to each person and each experience. Gardens stimulated all the senses, and this perspective breathes new life and movement into historic gardens that are traditionally championed for their visual qualities.

This project is a Collaborative Doctoral Award with English Heritage.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Tables **Page**

List of Abbreviations

BLARS	Bedfordshire and Luton Archive Service
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EH	English Heritage
ERO	Essex Records Office
HEA	Historic England Archive
HFA	Hammersmith and Fulham Archives
HRO	Hampshire Records Office
NA	Northumberland Archives
NCL	Newcastle upon Tyne Central Library
NLW	National Library of Wales
TNA	The National Archives

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Introduction

"Work Dun at Audley End in the Kitchen Garding…
February 1796:
1 Nailing of Chery Trees
2 Nailing of peach and Nectrin trees
3 Nailing of Apricot trees
4 Sow sum more beans to suxseed another crop
5 Little Od Jobs
6 Laid a barrowful of Dry Earth in each light on the rig bed for riging the cucumbers out
7 Sunday"[1]

"Cricket: Mary-le-Bone and Audley End
The most interesting game witnessed in this part of the county for many years was played… on the lawn in front of the mansion of the Right Hon. Lord Braybrooke. Large parties of the gentry residing in the town and vicinity were invited to partake of luncheon, and to be spectators of the match on the first day; and flags, banners, and booths, were tastefully and profusely arranged around the lawn."[2]

"6th June 1831: The short shower had been just enough to pester the vegetation, lay the dust and cause a charming perfume in the air so that our walk really was both beautiful in point of scenery and most enjoyable"[3]

Georgian country house gardens are important cultural icons and a major contribution to design history. This thesis challenges the traditional narratives of country house gardens as designed objects to be analysed primarily in terms of aesthetics. The above quotes relate to some of the key themes of this thesis. Gardens were places of work in which garden staff interacted with a wide range of plants and tasks on a daily basis. Designed landscapes were embodied spaces where different sights, sounds, smells, sensations, and tastes were sensed by those who entered them. The garden was also a space for recreation and enjoyment in ways beyond their status as an art object. By drawing on the fields of country house history and the history of consumption this thesis is a re-

[1] English Heritage (EH), Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[2] `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 28 July 1843, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3213042747/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=f5fee320>
[3] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, including sketch of Pentland, 20-29 June 1831: written by Sir Charles Monck of Belsay Hall

evaluation of garden history and broadens the scope of what garden history can achieve. The theoretical framework of this project is built on the work of historians of the country house and of consumption to reinvigorate the field of garden history through novel approaches and methodologies. This approach will integrate garden history into the wider social and economic histories of the country house. Through the analysis of case-studies, the estate archives of each property will introduce a broader range of source material to provide new insights of gardens as dynamic, fluid spaces. Furthermore, traditional source material such as maps, plans, and prospects will be read from a creation and consumption perspective rather than to highlight design features allowing new perspectives to be generated.

The core research questions for this thesis are threefold. The thesis asks:

- What were the practicalities involved in the creation and maintenance of country house gardens?
- How were gardens integrated into the consumption networks of the country house and wider consumer and social networks?
- How did people interact with and participate in garden spaces both as members of garden staff and as owners and leisured visitors?

The first question directs the narrative away from the traditional view of gardens as single, completed art objects following full or partial redesigns. Through this question the analysis examines the work that happened behind the scenes on a day-to-day basis, over the seasons, and across multiple years to create and maintain gardens. The discussion will foreground spending and labour inputs on maintenance tasks and the regular inputs of objects, plants, tools, and knowledge. This question also considers the seasonality of gardens and how they affected the creation and re-creation of gardens in annual cycles. Overall, it positions country house gardens as fluid and changeable, and gives greater recognition to the contributions of working gardeners and labourers in contrast to the traditional reverence of famous designers and landowners.

The second research question contextualises country house gardens within a range of networks. It asks where gardens sourced the many materials that were brought in to create and maintain them over time. It further analyses the working and professional communities involved in garden making and how they were drawn from the local to the national level. Not only does this thesis consider the flow of goods and people into country house gardens it also focuses on the ways the people within these networks communicated with each other. Social and professional networks through word of mouth and epistolary networks created a nationwide community of garden workers and enthusiasts. This question attributes agency to labourers and working gardeners and their careers. It also highlights the professional firms of nurserymen and designers from a practical business perspective rather than focusing solely on their designs.

The third question addresses how people used and experienced gardens. From the perspective of garden staff, the thesis will examine their working and living conditions within the case study gardens. It will also consider the wider career progression of individuals which typically encompassed multiple private gardens and commercial firms. This focus continues the theme of ascribing greater importance to the contributions of working people who are often overlooked in traditional garden histories. This research question also explores the experiences of leisured garden users and how they interacted with the space depending on their visitor status. The thesis will argue that garden owners, their friends and family, and casual tourists were afforded different degrees of participation in country house gardens. It will also investigate how gardens were experienced through the five senses and introduce a novel sensory approach to garden history.

This thesis challenges the approaches taken by garden historians over the past five decades or so and looks to the historiographies of the country house and the history of consumption to provide an alternative theoretical framework that can be applied to gardens. It is informed by the work done in these areas which offer opportunities for greater nuance and complexity in exploring historical garden narratives. The garden context of this thesis can also feed back into the studies of country houses and consumption. Country house gardens formed an integral part of the country house lived experience as well as a significant proportion of the expenditure on country estates. Economic historian Roderick Floud highlights that previously “garden historians… almost entirely ignore money” and economic

historians ignore the subject of money in the garden.[4] This study draws on three areas of literature: garden history, country house history, and the history of consumption to reframe and reinvigorate the study of historic gardens as social and economic sites.

History of Gardens: Grand Designs to the Everyday

Garden history gained interest through the second half of the twentieth century, with "tentative" investigation in the late 1960s and 1970s and the first volume of *Garden History* being published by the Gardens Trust in 1972.[5] The early editions of this journal covered topics such as design overviews of individual gardens such as Chiswick, Painshill, Wentworth Castle, the Chelsea Physic Gardens, and Stoneleigh as well as gardens in certain areas such as Rome and Auckland.[6] Biographies of famous and forgotten gardeners and designers, overviews of public parks and cemeteries, plants and planting, specific design features, heritage and restoration, and some commercial aspects of gardening were also covered in the first five years of the journal's publications.[7] These articles played a useful part in introducing garden history topics from the broad stories of garden design to focusing on the contributions of individual people and plants. Since the 1980s the content of *Garden History* has continued to introduce new voices, develop traditional topics further, and study gardens from across the world from ancient civilisations to the twentieth century. Interest in garden

[4] Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), p. 4

[5] Kate Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful objects and agreeable retreats* (London: I B Tauris, 2016), p. 2

[6] Jacques Carre, `Lord Burlington's garden at Chiswick', *Garden History*, 1 (3) (1973), 23-30; Alison Hodges, `Painshill Park, Cobham, Surrey (1700–1800): Notes for a History of the Landscape Garden of Charles Hamilton', *Garden History*, 2 (1) (1973), 39-68; Alison Hodges, `Painshill, Cobham, Surrey: The grotto', *Garden History*, 3 (2) (1975), 23-28; Kenneth Lemmon, `Wentworth Castle: a forgotten landscape', *Garden History*, 3 (3) (1975), 50-57; W T Stearn, `The Chelsea Physic Garden 1673–1973: three centuries of triumph in crises. A tercentenary address', *Garden History*, 3 (2) (1975), 68-73; Edward Malins, `Humphry Repton at Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire', *Garden History*, 5 (1) (1977), 21-29; Jules Margottin, `Some gardens and saints in Rome', *Garden History*, 1 (1) (1972), 24-48; Robert C. Cooper, `Early Auckland gardens', *Garden History*, 1 (2) (1973), 26-40

[7] Hugh Bilbrough, `Documents in record offices which might affect the assessment of the achievement of 'Capability' Brown', *Garden History*, 1 (3) (1973), 9-22; Alice M Coats, `Forgotten gardeners III: the Mangles family', *Garden History*, 1 (3) (1973), 42-46; Graham Thomas, `The influence of Gertrude Jekyll on the use of roses in gardens and garden design', *Garden History*, 5 (1) (1977), 53-65; Frank Clark, `Nineteenth-century public parks from 1830', *Garden History*, 1 (3) (1973), 31-41; James Stevens Curl, `The architecture and planning of the nineteenth-century cemetery', *Garden History*, 3 (3) (1975), 13-41; George Laws, `The Cedar of Lebanon', *Garden History*, 4 (1) (1976), 54-56; Rosemary Verey, `Knots and Parterres, a bibliography', *Garden History*, 2 (2) (1974), 77-81; Garden History Society Heritage Year Symposium, *Garden History*, 3 (4) (1975); John H Harvey, `Leonard Gurle's nurseries and some others', *Garden History*, 3 (3) (1975), 42-49

history gained more momentum following the Great Storm of 1987 which prompted restoration projects of affected properties.[8] Due to the importance of English landscape gardens to design history, traditional garden histories focused on the aesthetics of gardens and how these changed over time.[9] As historians established how the look of gardens changed and which features they adopted and rejected over the centuries, it became important to highlight why these changes occurred. Fashions should be contextualised and historicised in order to see how garden designs were reflective of contemporary culture and ideologies. Tom Turner's *English Garden Design, history and styles since 1650* (1986) is a good, early introduction to this type of design history that asks where these styles came from and why they became popular when they did. Turner highlights the influences of politics, civil and European conflicts, international travel, the resurgence of classical ideologies, and changing definitions of nature and beauty in his explanations for aesthetic shifts.[10]

Cultural history has further influenced a growing interpretive framework for analysing garden design particularly by examining how gardens were used as symbols of power, wealth and status. Tom Williamson's *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (1995) more forcefully contextualises design and design changes in the eighteenth century and how fashions spread first among the elite and were later copied by garden owners of lower status.[11] He explains that there had been an unbalanced skew of interest directed towards the most famous gardens, landowners and designers of the time and that these were not typical of country house gardens as a whole. He draws out the distinctions between the gardens of the elites and the more widespread landed gentry and their different priorities as a result of their social status.[12] This thesis similarly approaches garden

[8] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 2
[9] Christopher Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape: A Facsimile of the Revised 1948 Edition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Christopher Hussey, *English gardens and landscapes, 1700-1750* (London: Country Life, 1967); Tom Turner, *English Garden Design, history and styles since 1650* (Woodbridge, Antique Collectors's Club, 1986); Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (ed.), *The History of Garden Design: The Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hundson, 1991); Tom Turner, *Garden History: Philosophy and Design 2000 BC – 2000 AD* (London: Spon Press, 2005)
[10] Turner, *English Garden Design*, pp. 9-10, 21-22, 27, and 37
[11] Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995)
[12] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 34

history through the lens of gardens that, though grand, were not considered exceptional by contemporaries.

Analysing meaning in gardens and their designs has been a popular subject for garden historians particularly through the study of literature and iconography. Literature informed both the creation of garden designs and how those designs should be read by visitors. Stephen Bending states in his work on women, gardens, and culture that, for some elite women, their gardens were closely associated with the language and discourses of "retirement and disgrace, of pastoral, piety and penitence" which affected how they "imagined themselves and were in turn imagined by others".[13] Gardens were imaginative and thought-provoking spaces that, according to Roy Strong, could "never quite shed their relationship to a rich literary inheritance" and that visitors would have been acutely aware of these concepts.[14] There has been debate within the scholarship of garden interpretation about the role of iconography and how far visitors read gardens through the lens of this didacticism. In 1992, Stephen Bending published an article that argued against the idea that eighteenth-century landscape gardens became less overtly iconographic, or "emblematic", and became a space where visitors were left to experience gardens in their own ways. Bending suggests that the act of interpretation became increasingly the responsibility of the visitor who was being taught how to read gardens "correctly" through their education.[15] However, twenty years later Oliver Cox argued that historians have overstated how far visitors were looking at gardens in this way. Instead, he suggests that, if one studies the written accounts of visitors as a way to best understand how they experienced gardens, there is a great disconnect between how historians assume gardens were interpreted and how eighteenth-century visitors recorded the landscape.[16] Reading visitor accounts and prioritising human agency and personal interest offers new and valuable insights to gardens that can challenge decades of historical research.[17] This thesis will similarly include personal

[13] Stephen Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 3
[14] Roy Strong, *The Artist and the Garden* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 15; Bending, *Green Retreats*, p. 3
[15] Stephen Bending, `Re-Reading the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape Garden', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55 (3) (1992), 379-399, p. 380
[16] Oliver Cox, `A Mistaken Iconography? Eighteenth-Century Visitor Accounts of Stourhead', *Garden History*, 40 (1) (Summer, 2012), 98-116, p. 101
[17] Cox, `A Mistaken Iconography?', p. 111

writings wherever possible in order to understand how people interacted with and experienced gardens in their own words.

Just as the most exceptional gardens have been of greatest interest to garden historians, so have the most famous designers, predominantly men. Individuals such as Lancelot "Capability" Brown, Humphry Repton, William Gilpin, and William Kent have previously and continue to receive significant attention from garden historians.[18] Where the focus on great men has been particularly successful is where historians have acknowledged their exceptionalism and contextualised their success by crediting the people they worked with, their businesses, or simply by highlighting that they were not the only designers working at that time. Lancelot Brown, for example, has seen this type of historiographical trajectory especially after 2016 which was the tercentenary of his birth and widely celebrated by garden historians and heritage institutions.[19] David Brown and Tom Williamson produced *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* in 2016, which offers a novel approach to Brown. It includes a traditional biography but firmly contextualises his life and career within the period, the people he worked for in his early career, and the men he worked with to run his business.[20] Crucially, this work shows Brown to be one man, if a particularly savvy and charismatic man, at the centre of a whole network of business associates and labourers who contributed to his success. This sentiment forms the basis of Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra's 2020 work *Capability Brown, Royal*

[18] Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown: an account of his life and work, 2nd Edition* (London: Country Life, 1957); Thomas Hinde, *Capability Brown: The Story of a Master Gardener* (London: Hutchinson, 1986); John Phibbs, *Place-Making: The Art of Capability Brown* (Swindon: Liverpool University Press, 2017); John Dixon Hunt, `Humphry Repton and garden history', *The Journal of Garden History*, 16 (3) (1996), 215-224; Tom Williamson, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Design in an Age of Revolution* (London: Reaktion, 2020); Sophieke Piebenga, `William Sawrey Gilpin (1762-1843): Picturesque Improver', *Garden History*, 22 (2) (1994), 175-196; Michael Symes, *William Gilpin at Painshill: the gardens in 1772* (Cobham: Painshill Park Trust, 1994); John Harris, `William Kent and Esher Place', *Studies in the History of Art*, 25 (1989), 13-26; Timothy Mowl, *William Kent: Architect, Designer, Opportunist* (London: Random House, 2007)

[19] Capability Brown: Perception and Response in a Global Context, The Proceedings of an ICOMOS-UK Conference, held at the University of Bath, 7–9 September 2016, *Garden History*, 44 (Supplement 1) (2016); 300 years: Capability Brown <https://www.capabilitybrown.org.uk/> [accessed: 3 March 2023]; English Heritage, `Capability Brown: The man who changed English landscapes forever', (2016) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/blog/blog-posts/capability-brown-the-man-who-changed-english-landscapes-forever/> [accessed 3 March 2023]; Historic Royal Palaces, `"Capability" Brown: The King's Gardener', (2016) <https://blog.hrp.org.uk/curators/capability-brown-the-kings-gardener/> [accessed 3 March 2023]; Oliver Cox, `Why Celebrate Capability Brown? Responses and Reactions to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1930-2016', *Garden History*, 44 (Supplement 1) (2016), 181-190

[20] David Brown and Tom Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Reaktion, 2016)

Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe, which further contextualised him as a businessman rather than simply an artistic genius.[21] Studying different source material such as his accounts and business papers, rather than his designs, shows him to have been a "shrewd businessman and a proficient manager of men and of his numerous wealthy and distinguished clients".[22] Study of even the most well-known landscape designer in English history can generate new perspectives simply by changing the body of sources we consider.

Exploring the figure of the typical working gardener is not always a simple task. They are significantly underrepresented within garden histories likely due to a lack of source material about them as individuals. By the mid-nineteenth century career gardeners were expected to be literate with apprentices instructed to keep working diaries of their training and head gardeners overseeing accounts and ordering materials.[23] As a result some diaries of gardeners survive and have been published and analysed.[24] However, they are rare and diaries from earlier periods have survived even less frequently. There has been some scholarly work on outdoor staff, much of which forms, at best, one chapter in a larger study. Roderick Floud, in his economic research, examines wages, living and working conditions, and occupational hierarchies and power structures.[25] Similarly, Martin Hoyles focuses on gardener's pay but considers exploitation, poverty, trade unions and benevolent societies that supported the poorest garden workers.[26] Where country house histories have been successful in studying indoor domestic staff, garden history has lagged behind. However, some useful introductions to gardeners and outdoor staff at country houses have been written by Caroline Ikin and David S D Jones. Ikin's work *The Victorian Gardener* (2014) is a short social history of gardeners, their career paths, and working conditions. Jones' work on the outdoor staff of country estates covers more than just the garden team but also the game department, the stables, the forestry department and much more. He offers a useful

[21] Jonathan Finch and Jan Woustra (ed.), *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe* (York: White Rose University Press, 2020)
[22] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 95
[23] J C Loudon, `Self-Education of Gardeners', *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural & Domestic Improvement*, 1 (1826), 225-226, p. 225
[24] Basil Harley and Jessie Harley, *A Gardener at Chatsworth: Three years in the life of Robert Aughtie, 1848-1850* (Worcestershire: The Self Publishing Association, 1992); William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener: William Cresswell and Audley End* (English Heritage, 2006)
[25] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 159-183
[26] Martin Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening* (London: Journeyman Press, 1991), pp. 44-51

overview of how the different outdoor teams worked together and with the indoor servants in the mansion which is markedly absent from the scholarship on gardens and country houses.[27] The interest in indoor domestic staff has eclipsed the essential labour done out of doors in both popular imagination and academic research. This project will go some way to correct this imbalance by placing the ordinary garden worker at the fore as much as possible.

Nurseries and nurserymen were working people who were similarly central to the creation and maintenance of country house gardens. Nurseries and their connections to gardens have received a steady amount of scholarly attention since the 1970s, published, for the most part, in journals. The content of *Garden History* gives some indication of how interest in nurserymen and their businesses has changed over the last thirty years. The earliest examples in this journal only focus on a particular individual or dynasty of nurserymen with a great bias towards the south of England though they become progressively more diverse over time with the introduction of a nurserywoman and wider provincial examples.[28] The scholarship remains characterised by independent studies of family businesses and their clients though some more general work on nurseries, the plants and seeds trade, and exotic species has been highly successful. Kathleen Clark argued against the dominant understanding of garden design in the eighteenth century by explaining that it was nurserymen, their knowledge, and the stock available to them, that determined the look of a garden. In the context of exotic plant introductions, she argues that it was the close relationships between nurseries and their clients that "dramatically increased the likelihood of a new plant being grown and distributed across the country".[29] John Harvey has been a great champion of nursery histories and his publications in the 1970s remain highly influential of nursery studies today.[30] Nurseries remain distinctly underrepresented in

[27] David S D Jones, *Servants of the Lord: Outdoor Staff at the Great Country Houses* (Shrewsbury: Quiller, 2017)
[28] Shirley Heriz-Smith, `The Veitch nurseries of Killerton and Exeter c.1780–1863: I', *Garden History* 16 (1) (Spring, 1988), 41-57; Rachel Berger, `Kitty Lloyd Jones: Lady Gardener and Nurserywoman', *Garden History* 25 (1) (Summer, 1997), 107-116; Margaret Maddison, 'The Callenders, Eighteenth century Northern Nurserymen and Seeds Men', *Garden History* 33 (2) (Winter, 2005), 210-224; Jan Broadway, 'The Wheelers of Gloucester: a provincial family of Georgian nurserymen', *Garden History* 44 (1) (Summer, 2016), 105-114
[29] Kathleen Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us: the roles and influence of the nursery trade on the landscapes and gardens of the eighteenth century', *Garden History* 40 (1) (Summer, 2012), 17-33, p. 17, p. 31
[30] John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues, with complete reprints of lists and accounts of the 16th-19th centuries* (London: Phillimore, 1972); John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore, 1974); Louise Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries: The Norwich Nurserymen, c. 1750-1860', *Garden History*, 48 (2) (2020), 119-134

histories of retail in early modern England despite their widespread existence and dominant place in a town or city's layout. In London, the famous Brompton Park Nursery reputedly covered a hundred acres with as many as ten million plants, and market gardens were estimated to have covered ten thousand acres.[31] It is ahistorical that nurseries and other garden retailers should be removed from an understanding of English consumption in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

One element of garden consumption that has captured the imagination of scholars is the global plant trade and plant hunting expeditions. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, plant hunters set out on global adventures to discover new plants and bring specimens or seeds back to Europe where they would be studied and cultivated. Eventually these exotic plants made their way into English country house gardens. The scholarship tends to focus more on individual plant hunters, plants, and the networks of travel and trade involved.[32] This subject has started useful discussions about empire, colonialism, and gardens. Garden history has also discussed how the newly imported and cultivated plants were grown in gardens, particularly with reference to glass houses and other growing technologies. Kenneth Lemmon is an early example of this in his work *The Covered Garden* (1962) in which he states his fascination with Victorian glass houses came from a sense of adventure connected with plant hunting expeditions.[33] Glass houses which supported exotic specimens of rare and beautiful plants were expensive and powerful status symbols for garden owners.[34] Roderick Floud connected exotic plants back to their English distributors, the nurseries in his economic history of English gardens. He highlights that there were great profits to be made in the cultivation and selling of exotic plants at this time.[35]

Roderick Floud has recently brought his long experience as an economic historian to bear on garden history. Between 2016 and 2019 he gave five lectures to Gresham College about

[31] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 103, p. 272
[32] Toby Musgrave, *The Multifarious Mr. Banks: From Botany Bay to Kew, the Natural Historian Who Shaped the World* (London: Yale University Press, 2020); Yota Batsaki, Sarah Burke Cahalan, and Anatole Tchikine, *The Botany of Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016); Lynn Voskuil, `Victorian Orchids and the Forms of Ecological society', in *Strange Science: Investigating the Limits of Knowledge in the Victorian Age*, ed. by Lara Karpenko and Shalyn Claggett (USA: University of Michigan Press, 2017), pp. 19-39; John McAleer, *Britain's Maritime Empire: Southern Africa, the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, 1763-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)
[33] Kenneth Lemmon, *The Covered Garden* (London: Museum Press, 1962), p. 6
[34] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 56-57
[35] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 58

garden history which can be accessed online. These cover topics such as "Making and Running Great Gardens, 1700-1900", "The Hidden Face of British Gardening", and the legacy of technology and English gardening.[36] During the latter lecture "Dams, Radiators and The Shard: The Legacy of English Gardening", he thanked Gresham College and Allen Lane publishers on the launch of his new book *An Economic History of the English Garden* (2019). He further rightly claimed that this is "a new kind of garden history", written firmly from an economic standpoint.[37] It covers topics such as gardens and the state, designers, nurseries, working gardeners, technology, and kitchen gardens. As a result of this approach, he utilised new sources such as accounts, bills, wages, and catalogues. Further he hoped that others would delve into estate archives to uncover new conclusions from a previously untapped source of information.[38]

Floud's book was published a month into the beginning of this project, by which time the key research questions had been established. That these had much in common with Floud's ground-breaking work – regarding the creation of gardens from a practical, financial, and labour perspective – may at first sight appear problematic.[39] However, this project goes beyond those initial research questions to include more nuanced aspects of the practical history of country house gardens, the use and enjoyment of gardens and the sensory experiences of the space. Further, where this project asks similar questions to Floud, the analysis offers a far more detailed reading of two case studies which inevitably delves deeper into the realities of garden ownership.

Floud's work is an excellent introduction to a radically different approach to garden history. Gardens and the people who built and maintained them are contextualised as part of a wider national and international industry that saw the movement of huge sums of money as well as people and materials. The timing of this publication shows that there is currently a growing academic desire to reimagine gardens, in this case as economic spaces. The overlap

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[36] Gresham College, *Making and Running Great Gardens 1700-1900 - Professor Sir Roderick Floud*, online video recording, YouTube, 25 July 2013, <https://youtu.be/V7K1rs5Ow24> [accessed 7 March 2023]; Gresham College, *The Hidden Face of British Gardening - Sir Roderick Floud*, online video recording, YouTube, 28 August 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BEjvgEyGXCs> [accessed 20 March 2020]; Gresham College, `Dams, Radiators and The Shard: The Legacy of English Gardening', 5 November 2019, <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/watch-now/english-gardening> [accessed 7 March 2023]

[37] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 3

[38] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 6

[39] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 3

with this project thus offers a scholarly validation of the work rather than an undermining of its originality.

Kate Feluś' work, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (2016) is another recent development in garden history that ties in closely with what this thesis aims to achieve. In this book Feluś centres the use and experience of gardens through the activities that people performed throughout the day. She was inspired by the work of Mark Girouard on *Life in the English Country House* (1978) which reframed country houses as living spaces that were used in a multitude of ways by the families that lived in them. Nearly forty years later, Kate Feluś has successfully applied Girouard's premise to gardens. Using gardens has not been entirely absent from garden history though mentions are sparse and are not the main focus of research. In the book she categorises the activities taking place in gardens by when they were most frequently performed. She discusses, for example, morning tours, afternoon study, evening food and night-time entertainment and fireworks.[40] Country houses were inhabited by their owners during the warmer summer and autumn months of the year, and to keep the narrative succinct, Feluś' work only considers those days when one could venture outside in pleasant weather. In the foreword to the book Roy Strong alludes to this aspect of the work stating that the weather "has been and still is the imponderable factor about life in the garden" but celebrates Feluś' achievement as "the first time" that a garden historian has gathered all of Georgian garden use together.[41] As well as exploring uses of the garden during fine weather, this thesis will explore how the conditions had an impact on the types of activities done outside as well as the weather as a potential barrier to going out of doors entirely.

Country houses: A Model of Nuanced Analysis

Country houses were intrinsically linked to their gardens both as spaces of lived experience and their funding was controlled by the same landowner. Considerations of how life in the country house continued out of doors into the landscape were central to the creation and consumption of gardens. Delegation of expenditure for gardens, their staff and suppliers,

[40] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 27
[41] Roy Strong, `Foreword' in *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful objects and agreeable retreats*, by Kate Feluś (London: I B Tauris, 2016), pp. xi-xii, p. xii

worked in the context of wider estate spending and management. A closer relationship between country house histories and garden histories can go some way to understanding country estates as entire properties in which boundaries between indoors and outdoors is less harshly defined within the historiography. For this project, approaches taken by country house historians to understand their buildings in more complex ways are applied to their gardens to highlight their roles as social and economic spaces.

Not dissimilar to the early trajectory of garden history, country house history began with discussions of design and biographies of great houses, their owners, and designers.[42] There has also been interest in the decline and futures of country houses by authors such as Peter Mandler and more recently Adrian Tinniswood.[43] However, having been studied with more frequency than gardens and across multiple disciplines the literature on country houses is now exemplary in its diversity and nuance. Part of this success has been due to the work of historians looking at a broad range of evidence that goes beyond the aesthetics of architecture. Mark Girouard mentions this in the introduction of his work *A Country House Companion* (1987) in which he states that "bills, letters, account books, diaries, household regulations, inventories, newspaper reports, descriptions of country houses and poems about them" all help to piece together our understanding of "the way houses were built and why they were built, of the people who lived in them and how they lived in them".[44] In the 2006 edited work *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, Andrew Ballantyne discusses the importance of culturally contextualising buildings and architectural evidence as well as using architecture as reflections of societal priorities.[45] In contrast garden histories have only recently begun to utilise a broader range of sources than simply discussing the layout and

[42] Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian, 1715-1760* (London: Country Life, 1955); Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England* (Book series), 1951-1974; John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (London: Penguin, 1953); Michael Hall, *The English Country House: from the archives of Country Life, 1897-1939* (London: M. Beazley, 1994); John Summerson, *The Life and work of John Nash, architect* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980); Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh: a biography* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1987); Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840 (Third Edition)* (London: Paul Mellon, 1995) (first edition published 1954); John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick* (London: Yale University Press, 1994)

[43] Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Adrian Tinniswood, *Noble Ambitions: the fall and rise of the English country house after World War II* (New York: Hachette Books, 2021); David Littlejohn, *The Fate of the English Country House* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

[44] Mark Girouard, *A Country House Companion* (Leicester: Magna, 1987), p. 6

[45] Andrew Ballantyne, `Architecture as evidence', in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. by Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 36-49, pp. 36-37

plans. There has been limited consideration of economic sources such as bills, receipts, and wage records. This thesis employs these kinds of sources widely to contextualise gardens with regards to their practical creation rather than their imaginative or aesthetic premises.

The dominance of artistic and architectural narratives has resulted in a disproportionate focus on how a building looked and who designed it rather than the practicalities of how the structure was built. Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley's *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (2000) is a highly successful example of an approach to the creation of country houses with particular reference to cost and building processes. Unsurprisingly, this work features in the select bibliography of Roderick Floud's economic history of English gardens and there are many equivalencies between the two works. They remind us that building was not only expensive, but a risky venture and required a great deal of financial management. Similarly, the amount of finances a landowner was prepared to expend on his house determined whether an entirely new structure would be built or if smaller improvements to an existing house were completed over a long period of time.[46] Wages, salaries, expenses, commissions, materials and their transportation to the site had to be factored into a project's budget and the majority of owners did not have unlimited funds.[47] This understanding of building as often being piecemeal additions and improvements, rather than entirely new-builds, challenges the linear progression of styles as described by architectural historians. Landscape historian Sarah Spooner draws similar conclusions regarding the development of garden styles showing that a neglect of archival research has produced an assumption that new fashions were universally implemented, whereas in reality, hybrid styles, slow adaptations of old gardens, and rejections of contemporary style existed throughout England.[48] Wilson and Mackley also draw attention to the problems of language around builders of country houses. They note that "builder" often refers to the landowner or architect, though they do not go into great detail about the labourers who physically built the properties in this work.[49] The same issue exists for the construction of gardens as "plainly Lord Bathurst himself did not plant the thousands of

[46] Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 276
[47] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 249
[48] Sarah Spooner, *Regions and Designed Landscapes in Georgian England* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 16
[49] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 4; Joseph J Thorndike Jr., *The Magnificent Builders and their Dream Houses* (London: Paul Elek ltd, 1978)

trees at Cirencester that he describes himself as planting" in his correspondence.[50] What can be taken from this body of work is that country houses and their gardens should not be taken out of their economic and practical contexts.

Further practicalities of owning a large house included the successful running of it by the large teams of indoor staff. The social divide between "upstairs" and "downstairs" has been capturing the imagination of academics and the public for a long time.[51] Heritage institutions have played an important role in telling the stories of working people in large houses whose lives are now so often central to property interpretations.[52] Domestic service as a topic covers themes of class and gender in the English country house and the domestic servant has become an important figure in social histories-from-below and feminist studies.[53] In the 1980s Jessica A Gerard and D A Kent described female domestic servants as "invisible" in the historical record stating that the predominance of women in the domestic service industry caused them to be ignored and overlooked.[54] Today the contributions of working class women to country houses are more widely recognised.[55] However, this has not been the case for women working on a casual basis or employed out of doors who have received less scholarly attention. Women from all sections of society could be involved in garden work in its different forms. "Weeding women" were employed to complete menial tasks from

[50] Douglas Chambers, *The planters of the English landscape garden: botany, trees and the Georgics* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 138

[51] Joseph Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1956); Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Jessica A Gerard, `Invisible servants: The country house and the local community', *Historical Research* 57 (136) (1984), 178-188; Jeremy Musson, *Up and Down Stairs: The History of the Country House Servant* (London: John Murray Press, 2009); Siân Evans, *Life Below Stairs – in the Victorian and Edwardian Country House* (London: National Trust Books, 2013); Lucy Lethbridge, *Servants: A Downstairs History of Britain from the Nineteenth Century to Modern Times* (London: W W Norton, 2013)

[52] Oliver Cox, `The "Downton Boom": Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture', *The Public Historian*, 37 (2) (2015), 112-119

[53] Jacob F Field, `Domestic Service, Gender, and Wages in rural England, c. 1700-1860', *The Economic History Review*, 66 (1) (2013), 249-272; Edward Higgs, `Domestic Servants and Households in Victorian England', *Social History*, 8 (2) (1983), 201-210; Tim Meldrum, *Domestic service and gender, 1660-1750 : life and work in the London household* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000); Charmian Mansell, `Beyond the Home: Space and Agency in the Experiences of Female Service in Early Modern England', *Gender & History*, 33 (1) (2021), 24-49

[54] Gerard, `Invisible servants'; D A Kent, `Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London', *History Workshop* 28 (1989), 111-128, p. 112

[55] Pamela Sambrook, `"We have mad four cheses pritey larg" – the duties of women servants', in *Keeping Their Place: Domestic Service in the Country House 1700-1920*, by Pamela Sambrook (Stroud: History Press, 2013), pp. 71-81; Paula Humfrey, *The Experience of Domestic Service for Women in Early Modern London* (London: Routledge, 2011); Maxine Berg, `What Difference did Women's Work make to the Industrial Revolution?', *History Workshop*, 35 (1993), 22-44

weeding to washing pots and sweeping paths.[56] For some women in landowning families, leisured garden work could be a "release or retreat" from the rigidity of the gendered home or polite society in general.[57] However, the "relatively easy work" of cultivating fruit and flowers could be a simple pleasure made rewarding by a fruitful harvest.[58] The study of women's work in the country house provides a foundation for greater focus on their roles in the garden and provides a model for research on gardens to follow.

Repositioning the house as a place of living and lived experience was popularised by Mark Girouard and his seminal work *Life in the English Country House* (1978). It firmly recentred these architectural marvels as homes that needed to be practical as well as beautiful. He explains that architects and owners were not creating pieces of "abstract sculpture" but "buildings designed to fit a particular way of life".[59] They had function as well as form, and since the publication of Girouard's work historians have examined how these real spaces worked, from efficiency in the servants' quarters to appropriate sizes of ballrooms, spaces for entertainment, rest, education, and work.[60] Understanding the use of space requires an analysis not only of what can be seen and done inside a room, but also its views out of windows into the gardens, and the flow from one room to the next.[61] Movement within houses and differential access to space has been analysed successfully by Jill Franklin and Susie West, the latter's work building on the access analysis of Bill Hiller and Julienne Hanson.[62] Jill Franklin's work on the layout of country houses in the nineteenth century goes into detail on the flows of people through a house and also the importance of room placement to best enhance the activity to be performed within it. For example, a morning or

[56] Twigs Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens: A History of Women in the Garden* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006)
[57] Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens*, p. 52
[58] Rebecca Bushnell, *Green Desire: Imagining Early Modern English Gardens* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 87
[59] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978)
[60] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At home in Georgian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2009); Susie West, `Social Space and the English Country House', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Late Historical Britain*, ed. by Sarah Tarlow and Susie West (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 103-122; John E Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2000); Patricia McCarthy, *Life in the Country House in Georgian Ireland* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2016)
[61] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 220
[62] Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan, 1835-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); West, `Social Space and the English Country House'; Bill Hiller and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

breakfast-room to be enjoyed early in the day, should face east or south-east to catch the morning sun.[63] Developing this further, Benjamin Heller's article on the uses of domestic space argues that we should think about rooms as having "habitual uses or significance" that are not fixed.[64] He explains that a room can be temporarily transformed by the presence of specific people or objects within it, the time of day, and the activities undertaken in them, thus "any framework for understanding space must include this flexibility in the uses of space".[65] For a garden, this approach is useful as outdoor spaces are even more changeable dependent on time of day or year, the climate, and the activities that are able to be performed in them.

Tourism and travel both domestically and internationally were important features of life in country houses. The history of tourism into country houses was summarised successfully by Adrian Tinniswood in his work *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (1989) which covers the sociability of nobles and the culture of welcoming travelling strangers into a medieval home, to the growth of popular tourism by the lower classes as a form of leisure.[66] Peter Mandler argues that the "first age of mass tourism" occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century though this is rather misleading.[67] What he describes is the first age of tourism for the masses as the recreation became increasingly accessible to lower income families rather than a high volume of tourists. During the eighteenth century, as shown by Tinniswood, tours of country houses were performed by the rich and aspirational in their droves.[68] Owners had to find ways to accommodate the many visitors as the private tours by housekeepers or head gardeners were no longer an efficient way of managing the crowds. At many properties, it was the gardens that attracted tourists in great numbers, and at some, particularly Stowe, Buckinghamshire and Stourhead,

[63] Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan*, p. 55; Roger North published a treatise on the subject of house planning in the late-seventeenth century as discussed in Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 138
[64] Benjamin Heller, `Leisure and the use of domestic space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal* 53 (3) (2010), 623-645, p. 628
[65] Heller, `Leisure and the use of domestic space in Georgian London', p. 628; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 129-165; John Cornforth, *English Interiors 1790-1848: the quest for comfort* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1978)
[66] Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)
[67] Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 81-82
[68] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 89

Wiltshire the gardens were designed with visitors in mind.[69] Understanding how people experienced travel and country house tourism has been studied through historic travel writing.[70]

Living in country houses required consumption of objects from the exotic goods brought from overseas to the more mundane items that were central to the successful every-day running of the household. The accumulation of objects in the country house from around the world has become a popular topic as historians are making a concerted effort to recontextualise country houses as sites of conspicuous consumption and their place in international trade networks and connections to colonialism.[71] A forthcoming publication edited by Jon Stobart will contribute to this highly pertinent theme.[72] The intersection of country house history and consumption history has been fruitful in the last decade or so and has contributed to our understanding of how these buildings and homes functioned.[73] Material culture is a useful source base though is limited by survival rates that favour the belongings of the wealthy and the luxury or durable over the mundane or consumable.[74] The surviving material culture can be supplemented by documentary records such as accounts, bills, inventories, as well as personal writings in diaries and letters. These can highlight patterns of spending on both large building projects and the day-to-day objects

[69] Jonathan Lamb, `The Medium of Publicity and the Garden at Stowe', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59 (1) (1996), 53-72, p. 62; Cox, `A Mistaken Iconography?'

[70] Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Zoe Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (ed.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2012); Katrina O'Loughlin, *Women, Writing, and Travel in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

[71] Jon Stobart (ed.), *Travel and the British Country House: Cultures, Critiques and Consumption in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); Stephanie L Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Margot Finn and Kate Smith (ed.), *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London: UCL Press, 2018); Sally Ann Huxtable, Corinne Fowler, Christo Kefalas, and Emma Slocombe, *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery* (Swindon: National Trust, 2020); Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (ed.), *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013)

[72] Jon Stobart (ed.), *Global Goods and the Country House, 1650-1800* (London: UCL Press, forthcoming 2023)

[73] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The world of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Rose MacArthur, `Material culture and consumption on an English estate: Kelmarsh Hall, 1687-1845' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Northampton, 2010); Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann (ed.), *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, (Swindon: Historic England, 2016); Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (ed.), *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the long Eighteenth Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022)

[74] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 21

that keep a country house running. Spending in country houses was being studied long before consumption approaches were applied such as Jill Franklin's work on servants in country houses and their wages.[75] However, there has been a shift of focus from a family's income to their expenditure.[76] Lorna Weatherill, for example, put expenses like wages, foodstuffs, and fuel, into the context of a family's entire outgoings and incomings to understand consumer priorities.[77] This approach can enlighten us on proportional expenditure, trends over time and highlight years of much higher or lower spending than usual. Thus, large expenses like garden building projects can be contextualised in comparison to routine purchases and as a proportion of the family's income.[78] Further, bills and accounts can tell us about where and how items were acquired and thus improve our understanding of a country house's relationship with its local village or town, with urban centres, and with the wider world.[79]

Developments in new cultural history are further deepening our understanding of country houses and how people interacted with them. These relatively novel approaches to country house history have opened up new lines of inquiry to the subject. The material turn has been particularly popular and closely relates to histories of consumption. It has prompted study into how people interacted with objects in the home as well as object histories that examine how material culture entered the home.[80] The more frequent study of material culture in country houses is perhaps due to the long tradition of interest and study of

[75] Jill Franklin, `Troops of Servants: Labour and Planning in the Country House, 1840-1914', *Victorian Studies* 19 (2) (December 1975), 211-239, p. 212
[76] Jon Stobart, `Introduction: travel and the British country house', in *Travel and the Country House: Cultures, Critiques and Consumption in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Jon Stobart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 1-18, p. 2
[77] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 93-112
[78] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 67-8; Helen Brown and Jon Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country-House Garden', in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 82-101
[79] Jane Whittle, `The gentry as consumers in early 17th-century England', in *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, ed. by Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann (Swindon: Historic England, 2016), pp. 24-32, p. 27; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 126-158; Andrew Hann, `Labour Recruitment on the Audley End Estate in the late 19th century', *English Heritage Historical Review* 5 (2010), 135-155, p. 138
[80] Stobart and Hann (ed.), *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*; Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*; Finn and Smith, *The East India Company at Home*; Jon Stobart, 'Luxury and Country House Sales in England, c. 1760–1830' in *The Afterlife of Used Things Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 25-36

collections and interiors.[81] Histories of emotions and to a lesser extent the senses have created a new focus on the embodied experiences of people in country houses whether that is the sentimentality attached to objects, memory and nostalgia, or the physical and mental comforts of the home.[82] It is historical research at its most empathetic through reading personal writings, assessing habits, and the objects people surrounded themselves with. Though we must remember that emotions are experiential and historically specific, and we should not uncritically impose modern sensibilities on historical evidence.[83] Kate Smith has studied the memoirs of Margaret Benn Walsh written nearly twenty years after her death by her son in 1836 and centred around the country house she lived in, Warfield Park.[84] Notably, the chapter only discusses positive emotional responses to the home which will undoubtedly be unrepresentative of Margaret's own everyday experiences, or the experiences of landed society more widely, as living in a country house could be an extremely negative, stressful, and dangerous experience.[85] Anne Kugler's account of the life of Lady Sarah Cowper and her deeply unhappy domestic situation attests to this.[86] Historians must remain critical of an over-romanticising of the country house and the experiences of its occupants. A final element of new cultural history approaches to country houses is environmental history. Dean Hawkes' *Architecture and climate: an environmental history of British architecture, 1600-2000* (2012) brings together the relationship between architecture and climate over time with how architects actively designed buildings to protect inhabitants

[81] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 48; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 128 and 174

[82] Ariane Fennetaux, `Sentimental Economics: Recycling Textiles in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *The Afterlife of Used Things Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 122-141; Kate Smith, `Warfield Park: Longing, Belonging, and the British Country House', in *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*, ed. by Margot Finn and Kate Smith (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 175-190; Joanne Begiato, `Selfhood and "Nostalgia": Sensory and Material Memories of the Childhood Home in Late Georgian Britain', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 (2) (2019), 229-246; Jon Stobart (ed.), *The Comforts of Home in Western Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020); Judith S Lewis, `When a House is not a Home: elite English women and the eighteenth-century country house', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2) (2009), 336-363

[83] Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 2

[84] Smith, `Warfield Park: Longing, Belonging, and the British Country House'

[85] Lewis, `When a house is not a home', p. 339

[86] Lewis, `When a house is not a home', p. 339; Anne Kugler, *Errant Plagiary: The Life and Writing of Lady Sarah Cowper, 1644-1720* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002)

from the climate.[87] Here the environment is positioned as a historical actor that had a physical impact on buildings and how they were designed and built. In gardens, climate conditions and the creation of artificial climates within glass houses influenced the types of exotic plants that could be cultivated successfully.

Histories of Consumption: Rethinking Garden Space

The creation of country house gardens involved spending, sourcing goods, liaising with suppliers, hiring staff, among other processes. This firmly establishes gardens as sites of consumption. Approaching gardens from an economic and practical perspective is novel and has not been attempted by many garden historians. By drawing on the work of the history of consumption, gardens are repositioned and reimagined as spaces of work, as a collection of objects, and working within networks of retailers, labourers, and experts. On the other hand, they were also spaces designed to be consumed. They were sites of entertainment, use, and enjoyment and as such this thesis also considers how people interacted with gardens. Historians that deal with material culture and consumption have already established a body of work that explores human-object interactions.

The history of consumption grew in popularity through the 1970s and 1980s and set out to understand more about the lived experiences of past peoples. Frank Trentmann described consumption as "a mirror of the human condition" that could illuminate "social relations and identity formation" through the study of their spending patterns and the acquisition of goods.[88] In 1987 Grant McCracken examined the state of the literature and positioned Fernand Braudel as a "founding father" who brought legitimacy to the study of consumption with his work *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800* (1973).[89] Braudel's work inspired the likes of Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J H Plumb whose work *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982) prompted a great deal

[87] Dean Hawkes, *Architecture and climate: an environmental history of British architecture, 1600-2000* (London: Routledge, 2012); Manolo Guerci, `A Review of Architecture and Climate: An Environmental History of British Architecture, 1600–2000', *Architectural Histories*, 1 (1) (2013), Article 5: 1-2

[88] Frank Trentmann, `Introduction' in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 1-22, p. 1

[89] Grant McCracken, `The History of Consumption: A Literature Review and Consumer Guide', *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 10 (1987), 139-166, p. 141; Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800* (translated by M. Kochan) (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973)

of debate and subsequently inspired further research into the topic of consumption history.[90] Consumption is a hugely complex historical concept which can be viewed in a variety of contexts from the social and cultural, to the political, intellectual, religious, moral, and mundane.[91] It has opened up new ways of studying nations and historical periods through to micro-histories of individual objects and families.[92] The families most commonly studied tended to be richer as their records and artefacts have survived in greater numbers but some areas of the history of consumption and of material culture have been able to access poorer communities in recent years.[93] Similarly, studying economic records such as bills, account books, and inventories has opened up consumption studies to more quantitative analysis.[94] It is significant that the early studies of consumption focused on the middling sort rather than the landed elite.[95] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery's *Consumption and the Country House* (2016) foregrounded elite spending within the domestic setting of the country house thereby expanding our understanding of eighteenth-century consumption as well as broadening the meaning of country houses. The recent development of country house consumption has not yet been seen for their garden, an omission which this thesis aims to redress.

The relationship between historic consumption practices and identity has been of interest to historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and of country houses. Thornstein

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[90] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J H Plumb (ed.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1982); Ben Fine, *The World of Consumption: The Material and Culture Revisited. Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 157; Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988)

[91] McCracken, `The History of Consumption'

[92] Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; Sara Pennell, `"Pots and Pans History": The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, 11 (3) (1998), 201-216; Karen Harvey, `Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century´, *Journal of*
Design History, 21 (3) (August 2008), 205-221; Mark Rothery and Jon Stobart, `Inheritance events and spending patterns in the English country house: the Leigh family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738–1806', *Continuity and Change*, 27 (3) (2012), 379–407

[93] V A Crewe and D M Hadley, `"Uncle Tom was there, in Crockery": Material Culture and a Victorian Working-Class Childhood', *Childhood in the Past* 6 (2) (2013), 89-105; Joseph Harley, `Material lives of the poor and their strategic use of the workhouse during the final decades of the English old poor law', *Continuity and Change* 30 (1) 2015, 71-103; Chris Briggs, `Manorial court roll inventories as evidence for English peasant consumption and living standards, c. 1270-c. 1420' (Conference Paper, 2010), <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/79789/> [accessed 30/07/2020]

[94] Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*

[95] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, p. 1

Veblen's classic study *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) introduced the concept of an unproductive class of consumers who self-identified and impressed others by showing "evidence" of their wealth and power.[96] However, because the newly rich middle classes could spend conspicuously and emulate their social superiors, in Veblen's late-nineteenth-century American context, those superiors found cultural and intellectual ways to distinguish themselves from the nouveau riche. They had to "cultivate [their] tastes", be able to "discriminate… between the noble and the ignoble in consumer goods" and train themselves in "aesthetic faculty".[97] Jan de Vries' *Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (2008) introduced the identity politics of consumption through the concept of "Old Luxury" and "New Luxury". From the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, this cultural superiority manifested in the differentiation of "Old Luxury" which was inherently exclusive of those of lesser status and wealth.[98] Any goods consumed in emulation of the "Old Luxury" would be in "distinctly inferior adaptations".[99] These consumption patterns were central to identity formation of the elite class. In the eighteenth century, polite society became more inclusive of lower status consumers and brought with it a "major expansion of luxury spending" though the elites could still look upon the inadequacies of those below them through polite education and behaviours.[100] Historians have gone on to introduce more intersecting identities within polite society. For example, Hannah Greig notes in her work *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (2013), that individuals could show their political identities and allegiances through their fashions and consumer behaviours.[101] A popular area of study for identity and consumption in this social group examines the role of gender and conformity to gender roles. Historians such as Karen Harvey, Amanda Vickery, and Matthew McCormack

[96] Thornstein Veblen, edited and with an introduction and notes by Martha Banta, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 29
[97] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 53; Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, p. 24
[98] de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, pp. 44-45
[99] de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, p. 44
[100] de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, 48; Woodruff D Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 35; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Lawrence E Klein, `Liberty, Manners, and Politeness in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal* 32 (3) (1989), 583-605; R H Sweet, `Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal History Society* 12 (2002), 355-374, p. 364
[101] Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 20, 46, and 121

have written widely on the consumption of men and women and how these interact with expectations of masculine and feminine behaviour.[102] Polite society forms an important feature of this thesis in terms of leisured garden users but a strictly gendered analysis does not. This would be a fascinating premise for future study.

Discussions of social elites and country houses regularly include an examination of the "luxuries" that were consumed. Luxury items could be exotic and novel, imported from overseas, expensive and decorative, made of the highest quality materials, or carry a prestigious maker's name. The term "luxury" was a relative concept depending on who was consuming it, when, and where.[103] Contemporary debates about the morality of luxury and the social and economic implications of luxurious consumption were not static across the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[104] Simply put, the concerns about wealth and corruption shifted towards a view of luxury items as a way to stimulate the economy and create jobs for craftspeople and the poor.[105] Hannah Greig notes that in Georgian London a single suit made for a gentleman or dress for a lady during the social season required the labour of multiple industries such as silk weavers, embroiderers, tailors and dressmakers, lace makers as well as the producers of stockings, jewellery, and shoes.[106] Jan de Vries separates "Old Luxury" as exclusively consumed by the traditional aristocratic elites and "New Luxury" that could be mass-produced for the wealthy urban middle-classes and prioritised "comfort and pleasure" over "grandeur or exquisite refinement".[107] Although it has been critiqued by historians it remains an important feature and reference point of

[102] Karen Harvey, `Men making home: masculinity and domesticity in eighteenth-century Britain', *Gender & History*, 21 (3) (2009), 520-540; Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: masculinity and domestic authority in eighteenth-century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Amanda Vickery, `His and hers: gender, consumption and household accounting in eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 1 (2006), 12-38; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*; Matthew McCormack, `Boots, material culture and Georgian masculinities´, Social History 42 (4) (2017), 461-479

[103] Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart, `Display, Acquisition and Boundaries of Luxury and Taste', in *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, ed. by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), pp. 1-17, p. 2; Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 31

[104] Ilmakunnas and Stobart, `Display, Acquisition and Boundaries of Luxury and Taste', p. 2; Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 32

[105] Ilmakunnas and Stobart, `Display, Acquisition and Boundaries of Luxury and Taste', p. 2; Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 32

[106] Grieg, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 116-118

[107] de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, p. 44

seventeenth and eighteenth century consumption studies.[108] The country house was an arena for displaying wealth and consuming "old luxury", however Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery explain that the families that lived in country houses consumed both "old" and "new" luxuries.[109] The purchase of "new luxury" allowed traditional elites to align themselves with new forms of sociability such as whole sets of matching silverware for "refined social dining".[110] The boundaries were not so well defined in reality.

The consumption of wealthy families was not limited to items of varying definitions of luxury. Country houses and elite lifestyles required purchase of a wide range of mundane items that contributed to the smooth running of the household. Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery's chapter "Practicalities, Utility, and the Everydayness of Consumption" in their work *Consumption and the Country House* (2016) contributes to the continuing theme of reframing houses as lived spaces.[111] A large proportion of spending by landowners went towards everyday objects such as "food and drink, lighting and cleaning, and maintenance and repairs" and should not be overlooked in favour of a relative minority of luxury items.[112] Studying the spending on mundane objects can offer new insights into how houses functioned day-to-day as well as how people lived their lives. Daily routines and activities were supported by this kind of consumption.[113] The recent publication edited by Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart entitled *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2022) includes chapters that look at the everyday spending in domestic houses in the seventeenth century and in country house gardens, further introducing new contexts for mundane consumption.[114] These methods applied for country houses and their consumption patterns are usefully applied to their gardens in which both luxurious and mundane spending was evident.

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[108] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, p. 10; Bruno Blondé and Veerle De Laet, `New and Old Luxuries Between the Court and the City: A Comparative Perspective on Material Cultures in Brussels and Antwerp, 1650– 1735', in *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, ed. by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), pp. 39-57

[109] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, pp. 2 and 39

[110] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, p. 42

[111] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, pp. 83-108

[112] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, p. 107

[113] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, p. 83

[114] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, `Lifestyles and Lifespans: Domestic Material Culture and the Temporalities of Daily Life in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 19-40; Brown and Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country-House Garden'

An understanding of the many different kinds of objects that were consumed by people of the past should be supported by examining how these objects entered their homes. Dorothy Davis' work *Fairs, Shops and Supermarkets: A History of English Shopping* (1966) is an early example of interest in the spaces where consumption took place, however until relatively recently this topic had been widely underrepresented.[115] In 2002, Helen Berry's work on polite consumption furthered ideas of the consumer experience by explaining how, at the moment of purchase, there was a whole host of behavioural rules and social etiquettes that governed the acquisition of goods. She describes an "almost total failure on the part of historians to consider *how* goods were acquired" and that politeness, as well as "economic opportunity and choice", was fundamental to consumption.[116] In the last two decades retailing and shopping in the Georgian period have received more attention from historians who have covered themes such as advertising and retail, the sociability of shopping, shoppers' identities, visual and literary representations, and reputations and trust.[117] Serena Dyer's 2014 article considers the experience of shopping from a novel sensory perspective. It examines shopping and browsing as processes rather than singular, independent acts and looks through a sensory lens to understand how shopping was a physical, embodied experience.[118] People sniffed and tasted foodstuffs, handled and visually inspected goods, and listening to other shoppers was all part of the consumer experience that is often overlooked by historians.[119] Dyer explains that the process of browsing and handling objects before purchase was a skill that had to be learned in order to perform "well-informed consumption" in these highly social spaces.[120] A sensory approach to consumption history can give new insights into how people interacted with spaces and objects from the process

[115] Dorothy Davis, *Fairs, Shops and Supermarkets: A History of English Shopping* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966)
[116] Helen Berry, `Polite consumption: Shopping in eighteenth-century England', *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, 12 (2002), 375-394, pp. 376-377
[117] Jon Stobart, *Sugar and spice: Grocers and groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Claire Walsh, `Shopping at First Hand? Mistresses, Servants and Shopping for the Household in Early-Modern England', in *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. by Margaret Ponsonby and David Hussey (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 13-26; Clive Edwards, *Turning houses into homes : a history of the retailing and consumption of domestic furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Jon Stobart, Andrew Hann, and Victoria Morgan (ed.), *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c. 1680-1830* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)
[118] Serena Dyer, `Shopping and the Senses: Retail, Browsing and Consumption in 18th-Century England', *History Compass*, 12 (9) (2014), 694-703
[119] Dyer, `Shopping and the Senses', p. 696
[120] Dyer, `Shopping and the Senses', p. 698

of purchase through the use of objects in everyday life. Similarly, this sensory approach can be applied to gardens which were consumed as an assemblage of objects and sensory stimuli.

Buying objects brand-new was only part of the story of acquisition in the Georgian period. Gift exchange was an important social and political practice for elite consumers. Among the ruling classes of Europe, exotic species of animals and plants were popular diplomatic gifts to woo, impress, or cement allegiances.[121] Elephants, lions, bears, leopards, and ostriches were more suited as gifts to those with the space and means to keep them, but smaller animals such as parrots were more easily looked after in the home as well as being less cumbersome to transport from gift giver or merchant to recipient.[122] These smaller exotic animals could retain their place in the home even after their death as they could be sent to a taxidermist and be preserved on display long after they had died.[123] On the more mundane side of gift giving, textiles and clothing was gifted between siblings and friends, refitted and altered to make an older garment remain in fashion.[124] Clothing could also be handed down to domestic servants when they were no longer wanted by their employers.[125] Gift giving was done for all manner of household items for practical and sentimental purposes. Sasha Handley's recent work on early modern sleep has highlighted the importance of gifting second-hand bedsteads to family members as an emotional object due to its familiarity and its central role played in a person's lifecycle events (birth, marriage, childbirth and motherhood, sickness, and death).[126] Plant cuttings could also be sentimental gifts, such as for settlers in the New World transporting plants from their homelands to grow in their new

[121] Christopher Plumb, *The Georgian Menagerie: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: I B Tauris, 2015), pp. 49, 140-141, and 216; Marcus Hall, `Editorial: The Native, Naturalized and Exotic—plants and animals in human history', *Landscape Research*, 28 (1) (2003), 5-9, p. 6; Florike Egmond, `Precious Nature: Rare Naturaia as Collector's Items and Gifts in Early Modern Europe', in *Luxury in the Low Countries: Miscellaneous Reflections on Netherlandish Material Culture, 1500 to the Present*, ed. by Rengenier Rittersma (Brussels: Faro, 2010), pp. 47-66, p. 49; Non-exotic animals were often gifted to be eaten such as chickens and capons and usually gifted by people of a slightly lower social standing than the recipient: Jane Whittle, `The gentry as consumers in early 17th-century England', p. 30

[122] Hall, `The Native, Naturalized and Exotic', p. 6; Egmond, `Precious Nature', p. 49; Plumb, *The Georgian Menagerie*, p. 49

[123] Plumb, *The Georgian Menagerie*, p. 49

[124] Fennetaux, `Sentimental Economics', p. 126

[125] Beverly Lemire, `Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies* 27 (1) (1988), 1-24, p.5

[126] Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 123

homes.[127] The gifting of plants among elite garden owners was one way in which exotic plants were disseminated across English gardens.[128]

Consumption does not finish at the point of purchase or acquisition; we continue to consume objects through using them until they are disposed of. Georgio Riello explains that we have a misunderstanding in the way we view historical objects. He argues that too often we think of objects as static and this needs to be addressed.[129] For Riello, part of the problem is the display of historical objects to the public behind glass or velvet ropes, or as images in online collections. A cooking utensil that was handled by the cooks in a large household, used, cleaned, and dropped on stone floors loses its vitality when viewed in the sterile, though perhaps necessary, conditions of a museum or country house display. Material culture is an area where gardens diverge significantly from their mansion houses. Garden buildings, for example, are useful primary source material but plants and other living things do not survive in the same way. Garden historians can build a picture of historic planting schemes by looking at any surviving plants and plans of earlier garden layouts. Perhaps only the oldest trees were specimens that were planted by and experienced by people in the Georgian period. Foodstuffs that are eaten, flowers that bloom and die in quick succession, and other plants that have shorter life spans than great oaks or cedars for example are no longer material evidence for historic gardens. This is one reason why looking at gardening as a continual process of creation and maintenance is important. It is similarly an ongoing challenge for heritage institutions that wish to maintain gardens for visitors. Object agency reminds us that non-human actors have their own stories as well as their owners, from manufacture, use, reuse, and eventual disposal or the redundancy of its primary function.[130]

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[127] T L Senn, `Farm and Garden: Landscape Architecture and Horticulture in Eighteenth-Century America', *Agricultural History* 43 (1) (1969), 149-158, p. 150

[128] Anne Secord, `Corresponding interests: artisans and gentlemen in nineteenth-century natural history', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 27 (4) (1994), 383-408, p. 393

[129] Giorgio Riello, `Global Things: Europe's early modern material transformation', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 29-45, p. 30

[130] Sara Pennell, `"Pots and Pans History"', p. 202; Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010)

Aims and Objectives

Building on the core research questions and the existing literature this thesis reinvigorates garden history through novel approaches to country house gardens. The first aim of this thesis is to rethink gardens as practical, dynamic spaces that required continued maintenance from staff and inputs from external sources. The second aim is to redress the balance of traditional garden histories and the focus on aesthetics and design by repositioning gardens as part of the social and economic networks of the country house and as sites of consumption. The third aim is to repopulate the gardens with real people who interacted with and participated in the gardens and their many and varied experiences of designed landscapes.

Applying methodologies of country house history and the history of consumption to gardens allows these sites to be conceived in new ways. Focusing attention on the practical creation of gardens, rather than the intellectual or cultural meaning of designs, is influenced by Wilson and Mackley's *Creating Paradise* (2000) which reframes the building of country houses as arenas of financial and economic activity. Further, they draw attention to the "pace and scale" of building work and show that this was not uniform across houses of the period.[131] Roderick Floud's *Economic History of the English Garden* (2019) has applied much of this reasoning to gardens and as a result has been invaluable to the progression of this project. This work has been useful in contextualising garden spending in terms of a proportion of an individual landowner's wealth and with other large spending projects of the time.[132] He demonstrates that for the landed elite gardens were considered an investment just as their mansion houses were, and that the gardening industry throughout the country was thriving. The case studies used in this thesis offer an in-depth analysis of garden spending and highlight trends and patterns of spending over time. This approach repositions gardens as spaces of continuous work and expenditure rather than as finished designed landscapes.

Repositioning gardens as the centre of a nexus of goods, people, and knowledge is supported by the work of Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery on the country house and studies of

[131] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 2
[132] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 28 and 54-56

retail and the movement of objects within the history of consumption.[133] These examine some of the practicalities involved with purchasing items and bringing them into the home. The study of designers, nurseries and the nursery trade by garden historians has addressed some of these issues successfully and has offered valuable background knowledge to be applied to the case studies of this project. The networks of garden staff are significantly underrepresented in garden history, especially in comparison to the extensive research into country house indoor staff. This thesis highlights the patterns of employment from local labourers and craftspeople, and nationally recruited career gardeners. This approach attributes greater agency to working people who are often overlooked. The project also studies the professional and social networks that provided employment for garden staff, gained supply and design contracts, and spread knowledge of gardening across England. Highlighting the working and living conditions of gardeners is also a key aim for this thesis.

Gardens were spaces of consumption through the activities that took place there as well as the embodied experience of being out of doors. Kate Feluś' work has been particularly useful for this area of analysis. Adrian Tinniswood's work on country house visiting also includes some analysis of gardens but the main focus is on the mansion house. Similarly, Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* (1978) has some discussion of how people's lived experiences in country houses included the gardens, but this thesis focuses on the garden as a significant space for family members and leisured visitors. The novel sensory approach to shopping by Serena Dyer has inspired a new way of reading the material that deals with experiencing garden spaces and this thesis applies this embodied perspective to gardens, something which is rarely done by garden historians. This approach reframes gardens as dynamic spaces that were lived in and experienced with the whole body rather than as a designed art object that should only be looked at.

Methodology and Case Study Gardens

Answering the research questions and meeting the aims and objectives of the project is done by focusing on two case study gardens: Audley End, Essex and Belsay Hall, Northumberland [Fig. 1]. They are typical examples of country house gardens that

[133] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*

underwent periods of improvement in the mid-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century, respectively. They each have substantial gardens but do not fit the category of "great garden" and have not been so widely studied as famous properties such as Stowe, Rousham, or Chatsworth. There is a useful differentiation of styles between the two gardens, though they share practical similarities that could be found across any country house garden at this time. They both required remodelling, maintenance, staffing, and supplying with materials and plants. Similarly, they were spaces of leisure as well as productivity that were designed to be used in a variety of ways. This project does not apply a strictly comparative analysis. Rather, the discussion benefits from having two points of reference on which to draw conclusions. The thesis is able to look beyond the unique qualities of a single property while allowing space for detailed, focused analysis. It has also maintained a manageable source base to be examined in the limited time frame of a doctoral thesis.

Each property has a sizeable archive housed in their local records offices. Economic sources such as account books, wage lists, receipts, bills, and catalogues are useful for analysing the creation and maintenance of gardens. These sources illuminate trends in expenditure, cycles of spending, workloads and staffing, and loyalty to external suppliers. They show us what happened behind the scenes of these aesthetically pleasing spaces, the sort of work that was being completed on a day-to-day basis, and how the seasons affected this. Economic sources are rarely considered in garden historiography and this project has been able to shine a light on some of the realities of owning, building, and maintaining a large garden. Wage lists that name members of the garden staff have been cross-referenced with census data to build up a picture of the lives and careers of typical gardeners. Further, it allows us to track familial connections between employees as well as career gardeners that moved between gardens across the country. The archives also include several diaries, journals, and pocketbooks written by members of the family and their social circle. These sources help to illustrate how gardens were consumed by leisured garden users. They contain descriptions of garden designs which is how they would have been traditionally approached. This thesis though reads these sources in different ways to glean information about the types of activities that people did in gardens and some of their bodily experiences of being out of doors. This thesis also makes use of a rare gardener's diary from the late-eighteenth century that was acquired by English Heritage in 2019. The diary includes an almost day-by-day

record of work done by Thomas Challis, undergardener at Audley End between 1795 and 1797 as well as other information about the rest of his career and some biographical notes on his family. The archival material is supplemented by sources that are available online such as newspaper articles, published works, and census data. Similarly, visual sources such as paintings, watercolours, maps and plans have been vital sources for the project.

[Figure 1: Map of the UK showing the locations of Audley End, Essex and Belsay Hall, Northumberland]

The collaborative nature of this project has been highly valuable. The thesis has benefited from the existing research that has been undertaken for English Heritage and the expertise of staff. Digitised source material collected by English Heritage and stored on their drives was useful in speeding up the process of data collection. This was particularly beneficial in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic and successive lockdowns which prevented travel to

the archives. An allocation of an expenses budget made travel to archives and reprographics fees accessible to the project. Similarly, the gardener's diary which forms a significant aspect of the thesis would not have been available without the collaboration with English Heritage. Further, a number of public engagement opportunities were completed with colleagues at English Heritage in line with the project's research.

Audley End, Essex

Situated in the north of Essex and fourteen miles south of Cambridge, Audley End was built on the site of a Benedictine monastery.[134] The house as it stands today is roughly a third of the size it had been as a palace when it was bought by King Charles II in 1668.[135] Its colossal size became unmanageable and over time the property was significantly reduced in size.[136] Sir John Vanbrugh recommended in the early 1720s that all of the buildings of the "Great Court" be demolished as most were already in a ruinous state.[137] Further downsizing and remodelling projects were undertaken by Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth who was memorialised by her successor in the form of a large stone column in the grounds of the property. Her nephew, Sir John Griffin Griffin, inherited Audley End in 1762 and became the first Lord Braybrooke and fourth Lord Howard de Walden. Before 1750, Audley End's gardens were formal in style including a mount garden, wilderness and large rectangular courtyard enclosed by a high wall. The map in Figure 2 shows long avenues of trees, the rectangular "Great Pond", and the separated gardens in their rectangular enclosures.

Sir John started work on the gardens at Audley End within a year of his succession. On 22nd April 1763 an agreement was made between Sir John and Lancelot "Capability" Brown, England's leading landscape designer, for seven major packages of work. The original contract stated that these works would be completed in a little over twelve months. However, the project lasted for three years and the relationship between designer and client was uncharacteristically fraught. Brown's new design for the immediate gardens and

[134] William Addison, *Audley End* (London: J M Dent and Sons, 1953), pp. 8-9
[135] Addison, *Audley End*, p. 38
[136] Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End to which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden in the county of Essex* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1836), p. 92
[137] Addison, *Audley End*, p. 56

pleasure ground of the property swept away any remaining formality of the site. Brown's gardens featured wide swathes of lawn, a widened river to resemble a lake and produce a mirroring effect, curved walks and drives, a ha-ha, and a flower garden. Between 1763 and 1792 five garden buildings and monuments were erected within the grounds. Four were designed by the famous architect Robert Adam (1728-1792) and one by Robert William Furze Brettingham (1750-1820).

[Figure 2: George Sargeant's map of Audley End created in 1666 for Charles II]

[Figure 3: *Audley End and Ring Hill Temple*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

By the 1780s, the work to the site had largely been completed and the artist William Tomkins was commissioned to produce prospects of Audley End's house and gardens. *Audley End and Ring Hill Temple* (c. 1788) shows the change of the gardens from their formal state a century before to the 'modern' landscape style created by Brown's men [Fig. 3]. Many of the paintings in this collection will be used through the course of this thesis. At a point between Tomkins' paintings in the 1780s and the 1830s the Elysian Garden, the flower garden to the north-west of the property, was abandoned due to difficult growing conditions.[138] In 1832, William Sawrey Gilpin, another fashionable garden designer, created a geometric parterre garden on the east side of the house for Richard Griffin, 3rd Lord Braybrooke. Sir John Griffin Griffin died in 1797 without issue and the estate was inherited by the great nephew of the Countess of Portsmouth, Richard Aldworth Neville who became the 2nd Lord Braybrooke and adopted the surname, Griffin. Between 1825 and 1858 his son, Richard, lived at Audley End as the 3rd Lord Braybrooke. Audley End remained in the possession of the Neville family until

[138] Griffin, *The History of Audley End*, p. 134

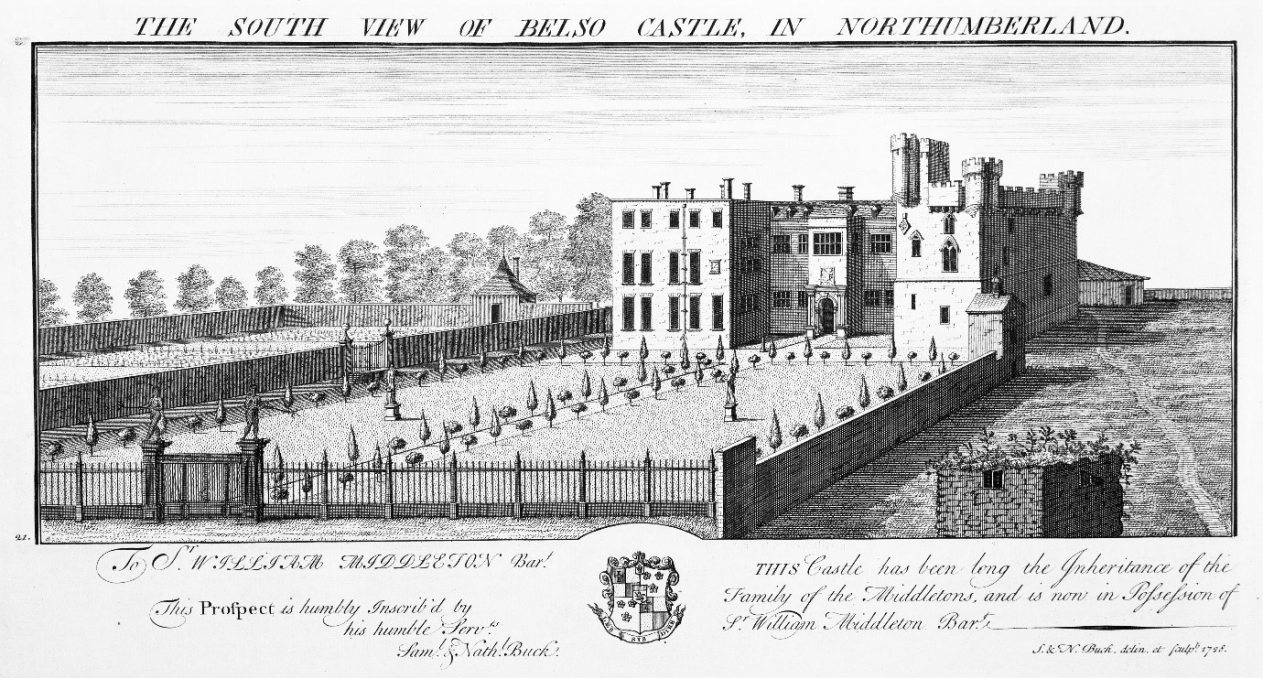
1948 when it was purchased for the nation and since 1984 it has been under the management of English Heritage.

Belsay Hall, Northumberland

The property lies just outside the village of Belsay about fourteen miles north-west of Newcastle and ten miles south-west of Morpeth. The Belsay estate has been owned by the Middleton family from as early as the late-thirteenth century to the present day though the hall, castle, and gardens have been managed by English Heritage since the 1980s. The castle, which now forms an eyecatcher within the pleasure grounds of the new hall, is a multi-phase building consisting of a pele tower erected in the late-fourteenth century, a medieval lodging range, and a 17th century manor house, extensively remodelled, and extended in the 19th century. Parts of the building were deliberately ruined by Sir Charles Monck when he moved from the castle to the new hall which he completed in 1817 in a Greek style. The gardens around the castle in the early-eighteenth century displayed the fashionable formality of the time, high walls, clipped evergreens, formal lawns and statuary [Fig. 4]. A watercolour painted in the picturesque style by Sir Charles Monck's second wife Mary Elizabeth in the mid-nineteenth century shows the castle ruined and decoratively covered with ivy. However, despite the stylistic depiction, the painting shows that the area around the castle had been changed to a more informal landscape style with large areas of grassy lawns and clumps of trees [Fig. 5]. Estate accounts of the 1790s shows the introduction of elements of the English landscape style, namely a "new ha-ha", by Sir Charles' father Sir William Middleton, the 5th baronet.[139]

The next period of garden building began in 1806 when the landowner Sir Charles Monck – born Middleton but changed his name in 1796 in order to inherit estates from his grandfather – returned from a two-year honeymoon with his first wife and new-born son. Sir Charles had a keen interest in classical art and architecture and the new couple travelled to Greece to take in the landscapes and historical sites. Their travels inspired Sir Charles to create his own house and gardens based on the styles and scenery they experienced abroad.

[139] Northumberland Archives (NA), ZMI/B36/15, N. 1, 1788-1794



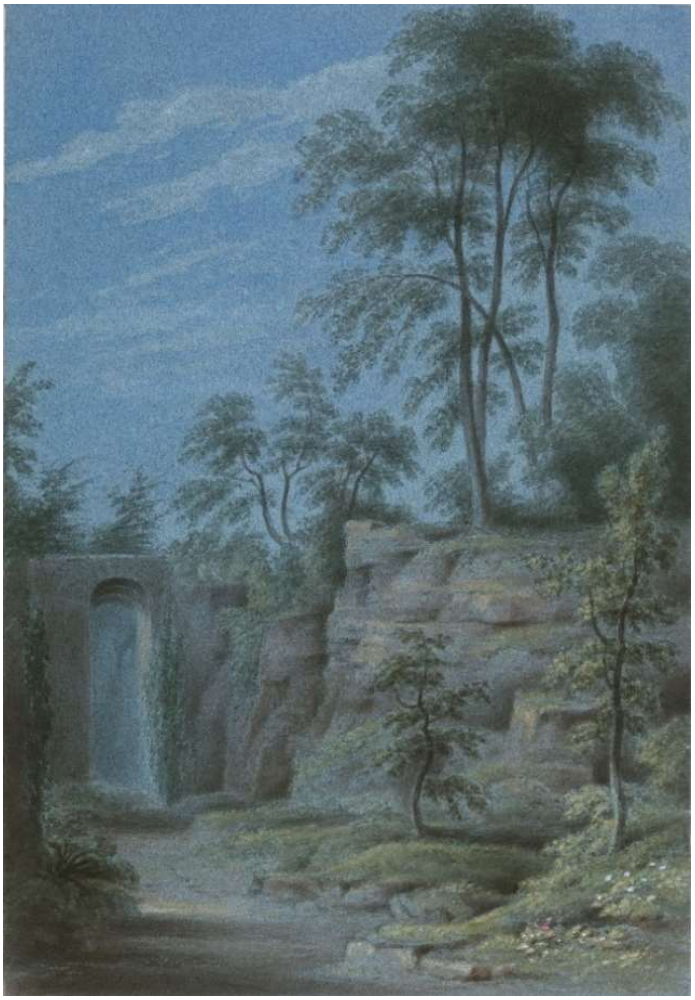
[Figure 4: Belsay Castle depicted in 1728 by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck]

[Figure 5: Watercolour of Belsay castle in the mid-19th century, attributed to Lady Mary Elizabeth Monck, Sir Charles' second wife]

The stone for the new hall was carefully quarried to create a sunken canyon that became the Quarry Garden. Further features, such as high arches were built using bricks and trees were planted along the edges of the cliffs to create an even taller effect. The Quarry Garden was lightly planted by Sir Charles Monck, but his grandson was responsible for the rich planting of native and exotic species that can be seen today. Early-nineteenth century illustrations by J Liddell shows the sheer scale of the Quarry Garden which was picturesque in design [Fig. 6 and 7]. Sir Charles was deeply interested in gardening and horticulture and his gardens boasted newly introduced plants from overseas. As a landowner he was atypically hands-on with the growing of his garden, often experimenting with his own techniques.

The Monck family moved into the new hall in December 1817 which looked over terraces to the south, towards the picturesque Crag Wood and artificial lake which Sir Charles had created by damming a stream. After Sir Charles' death in 1867, his grandson Sir Arthur Middleton – who changed his name from Monck back to Middleton in 1876 – created additional gardens at Belsay including a Winter Garden with a flat lawn on which to play croquet and tennis, a Yew Garden, and Magnolia Terrace.

These two properties are useful case studies as they are both relatively typical of other gardens in terms of the progression of landscape styles and as such will share many similarities of creation and consumption. They each have large and varied archive bases that offer unique information on which to build the thesis that allows for deeper analysis of gardens that a single garden may not have allowed. Their geographic locations similarly introduce a useful divergence in local and regional networks.



[Figures 6 and 7: Two illustrations by J Liddell of the recently constructed Quarry Garden at Belsay Hall, early-nineteenth century]

Impact of Covid-19 on the Project

The Covid-19 pandemic imposed constraints on the project through limiting access to sites and archival collections for extended periods. The project began in October 2019 and the first of three major lockdowns coincided with plans to visit archives for the first time. These plans were put on hold for several months. I was able to complete some primary analysis during this time by utilising scanned material that English Heritage already had on their computer system which was extremely useful. However, due to their nature of being collected for different purposes these documents were not always particularly suited to the research questions posed in this thesis. A major difficulty for visiting the records offices once they reopened was the reliance on public transport. Friendly connections in Kent allowed me to stay overnight when legally permitted and make the shorter journey to Chelmsford to access Essex Records Office (ERO) and as such I visited there on three occasions: August 2020, April 2021, and October 2021. A camera licence allowed me to take hundreds of photographs to be analysed at university in Manchester. Access to Northumberland Archives (NA) which is situated in Ashington was far more limited. The site reopened much later than ERO and visitors were limited to one two-and-a-half-hour session per week to manage demand. Further no photography is permitted at this records office. It was decided that the ten-hour round trip on public transport was not sustainable and instead material was ordered to be scanned through their reprographics department at some considerable cost. This cost was mediated through funding provided by English Heritage for the project. My supervisory team and I anticipated the risk that some material might not be entirely relevant as their archival descriptions had limited detail. In October 2021 I was able to attend two sessions in one week and relied on the hospitality of a friend in Durham overnight. Viewing the material in person allowed me to select specific relevant documents to be scanned. Despite these challenges the primary material used throughout this thesis remains extensive and varied. The archival records that have been collected are supplemented with online resources where possible.

Thesis Structure

The first chapter examines the many networks of supply supporting the creation and maintenance of the gardens. Approaching garden history from an economic and quantitative perspective deepens our understanding of how gardens functioned day-to-day and over many years. Many thousands of seeds and plants were brought into gardens over their lifetimes for both decorative purposes and for food production. Gardeners needed tools to be purchased and repaired. A consistent area of spending was the payment of staff salaries and labourer's day rates. The chapter also looks at how goods and people were brought into gardens from the practical considerations of plant deliveries to how labourers were recruited from the local community. This chapter positions gardens as centres of a wide range of networks of supply from the local, to the regional and national, to the international. Plants, people, objects, knowledge, and expertise entered the garden through these networks and interacted with each other to create beautiful and productive garden spaces.

The second chapter focuses on the people working in the garden. It looks into working communities and their professional networks within and beyond the country house garden staff. An understanding of the hierarchies around which the garden team was structured highlights the many levels of experience and expertise present in the gardens. From the young apprentices to established head gardeners, this chapter explores the career paths, working and living conditions, and social and geographical mobility of working people. The diary of work kept by Thomas Challis, a young undergardener, records his "work done at Audley End" and offers valuable insight into the patterns of work that were completed from season to season as well as biographical detail that informs us about his career path. Generally, a focus on the lives and work of ordinary garden staff and estate staff gives them greater agency and credit for their contribution. This chapter also looks at professional networks linking gardens and external businesses particularly nurseries and designers. It highlights how these firms managed their businesses over time and how these networks converged to create and re-create the garden spaces.

The use and consumption of garden space through visiting and other activities is the focus of the third chapter. It considers who entered the gardens, their relationships to the family, and the access these groups were offered when enjoying the space. Tourism to country seats was a popular leisurely pastime and domestic travel was becoming increasingly comfortable

over the period. The most universal experience for leisured tourists, invited guests, and resident families was simply moving around the space and viewing the features of the garden. Traversing large gardens could be done on foot which would allow access to the more enclosed areas, as well as on horseback or in a carriage which afforded greater speed to travel longer distances. Gardens were works of art designed to be admired for their aesthetic choices, but this was only one facet of the use of country house gardens. This chapter highlights some of the many ways gardens were enjoyed grouped under the headings of sports and physical activities, socialising on different scales, and intellectual pursuits. Certain areas of the designed gardens facilitated garden activities and some limitations were imposed by the weather, time of year, or time of day.

The final chapter approaches experiences in the garden from a bodily perspective. Interacting with a space goes beyond the activities people performed. This chapter looks again at the personal writings of garden visitors but reads them for a different perspective. The sensory experiences they recorded are supplemented by inferred experiences of known environments and objects. As designed objects, it is unsurprising that written sources on gardens were dominated by visual descriptions, but vision was not the only sense that was activated out of doors. Gardens were widely stimulating places with different senses being more active in some areas than others. Sounds, for example, would be heard more intensely in some areas than others depending on the stimuli and how close the listener was to it, therefore showing the spatiality of the sensory garden. The sensory experience of a particular property was different for each visitor that entered it, not only due to different conditions out of doors, but also due to individual perceptions of certain stimuli. The senses also create mental and emotional connections with memories, a theme which is explored through a published work which frequently references past experiences in the garden at Audley End. A range of personal writings such as diaries, letters, and a unique description of Audley End by a Dutch exile illuminate how people recorded their sensory experiences. This chapter looks to breathe life and texture into garden experiences as well as highlighting the importance of cultural frameworks and language in how those sensory experiences were recorded, or frequently not.

Chapter 1:

Systems of Spending and Supply to Country House Gardens

Introduction

Country house gardens required consistent financial and material inputs to build and maintain them over the days, seasons, and years of their use. Gardens were at the centre of multiple networks of spending and supply through which people, objects, knowledge, and expertise were brought into the garden space. These networks were crucial to the creation and maintenance of gardens over time. It is easy to overlook these more mundane and everyday facets of garden creation and this chapter actively brings them to the forefront.

Gardens were important sites of production into which landowners invested their money and land. This way of thinking about gardens is rare in the existing literature which focuses on how the designs looked rather than how much money, labour, and materials were required to build and maintain those designs. Roderick Floud's *An Economic History of the English Garden* (2019) sets out to reframe how we think about gardens as an industry rather than a "search for beauty" or a hobby.[1] Gardens were important employers and great amounts of money were circulated within their commercial and private networks. In this work, Floud concentrates on expenditure across the garden industry and on the many trades, professions, and institutions that contributed to garden creation and maintenance.[2] His discussion is highly anthropocentric, dealing greatly with the experiences of labourers, businesses, and garden owners. There is scope, therefore, to be more attentive to environmental factors that drove spending such as the weather and pests. Floud's discussion covers many of the practicalities behind the construction of garden buildings, lakes, kitchen gardens, and flower beds. This approach has been greatly influential to this chapter and the wider thesis. Gardens are at once whole objects and a collection of smaller features, each of which required the input of knowledge, skill, and labour from across multiple professional networks to produce.

[1] Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), p. 8
[2] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 9

Demand for greater nuance in the analysis of historic gardens has already produced some successful new readings of the practicalities of building and owning a large garden. These include a focus on working gardeners, the nursery trade and professional designers of which Lancelot "Capability" Brown is extremely well researched.[3] The development of Brown's historiography is a useful demonstration of what garden history can achieve. In the last decade, historians have broadened our understanding of his influence far beyond the aesthetic value of this work to focus on his business and management skills. Topics such as expenditure, labour recruitment, suppliers of materials and plants, his business structure, professional relationships, and his successes as an eighteenth-century entrepreneur are now widely discussed. In 2011, Andrew Wild published an article in *Enterprise & Society*, a journal for business history, about Lancelot Brown's role as a shrewd businessman who was continuously working to "maximise his chances of success".[4] This article offers a fresh perspective that considers the organisational and physical labour that was required to redesign all or part of a country house garden. There is some discussion of the expenses and supply of designed gardens but ultimately this article deals with the individual personality of Brown and how this benefited his business exploits, so Wild's conclusions remain specific to Brown rather than the nature of eighteenth-century garden building.[5] David Brown and Tom Williamson's collaborative work *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men* (2016) further explores Brown's business using a rarely used source base in garden history. They explain that the book draws extensively on analysis of contemporary bank accounts "not just of Brown, but of a broad section of wealthy individuals".[6] Through an exploration of what was spent and sourced for their gardens we learn more about the priorities of owners and of the wider social elites from the fascination with the growing of exotic plants to ideas of "taste" and education.[7] This chapter develops these recent trends in garden history and works to re-

[3] David S D Jones, *Servants of the Lord: Outdoor Staff at the Great Country Houses* (Shrewsbury: Quiller, 2017); Twigs Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens: A History of Women in the Garden* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006); Kathleen Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us: the roles and influence of the nursery trade on the landscapes and gardens of the eighteenth century', *Garden History* 40 (1) (Summer, 2012), 17-33; Andrew Wild, `Capability Brown, the Aristocracy, and the Cultivation of the Eighteenth-Century British Landscaping Industry', *Enterprise & Society*, 14 (2) (2013), 237-270; David Brown and Tom Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Reaktion, 2016)
[4] Wild, `Capability Brown', p. 249
[5] Wild, `Capability Brown', p. 258
[6] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 11
[7] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, pp. 16 and 23

integrate gardens into the various networks of spending, commercial gardening, the supply of materials, and the sourcing of labour from the local to the international.

The focus on inputs, expenditure, and employment in this chapter is suited to the quantitative analysis of economic sources such as account books, records of wages, bills and receipts for goods, and invoices from craftsmen. Audley End and Belsay Hall are rich in economic source material, however the sources this study was able to access due to the Covid-19 pandemic are relatively fragmentary. Similarly, some key sources such as Belsay Hall's "Cash Book No. 3" are missing in the archive and some of the material for Audley End's labour records are badly damaged. Although this chapter has not been able to produce a long-form quantitative data analysis, the material has illuminated trends of spending over shorter periods.

Contextualising garden spending within the spending of an entire estate is not always a simple process. Due to the fragmentary nature of the data used in this project, building a completely accurate picture was not possible for the whole period of study. A small sample from Audley End between 1825 and 1834 has shown that the expenditure on "garden work" was usually between a quarter and a third of all annual spending on the house and gardens and between 12-14% of the total annual spending for the entire estate.[8] In reality, the expenditure towards the building and maintenance of gardens was higher than the bills for garden work as work done by carpenters, glaziers, bricklayers, and purchases from nurseries all contributed to the creation process. Similarly, the menagerie expenses maintained an important feature of the garden. Thus, the proportion of expenditure on gardens would have been higher than these estimates. However, they remain useful in giving a general idea of how much was spent on gardens compared to the rest of the estate.

Alongside economic sources, the chapter also focuses on a number of diaries and notebooks that include records of work completed in the gardens and visits to nurseries.[9] Sir Charles Monck of Belsay Hall regularly recorded garden work in a notebook which offers valuable

[8] ERO, D/DBy A230, Monthly General Accounts, 1820-1834; the categories for estate expenditure are: Housekeeping and board wages, servants' wages, firing, stable expenses, shooting expenses, menagerie expenses, travelling and carriage, Audley house, garden etc., stationary, and contingencies.
[9] Northumberland Archives (NA), ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836; NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVII, Travel diary of Sir Charles Monck re Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Derbys., 1825-1826

insight into the running of his garden, his own personal interests in horticulture, and a general overview of the kind of work that gardens required. This notebook, usefully titled "Diary with special reference to horticultural practices" includes, amongst other personal reflections and events, information about what Monck was growing, harvesting and maintaining in his garden over the course of twenty years.[10] Monck stands out as a garden owner who was more actively involved in the practical aspects of gardening than others of his position. A source such as his horticultural diary is rare but not unheard of. An article published in *Garden History* in 2016 by P K Stembridge is about a similar document written by Thomas Goldney, an enthusiastic horticulturalist garden owner of the earlier eighteenth century.[11] This article, which includes a lengthy transcription of the source, is a successful introduction to how a garden notebook can be analysed. The diary illuminates the quantities of plants that were bought from various nurseries, some of the processes needed to care for plants, and the owner's favourite flowers and fruits that brought him satisfaction to grow and harvest. It shares many similarities with the content of Monck's notebook and the article has been a useful starting point for the analysis of this type of archival material. This chapter utilises the notebook to extract information about how gentlemen gardeners interacted with their gardens beyond simply providing finances for it.

The structure of this chapter reiterates the position of gardens at the centre of a range of networks of spending and supply. These networks worked on vastly different scales of distance from the property. The chapter begins with a discussion of the immediate locality of the estate, through the regional/national to the international. It is grounded in the temporality of gardens and the range of networks in which they are situated rather than lofty design theories or generalised cultural or political movements. These motivations were of course important to the decisions made by garden owners, but they have been widely examined by the existing scholarship. A garden is greatly affected by its environmental context and was maintained primarily by a body of locally hired labourers and craftspeople which formed the most local of the garden's networks of supply. Much of the supply of objects, knowledge, and expertise was sourced from the wider region or rest of the country. Nurseries were often based out of regional urban centres and designers might work in

[10] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[11] P K Stembridge, `Thomas Goldney's Garden: An Eighteenth-Century Garden Notebook', *Garden History*, 44 (2) (Winter 2016), 209-239

gardens across the country. Finally, this chapter considers how international trade brought goods into the garden and the challenges of cultivating exotic species in English gardens. Looking at the creation of gardens across increasing scales of spending and supply leads to a more holistic understanding of gardens. It allows for a broadening of analysis on what inputs created gardens beyond simply looking at accounts of garden spending which do not cover the full range of garden inputs.

Environmental Conditions, Local Labour, and Supply to the Country House

The first section of this chapter focuses on the close local networks in which the country house garden was situated. Every garden had to contend with the local natural environment whether that was rainfall, temperature changes, insects, or moles burrowing under the lawn. In order for landowners to gain their desired aesthetic, these natural elements required mediating through consistent maintenance and spending. Local people played an important role in the maintenance of gardens as labourers and estate craftsmen who assisted the professionally trained career gardeners who were usually not from the local area. This section covers some of the expenses associated with this regular labour. In this section, garden labourers are considered separately from career gardeners who will be examined in the following chapter about professional working communities. Finally, it will consider the short-range network of supply that brought garden produce into the great house. Gardens produced various outputs that entered the mansion house such as food products and fresh flowers.

Penelope Hobhouse's *Plants in Garden History* (1992) frequently refers to the growing conditions of certain plants and reminds us that rainfall and drainage, wind and air circulation, temperature, and soil amongst other environmental factors determined what a garden could be.[12] Similarly, Mark Laird draws attention to the importance of cycles of climatic conditions from the seasons to the different times of day and calls weather an "un-sung hero" in garden ownership.[13] A garden owner could hire the most famous designer of

[12] Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History: An Illustrated History of Plants and Their Influences on Garden Style* (London: Pavilion Books, 1992); Malcolm Thick, `Garden seeds in England before the late eighteenth century: I. Seed growing', *The Agricultural History Review*, 31 (1) (1990), 58-71
[13] Mark Laird, *A Natural History of English Gardening, 1650-1800* (Yale University Press, 2015), p. 18

the day and invest great sums of money into creating the desired effect but if the environmental conditions were ignored the long-term success of that design could be diminished. The environment was a limitation to what an owner could grow and thus the productivity and overall look of a garden could never be entirely predictable. At Audley End, the Elysian Garden was originally conceived as a flower garden when it was created in the 1780s. However, by the 1830s attempts at growing decorative flowers in this area had been abandoned as the soil was "too cold and damp for anything but evergreens" as well as being susceptible to flooding.[14] In his history of Audley End, the 3rd Lord Braybrooke explained that "in spite of all other advantages [the Elysian Garden was] unfavourable to the culture of flowers" as it had been intended.[15] By 1836 the flower beds had been relocated to the south and east of the property but we do not know how long the gardeners at Audley End fought against these unfavourable conditions.[16] Sometimes, investing money, labour, and plants into a garden could not guarantee a successful outcome. It is not clear exactly how much Sir John Griffin Griffin spent on the Elysian Garden, but the paintings of William Tomkins showed it to be a richly planted area with "clumps of white broom, honeysuckles, pinks, and lilies… clusters of China asters, candytuft, stocks, African marigolds, and the giant castor oil plant" as well as pots of exotic plants.[17] Building gardens was often expensive but this was made even more costly when a project had to be abandoned and rebuilt elsewhere.

The contrasting geographical locations of Audley End and Belsay Hall meant that they had different local environments to contend with when creating outdoor spaces. Variation in temperature and rainfall would suit some plants better than others and as such would need to be taken into account when purchasing seeds and saplings. Situated some 260 miles north of Audley End, Belsay Hall has an unsurprisingly cooler climate as would have been the case between 1750 and 1850.[18] A study of rainfall conducted between 1787 and 1791 across

[14] William Addison, *Audley End with a foreword by Lord Braybrooke* (London: J M Dent and Sons, 1953), p. 4; Magnus Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation: Audley End, Essex* (Swindon: Historic England, 2015), p. 85

[15] Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End. To which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden in the county of Essex* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1836), p. 134

[16] Addison, *Audley End*, p. 4; Griffin, *The History of Audley End*, p. 134

[17] Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999)

[18] Average climate data for the UK can be found on the Met Office website: Met Office, `UK Climate Averages' <https://www.metoffice.gov.uk/research/climate/maps-and-data/uk-climate-averages/> [accessed 26 November 2020]

nine locations in England and Scotland showed that the south-east of England was significantly drier than areas close to the Scottish border with a difference of 27 inches of rainfall in 1789.[19] The ability to grow certain plants outside was more limited in the harsher climate of Northumberland and subsequently the frequency of heated walls in kitchen gardens was more concentrated in northern counties.[20] Sir Charles Monck's role as a Member of Parliament required him to travel frequently between Northumberland and London. He and his wife Louisa often recorded variations in the development of vegetation on their travels north and south. Louisa wrote in March 1811 that, compared to Belsay, the vegetation about Biggleswade, Bedfordshire was "very forward".[21] Staying in Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne in June 1825, Sir Charles observed: "The roses are nearly over here – the strawberries and cherries quite so – but neither the country or gardens are near so much parched up as they were further south".[22] The upkeep of the gardens at Belsay and Audley End required different techniques of gardening and an attentiveness to specific local natural conditions. Indeed, buying plants from local, provincial nurseries, especially for properties that were a significant distance from the London nurseries, was one way that a gardener could reduce the risk of plants dying in their gardens. Advice from an early-nineteenth-century author about fruit trees warned about purchasing from "distant nurseries" explaining that the soil was so stiff around the roots of some trees that he doubted they would survive in the light soil he planted them in.[23] Matching the conditions of early growth with the garden it was bought for gave plants a better chance of survival.

The acclimatisation of new plants into a garden was an unpredictable process despite a wealth of gardening advice manuals and almanacs.[24] Predicting the weather was primitive if non-existent for much of this period and the first forecast by the Met Office printed in a

[19] Data from Youngsbury in Hertfordshire, 20 miles south-west of Audley End and from Dumfries, 78 miles west of Belsay. These locations were the closest to the case studies in that study. *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, Volume 4, Part 1* (London: T Cadell, 1793), p. 594
[20] Elisabeth Hall, `Hot Walls: An Investigation of Their Construction in Some Northern Kitchen Gardens', *Garden History*, 17 (1) (Spring 1989), 95-107, p. 97
[21] Biggleswade is roughly 26 miles west of Audley End; NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[22] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVII, Travel diary of a tour around northern England, 1825-1826
[23] William Coxe, *A View of the Cultivation of Fruit Trees, and the Management of Orchards and Cider* (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1817), pp. 53-54
[24] Kate Wersan, `The Early Melon and the Mechanical Gardener: Towards an Environmental History of Timekeeping in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Environmental History* 22 (2017), 282-310; Sarah Bilston, `Queens of the garden: Victorian women gardeners and the rise of the gardening advice text', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (1) (2008), 1-19; John Harvey, `The First English Garden Book: Mayster Jon Gardener's Treatise and Its Background', *Garden History*, 13 (2) (1985), 83-101

national newspaper was in 1861.[25] The 1841 volume of the *Gardener's Chronicle* includes frequent reports on "the state of the weather" as recorded at Chiswick for the previous week which included barometer and thermometer readings as well as the wind and rain levels.[26] This was usually accompanied by the average temperatures and pressure readings of the past fifteen years for the coming week.[27] This might allow readers to draw some conclusions about how the season was progressing, but this could not produce reliable predictions and beyond London the recorded data was even less relevant. The inability to plan accurately for anomalies in weather patterns meant some plants might grow less successfully than normal or not survive at all. Louisa Monck recorded two occurrences where unpredictable weather negatively affected the plants at Belsay. In 1813, she experienced the finest and driest summer she could remember which killed many plants through drought.[28] Three years later she recorded the opposite. An unusually "wet, cold and gloomy" summer produced particularly tasteless and backward fruit.[29] The gardens at Audley End and Belsay Hall served multiple productive purposes and though the loss of some plants did not bankrupt either family, it must have been a common frustration when the fruit was not as sweet as anticipated, or an expensively purchased exotic specimen died.

One of the major aesthetic features of the Georgian landscape garden was the pristine, smooth lawn. Retaining the neat, freshly mown appearance required a great deal of maintenance particularly during the warm summer months when the grass grew quickly, and more visitors could be expected. Both Audley End and Belsay Hall had areas of short cut grass in the immediate vicinity of the house in the form of lawns and terraces which were best scythed early in the day with the morning dew.[30] The lawns are distinct from the parkland beyond the ha-ha which was used for the pasture of prized breeds or grown out to be cut for hay in the late summer [Fig. 1.1].[31] According to Martin Hoyles, three men could

[25] Met Office, `Robert FitzRoy and the early Met Office', <https://www.metoffice.gov.uk/research/library-and-archive/archive-hidden-treasures/robert-fitzroy> [accessed 27 November 2020]
[26] The records follow the same format, one example is: `State of the Weather for the Week ending June 17, 1841, as observed at the Horticultural Garden, Chiswick', *The Gardener's Chronicle for 1841*, 25 (19 June 1841), 401, p. 401
[27] `State of the Weather at Chiswick during the last 15 years for the ensuing week ending June 26, 1841', *The Gardener's Chronicle for 1841*, 25 (19 June 1841), 401, p. 401
[28] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[29] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[30] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 214
[31] Kate Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful objects and agreeable retreats* (London: I B Tauris, 2016), p. 14

scythe an acre of grass in a day who would be followed by "lawn women" to gather the cuttings, then rolled flat.[32] The lawn between the west front of Audley End House and the river is approximately seven and a half acres and so by Hoyles' calculations this area alone would require eight mowers to complete the work in a day. At Belsay, John Gilly was paid for "mowing" the lawns. This payment was made annually, usually in August or September, and it is fair to assume that the total bill was built up over multiple visits in a year.[33] Gilly appears in the accounts sometimes as "John Gilly" but once as "John Gilly and co." suggesting he was not working alone and that his mowing services were separate from his role as a locally employed garden labourer. John, as well as Edward and William Gilly all appear in a "Labourer's day book" dated 1807-1814.[34] Between the years 1802 and 1825, the average annual mowing bill was £15. 9s. 2d. but it could be as much as £27.[35] The records at Audley End suggest a similar pattern of spending. In July 1781, two mowing expenses are listed as well as the rate of pay per acre and the total acres covered. Firstly, grass mowing of thirty-six and a half acres at 2s. 6d. per acre and secondly, mowing "bent", another type of lawn grass, at 1s. 3d. per acre over twenty-seven acres.[36] These expenses plus the cost of "two mowers the day" at 3s. came to £6. 8s. The work of these two mowers would have been completed over multiple days and the bill settled at a later date. The clean aesthetics of the wide lawn may have been cheaper to maintain than the more complicated plantings of earlier design periods, however it was not without expenses.[37]

[32] Martin Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening* (London: Journeyman Press, 1991), p. 46; The rotary lawn mower was not invented until the 1830s and did not become widely adopted for many years: Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening*, p. 220
[33] NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816
[34] NA, ZMI/B49/4, Labourers Day Book, 1807-1814
[35] Mean average based on data from NA, ZMI/B36/18, No Title, 1802; NA, ZMI/B36/19, Cash Book No. 5, 1806-1809; NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815 and NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816
[36] Essex Records Office (ERO), D/DBy A227, Monthly General Accounts, 1780-1781
[37] Wild, `Capability Brown', p. 258

[Figure 1.1: Distant view of Audley End from the South East. Cattle in the foreground and Ring Hill Temple is atop the hill in the background.]

A further expense for maintaining pristine lawns was the removal of pests, particularly moles which could hinder the desired effect with their burrowing mounds. The grass could not be scythed successfully if the ground was made uneven by molehills, so these had to be regularly flattened and the mole catcher brought in to remove the animals.[38] At Belsay Hall, account books show regular expenditure on a mole catcher, Mr. Fawcett. Payments were made twice a year, usually in May and December.[39] In 1792, Mr Fawcett's total annual fee was £2. 12s. 6d. which gradually reduced to £1. 11s. by 1807 and increased again to £2. 16s. by 1814.[40] Indeed, a range of mammals, birds, and insects were considered nuisances to

[38] Tom Williamson, *The archaeology of the landscape park: garden design in Norfolk, England, c.1680-1840* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1998), p. 175; Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 214
[39] NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815
[40] NA, ZMI/B36/15, N. 1, 1788-1794; NA, ZMI/B36/18, No Title, 1802; NA, ZMI/B36/19, Cash Book No. 5, 1806-1809; NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816

productive and aesthetically pleasing gardens and were thus removed from the space.[41] Landowners employed a variety of individuals to remove pests such as slug pickers, rat catchers, garden boys, and gamekeepers.[42] For the gamekeeper, the killing of vermin was not an aesthetic priority but an economic one. Their role was to protect the young game that would be used for the sport and consumption of the household. At Belsay, the "Register of Vermin Killed, 1825-1846" is a detailed account of how many cats, foulmarts, weasels, hawks, magpies, crows, and owls were destroyed throughout the gardens and wider property.[43] Accounting only for the areas that were part of the gardens, the numbers of vermin killed were quite erratic over the years. The most consistently killed vermin were crows and magpies and there were only a handful of years when none were caught. Cats, weasels, hawks, and owls were not caught every year, and in those years, it was usually only one animal. There was more owl activity in 1839 and 1840 whereby five and three owls were killed respectively. No foulmarts were caught in areas of the garden, only on the wider estate. These animals, that were native to the locality, were often considered a nuisance to garden spaces and effort and regular expense was dedicated to their removal.

Repairs took many forms in the different garden spaces and required the skilled labour of local craftsmen across the estate. Bills from Audley End recorded the work done on the garden by the estate's glazier, bricklayer, blacksmith, and carpenter. When work was required the head craftsman produced a receipt to be reimbursed by the land agent who managed the estate accounts. As a result, there is a wealth of information about the work completed across Audley End's gardens by a variety of skilled labourers. Some tasks were relatively simple, only taking a short amount of time and money to complete. The blacksmith, Richard Spicer, billed the land agent 6d. in February 1818 when he was requested to repair a spade by replacing a rivet in the handle.[44] Bills from the same year show that the estate bricklayer, Mr Ward, organised a large number of skilled craftsmen across the whole property in the house, gardens, outbuildings, and home farm throughout

[41] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 22
[42] Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise, A social history of gardens and gardening* (London: Harper Collins, 1999), p. 191
[43] NA, ZMI/S/7, Register of Vermin Killed, 1825-1846
[44] ERO, D/DBy A76/2, Household and Estate Papers, February 1818

the year. The types of work his men did in the gardens ranged from the more menial to important infrastructural works. For example, in one day and a quarter, one labourer was charged with cleaning the well for which the estate was billed 5s. 7½d. for the labour and another 2s. for beer.[45] Another short job that year was to white the walls in the aviary living room which cost 8s. 15½d. for one and a quarter days labour and materials.[46] Other projects were more substantial in time and expense. From early July to late September of 1818 a new plumbing system was introduced to the kitchen garden that carried water from the nearby river into a cistern with labourers often working seven days a week.[47] It is not clear exactly how much expenditure was put towards the cistern building as the records of payment also include other work that was happening at the time such as building a partition wall in the potato house and paving the garden house.[48] These large building projects would not have occurred as frequently as the smaller repairs. Indeed, 1818 appears to have been a year of unusually intense garden activity for Mr Ward and his bricklayers. Comparatively, the bricklayer's bills for 1822 record fewer items of work in the garden as much of their labour that year was required on the house. In large gardens, especially high-productivity kitchen gardens that required more sophisticated infrastructure to run, the skills needed went beyond horticulturalists. Gardeners and estate craftsmen worked in the same arenas towards the same goals of making the space run efficiently and successfully.

Maintenance similarly included preventative measures to avoid more expensive damage. The accounts for Audley End highlight this point particularly well as large structural repairs were completed periodically. Two examples that stand out are the repairs to the colonnaded tea bridge in the Elysian Garden and the repeated maintenance and additions to the garden's flood defences. In 1822, the Palladian tea bridge in the Elysian Garden required repairs to the tops of the roof-supporting columns that cost £1. 7s. for materials and labour.[49] Retaining the structural integrity of a garden building was important to its longevity and safety. The issue of flooding appears twice in Lancelot Brown's proposed work for Audley End in 1763. Not only did he install a channel to draw floodwater from the village into the main river, but the contract gives evidence for previous flooding and the damage it

[45] ERO, D/DBy A76/5, Household and Estate Papers, May 1818
[46] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818
[47] ERO, D/DBy A76/7-9, Household and Estate Papers, July – September 1818
[48] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818
[49] ERO, D/DBy A80/4, General (household and estate) vouchers, April 1822

could do.[50] Brown was tasked to raise a bridge to a taller height and to repair the old water course below this bridge which "was damaged by the floods".[51] Flooding could be particularly devastating to a house and gardens as shown by an anecdote in Lady Louisa Monck's journal in which she described Bywell Castle, a property that was built "too near the river" and during one flood the water "came into the dining room as high as the top of the chimney piece".[52] Later repairs to prevent flooding at Audley End included the annual "cleaning" or dredging of the river and the occasional "attendance to floodgates" by the estate blacksmith.[53] These repairs were relatively inexpensive, cleaning the river cost £1. 1s. in 1797, and the attendance to the floodgates only 10s. in 1820. Such repairs prevented more expensive damage being done to the gardens in the longer-term.

The work done by local craftspeople highlights the importance of looking beyond the accounts of "garden work". In the accounts and bills at Audley End and Belsay Hall the work done to the garden by glaziers, bricklayers, blacksmiths, and others was recorded separately to the garden bills. These garden tasks were grouped together with work done at the house, the home farm, and other areas of the estate. To build a more accurate picture of how much was spent on garden maintenance, these separate accounts need to be addressed. It also demonstrates how gardens were created by the wider networks of individuals than simply garden staff and this approach is more holistic. These sources are rich with information about the contributions these craftspeople made to gardens that would have been overlooked without a consideration of spending in gardens.

Garden labourers, who assisted the Head gardener and career gardeners in their work of maintaining the garden space were generally hired from the locality.[54] The local community

[50] ERO, D/DBy A365, Bills for work carried out at Audley End under direction of Robert Adam and Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1762-1768
[51] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768
[52] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[53] For example, in November 1820: ERO, D/DBy A230, Monthly General Accounts, 1820-1834; ERO, D/DBy A226, Monthly General Accounts, 1797
[54] Professional gardeners who had been through an apprenticeship process were more mobile than the comparatively lesser skilled labourers. Andrew Hann, `Labour Recruitment on the Audley End Estate in the late 19th century', *English Heritage Historical Review* 5 (2010), 135-155; Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 162

was closely linked with the mansion house and gardens of the estate they lived on.[55] Work as a garden labourer could be sporadic. The labourer's day books in Belsay Hall's archives show how some men's experiences of garden work was characteristically casual. Thomas Atkinson, for example might work two days a week, or not at all for more than a month, or every day for two weeks. Table 1.1 shows a six-month sample period of his working days. During the weeks that Atkinson and most of the other men listed were not at work, there was always two men working every day. These weeks were interspersed with weeks of great activity where every man listed worked every day, coinciding with Atkinson's periods of continuous work. Other men also occasionally worked two or three days a week; it is likely they were requested when needed. In the sample shown in Table 1.1, the period of greatest activity for Atkinson and his colleagues was in August. The summer was a busy time for garden staff, and he may have been involved in the haymaking process on the estate which may have redirected him out of the garden itself and into the wider parkland. A similar situation occurred at Audley End where this seasonal work was highlighted in a wage record for September 1786 in which the majority garden staff were paid an extra 20s. on top of their month's wages for help bringing in the estate's harvest.[56]

Continuity and longevity of service is a persistent theme that comes out of the labour records at Belsay Hall. The system of local recruitment for the bulk of the garden labour force encouraged continuity as they were less likely to move away from the locality and their social and familial ties. Belsay Hall's estate archives include several labourer's daybooks that recorded a register of every day and occasional half-day of work done by men on the estate. These registers show that labourers remained listed as employees for many years even if they did not necessarily work every day as highlighted in Table 1.1. Two men, Anthony Scott and Henry Stokoe, represent two of the different forms of employment available to garden labourers. Scott worked almost every working day available to him between 1807 and 1814, rarely missing a day. In periods of limited requirement for labour, Scott was one of the few men employed out of a list of fourteen to fifteen reserve labourers.[57] One can also assume that Anthony Scott worked well to be so relied upon and his consistency was atypical of

[55] Hann, `Labour Recruitment on the Audley End Estate', p. 135
[56] ERO, D/DBy A44/9, Household and Estate Papers, September 1786
[57] 21st September 1807-14th October 1807 is one example of this. NA, ZMI/B49/4, Labourer's Day Book, 1807-1814

Wk Comm	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
4th May		1	1			
11th May				1	1	
18th May						
25th May						
1st June						
8th June						
15th June		1	1	1		
22nd June				1	1	
NO WORKING DAYS RECORDED 5 WEEKS						
6th August	1	1	1	1	1	1
10th August	1	1	1	1	1	1
17th August	1	1	1	1		
24th August		1	1	1	1	1
31st August						
NO WORKING DAYS RECORDED 6 WEEKS						
12th October				1	1	1
19th October	1	1	1	1	1	1
26th October	1	1	1	1	1	1
2nd November	1	½				

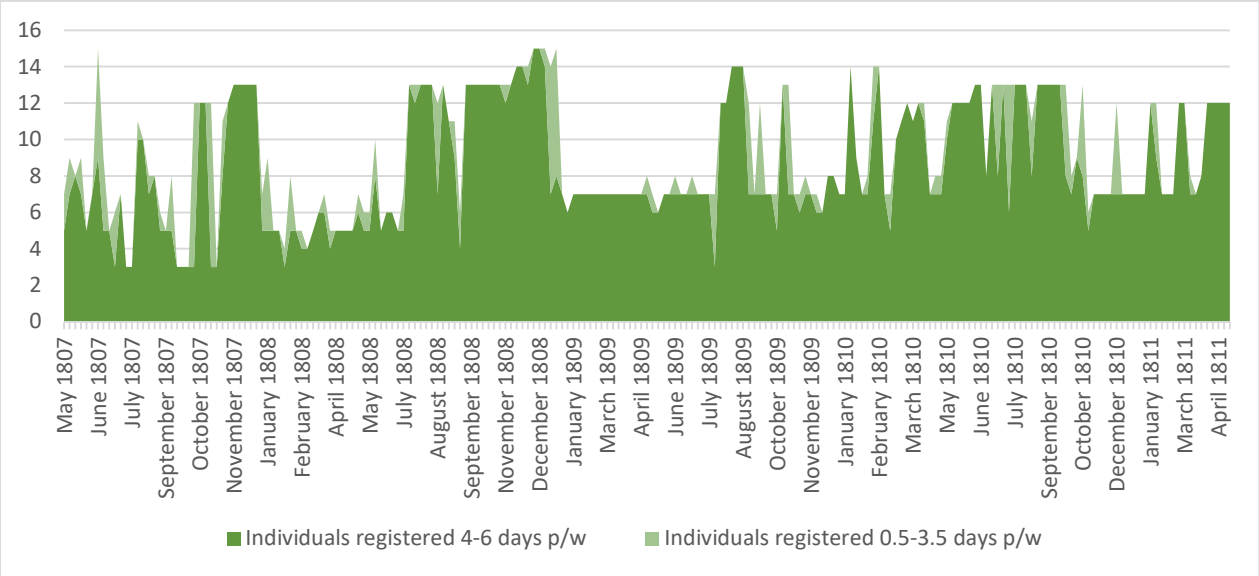
[Table 1.1: Table showing the working days completed by Thomas Atkinson at Belsay Hall between 4th May 1807 and 3rd November 1807][58]

the labourers at Belsay who worked more sporadically. Conversely, Henry Stokoe, worked inconsistently. Some weeks he worked between one and three and a half days, and there were whole months where he did not work a single day but remained listed in the accounts.[59] The peaks in the use of local labour reflected periods of greater activity [Fig. 1.2]. Between 1807 and 1809 there were clear peaks of daily labourer employment around August and then again towards the end of the year when almost all the labourers were working more than half the week. The records become a bit less consistent with this pattern from 1810 but still peaking in August and September. During the summer months a country house garden would need more labourers to help maintain the growth of plants and keep the site neat and tidy for the owner who was likely in residence at this time as well as assist

[58] NA, ZMI/B49/4, Labourer's Day Book, 1807-1814

[59] Henry Stokoe is listed between 11th June 1808 and 31st April 1809. NA, ZMI/B49/4, Labourer's Day Book, 1807-1814

with the harvest and haymaking. By the autumn a great deal of physical labour was required to prepare the gardens for planting in the coming spring. Jessica Gerard writes about the importance of locally sourced part-time and casual labour for "every country house".[60] Local people supplemented their family's income with such casual labour and wives and children often worked this way.[61] Gerard argues that there was "less need" for outdoor labourers due to the prevalence of salaried staff; however, the evidence in Belsay's labour records suggests that this was not the case and casual labour was a crucial part of the maintenance of the gardens.[62]



[Figure 1.2: Graph showing the numbers of garden labourers at Belsay Hall recorded per week between May 1807 and April 1811.[63]]

Belsay's labourer's day books show a pattern of local employment through the hiring of multiple members of the same family. It was typical for outdoor servants to be employed when they completed their schooling as well as on the recommendation of established employees.[64] This form of recruitment was effective especially in employing casual or

[60] Jessica A Gerard, `Invisible servants: The country house and the local community', *Historical Research* 57 (136) (1984), 178-188, p. 178
[61] Gerard, `Invisible servants', p. 179
[62] Gerard, `Invisible servants', p. 182
[63] NA, ZMI/B49/4, Labourer's Day Book, 1807-1814
[64] Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, p. 101

seasonal staff but also built a closer relationship with the local community. The 1841 census shows the head gardener of Belsay Hall, Bartholomew Hepple, residing at "Garden House" with his son, John, who was also a gardener.[65] Roderick Floud states that it was common that most gardeners were sons of gardeners and that many fathers found their sons positions under their own employers.[66] John Hepple began work at Belsay in 1837 at the age of seventeen alongside his highly experienced father who could train him on the job.[67] They worked together for over a decade and ensured a certain level of professional continuity in the gardens at Belsay Hall. Unusually for a head gardener, Bartholomew Hepple was also born locally and worked in the gardens at Belsay for much of his career. His first day at Belsay was 23rd November 1808 when he was nineteen years old and remained there until 1827 when he disappears from Belsay's records likely to broaden his experience in different gardens. He returned a decade later in 1837, presumably to take up the position of head gardener and residence in the Garden House.[68] Head gardeners in this period were expected to travel widely to gain experience and improved positions but Hepple worked at Belsay for most of his career. This may be evidence of a loyal relationship between the Hepples and the Belsay estate and undoubtedly there was a good working relationship between Bartholomew Hepple and his employer, Sir Charles Monck. This structure of familial employment was also evident at Audley End where a number of surnames appear more than once among the garden labourers: Debney, Webb, Spicer, and Doe are just four of the families that had multiple members working on the gardens.[69] Younger relatives who had been hired on recommendation of their elders would likely have felt increased pressure to work well as their family's reputation was at risk if they could not. It is also possible that their recommender would stand surety for them for any damages. They undoubtedly had a heightened level of accountability not only to their foreman but also within the family unit – if that was not the same person. Garden labourers would often have been recruited through

[65] The National Archives (TNA), HO 107/837/20 Folio 7, p. 10, 1841 England, Wales & Scotland Census
[66] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 163
[67] NA, ZMI/B49/7, Labourers Day Book, 1827-1839; TNA, HO 107/837/20 Folio 7, p. 10, 1841 England, Wales & Scotland Census
[68] NA, ZMI/B49/4, Labourer's Day Book, 1807-1814; NA, ZMI/B49/5, Labourer's Day Book, 1814-1820; NA, ZMI/B49/6, Labourer's Day Book, 1820-1827; NA, ZMI/B49/7, Labourers Day Book, 1827-1839
[69] George and Clement Debney, and John and Daniel Webb are mentioned in wage lists of 1786. ERO, D/DBy A44/9, Household and Estate Papers, September 1786; George Spicer worked in the gardens in 1786 and in the early-nineteenth century Richard Spicer was the estate blacksmith. ERO, D/DBy A44/9, Household and Estate Papers, September 1786 and ERO, D/DBy A76, Household and Estate Papers, 1818; Mr Doe and "Old Woman"/ "Dame Doe" worked alongside each other 1780-1. ERO, D/DBy A227, Monthly General Accounts, 1780-1781

family networks, or local social networks, an arrangement that was quite different for professional gardeners.

The most menial day-to-day tasks were often delegated to women and girls. The skilled craftsmen and trained gardeners in this period were almost always men, but it would be a mistake to assume that the working garden space was a solely masculine domain. Local women and girls were an important part of any country house garden team and recent historiography has given these labourers more scholarly attention.[70] Twigs Way's *Virgins, Weeders and Queens: A History of Women in the Garden* (2006) firmly places women in their various capacities within the garden. She explains that in the centuries before the eighteenth century, women were depicted tending to flowers, tender plants, herbs and vegetables – though fruit trees were traditionally the arena of men lest any "worldly Eves" cause another "fall of mankind".[71] Later, gardening became increasingly professionalised and advice manuals continually used gendered language referring to the practical gardener as he/him, apprenticeships were not made available to women until the late-nineteenth century, and even by 1910 there were only three female members of the Worshipful Company of Gardeners.[72] There was some question as to whether women would be able to cope with the manual labour required in gardens and hothouses.[73]

The landowner at Audley End regularly hired women and girls to help with menial tasks such as weeding, sweeping, and brushing.[74] Weeding, depending on where in the garden they were working, could require the skills of identifying what was weed and what was not. In the borders this would have been important but in other areas, particularly the gravel drives, less training was required. During most of the summer months of 1796, unnamed "girls weeding gravel" were tasked with pulling up any unsightly plants that were coming through the drives.[75] Women's pay for this work was usually less than half that of the male labourers.

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[70] Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening*, pp. 187-212; Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 173; Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise*, p. 105; Rebecca Bushnell, *Green Desire: Imagining Early Modern English Gardens* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 108-131

[71] Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens*, p. 2

[72] Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens*, p. 2; Donald L Opitz, `"A Triumph of Brains over Brute": Women and Science at the Horticultural College, Swanley, 1890-1910', *Isis*, 104 (1) (2013), 30-62, p. 39

[73] Opitz, `"A Triumph of Brains over Brute"', p. 39

[74] ERO, D/DBy A227, Monthly General Accounts, 1780-1781; ERO, D/DBy A54, Household and Estate Papers, 1796

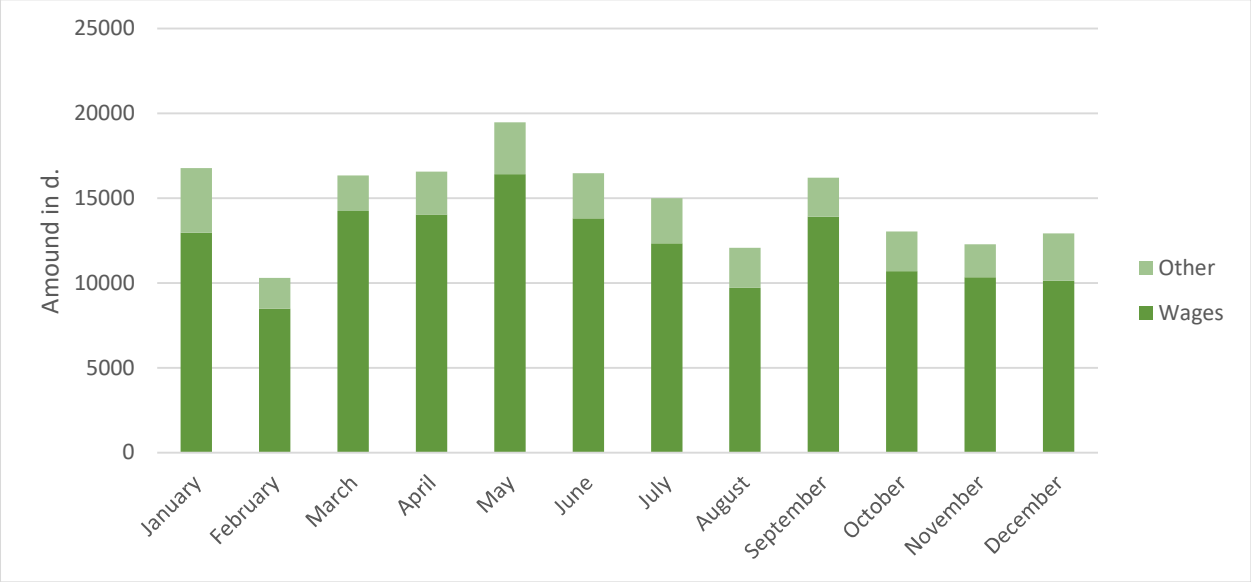
[75] ERO, D/DBy A54/3, 5, 6, 7 and 9, Household and Estate Papers, March, May, June, July and September 1796

In 1781, Mr Doe, a garden labourer received 1s. 2d. per day and the "Old Woman" Dame Doe received just 6d.[76] By 1796, when male labourers were earning 1s. 4d. per day, the unnamed "Girls etc." who were weeding the gravel earned 4d.-6d. per day.[77] From August 1796, two named women/girls, Hannah Brown and Sarah Brown were recorded "sweeping" for 6d. per day and working the maximum number of days, as were most of the men. It is not clear how many girls were employed for weeding during the nineteen days at 6d. and fourteen days at 4d. per day that appear in that month's accounts.[78] Women and girls, and the mundane tasks they completed, were central to the upkeep of country house gardens and played an important role in its maintenance.

Wages paid to labourers was a continually large expense to garden owners. Local labourers were paid a rate per day meaning that, if their services were not required for long periods, individuals would need to find work somewhere else to make up their income perhaps working in the informal economy or claim poor relief. It is likely that these garden labourers were also general agricultural labourers and could work elsewhere on the estate on farms. At Audley End the general male garden worker earned a rate of 1s. 2d. a day in 1786 with the more experienced men earning an extra 2d.-4d. per day.[79] By 1796 the rate of pay had increased to a basic level of 1s. 4d. and 1s. 9d. for the highest paid.[80] Employing women, girls, and young boys to do the more menial tasks was a useful way for landowners to reduce their expenditure on wages to labourers. Women and children could be employed at a much lower daily rate than men.[81] At Audley End their rates in 1786 were 6d. for women and girls or 10d. per day for boys.[82] Labourer's wages were a relatively consistent and large expense in the running of a country house garden. In 1796, wages made up on average eighty-three percent of the monthly garden account. Figure 1.3 shows the total charged to the garden account, the high proportion of which was paid to gardeners and labourers and the remainder was spent on sundries such as new brooms or writing paper. The seasonal

[76] ERO, D/DBy A227, Monthly General Accounts, 1780-1781
[77] In the month of May an unknown number of individual girls worked 44 days labour at 6d. per day and 39 days labour at 4d. per day. ERO, D/DBy A54/5, Household and Estate Papers, May 1796
[78] ERO, D/DBy A54/8, Household and Estate Papers, August 1796
[79] ERO, D/DBy A44/10, Household and Estate Papers, October 1786
[80] ERO, D/DBy A54/1, Household and Estate Papers, January 1796
[81] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 20
[82] ERO, D/DBy A44/10, Household and Estate Papers, October 1786

variations in labour and labour expenses drove the overall expenditure on gardens with minimal variation in "other" expenses each month.



[Figure 1.3: Graph showing the monthly garden expenditure at Audley End in 1796 and the proportion of that which was wages.[83]]

Country house gardens received inputs of people and materials, and produced outputs such as fruit, vegetables, herbs, and flowers from plants and seeds sourced from the wider region, nation, and overseas. Once within the garden these products circulated within an internal network between garden and house. The foodstuffs that were grown in the kitchen gardens and orchards were primarily consumed within the mansion house. The seeds and young plants grown there could be bought and delivered from all over the country, but the outputs circulated in an immediate, everyday network within the boundaries of the property. The head gardener needed to have a close professional relationship with the mistress of the house who ordered food for the day, as well as with the cook and the housekeeper or butler to organise the delivery of fresh produce.[84] Thomas Challis was an undergardener at Audley End between 1795 and 1798 and he recorded the daily work he

[83] ERO, D/DBy A54, Household and Estate Papers, 1796
[84] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 176

completed in the kitchen gardens in his diary.[85] Occasionally, he worked on tasks specifically for the housekeeper who had requested raspberries and currants for jams and radish pods, onions, and gherkins for pickling. He worked with over fifty fruits, vegetables, salads, herbs, and a variety of flowers that would be used in Audley End house. Humphry Repton and other contemporary garden designers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century put great emphasis on the tripartite network between house, gardens, and stables.[86] In this local circulation system, the stables provided horses for the use of the landowner, for practical work such as pulling carts or mowing machines, and manure for the kitchen garden and orchards which in turn produced food for the house.[87] Both walled kitchen gardens at Belsay and Audley End were placed at a close proximity to the stable block and a discreet distance from the main house. This was partly to preserve the wider appearance of the garden but likely also to diminish any strong unpleasant smells close to the house.[88]

Although some fresh foods might be acquired as gifts or be purchased from external suppliers, much of the fruit and vegetables eaten in a country house was from its kitchen garden.[89] Food from the kitchen garden might also be sent to a landowner's London residence or other property when the family was situated there.[90] One result of this localised growing of food was that the availability of certain foodstuffs was limited to a relatively short growing period and preservation was invaluable. As growing techniques improved, and gardeners became increasingly ambitious, some foods could be forced out of season, and it was common for several varieties of the same produce to be grown concurrently. Indeed, the ability to grow something as tender as a melon, especially out of season, was a great achievement and something of a mark of status.[91] The planting of multiple varieties of the same type of produce that would fruit at different times was one way to elongate the length of time fresh food was available at the dining table. The 2nd Lord

[85] English Heritage (EH), Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[86] John Phibbs, `The Structure of the Eighteenth-Century Garden', *Garden History*, 38 (1) (Summer 2010), 20-34, p. 27
[87] Phibbs, `The Structure of the Eighteenth-Century Garden', p. 27
[88] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 259
[89] Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 92 and 50
[90] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 87; Helen Brown and Jon Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country-House Garden', in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 82-101, p. 91
[91] Wersan, `The Early Melon and the Mechanical Gardener', p. 284

Braybrooke bought a great range of seeds from Mackie's Nursery in 1818, including both early and late cauliflowers, late purple broccoli and early frame peas.[92] Generally, however, a seasonal food was something to be looked forward to. At Belsay Hall, Louisa and Sir Charles Monck both wrote with anticipation about the arrival of certain fruits and vegetables to their table. Strawberries were quite the favourite of this couple. In July 1818, Louisa recorded in her personal journal having a plate of strawberries and cherries.[93] Sir Charles was forced to be patient in June 1820 as three weekly records read: 21st June "strawberries not ripe yet"; 29th June "gathered a few ripe strawberries"; and by 6th July a whole plate was finally at their table.[94] The seasonality of the garden was enjoyed inside the country house as well as outside. Food crossed the boundary between house and garden every day bringing the two spaces closer together.

Home decoration was another way that produce from the garden was brought inside the country house. Cut flowers were a popular way of decorating Georgian interiors and introducing the beauty of nature inside the house. Catherine Alexander explains that the understanding of nature as a restorative was well established in this period and that bringing flowers inside could have healing properties.[95] Great floral displays could be seen at fashionable parties, particularly in London, when florists would be hired to create wildernesses indoors in which "passages became alcoves… drawing rooms were transformed into jungles, and gravel paths and living bosques were created in saloons".[96] At country seats, the kitchen garden grew decorative cut flowers alongside the vegetables.[97] During his time at Audley End, undergardener Thomas Challis grew roses, camellias, pinks, coxcombs, balsams, larkspur, narcissus, and tulips which would have created vibrant displays.[98] A major surviving decorative feature of Audley End's interiors is its vast taxidermy collection. Some of these specimens were the exotic birds that had been kept in the aviary at Ring Hill, west of the mansion house. These birds, having entertained the family and visitors during their

[92] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818
[93] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[94] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[95] Catherine Alexander, `The Garden as Occasional Domestic Space', *Signs*, 27 (3) (Spring 2002), 857-871, p. 865
[96] R Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, `James Cochran: Florist and Plant Contractor to Regency London', *Garden History*, 15 (1) (Spring 1987), 55-63, p. 58
[97] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 256
[98] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845

lifetime, continued to entertain after they died as decorative objects inside the house.[99] Just as the kitchen gardens relied on hired gardeners to maintain them, the birds in the aviary required a keeper to feed and care for them. William Travis was paid £3. 15s. a month to manage the aviary in the 1820s and further costs included payments for barley, bird seeds, young eggs, brooms, and cloth.[100] By bringing elements of their outdoor spaces inside, garden owners were instilling a confidence to others that their designed landscapes were of excellent quality and were producing fine specimens. The consumption of gardens was closely tied to their creation and maintenance.

The local network of people, skills, and commodities was central to the creation and maintenance of country house gardens. Local labourers had lived experience of the environment which was an important determining factor for a garden's design and the kinds of plants they could grow. Their connection with the gardens could span whole lifetimes and multiple generations. Inputs of money and labour was needed to mediate the effects of the environment, cut the grass, remove pests, and repair damage as well as the general maintenance of the space. The internal network of supply between gardens and mansion house was extremely important and just one of the functions that country house gardens fulfilled for the landowner.

Regional and National Networks of Supply into Gardens: Plants, Objects, and Expertise

Country house gardens were integrated into regional and national networks of employee recruitment, the supply of goods and information, and social networks between garden owners. Inputs for country house gardens came from across the region and wider country. Seeds and plants most commonly were sourced from regional nurseries though it was not unheard of to purchase plants from nurseries further afield, particularly London. Arguably, London was a landowner's locality for extended periods of the year due to the social season and work in parliament, but for this chapter London is considered as a national centre of commerce as anything purchased from London required delivery over long distances characterising purchases as non-local.

[99] Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation*, p. 190
[100] ERO, D/DBy A230, Monthly General Accounts, 1820-1834

Career gardeners were significantly more geographically mobile than garden labourers and were working within national networks of recruitment. For the purpose of this project the analysis of this mobility will be discussed in the next chapter on working communities and gardens though an acknowledgement of their regional and national movements is necessary here. This section assesses the expenditure required to hire nationally renowned designers and firms to contribute to the garden as well as some of the practicalities of importing materials into the garden from across the country. Further it discusses how gardens were an opportunity for nation-wide social networks to be built between like-minded garden owners through which to exchange knowledge and expertise.

Redesigning a garden occurred infrequently compared to the continuous maintenance work that was completed every day. However, these one-time projects were important periods in the history of any garden as they were remodelled in line with the latest fashions and trends and involved significant peaks in expenditure. For most landowners, expertise and design advice would be sourced externally throughout the country. Some designers were truly national figures, such as Lancelot "Capability" Brown who was able to take on projects in different regions due to his trusted staff of foremen, gardeners, and labourers who completed the contracts he designed.[101] His work at Audley End in the 1760s was an important stage in the development of the gardens at the property. A deeper analysis of Brown, his business, and the historical context he was working within will be discussed in the next chapter. Bringing in the expertise of Brown was not always easy, with some potential clients waiting several years to be visited by him.[102] The general process of hiring Brown included an initial consultation in London followed by a personal visit to the property in the country.[103] This meant that Brown spent a great deal of his time travelling up and down the country consulting on new projects as well as assessing the progress of incomplete projects. Of course, it was not a necessity for a country house owner to hire famous or far-away designers in order to remodel their garden. Belsay Hall is a good example of a property which was almost entirely the conception of the landowner himself. Sir Charles had an above average working knowledge of gardens and horticulture and the garden he built was his own vision. This is not to say that he did not get advice from anyone, it is likely that he

[101] Wild, `Capability Brown', p. 258; Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 136
[102] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 135
[103] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 135

had conversations with friends, other leisured garden enthusiasts, and nurserymen who could offer advice on design as well as plant supply.[104] However, for Sir John Griffin Griffin, hiring Brown for a large-scale redesign at Audley End was clearly a price worth paying. Not only did Audley End receive the honour of being a "Capability" Brown garden, it also took most of the decision making and day-to-day organisation of the project out of Sir John's responsibility.

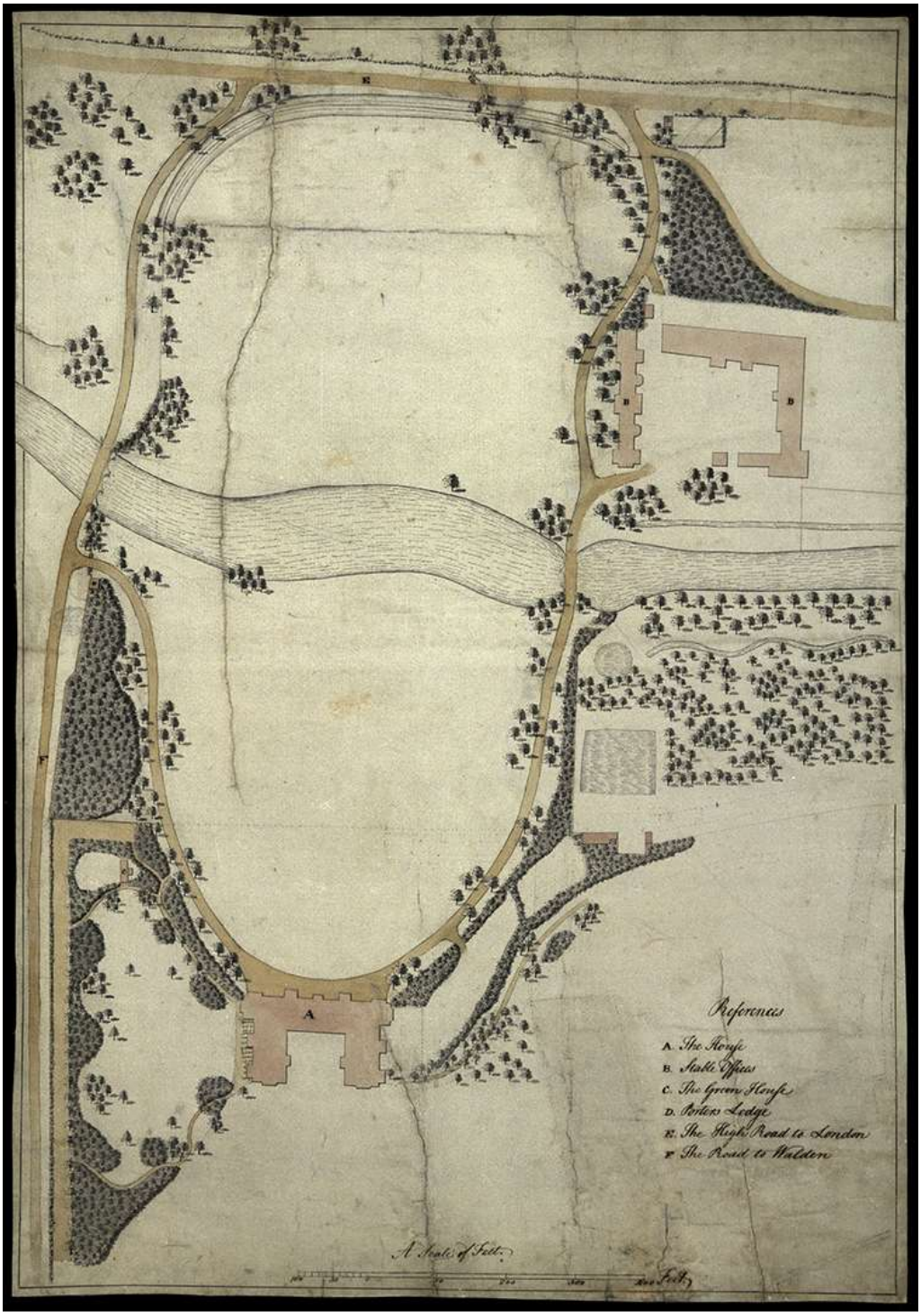
Immediately after inheriting Audley End from his aunt, Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth, Sir John Griffin Griffin began making changes to the house, garden, and wider estate. He removed parts of the old village and bought up parcels of neighbouring land that would improve his domain.[105] Lancelot Brown was hired to update the gardens and bring them in line with the new landscape style that was to dominate the rest of the eighteenth century. Audley End was one of Brown's earlier contracts in his career. When he was invited to make changes to the grounds in 1763, the old formal gardens that had accompanied the old palace were, according to William Addison in 1953, "a wilderness of decay and neglect".[106] The state of the gardens may have been over-exaggerated by Addison to emphasise the transformative nature of Brown's work, but it is possible that it was untidy as much of Sir John's predecessor's effort had been spent on consolidating the house into a liveable space.[107] The work proposed by Brown in surviving plans was impressive in its scale [Fig. 1.4]. In thirteen months, Brown's firm was to undertake seven sub-projects for a quoted price of £660 which was a relatively modest sum compared to other projects recorded in Brown's account book.[108] The first item of Brown's proposal was to make an entire garden close to the house from scratch which would be made to the exact specifications agreed upon by Brown and Sir John and would be called "Lady Griffin's Garden".[109] Second, and arguably the most ambitious and transformative task, was the damming of the river Cam in such a way as to create the appearance of a large lake with the dimensions of at least "a

[104] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 138
[105] Griffin, *The History of Audley End*, p. 131
[106] Addison, *Audley End*, p. 3
[107] Hannah Chavasse, 'Material culture and the Country House: Fashion, Comfort and Lineage' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Northampton, 2015), p. 43
[108] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768; Royal Horticultural Society (RHS), `Capability Brown's Account Book', (2020) <https://www.rhs.org.uk/education-learning/libraries-at-rhs/collections/library-online/capability-brown-account-book> [accessed 09 December 2020]
[109] Addison, *Audley End*, p. 4; ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768

hundred foot wide and 4 feet deep". The third, fourth and sixth elements contributed to the vast unspoiled views that were characteristic of the landscape style. This included the building of a sunken fence, or ha-ha, the smoothing and levelling the land opposite the west front of the house and removing any pre-existing walls that did not act as flood defences. The two remaining projects generally covered preparing the ground for planting and the laying out of gravel drives and footpaths to create the final aesthetic appearance of the space. This was a typical design with common features of Brown's work and utilising as many existing features as possible such as the river and undulating surroundings.

Brown's work at Audley End was completed neither on time nor in budget. The original contract, agreed upon in April 1763, stated clearly when payments were to be expected. In June and September 1763, £200. was to be paid each time, by summer 1764 another £140., and the final £120. on finishing the work.[110] This did not happen as planned and a new contract was drawn up and settled in 1766 for the final total of £1000.[111] There are a multitude of reasons why a project of this kind might run over time and budget from adverse weather conditions to disruptions in the supply chain. It is not entirely clear why the Audley End project developed in the way it did but a letter from Sir John to Brown states clearly that instead of being completed in May 1764, the work was still "very backward" at the end of the year.[112] He continued that he was not satisfied with the delay nor with the standard of the work so far completed and thus the original contract had not been honoured. Audley End was not the only project that went over the budget set out in an original contract. A more extreme example was that of Redgrave in Suffolk whose original contract was for £2280. in two years. By the tenth year of payments, and after a great deal of "additional work", the final bill came to £10,000.[113]

[110] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768
[111] RHS, `Capability Brown's Account Book', pp. 15-16
[112] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768
[113] RHS, `Capability Brown's Account Book', pp. 17-18



[Figure 1.4: Landscape design plan of the Audley End estate, by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown.]

Architects were hired to design and build garden buildings at Audley End. Structures such as temples, bridges, grottos, and bath houses in a range of architectural styles were common features of English landscape gardens used as decorative eyecatchers and places to rest or

take refreshment.[114] Sir John sought out another fashionable designer of the time, Robert Adam to design three structures in the grounds. At the same time Adam was employed in updating the interiors of the mansion house. In 1763 he designed the three-arch bridge over the river Cam upon which was the public road into Saffron Walden.[115] Between 1771 and 1773, he built the Temple of Victory to commemorate the British victory in the Seven Years' War, and nine years later in 1782 he designed the Tea Bridge which crosses the river in the Elysian Garden. Between June 1770 and May 1772 Robert Adam charged Sir John £44. 14s. on drawings, plans, and calculations for the Temple of Victory.[116] The final cost of building the temple is not clear from the material used in this project. Other nationally renowned designers were commissioned to design areas of the garden between 1750 and 1850 including Robert Furze Brettingham who designed the Temple of Concord in 1790 to commemorate King George III's recovery from illness.[117] The Elysian Garden was primarily designed by Richard Woods though some elements of a design by Placido Columbani were incorporated into the eventual layout. [118] In 1786, a record of payment for "drawing, planning, etc." of £17. 12s. 2d. was paid to Columbani. Under the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, William Sawry Gilpin designed the parterre to the west of the house in 1832.[119] Expertise for garden design was generally outsourced nationally by the landowners at Audley End and they were willing to pay them for the planning of these spaces. Multiple individuals contributed to the creation of the gardens at Audley End. Hiring these designers was another expense for landowners and each should be recognised for their input.

Nursery gardeners were a more continuous presence of external contributions to the creation of gardens than designers. Throughout a typical year they provided plants, seeds, tools, and other growing equipment to gardens as well as being able to offer advice on planting, design, and staff recruitment. Landowners and head gardeners could choose

[114] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 3
[115] Michael Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 6 (1996), 102-119, p. 103
[116] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768
[117] Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', p. 115
[118] Michael Sutherill, `The Buildings of the Elysium Garden at Audley End', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 7 (1997), 94-104, p. 94
[119] Sutherill, `The Buildings of the Elysium Garden', p. 94

between their regional, provincial nurseries as well as London firms, many of which were famous nationally such as Brompton Park or Veitch's nursery in Chelsea.[120] Plants were transported throughout the country into gardens as well as between nurseries in a national commercial network.[121] Regional urban centres such as Newcastle and Gateshead had a changeable number of nursery businesses over time. Trade directories for Newcastle and Gateshead, two of the closest provincial centres for Belsay Hall, from 1801, 1827, and 1850 show that there was always a choice of nursery and seedsmen in the region. In 1801 there were four firms, in 1827 there were twenty-eight and by 1850 this number had decreased to eleven.[122] It is not clear why the number of businesses fluctuated so greatly over time. This allowed for commercial competition and as a result garden owners could choose which firm to buy from. The accounts at Belsay Hall show that Sir Charles Monck used a primary supplier, William Falla and Sons, and occasional purchases from other nurseries in the region or London.[123]

It appears that, for routine purchases, once a reliable firm was found, they supplied the garden for many years. Falla of Gateshead sold forest trees, seeds for fruit and vegetables as well as ornamental flowering shrubs and green house plants as can be seen in the advertisements they published in the Newcastle newspapers.[124] Falla's nursery received payments from Belsay Hall from 1795 until the 1830s. The data on nursery spending at Belsay Hall has been taken from cash books rather than any receipted bills which have not survived in the archival record and as such there is no information about the kinds of plants or seeds Sir Charles Monck was purchasing from Falla's nursery. The regularity of payments suggests that this was where kitchen garden seeds were supplied from, but other plants

[120] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, pp. 131 and 138
[121] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 138
[122] *Directory for the year 1801, of the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne, Gateshead, and places adjacent* (Newcastle: Mitchell, 1801); William Parson and William White, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and the towns and counties of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Berwick-upon-Tweed, Volume 1* (Newcastle: W. White and Co, 1827); *Ward's Northumberland and Durham Directory* (Newcastle: Richard Ward, 1850)
[123] NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816
[124] 'Advertisement and Notices', *Newcastle Journal*, 19 January 1833, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/GR3216145513/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=06c590ae> [accessed 08 December 2020]; 'Advertisements & Notices', *Newcastle Courant*, 08 October 1803, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/Y3206564563/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=8d386a62> [accessed 08 December 2020]

could have been ordered as well. Malcolm Thick's articles about buying seeds before the late-eighteenth century explain that finding a reliable seed vendor was not always easy and it was a prominent concern of consumers.[125] If one bought seeds that failed to germinate they could lose a year's supply of that plant and damage a firm's reputation.[126] Cultivating customer loyalty was important to keeping these large businesses alive in a competitive market. The longevity that this firm enjoyed at Belsay Hall is impressive.

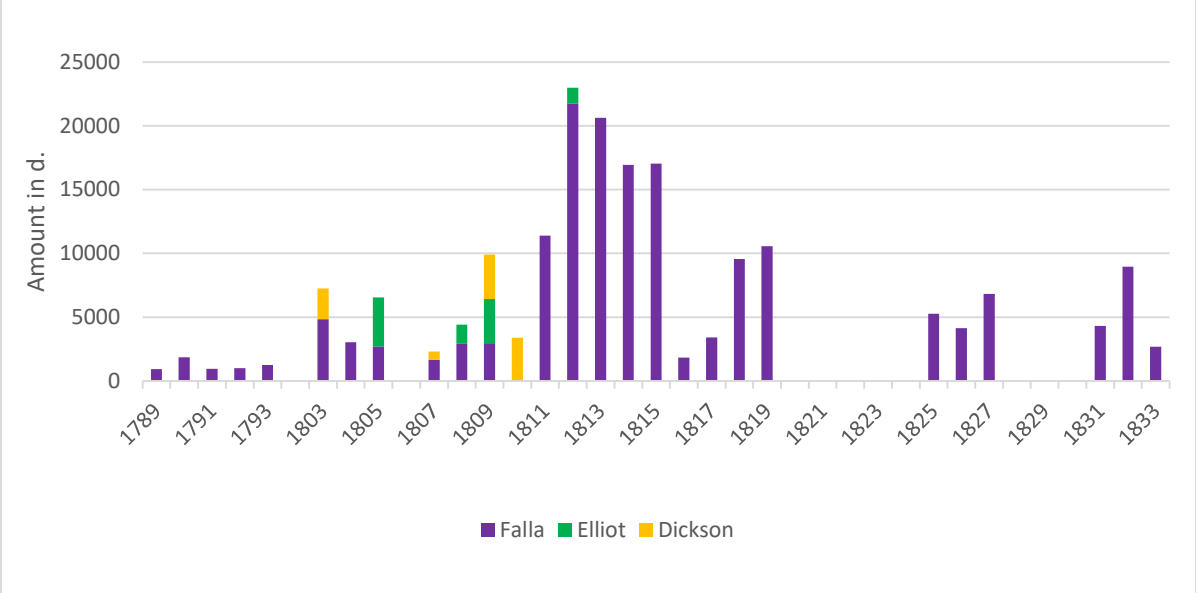
However, Sir Charles made purchases from other nurseries. This is possibly due to the specialisation of nurseries who could offer the best varieties of certain plants. Perhaps a different firm offered a better price, or they might have stocked more specialised plants that a more generic nursery did not [Table 1.2]. The proportion of spending to the three most commonly listed suppliers, Falla's, Elliot's, and Dickson's, changed dramatically over time according to the data in Belsay's cash books [Fig. 1.5]. The expenditure to Falla's nursery at the end of the eighteenth century was very little compared to the period of more intense garden building between 1811 and 1815. In 1809 the split between Falla's, Elliot's, and Dicksons, was relatively even but in 1812, Elliot's nursery took only a small share of Belsay's nursery purchases, only £5. 2s. compared to Falla's large bill of £90. 13s. The data are quite fragmentary but show how preferences towards suppliers could change over time. Falla's was one of the biggest provincial nurseries of the time and could likely deal with the high demand for plants that Sir Charles Monck required when creating his gardens in the 1810s.

[125] Malcolm Thick, `Garden seeds in England before the late eighteenth century – II, the trade in seeds to 1760', *Agricultural History Review* 38 (2) (1990), 105-116, p. 106
[126] Thick, `Garden seeds in England – II', p. 106

Year	Firm(s)				
1789	Falla	(£3. 16s.)			
1790	Falla	(£7. 13s. 8d.)			
1791	Falla	(£4.)			
1792	Falla	(£4. 2s. 3d.)			
1793	Falla	(£5. 3s. 6d.)			
1795	Falla	(no data)	Telford of York	(no data)	
1803	Falla	(£20. 3s. 7d.)	Dickson	(£10.)	
1804	Falla	(£12. 12s.)			
1805	Falla	(£11. 5s. 9d.)	Elliott	(£15. 18s. 9d.)	
1807	Falla	(£6. 18s.)	Dickson	(£2. 14s.)	
1808	Falla	(£12. 2s.)	Elliott	(£6. 5s.)	
1809	Falla	(£12. 5s. 6d.)	Dickson	(£14. 10s. 3d.)	Elliott (£14. 10s. 3d.)
1810			Dickson	(£14. 2s. 6d.)	
1811	Falla	(£47. 9s.)			
1812	Falla	(£90. 13s.)	Elliott	(£5. 2s.)	
1813	Falla	(£86.)	James Crozer	(£3.)	
1814	Falla	(£70. 11s.)			
1815	Falla	(£70. 19s.)			
1816	Falla	(£7. 13s.)	Wilson	(6s.)	
1817	Falla	(£14. 3s. 10d.)			
1819	Falla	(£43. 19s. 6d.)			
1821			William Anderson	(9s. 8d.)	
1825	Falla	(£21. 18s.)			
1826	Falla	(£17. 5s.)			
1827	Falla	(£28. 9s.)			
1831	Falla	(£18.)			
1832	Falla	(£37. 6s.)	Henry Newton	(£20.)	
1833	Falla	(£11. 3s.)			

[Table 1.2: Suppliers of plants and seeds to Belsay Hall, 1795-1833.[127]]

[127] NA, ZMI/B36/15, N. 1, 1788-1794; NA, ZMI/B36/16, Cash Book no. 2, 1794; NA, ZMI/B36/18, No Title, 1802; NA, ZMI/B36/19, Cash Book No. 5, 1806-1809; NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816; NA, ZMI/B36/22, Cash Book No. 8, 1826-1839



[Figure 1.5: Annual expenditure to the three most frequently mentioned nursery businesses at Belsay Hall as recorded in cash books, 1789-1833.[128]]

At Audley End, between 1780 and 1786, twelve nurseries have been identified in the estate accounts.[129] Some entries give details about what was purchased, for example: "Mr Benson's bill for shrubs and flower roots" or "Messrs Hewitts and co. bill for kitchen garden seeds".[130] During the early nineteenth century, a major supplier of seeds to Audley End was Mackie's Nursery, Norwich. This firm enjoyed primacy at Audley End between at least 1818 until 1828 but appear in the accounts as early as 1781 and as late as 1850.[131] Between 1828 and 1850 Mackie's shared the supply of gardens seeds and some plants with the Clapton Nursery, London, first owned by John Mackay and later by Hugh Low who took over the business in 1831.[132] The proportional share that these two nurseries held at Audley End changed dramatically between 1820 and 1850 [Fig. 1.6]. Between 1820 and 1830 the total

[128] NA, ZMI/B36/15, N. 1, 1788-1794; NA, ZMI/B36/18, No Title, 1802; NA, ZMI/B36/19, Cash Book No. 5, 1806-1809; NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816; NA, ZMI/B36/22, Cash Book No. 8, 1826-1839

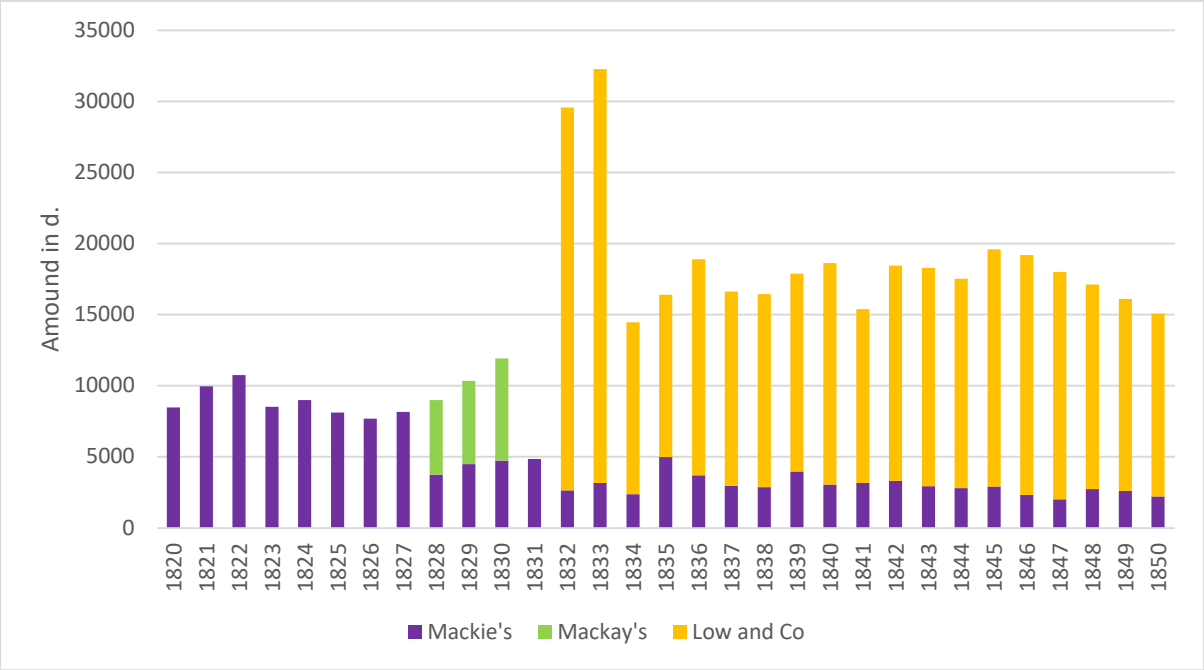
[129] ERO, D/DBy A227, Monthly General Accounts, 1780-1781; ERO, D/DBy A212, Monthly General Accounts, 1781; ERO, D/DBy A214, Monthly General Accounts, 1783; ERO, D/DBy A215, Monthly General Accounts, 1784; ERO, D/DBy A44/9, Household and Estate Papers, September 1786

[130] ERO, D/DBy A214, Monthly General Accounts, 1783

[131] ERO, D/DBy A212, Monthly General Accounts, 1781; ERO, D/DBy A231, Monthly General Accounts, 1835-1850

[132] ERO, A230, Monthly General Accounts, 1820-1834; ERO, D/DBy A231, Monthly General Accounts, 1835-1850;

expenditure on garden seeds stays relatively stable with Mackie and Mackay sharing almost equally for the three years 1828-1830. Then, a sudden drop in 1831 during the change of hands between Mackay and Low followed by a great leap in expenditure with a supply of £112. 3s. 7d. worth of garden seeds and plants in 1832. This sudden change in expenditure to nurseries also aligns with the building of William Sawry Gilpin's new parterre which required bedding plants to create colourful patterned beds. Throughout the period of dominance of Low and Co., Mackie's remained a small yet consistent supplier of garden seeds to Audley End.



[Figure 1.6: Annual expenditure to nurseries at Audley End as recorded in monthly general accounts, 1820-1850.[133]]

Tom Williamson has researched Norfolk's landscape parks and Mackie's nursery business and expressed surprise that they supplied gardens in King's Lynn and Ipswich as they were a significant distance away, forty-one and forty-three miles away, respectively.[134] Audley End,

[133] ERO, A230, Monthly General Accounts, 1820-1834; ERO, D/DBy A231, Monthly General Accounts, 1835-1850

[134] Williamson, *The archaeology of the landscape park*, p. 171

however, is even further away at seventy miles.[135] The relationship between Mackie's Nursery and Audley End reflects positively on the Mackie family as their nursery was chosen from many that were more accessible and shows the deliberateness of the decision to purchase from there. Recent research has been done by Louise Crawley on the Norwich Nursery which was run by successive generations of Mackies for a century and dominated the nursery business in the east of England to the point of "near complete monopoly" of commercial gardening in Norwich by the 1850s.[136] The Norwich Nursery adapted to changes in technology, transportation, and consumer demand between 1750 and 1860 and by the mid-nineteenth century they had expanded into three large sites including a city centre warehouse which were used for offices as well as a shop front for the company.[137] Crawley states that provincial nurseries "should not be sidelined" from the national story of the nursery trade or the history of the designed landscape, and instead their influence needs more recognition.[138] The national nursery industry was highly competitive and provincial nurseries were often able to compete with London firms in this period.[139]

A bill from Mackie's nursery shows the wide range of stock that could be held by a single supplier. Buying from nurseries allowed seeds and plants to be sourced quickly and in a greater variety than trying to propagate one's own.[140] Over the course of a year, over a hundred different species of fruit, vegetable and herb seeds were purchased for Audley End's kitchen garden.[141] These included broccoli, currants, beans and peas, parsnips, and turnips among many others. The choice of kitchen garden seeds was most likely done by the head gardener who may have ordered by post rather than in person as such standard purchases did not necessarily need inspection. Nurseries could also be visited in person where prospective clients could be assisted by specialists.[142] Sir Charles Monck, being more

[135] ERO, D/DBy A214, Monthly General Accounts, 1783; ERO, D/DBy A212, Monthly General Accounts, 1781
[136] Louise Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries: The Norwich Nurserymen, c. 1750-1860', *Garden History*, 48 (2) (2020), 119-134, p. 125
[137] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', pp. 122-123
[138] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 120
[139] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 140
[140] T. Langford published a U-turn on his earlier opinion that seeds should only be grown at home and not bought from others in 1696 when he fully endorsed purchasing from nurseries for reasons of ease and variety of species: Richard Coulton, `Curiosity, Commerce, and Conversation: Nursery-Gardens and Nurserymen in Eighteenth-Century London', *The London Journal*, 43 (1) (2018), 17-35, p. 21
[141] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818
[142] Coulton, `Curiosity, Commerce, and Conversation', p. 21; Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 135

personally involved in the planting of his gardens at Belsay than most landowners, often visited nurseries in person. On a tour of the North of England, he visited a number of businesses. In July 1826, he arrived at Backhouse's nursery, York, but was "too late to find any of the gardeners there" so could only look at the plants. This shows that consultation with staff was a central part of the buying process for leisured gardeners. Conversely, they could browse the stock of a nursery remotely using a printed catalogue which became more common from the mid-eighteenth century.[143] To further attract customers, a personal touch could be implemented. In the estate papers of Belsay Hall, there survives a catalogue of forest trees sent to Sir Charles Monck by William Falla, the head of the long running nursery in Gateshead.[144] On the back of this catalogue of prices there is a handwritten note by Falla boasting the great quality and even better prices of his wares. This marketing strategy was one way a business could establish a personal relationship with a client and hopefully gain continued custom.[145]

Despite the importance of provincial suppliers, London remained the focal point of the nursery trade throughout this period. London was home to some of the largest nurseries in the country, they received royal patronage and were the most renowned, fashionable, and respected companies in the industry.[146] Both Audley End and Belsay Hall purchased plants from London nurseries, but the scale was minimal compared to the regular payments to regional nurseries. In his diary, Sir Charles Monck records visits to nurseries while in London such as Lee and Kennedy's in 1821 and Mr. Thompson's nursery in 1824.[147] From Lee and Kennedy's nursery in Hammersmith, Sir Charles purchased one *Pinus Palustris* and one *Ligustrum Lucidum* for 5s. each.[148] The payment of 10s. in 1821 to Lee and Kennedy's is small in comparison to the £43. 19s. 6d. paid to Falla's nursery in 1819, the previous payment to a nursery in the accounts.[149] Malcolm Thick explains that this was fairly common practice and

[143] Coulton, `Curiosity, Commerce, and Conversation', p. 21; Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 135; John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues, with complete reprints of lists and accounts of the 16th-19th centuries* (London: Pillimore, 1972), p. 14
[144] NA, ZMI/S/38, Bundle of papers re trees, shrubs, and other plants at Belsay, 1807-1949; Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 140; Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 124
[145] Personal charm and acquaintance were important facets of polite consumption as described by Helen Berry: Helen Berry, `Polite consumption: Shopping in eighteenth-century England', *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, 12 (2002), 375-394, p. 394
[146] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, pp. 128-139; Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us', p. 18
[147] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[148] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[149] NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816

purchasing seeds in the winter months of the London "season" could be done by members of the gentry from all over England.[150] Coincidentally, Thomas Challis worked for a brief period at Lee and Kennedy's in 1804 after he moved on from his undergardener position at Audley End.[151] The most famous of all the London nurseries, Brompton Park, found itself in the network of supply for Audley End's garden in 1786.[152] In September, Mr Nockold, the estate steward, spent 14s. 5d. travelling to Brompton Nursery.[153] The bill is broken down into expenses for himself and his horses, and turnpike fees. A bill for any plants has not been found though it may be that this trip was not for plants but for gardening advice or another form of consultation. London nurseries were important suppliers of many country house gardens and formed part of a national network of plant expertise and fashionable consumption.

After a purchase had been finalised either in person or by correspondence, the stock needed to be delivered to the property. The nature of the national nursery trade meant that plants, trees, seeds, and bulbs could be transported over long distances, a consideration of which would be needed when purchasing delicate plants or weighty trees. During this period there were three main modes of transport that nurseries or customers could choose from to move consignments of plants, by road, by water, and from the 1830s by rail.[154] Waterways such as navigable rivers and canals, and railways were a considerably smoother ride for delicate plants than roads. Road delivery was also expensive over long distances. Louise Crawley gives an example of the Duke of Bedfordshire's land agent ordering plants from Mackie's Nursery to Bedford despite there being closer nurseries to choose from.[155] In his correspondence, the duke's land agent suggests that it was the cost of delivery, rather than the cost of the plants, that determined which nursery was chosen to supply the gardens.[156] The ability to order plants from Mackie's nursery and have them delivered by waterways was an important factor in their custom. What Louise Crawley does not discuss in her article is that roads were also extremely uneven in places and waggons would have been jolted

[150] Thick, `Garden seeds in England before the late eighteenth century – II', p. 107
[151] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[152] Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 131
[153] ERO, D/DBy A44/9, Household and Estate Papers, September 1786
[154] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 129; Floud, *An Economic History of English Gardens*, p. 137
[155] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 130
[156] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 130

around a significant amount. From the mid-eighteenth-century investments into turnpike roads did improve the quality of the major transport routes across the country but many of the roads that connected country estates to these turnpikes were poor quality and could potentially damage plants. Other manufacturers of delicate goods such as chinaware took efforts to protect their goods en route to their client though breakages were, according to Jon Stobart "quite common", and customers could receive broken items.[157] P K Stembridge's work on Thomas Goldney's garden notebook indicates that the trees Goldney ordered to be transported from London to Bristol "must have been well packed" as they all arrived in good condition.[158] When looking at spending and supply it is important to remember that material things did not "transport themselves from shops into people's homes".[159] The bills from Mackie's nursery include payments for delivery of each batch of ordered plants.[160] In 1824, "paid carriage" amounted to £1. 17s. 2d. of the total bill of £37. 8s. 4d. Extra packing costs towards bags, sacks, and mats – including fifty new mats – increased the delivery costs to £7. 12s. 1d. Other summary bills for garden and pleasure ground work in 1796 include payments towards "carriage of plants" from Cambridge and Harlow.[161] It is not clear the exact route the plants and seeds took from Norwich to Audley End, though it is likely that water was used for some of the distance, perhaps along the coast and then down the same river used for the Duke of Bedfordshire's deliveries, the River Ouse, but perhaps only as far as Cambridge before using roads.[162]

Payments to nursery and seedsmen were organised differently depending on the nature of the order. At both Audley End and Belsay Hall there were regular annual payments to nurseries for large orders of routinely required seeds and plants. These were usually kitchen garden seeds that were planted and harvested every year. These large bills were settled in

[157] Jon Stobart, `Magnificent and Mundane: Transporting People and Goods to the Country House, c. 1730-1800' in *Travel and the British Country House: Cultures, Critiques and Consumption in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Jon Stobart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 168-87, p. 182
[158] Stembridge, `Thomas Goldney's Garden', p. 226
[159] Berry, `Polite consumption', p. 376
[160] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818; ERO, D/DBy A82/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1824; ERO, D/DBy A82/2, Household and Estate Papers, February 1824
[161] ERO, D/DBy A54/5, Household and Estate Papers, May 1796; ERO D/DBy A54/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1796; ERO, D/DBy A54/10, Household and Estate Papers, October 1796
[162] Several maps of navigable waterways from c.1750-1950 are available online at https://www.canalmuseum.org.uk/history/ and is based on the research of Dr. Mike Stevens; London Canal Museum, `Introduction to 1790-1800: The Canal Mania', Waterways of England and Wales <https://www.canalmuseum.org.uk/history/1800/index1800.htm> [accessed 13 October 2022]; Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 130

one transaction though consignments of seeds and plants would generally have been ordered and delivered to the property in smaller batches as and when they were needed. At Audley End the bills from Mackie's nursery explicitly show this system as the items are organised by date ordered. In 1824, for example, the majority of items were sent in the colder months with packages dated: 3rd October, 31st October, 28th November, and the largest singular list was for mid-December.[163] Other top-up consignments, in which some of the items ordered earlier in the year were repeated, were dated in the spring. This bill ran from July 1823 to July 1824 when the account was settled. The content of the bill was mostly kitchen garden seeds, packing materials and in 1818, two pruning knives were purchased for 5s.[164] At Belsay Hall, large nursery accounts were also settled annually, usually in January though the breakdown of costs is not recorded.[165] The account books at Belsay also show much smaller payments to nurserymen paid at different points in the year such as the 9s. 8d. he spent on a package of plants from London in April 1821.[166] The recipient of the payment, William Anderson, does not appear elsewhere in any of the cashbooks between 1809 and 1826 suggesting this was a specific purchase perhaps from a specialised grower in London.[167]

For the leisured and educated gardener, a broad national network could be accessed through discussion and debate in printed books and private correspondence. Landowners could learn about gardens for themselves, and it was not always necessary to employ designers to make changes in the garden. The Horticultural Society of London, later the Royal Horticultural Society, was a particularly successful facilitator of knowledge dissemination to an educated audience. Founded in 1804, the Society aimed to promote the application of science to matters of horticulture from hybridising foreign species, planting

[163] ERO, D/DBy A82/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1824
[164] ERO, D/DBy A82/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1824; ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818
[165] NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816; NA, ZMI/B36/22, Cash Book No. 8, 1826-1839
[166] NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816
[167] NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book No. 6, 1809-1815; NA, ZMI/B36/21, Cash Book No. 7, 1816

techniques, and the formal training of gardeners.[168] The Society's publication, *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, was first published in 1812 in "handsome (and expensive)" books with hand-coloured plates that were inaccessible to working career gardeners or garden labourers.[169] Sir Charles Monck was one of these learned garden owners who had access to the wealth of knowledge that the Horticultural Society of London published. He himself contributed to this network by having his work published in *Transactions*. He first appeared in *Transactions* in 1822 when Thomas Andrew Knight, the then president of the Society, wrote about Monck's new and successful technique of sending buds of fruit trees long distances across the country.[170] Sir Charles soon became a fellow of the society and had his articles published in the next three volumes of *Transactions* covering topics such as observations on fig trees, removing worms from the roots of plants in pots, and his new glazed fig house.[171] In 1842 he was involved in a nationwide data collection project by John Lindley about the effect of a great frost on plants across England.[172] The Society gave Sir Charles the opportunity to be in a national epistolary network that included some of the most important names in early nineteenth-century horticulture. Plants and gardening were a great passion of Monck's. He spent much of his time working on his gardens and recording his exploits in notebooks. It is important to remember that not all owners of large gardens were this hands-on. At Audley End, the landowners exhibited little personal interest in the gardens beyond their appearance and upkeep. Involvement in regional and national networks of knowledge exchange was one way of learning about gardening styles and techniques, whilst employing external expert practitioners was another

[168] Maxwell T Masters, `The Royal Horticultural Society', *Nature*, 37 (1887), 176-177; Murray Mylechreest, `Thomas Andrew Knight and the Founding of the Royal Horticultural Society', *Garden History*, 12 (2) (1984), 132-137, p. 136; R G C Desmond, `The Royal Horticultural Society', *Kew Bulletin*, 25 (1) (1971), 40-41

[169] A J Lustig, `Cultivating Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century English Gardens', *Science in Context*, 13 (2) (2000), 155-181, p. 159

[170] Thomas Andrew Knight, `LIX. Directions for preserving Buds of Fruit Trees in a vegetating State, when sent to considerable distances', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 4 (1822), pp. 403-404

[171] Charles Monck, `XIII. Some Observations on the Fruit of Fig trees. In a Letter to the Secretary', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 5 (1824), 163-169; Charles Monck, `XIV. On the Effects produced by Ringing upon Fig Trees, with Observations on their Cultivation and Propagation. In a Letter to the Secretary', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 5 (1824), 170-174; Charles Monck, `Directions for removing Worms from the roots of plants grown in pots or tubs. Communicated to the Meeting of the 16th of July', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 6 (1826), 114-115; Charles Monck, `XLIX. Upon the Cultivation of the Fig Tree. In a Letter to the Secretary', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, Second Series Volume 1 (1835), 395-398

[172] John Lindley, `XXXVII. Observations upon the Effects produced on Plants by the Frost which occurred in England in the Winter of 1837-8', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 225-316

approach landowners could take in creating their gardens. Professionals such as head gardeners and nurseries also contributed to this learned network.

For Sir Charles Monck, intellectual and scientific discussions about horticulture and planting were a way of building social relationships across the region and country. There are several references to the giving and receiving of plants as gifts between Monck and his peers in written documents. In 1819, he recorded in his garden notebook that he gathered two ripe figs from a tree given to him by Lord Grey of Howick who had received the species from the Earl of Lauderdale at Dunbar.[173] He repeated this pedigree in *Transactions* five years later.[174] Similarly, Thomas Andrew Knight's article about preserving buds of fruit trees described Sir Charles Monck sending specimens from Northumberland.[175] The act of sending botanical or other natural history specimens to other gentlemen was an important part of scientific research in the nineteenth century.[176] Anne Secord suggests that by perceiving these exchanges in objects as acts of gift giving created a culture of expected reciprocity and as such ensured the circulation of objects and continued research.[177] Further, it was a useful resource for scientific social networking as new relationships were built on these new "intellectual terrains".[178] Gift giving took many forms and other examples of exchanging plant specimens were simply between friends rather than scientific colleagues. There is letter evidence of Sir Charles exchanging plants with his friend and neighbour Ralph Carr of Hedgeley Hall from the 1860s just before Sir Charles' death. There are no surviving references from before 1850 though it would not be surprising if Sir Charles had given gifts in this period. In 1865, Monck invited Carr to stay at Belsay and choose a young plant from his Lebanese cedar, and in 1866, Sir Charles thanked his friend for a gift of *Lauris Azorica* and offered cuttings of another of his many trees.[179] The gift of a growing plant brought

[173] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[174] Monck, `Some Observations on the Fruit of Fig trees', p. 164
[175] Knight, `Directions for preserving Buds of Fruit Trees', p. 404
[176] Anne Secord, `Corresponding interests: artisans and gentlemen in nineteenth-century natural history', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 27 (4) (1994), 383-408, p. 393
[177] Secord, `Corresponding interests', p. 393
[178] William C Lubenow, *"Only Connect": Learned Societies in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Boydell Press, 2015), p. 10
[179] NA, ZCE/F/1/4/1/131, Letter from Sir Charles Monck, Belsay Hall, Belsay, Northumberland, to Ralph Carr, 28 September 1865; NA, ZCE/F/1/4/1/132, Letter from Sir Charles Monck, Belsay Hall, Belsay, Northumberland, to "Carr" [Ralph Carr], 11 January 1866

individuals closer together, even those who may not have met in person, and acted as a "conduit of masculine, same-sex feeling".[180]

Gardens and global trade: sourcing and cultivating species from overseas

International trade brought exotic plant species into English gardens from across the globe and the ability to grow certain delicate exotics was a mark of great skill and required significant expense. This section is split into a discussion of some examples of global goods that were evident in the gardens at Audley End and Belsay Hall and then an examination of the cost in maintaining and cultivating these non-native species in English gardens. Britain had significant plant exchange with the New World with foodstuffs being introduced to the Americas and previously unknown plants being introduced to the Old World.[181] Growing exotic plants in England was a marker of great skill as gardeners worked to acclimatise species to their new environments. The pineapple, for example, arrived in Britain from the mid-seventeenth century and the labour and materials that were needed to grow the pineapple in a non-tropical climate meant they were only available to the richest in society.[182] As a result the pineapple and representations of the pineapple became symbols of wealth and power.[183]

There was a widespread desire to grow exotic or novel plants in English gardens and by the late-eighteenth century, thousands of specimens were being discovered and transported into Europe by commercial, independent, and state-sponsored plant collectors.[184] On Captain Cook's voyage on the *Endeavour* from 1768, the famous botanist Joseph Banks and his assistant, Daniel Solander, collected more than a thousand plant species previously

[180] Thomas Hallock, `Male Pleasure and the Genders of Eighteenth-Century Botanic Exchange: A Garden Tour', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 62 (4) (2005), 697-718, p. 698
[181] Lucile H Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens* (London: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 37-41
[182] Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 168-169
[183] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 168
[184] Yota Batsaki, Sarah Burke Cahalan, and Anatole Tchikine, `Introduction: The Botany of Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *The Botany of Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Yota Batsaki, Sarah Burke Cahalan, and Anatole Tchikine (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), pp. 1-32, p. 14; Fiona Davison, *The Hidden Horticulturalists: The untold story of the men who shaped Britain's gardens* (London: Atlantic Books, 2019), p. 93; Kenneth Lemmon, *The Covered Garden* (London: Museum Press, 1962), p. 211

unknown in Europe in "Botany Bay".[185] For this expedition, King George III had ordered a partnership between the Royal Society and the Royal Navy.[186] Later, institutions such as the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew and wealthy individuals funded expeditions to specifically find new plants to be brought back and shared among sponsors.[187] Transporting seeds and living specimens successfully was extremely difficult as the conditions on board ships were not favourable. They were damp with sea spray and rats would eat or destroy the specimens.[188] In 1829, Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward invented a sealed glass case to protect tender exotic plants from London's polluted air and noticed that plants in this case could survive longer without watering.[189] Ward wrote to William Jackson Hooker, later director of Kew Gardens, who distributed Wards results among his friends and soon the scientific community showed great interest in his invention.[190] The principle of the case was applied to overseas plant transportation and following the first experiments, thousands of these cases were used in the nineteenth century to move plants around the world.[191] Growing exotic plants in England was challenging and exciting and many landowners wanted to include them in their gardens.

Successfully growing these newly introduced plants in England was not easy, especially if the plants' native climates were significantly different. Some of the hardier plants that came from a similar enough climate might be quickly introduced to a wide audience, but many required careful research in nurseries or botanical gardens before any profit could be made. The Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew were instrumental in the introduction of exotic species to

[185] Kerry Lotzof, `Joseph Banks: scientist, explorer and botanist', *Natural History Museum Online* <https://www.nhm.ac.uk/discover/joseph-banks-scientist-explorer-botanist.html> [accessed 18 December 2020]
[186] Toby Musgrave, *The Multifarious Mr. Banks: From Botany Bay to Kew, the Natural Historian Who Shaped the World* (London: Yale University Press, 2020), p. 42
[187] Lynn Voskuil, `Victorian Orchids and the Forms of Ecological society', in *Strange Science: Investigating the Limits of Knowledge in the Victorian Age*, ed. by Lara Karpenko and Shalyn Claggett (USA: University of Michigan Press, 2017), pp. 19-39, p. 21; Lemmon, *The Covered Garden*, p. 160
[188] Lemmon, *The Covered Garden*, pp. 161-162; David Stuart, *The Garden Triumphant: A Victorian Legacy* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 147
[189] Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward, *On the Growth of Plants in Closely Glazed Cases: Second Edition* (London: John Van Voorst, 1852), p. 23; Luke Keogh, *The Wardian Case: How a Simple Box Moved Plants and Changed the World* (London: Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 2020), p. 1
[190] Ward, *On the Growth of Plants*, p. v
[191] Luke Keogh, *The Wardian Case: How a Simple Box Moved Plants and Changed the World* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2020), p. 2

England.[192] Some nurseries such as Veitch's nursery organised their own plant expeditions so that they could be the first to experiment, propagate, and grow plants to sell in their nurseries. As a fellow of the Horticultural Society of London and botanical enthusiast, Sir Charles Monck would have been more knowledgeable of the new plants that were available than an average landowner. Sir Charles kept excellent records of the plants he had in his garden and the dates they are first mentioned can be compared to the year they were introduced to England as a whole.[193] One species, the *Rhododendron Thomsonii*, was first mentioned in Monck's records in 1852, only two years after it was brought to England.[194] Native to the Himalayas, this rhododendron grows naturally at 10,000 to 13,000 feet and is relatively hardy though requires a sheltered protection being liable to injury by frost.[195] It did not flower for the first time at Belsay until 1857 so Monck's acquisition of the species was still an experiment in its infancy.[196] It is not clear whether newly introduced plants were acquired by Monck through a nursery or a contact in the learned horticultural world. The gardens at Belsay were planted with species from as far away as Chile, Japan, Haiti, and India.[197] The global trade in plants was highly influential in the creation of country house gardens like Belsay Hall.

Lancelot "Capability" Brown often utilised non-native species of trees in his designs, a favourite of which was the cedar of Lebanon which he planted at Audley End to the south-west of the mansion house. The cedar of Lebanon had been growing in England since the mid-seventeenth century though the twelfth-century crusaders have been credited with first introducing the species.[198] By the 1760s when Brown was improving the grounds at Audley

[192] Ray Desmond, *The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* (London: The Harvill Press, 1995), p. 100; Voskuil, `Victorian Orchids and the Forms of Ecological society', p. 22

[193] Monck and his successor regularly recorded catalogues of the plants at Belsay Hall. Other mentions in his personal records have also been useful.

[194] NA, ZMI/S/36, Small volume of tree measurements and registers of trees and shrubs at Belsay, 1852; Trees and Shrubs Online, ` Rhododendron thomsonii Hook. f.', *Trees and Shrubs Online* <http://treesandshrubsonline.org/articles/rhododendron/rhododendron-thomsonii/> [accessed 17 December 2020]

[195] Trees and Shrubs Online, ` Rhododendron thomsonii Hook. f.'

[196] Trees and Shrubs Online, ` Rhododendron thomsonii Hook. f.'

[197] Examples include: Buddleia globosa native to Chile, Argentina and Peru; Hydrangea hortensis (Macrophylla) native to Japan; Cytisus sessilifolius native to Haiti; Hibiscus syriacus native to India.

[198] F Nigel Hepper, `The Cultivation of the Cedar of Lebanon in Western European Parks and Gardens from the 17th to the 19th century', *Arboricultural Journal*, 25 (3) (2001), 197-219, p. 198

End, these cedars were highly fashionable among the English elites.[199] This aspirational tree can grow to a magnificent size so any forward-thinking planter knew it required the space best offered by vast country house gardens. An understanding of how trees and other planting schemes would mature was important to the creation process of gardens. It may be surprising that a slow growing tree was subject to the fast-moving world of eighteenth-century fashion. Flower beds and smaller shrubs were similarly affected by swiftly changing fashions but could be quickly redesigned or planted anew every year allowing for greater creative expression.[200] Trees could not be moved so easily. They fulfilled a different cultural meaning to the annually changed flower gardens, the opposite in fact. The purpose of planting a decorative, imposing tree such as a Lebanese cedar was to create a legacy that would be enjoyed for hundreds of years. It could be used for generations as a symbol of long-term landownership and family dynasty. When William Tomkins painted Audley End in the 1790s, he chose one angle to paint from where the young cedar would be in a prominent central position reflecting the "heavily charged ideological" meaning that trees could create [Fig. 1.7].[201] This single plant, introduced from overseas, has produced cultural capital for Audley End and its inhabitants for 250 years and still stands as a dominant feature on the landscape [Fig. 1.8]. The context of the tree has changed as the flower garden that it stood in the centre of is now open lawns.

Typically, sourcing foreign plants for English gardens was done through English nurseries or independent growers who had propagated and cultivated these plants in English soil. Sometimes, however, landowners could buy plants from growers and traders overseas as evidenced by a bill in Audley End's archives which records the purchase of three thousand Dutch alders from Rotterdam in 1775.[202] It is not entirely clear why these trees were purchased or where they were planted on the property. Alders thrive in wet, waterlogged

[199] Charles Wakins, `The Cedar of Lebanon in England: the introduction and reception of a sacred tree', in *Death, Life and Laughter: Essays on Religion in Honour of Douglas Davies*, ed. by Mathew Guest and Martha Middlemiss Lé Mon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 119-138, p. 125
[200] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 23
[201] Giulia Pacini, `A Culture of Trees: The Politics of Pruning and Felling in Late Eighteenth-Century France', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41 (1) (2007), 1-15, p. 4
[202] ERO, D/DBy A33/6, Household and Estate Papers, June 1775; Korte Samenvatting, `Dutch alders from Rotterdam for Audley End – part 1', *Historical Gardens Blog online*, 16 October 2020 <https://www.historicalgardensblog.com/2020/10/16/dutch-alders-from-rotterdam-for-audley-end-part-1/#summary-9617> [accessed 18 October 2022]

[Figure 1.7: Audley End from the South-West. The triangular cedar of Lebanon had been planted nearly thirty years earlier.]

[Figure 1.8: The cedar of Lebanon today]

areas near lakes and rivers so perhaps were destined for planting in an area that other trees could not or were introduced to control the wetness of an area. An extensively researched collection of blog posts by Korte Samenvatting has delved into the story behind this seemingly unusual purchase. Rather than sourcing this large order of trees from a grower in England, the estate steward bought directly from a general merchant in Rotterdam who did not specialise in plants but traded in a wide range of consumer goods.[203] Sir John Griffin Griffin may have selected this merchant through a contact in the Netherlands where his sister and brother-in-law lived.[204] As with purchases from within Britain, plants bought from individuals or firms overseas also had to be transported into the country before arriving in gardens. The surviving bill shows that on top of the £2. 8s. paid for the three thousand specimens of alders, Sir John was charged an extra £1. 14s. in freight from Rotterdam to Great Yarmouth, customs charges, freight to Norwich, and further packaging and postage to Audley End.[205] These additional fees for delivery made the trees significantly more expensive and Samenvatting suggests the possibility that Sir John chose to supply his gardens internationally rather than from within Britain because Dutch growers could provide the large numbers he required and because they were excellent quality plants.[206] This bill, that records a commercial interaction between two countries, shows that a landowner did not have to purchase plants through nurseries in their own country but could look overseas if a suitable deal was available.

As new exotic species were introduced into the country and landowners wanted to be able to include them in their gardens, new technologies and techniques of growing were developed in order to successfully cultivate them. This required further spending on gardens in order to grow these desirable plants. Tender plants and exotic birds needed protection against the British climate and new structures were built to house them.[207] At Audley End a

[203] Samenvatting, `Dutch alders from Rotterdam for Audley End – part 1'
[204] Samenvatting, `Dutch alders from Rotterdam for Audley End – part 1'
[205] ERO, D/DBy A33/6, Household and Estate Papers, June 1775; The unit price of the Dutch alders works out at 0.19d per tree and a bill for alders from Mackie's nursery, Norwich in 1818 priced the trees at 0.24d per tree.
[206] Korte Samenvatting, `Dutch alders from Rotterdam for Audley End – part 3', *Historical Gardens Blog online*, 5 March 2021 <https://www.historicalgardensblog.com/2021/03/05/dutch-alders-from-rotterdam-for-audley-end-part-3/> [accessed 18 October 2022]
[207] Lemmon, *The Covered Garden*; Christopher Plumb, *The Georgian Menagerie: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: I B Tauris, 2015), p. 146

stone and glass aviary, sometimes referred to as a menagerie though it exclusively housed birds, was built in 1774 and a visitor in the 1830s recorded seeing parrots, canaries, goldfinches, a variety of pheasants, and other "exotic fowls".[208] New growing opportunities, such as growing tender exotics or forcing common plants out of season, were created by the introduction of glass houses, hot walls, hand glasses and stoves. Using glass to protect plants and create an artificial climate was a technique used by the Romans though with relatively crude materials.[209] By the Georgian period, new techniques of glass production meant glass houses could have larger and clearer panes to admit as much sunlight as possible.[210] Both Audley End and Belsay Hall used glass in their gardens for growing plants. The first glasshouses were built in Audley End's walled kitchen garden in the 1760s.[211] These structures were later demolished and replaced with a modern vine house in 1802 which was later extended in the 1820s.[212] Hand glasses offered portable protection for individual plants and Thomas Challis, undergardener at Audley End, regularly used them for tender annuals, flowers, vegetables and unspecified "green house plants" in heated melon beds warmed by decomposing dung.[213] The heated wall in Belsay Hall's kitchen garden was an important tool for Sir Charles Monck and his gardeners, upon which were grown numerous peaches, cherries, pears, and flowers.[214] By the early twentieth century, the large areas of greenhouses and vineries were considered an "unnecessary expense" to the estate as "plants under glass require constant attention and therefore time and labour".[215] During this period, however, the owners of Audley End and Belsay Hall, the labour and expense was well worth it for the increased novelty and variety of plants that could be produced from their own gardens.

Upfront capital was required to build the structures that housed exotic plants. Unfortunately, the accounts for Audley End at the time of extending the vine house did not separate out any work specifically performed on this job, so it is difficult to know exactly how much

[208] Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829 with remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and anecdotes of distinguished public characters* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833), p. 32
[209] Lemmon, *The Covered Garden*, p. 12
[210] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 205-206; Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise*, p. 253
[211] Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation*, p. 5
[212] Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation*, p. 5
[213] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[214] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[215] NA, ZMI/S/38, Bundle of Papers re plants at Belsay, 1807-1949

money was spent on this initial building project.[216] Yet this was only one part of the lifecycle of a glass house. Repairs, updates, and modernisations to glass houses were needed to ensure they remained effective and efficient for growing plants. Further, the ability to make changes and expansions to glass houses displayed the wealth of the estate to visitors. Crown and plate glass had been manufactured in England since the late-sixteenth century, but the best quality was still made in Normandy at great expense.[217] As the popularity of sliding sash-windows increased into the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth century there grew a demand for domestic production though it remained a great luxury and was taxed accordingly.[218] The glass structures at Audley End were all initially built before the repeal of the Glass Excise Tax in 1845.[219] Before 1845, a crate of crown glass was £12. and in 1865 the same could be bought for £2. 8d. and ordinary sheet glass fell from 1s. 2d. to just 2d.[220] There were ways of reducing costs in the process of building a new glass house. At Belsay Hall, Sir Charles Monck built a fig house in the late 1820s that consisted of three walls of stone and the front was of recycled sash windows that he had acquired from an old mansion that was being demolished at the time.[221] According to Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, it was typical that an old house would be pulled down and its materials "recovered and cleaned for reuse".[222] Monck's fig house was an experimental structure and he explained in his report to the Horticultural Society of London that some of the walls had to be altered.[223] Using cheaply sourced glass was useful in case of breakage during such alterations. This allowed the building costs to be kept low while optimising productivity of the plants housed there, especially in such an experimental phase of creation.

Glass structures regularly required maintenance and as such incurred expenses throughout the year. These costs tended to be highest in the months with increased severity of weather as they were highly "susceptible to storm damage". [224] At Audley End, a glazier was

[216] Further, this project was not able to access the accounts for the earlier building stages.
[217] Hentie Louw, `Window-Glass Making in Britain c.1660-c.1860 and its Architectural Impact', *Construction History*, 7 (1991), 47-68, p. 48
[218] Louw, `Window-Glass Making in Britain c.1660-c.1860', pp. 48 and 35; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 206
[219] Dustin Valen, `On the Horticultural Origins of Victorian Glasshouse Culture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 75 (4) (2016), 403-423, p. 414
[220] Lemmon, *The Covered Garden*, p.87
[221] Monck, `Upon the Cultivation of the Fig Tree', p. 395
[222] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 162
[223] Monck, `Upon the Cultivation of the Fig Tree', p. 395
[224] Williamson, *The archaeology of the landscape park*, p. 174

frequently called to work in the gardens replacing or repairing panes or maintaining the frames. In 1818, the month of greatest expenditure to the glazier was in December at £10. 12s. 5½d. which was over double that of the next highest bill that year.[225] It is also likely that this work was undertaken in the winter because the plants were not flowering or fruiting at that time. The work recorded in this bill included seventy individual squares of glass in varying sizes for the greenhouse, pine pits, hand glasses, cucumber lights and hot house.[226] Other maintenance materials included putty, paint, oil, and turpentine that kept the overall structure neat and secure. The invoice of tasks done by the glazier's team includes prices for the materials and the amount needed for labour. To complete this work, fifteen days' of labour was paid to men and boys throughout the month totalling £3. 7s. 6d. For glass houses to remain a stable temperature in the English climate, fires and flues were essential. To keep the heat source working successfully, they required careful management of cleaning or altering their positions. In 1818, the bricklayer at Audley End was tasked with cleaning and adjusting the flues to the pine pits throughout the summer.[227] Glasshouses were not simply a one-off expense for the initial creation, but a continual consumer of resources and labour for its maintenance.

Inside these glass houses was not only excellent for cultivating tender exotic plants. The warm sheltered environment also encouraged pests. Expenditure for growing in glass houses further included purchases for pest control. Printed advice manuals stated that plants in glass houses should be inspected daily in order to maintain their health and notice any emerging pest populations.[228] These daily tasks also included removing dead leaves, monitoring water intake, periodically opening the windows in fine weather to admit fresh air and tending the fires throughout the night during the winter.[229] Less frequently, plants were treated individually with chemicals and soaps or the whole glass house could be fumigated with tobacco smoke to kill any unhelpful insects.[230] Sir Charles regularly paid his gardeners at

[225] ERO, D/DBy A76/12, Household and Estate Papers, December 1818
[226] ERO, D/DBy A76/12, Household and Estate Papers, December 1818
[227] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818; ERO, D/DBy A76/8, Household and Estate Papers, August 1818; ERO, D/DBy A76/9, Household and Estate Papers, September 1818
[228] Christa M Beranek, J N Leith Smith, John M Steinberg and Michelle G S Garman, `Growing Things "Rare, Foreign, and Tender": The Early Nineteenth-Century Greenhouse at Gore Place, Waltham Massachusetts', *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, 38 (2009), 70-99, p. 78
[229] Beranek and others, `Growing Things', pp. 78-79
[230] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 145; Beranek and others, `Growing Things', pp. 76 and 78

Belsay to buy tobacco, sulphur and soap for use on the plants.[231] Some of the new pesticides used by Victorian gardeners likely did more harm than good to plants being highly toxic.[232] Monck also experimented with techniques that would remove pests and simultaneously "not injure, but rather invigorate the plants".[233] His walnut tea solution for removing worms from plants grown in pots was first recorded in his personal garden notebook and later published in *Transactions*.[234] Worms, while beneficial to plants grown in the ground, can be detrimental to plants in pots with less area to move around and find food. The worms then turn on the roots of the potted plants which eventually kills the plants. Monck had observed the worm casts on the soil of the plant and administered a walnut tea which encouraged the worms to the surface at which point they were removed. This experiment was performed successfully on tuberoses grown under glass and orange trees which "seemed to take new vigour and flowered very strongly".[235] It is easy to overlook this small act of maintenance in the grand scheme of a large country house garden. However, these mundane tasks completed by garden staff were essential for creating and maintaining gardens, retaining its productivity, and protecting the overall aesthetics and neatness of the garden space.

Conclusion

The creation of country house gardens was not a singular event. Gardens were created, updated, maintained, pruned, replanted, and harvested frequently to maintain the aesthetics and efficiency of the space. The continuous work that happened in gardens was supported by various networks of spending and supply that worked within the locality, the wider region and nation, and overseas. People, plants, tools, knowledge and expertise from across these networks were brought into Audley End and Belsay Hall to create and maintain their gardens. Approaching gardens from a perspective of the geographies of inputs allows for a more holistic analysis of these complex spaces. It highlights the variety of contributors to garden creation and shows how these networks interacted and were inter-dependent upon each other. It has demonstrated the importance of even the smallest maintenance jobs

[231] NA, ZMI/B35/13, Monthly Cash Accounts of Stewards with Sir C. M. L. Monck, 1811-1855
[232] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 145
[233] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[234] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836; Monck, `Directions for removing Worms from the roots of plants'
[235] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836

that were part of the wider picture of expenditure that the estate had to manage. The local environment of a garden determined what could be grown and how much maintenance was required to retain the desired look of a garden and its productivity. As the inputs came from further away, more organisation and expense were required to bring those objects or people into the gardens. Analysing gardens in this way reframes these traditional art objects as dynamic spaces that needed constant maintenance and reworking.

Repositioning the garden as a dynamic space with a range of people working on them, each with their own skill sets, reminds us of the contributions of those individuals who worked there every day rather than just the designers who created an initial design. Gardeners, labourers, blacksmiths, glaziers, bricklayers, and other craftspeople were all employed to create and maintain the garden. The work and intensity of labour requirements was seasonal and cyclical. Similarly, looking beyond the garden to the external suppliers, designers, and others whose expertise was used in gardens broadens our understanding of how gardens functioned. Expenditure was consistently allocated to the garden, a large proportion of which paid labourers for their work. Building an accurate picture of garden expenditure is difficult as the work completed by craftsmen was not always separated from the work they did elsewhere on the estate. However, this chapter has demonstrated that the creation and maintenance of gardens came from a variety of sources and to understand the process of owning a large garden requires a broad study of these networks of supply.

Using economic sources for garden history creates new perspectives on gardens. These accounts, abundant in many country house archives, have been underused by garden historians but this chapter has demonstrated that this is a rich source base. Further, they can tell us more than simply how much money was invested into gardens by their landowners. Changing patterns of expenditure highlights seasonal and cyclical spending as well as longer term investments such as a significant redesign. Account books highlight the geographies of spending, for example, by illuminating purchases from both regional nurseries and London nurseries, or the continual spending on housing exotic birds. Receipted bills have also revealed the kinds of tasks required to maintain a garden by labourers and craftspeople as well as the inputs of plants, seeds, and tools. Bills, to a greater extent than summary account books, can offer descriptive information about how gardens functioned day-to-day, what they were growing in the kitchen garden, or how frequently the head gardener ordered

more seeds and tools. These mundane factors are overlooked by design histories. This thesis offers a more detailed understanding of gardens and how they were managed than simply how they looked.

The next chapter follows on from this discussion of the practicalities of garden creation and the variety of inputs that came together to build and maintain gardens by looking in more detail at the working communities that contributed to gardens. It will focus on their lived experiences of their time in gardens, their careers, and businesses of external garden firms. Further, it takes a case study of one gardener whose surviving garden diary has been invaluable to the project.

Chapter 2:

Working communities: Hierarchies, Lived Experience, and Commercial Businesses

Introduction

This chapter builds on the analysis of expenditure and supply of gardens by looking in greater detail at the contributions of ordinary working gardeners and commercial garden businesses that worked together to create and maintain gardens over time. The chapter broadens our understanding of garden staff as more than figures in account books and instead highlights them as real people. This network of professionals is relatively absent from the literature on gardens and so this chapter places special attention on the lived experiences of these vital figures in garden creation.

Typical working gardeners from this period have rarely been the focus of extended analysis, though their experiences have occasionally been explored in individual book chapters and biographical journal articles.[1] Famous gardeners and designers have captured the attention of historians for much longer and so their assessments have greater nuance. Roderick Floud's economic history of English gardens includes a chapter on "The Working Gardener" in which he examines the national community of gardeners from across the garden hierarchy, their career progressions, working and living conditions, and general levels of pay.[2] He introduces data from a range of different sources such as the census, autobiographical writings, contemporary advice from renowned writers such as J C Loudon, and the accounts of country estates. This wide range of useful and available material shows that there is scope for further detailed analysis of the lives of working gardeners.

Recently, Fiona Davison utilised an interesting and novel primary source as the basis of her 2019 work *The Hidden Horticulturalists: The untold story of the men who shaped Britain's gardens*. An early-nineteenth century source entitled "The Handwriting of Under-Gardeners

[1] Roderick Floud, `The Working Gardener', in *An Economic History of the English Garden*, by Roderick Floud (London: Allen Lane, 2019), pp. 159-183; Martin Hoyles, `Women and Gardening', in *The Story of Gardening*, by Martin Hoyles (London: Journeyman Press, 1991), pp. 187-212; Alison Hodges, `A Victorian Gardener: Edward Milner (1819-1884)', *Garden History*, 5 (3) (1977), 67-77; James Driver, `Charles Green (1826-1886): Head Gardener to Sir George Macleay at Pendell Court, Surrey', *Garden History*, 40 (2) (2012), 199-213

[2] Floud, `The Working Gardener'

and Labourers" was the basis for her analysis of the lives and careers of men that had come through the apprenticeship system at the Horticultural Society of London's gardens at Chiswick. Davison states that she found the document in a "rather unprepossessing" cardboard box in the Lindley Library, the main archive of the Royal Horticultural Society and was fascinated by its contents.[3] It contained short autobiographies and signatures of mostly young gardeners nominated for a prestigious apprenticeship in the society's experimental garden. Based on this unusual source she researched a selection of individuals and built up a picture of their careers from London to as far as South America, covering themes such as "fraud, scandal, madness" and encountering a large number of exotic plants.[4] The concept of *The Hidden Horticulturalists*, as examining a group of men who had a shared experience of their early education, works effectively in showcasing the multitude of lived experiences and career progressions that were possible for nineteenth-century gardeners. Similarly, the work highlights the frequency with which gardeners moved between private domestic settings and commercial businesses during the early stages of their career which has been helpful for this chapter's analysis of professional networks, lived experiences, and the general mobility of individual career gardeners.

The management of commercial garden businesses, rather than private country house gardens, has recently been the interest of historians. It is a new theme through which to analyse familiar characters such as Lancelot "Capability" Brown as well as lesser explored nursery businesses. A new edited work compiled by Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra, *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe* (2020) is a continuation of the trend in the wider literature towards contextualising Brown as one man, if a figurehead, of a large commercial firm. Three individuals, John Spyers, Samuel Lapidge, and Nathaniel Richmond are highlighted as being crucial to the successful running of Brown's business and the continuation of his legacy.[5] The book as a whole is primarily

[3] Fiona Davison, *The Hidden Horticulturalists: The untold story of the men who shaped Britain's gardens* (London: Atlantic Books, 2019), pp. xi-xii

[4] Davison, *The Hidden Horticulturalists*, p. xiii

[5] Sebastian Edwards, `John Spyers – Lancelot Brown's Surveyor at Hampton Court', in *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe*, ed. by Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra (York: White Rose University Press, 2020), pp. 33-48; Jan Woudstra, `Lancelot Brown's Legacy of Landscape Practice: Samuel Lapidge "Who Knows My Accounts and the Nature of Them"', in *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe*, ed. by Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra (York: White Rose University Press, 2020), pp. 89-104; David Brown, `Nathaniel Richmond (c. 1719-84), "scholar of Brown"?', in

concerned with the figure of Brown, but the inclusion of just some of the individuals that allowed Brown's business to run effectively goes further to decentralise the narrative of the "great man" and contextualise his success. A different kind of business is the focus of Louise Crawley's 2020 article in *Garden History* about the growth of provincial nurseries based on a case study of the Norwich Nursery examines the structure and management of the business.[6] She highlights some of the decisions that made this firm so successful and how they were able to compete with nurseries throughout the region and beyond.

Exploring the lives and careers of typical working gardeners, particularly before 1800, tends to be limited by surviving source material. The names, wages, and occasionally the tasks performed by country house gardeners can be found in estate accounts, but the individuals remain as economic actors providing labour to the landowner. They appear as figures on a balance sheet rather than as individuals with their own personalities and lived experiences. It is easier to find business records of estates or commercial firms than to find sources in which gardeners shine as fully formed individuals. Occasionally, newspaper articles or the garden press might mention an individual by name for a victory at a flower show, news of retirement, or an obituary. This is not to say that working people were not writing about themselves or their lives. Brodie Waddell states that "craftsmen, shopkeepers and farmers across England and a number of women of a similar rank filled innumerable notebooks with their scribblings and then worked to preserve them for posterity".[7] Similarly, Pamela Sambrook used a sample of letters, diaries, and autobiographies of eighteenth and nineteenth-century domestic servants to produce her work *Keeping Their Place: Domestic Service in the Country House, 1700-1920* (2005).[8] Fiona Davison argues differently writing that the gardeners in the Horticultural Society's garden were "not the type of men to write autobiographies, diaries, or even long letters", and as such the majority of their peers remain "voiceless and anonymous".[9] This may be true and while it is clear that some working people

Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe, ed. by Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra (York: White Rose University Press, 2020), pp. 105-118

[6] Louise Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries: The Norwich Nurserymen, c. 1750-1860', *Garden History*, 48 (2) (2020), 119-134

[7] Brodie Waddell, `Life Writing: Writing history from below: chronicling and record-keeping in Early Modern England', *History Workshop Journal*, 58 (2018), 239-264, p. 239

[8] Pamela A Sambrook, *Keeping Their Place: Domestic Service in the Country House, 1700-1920* (Reprinted: Stroud: The History Press, 2009), p. 1

[9] Davison, *The Hidden Horticulturalists*, p. xiii

at this time were engaging in life writing, it was not necessarily typical of the group as a whole. A lack of surviving material written by working gardeners means it is difficult to know exactly how commonplace it was for gardeners to record their lives, especially before 1800. Taking notes would certainly have been part of a young gardener's education, but their limited survival diminishes our ability to build fuller pictures of individuals' experiences. Gardeners' diaries survive in higher numbers after 1800 and especially towards the mid-nineteenth century, some of which have been published.[10] The recent acquisition of the diary of an eighteenth-century undergardener, Thomas Challis, working at Audley End in the 1790s, has been of great value in working towards the aim of rebuilding an individual biography of a working gardener using the person's own words. The document includes a daily record of work done at Audley End, some transcriptions from published works, recipes, gardening advice, and life events. It throws light on the every-day nature of his life as a career gardener as well as personal information that cannot be derived from the records kept by the landowners and nurserymen he briefly worked under.

This chapter is structured into four sections. The initial discussion centres on those that worked, and often lived, in country house gardens, and the employment structures within which they were organised. This includes the different ranks of gardener within the team hierarchy as well as wider trends in garden employment. There is a notable focus on career gardeners throughout this chapter with minor discussion of garden labourers who were examined in more detail in the previous chapter. Secondly, this chapter focuses on the living and working conditions of gardeners, including the tasks they completed, their accommodation, and career trajectories. The third section is a case study on the life of Thomas Challis as an individual and the analysis is predominantly based on his rich and unique diary. Finally, the chapter discusses the activities of nurserymen and designers focusing on their commercial operations. It asks how their different personalities and skills helped shape these businesses, their staffing, and how they were successful. This section highlights the networks involved in gardening between commercial and private gardens and

[10] Basil Harley and Jessie Harley, *A Gardener at Chatsworth: Three years in the life of Robert Aughtie, 1848-1850* (Worcestershire: The Self Publishing Association, 1992), William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener: William Cresswell and Audley End* (English Heritage, 2006)

the interactions between people with different skills and experience that contributed to the creation of country house gardens.

The structure and hierarchies of country house garden teams

In order to better understand the creation, maintenance and subsequent enjoyment of the gardens at Audley End and Belsay Hall, it is important to understand the employment structure of the men and women that produced and re-produced them. People from a range of different backgrounds, including locally hired labourers, women and children, estate craftsmen, and career gardeners worked together in the garden across the year. These garden teams fluctuated in size as seasonal work increased and declined in intensity or as one-off building projects were undertaken as discussed in the previous chapter. Country house gardens were fluid places of work with casual staff coming in and out of the garden as well as some career gardeners only staying at one property for a short period before moving on. The work completed was varied due to seasonal tasks and continued maintenance of the gardens. This section begins with a brief outline of the work done by non-career garden workers and their importance to the garden team. It will then examine the typical career path of the professional gardener from apprentice to head gardener. Finally, it acknowledges the estate craftsmen such as glaziers and bricklayers, and the gamekeeper as another outdoor head of department that contributed to the functioning of gardens. This straightforward yet important approach is similar to that of David S Jones and Andrew Hann who have produced useful overviews of garden teams that indicate that the structures at Audley End and Belsay Hall were typical of the time.[11] Jones' failure to mention women garden staff, despite his inclusion of a source that lists three women, is a disappointing oversight.[12]

Women and young boys and girls were understood to be the least skilled members of the garden team. They undertook the menial jobs that reduced the workload of the more experienced staff. Receipts from Audley End in 1766 highlight the differences of

[11] David S D Jones, *Servants of the Lord: Outdoor Staff at the Great Country Houses* (Shrewsbury: Quiller, 2017), pp. 97-103; Andrew Hann, `Labour Recruitment on the Audley End Estate in the Late 19th Century', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 5 (2010), 135-155

[12] Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, p. 103

responsibility offered to boys compared to their older counterparts. These receipts recorded the daily tasks undertaken by the staff, and where more experienced gardeners and garden labourers might complete several distinct tasks a week, the young boys' record of work was far more repetitive.[13] For example, "Robert Shead, boy" spent the month of August "rowling" turf every day excluding Sundays.[14] This is not to say he did nothing else but this was the main task to be completed by him as recorded by the head gardener. Throughout the ten months he is recorded at Audley End in 1766 he was mostly tasked with rolling turf and gravel, and carting water, wood, and gravel across the gardens to assist his colleagues. Across 1766, there were four boys that worked under the head gardener's remit completing tasks within the garden or being lent out to the stables or to help with livestock as and when required. This work may also have included the carting of dung into the kitchen gardens. Other general tasks for garden boys were picking slugs and caterpillars from plants, washing plant pots, and scaring birds.[15]

The young boys, locally hired and often relatives of older garden labourers, were likely to grow up to become adult labourers, though it would not have been impossible for them to embark on an apprenticeship and career as a professional gardener. Garden labourers, as discussed in the previous chapter, were central to the seasonal running of large gardens. They assisted the career gardeners in their daily tasks, but the records of their specific work are not always forthcoming. At Belsay Hall, for example, the labourer's day books are useful for following patterns of employment but with only names and attendance recorded, it offers little in terms of what they did in gardens. It is easy to assume that labourers only completed menial tasks, but the older, more experienced labourers may have had more responsibilities. Ebenezer Askew, for example, worked as a labourer at Belsay Hall for twenty-eight years over which time he would have gained many skills in the garden even without a formal gardening education[16]. He might not have had experience in other gardens,

[13] Essex Records Office (ERO), D/DBy A24, Household and Estate Papers, 1766
[14] ERO, D/DBy A24/8, Household and Estate Papers, August 1766
[15] Caroline Ikin, *The Victorian Gardener* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2014), p. 7; Rosemary Clare Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon: A Social and Economic History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2009), p. 7
[16] `Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries', *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, 2 February 1850, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/EN3216480291/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=e72b7fbb> [accessed 26 May 2021]

but he would have been knowledgeable about Belsay, and an asset of continuity as young career gardeners came and went from the property.

The evidence to build up a picture of the work done by women at either Belsay or Audley End is sparse, and one must scour a wide range of sources to find even a vague overview of what women were employed to do. This problem was highlighted by Martin Hoyles in 1991 in a chapter about women and gardening. He explains that there is a marked absence of women in primary material as their labour was often not recorded or their contributions were simply attributed to men.[17] A similar argument is presented by Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann whereby they state that women's by-employment was to assist the men of the household who received the credit for the work.[18] Twigs Way's work *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens: A history of women in the garden* (2006) brought greater attention to the work of women of all ranks in gardens.[19] In her chapter on "Weeders and Breeders" in which poorer working women receive the most attention, she explains that these women were "consistently poorly paid" and they often shared the precarious social and economic position of "single woman".[20] Way identified several women working in Hampton Court's gardens in the early sixteenth century from the Royal Accounts.[21] At Audley End, estate accounts include both named and unnamed women and girls working in the gardens. From around 1780 they are recorded on the main garden account bills whereas in the 1760s and 1770s women are not mentioned though their pay likely was included as part of an "extra garden work" total. In 1780-1781 the "Old woman Doe" worked alongside other "labourers". In 1786, Sarah Bailey and Ann Rains were employed for "sweeping etc." as were Hannah Bush and Sarah Brown in 1796 though it is not clear where in the gardens, they completed this work.[22]

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[17] Martin Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening* (London: Journeyman Press, 1991), pp. 198 and 201; a "scandalous" example of women being written out of garden history is the case of the Bramley cooking apple, raised by Mary Ann Brailsford, though the achievement was attributed to Mr Merryweather who exhibited it in London.
[18] Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, `By-employment, women's work and "unproductive" households', in *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750*, by Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 65-86, p. 66
[19] Twigs Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens: A History of Women in the Garden* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006)
[20] Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens*, p. 7
[21] Way, *Virgins, Weeders, and Queens*, p. 7
[22] ERO, D/DBy A44/11, Household and Estate Papers, November 1786; ERO, D/DBy A54/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1796

For those young men who wished to embark on a professional career, apprenticeships were available to them with the promise of a long and hopefully prosperous career in private country house gardens, market gardens and nurseries. Like other trades of the period an apprenticeship was an opportunity to work for an experienced member of the trade or profession and to learn the skills of the occupation through practical work. Patrick Wallis explains that by the seventeenth century it was common for an apprentice's family to provide an "apprentice fee" or "premium" to the prospective master in return for boarding and instruction.[23] A typical garden apprenticeship in England lasted around three years and was preferably in a private garden rather than in a commercial garden as there would be a greater variety of instruction available.[24] The education of young gardeners was of course dominated by practical study though by the nineteenth century writers such as J C Loudon were promoting the importance of literacy for self-improvement. In 1826 Loudon wrote about the absolute necessity of the next generation of gardeners to improve themselves through book-learning and apprenticeships to elevate them out of the lowest class of society.[25] He hoped that his advice would raise the standards for aspirational gardeners as he explained that it would no longer be acceptable to only know how to grow kitchen crops or fruit. In this modern era, the gardener in a gentleman's garden on a decent wage must:

> *"not only be a good practical botanist, but possess some knowledge of chemistry, mechanics, and even of the principles of taste. A knowledge of the rudiments of Latin and Greek, so far as to be able to find out the meaning of nouns in a Greco-English dictionary, is pre-included in some knowledge of scientific botany".*[26]

Audley End's undergardener Thomas Challis had completed his apprenticeship under a Mr. Mail at Cheveley Park, near Newmarket between 1792 and 1795. He began his apprenticeship at the age of fourteen and when he moved to Audley End, he was seventeen

[23] Patrick Wallis, `Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68 (3) (2008), 832-861, p. 835; Ikin, *The Victorian Gardener*, p. 19
[24] Jan Woudstra, `The rise of formal education for gardeners in Prussia and Great Britain', in *Prussian Gardens in Europe: 300 Years of Garden History*, ed. by Michael Rohde (Leipzig: Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg (SPSG) in association with ICOMOS/IFLA, 2007), pp. 309-131, p. 310
[25] J C Loudon, `Self-Education of Gardeners', *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural & Domestic Improvement*, 1 (1826), 225-226, p. 225; A J Lustig, `Cultivating Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century English Gardens', *Science in Context*, 13 (2) (2000), 155-181, p. 162; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 169; Woudstra, `The rise of formal education for gardeners', p. 311
[26] Loudon, `Self-Education of Gardeners', p. 226

years old, soon to be eighteen.[27] Challis completed his early career some twenty years before J C Loudon started publishing his advice on scholarly garden education and yet his surviving diary shows that writing and transcribing from published books was an important part of his education. This suggests that there was already an established tradition of a written education for young gardeners by the end of the eighteenth century and Loudon's role was to formalise this practice.

Having completed an apprenticeship, it was time for the gardener to move to another property to further expand their experience of gardening in varying environments.[28] Jan Woudstra states that undergardener or journeyman positions would be short-term, perhaps only one year, and a young gardener would continue to move between private properties until the age of twenty-five.[29] Undergardeners could work without the closer supervision experienced as apprentices though they were still expected to spend their spare time studying written works and continually improving their knowledge of gardening.[30] Working gardeners were held to a high standard by the head gardener and had to abide by rules of conduct. Some lists of rules survive at properties such as Chatsworth and Bicton House from the 1840s, but no similar document has been found at Audley End or Belsay Hall.[31] At Chatsworth rules were to be followed "by all persons working on these premises, master and men" suggesting that they were expected to be complied with across the hierarchy. The rules included keeping the tool shed clean and organised, fining those who use bad language or were found drunk at work, as well as any member of staff concealing knowledge of offenders.[32] At Bicton kitchen gardens there is a comprehensive list of twenty-four instructions for the staff each with its own fine.[33] Cleanliness was clearly important as fines could be given for arriving at work in dirty clothing, picking fruit with unwashed hands, not scraping their boots when moving around the garden, rolling a dirty wheelbarrow over

[27] English Heritage (EH), Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[28] Floud, `The Working Gardener', p. 166
[29] Woudstra, `The rise of formal education for gardeners', p. 310
[30] Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, p. 100; Floud, `The Working Gardener', p. 169; Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* (London: BBC Books, 1987), p. 31
[31] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 128
[32] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', Figure 3:9, p. 129; Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America, Fourth Edition* (London: Longman Brown, Green & Longmans, 1849), p. 500
[33] J C Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement, Volume 8* (London: Longman Brown, Green & Longmans, 1842), pp. 562-563; Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', Figure 3:11, p. 131

gravel, and leaving rubbish anywhere. For safety no rakes were to be leant against walls with spikes upturned. In terms of personal behaviour, the document was clear that smoking, swearing, being intoxicated, or being careless enough to break tools was not tolerated. The rules aimed to keep order, cleanliness, and encourage high quality work. Fines were generally 3d. or 4d. each day and vandalising the list of rules itself was a 12d. penalty. The cost of swearing stands out as a man could be fined 3d. for "each evil expression" at Bicton and 6d. at Chatsworth. Perhaps this was a common trait that head gardeners wanted to stamp out of their gardens.

As an undergardener, a man might begin to specialise in a certain area of gardening such as the care of greenhouse plants, fruit trees, flowers, or vegetables. William Grey, an undergardener from Belsay Hall who went on to work at a number of properties in Northumberland appears to have specialised in the cultivation of fruit trees. We can reasonably deduce that he was an undergardener as he was still moving between properties every few years.[34] In 1827, whilst at Belsay, he won an award for "his lemons" and between 1832 and 1835, four of his letters about different fruits he had worked on were published in *The Horticultural Register*.[35] In 1832, he wrote about how he saved a number of Portuguese and Spanish orange trees from his employer's near fatal interference.[36] In 1833, he gave his "Remarks on the Vine in Pots", and in 1834 and 1835 he offered observations on the culture of figs and on canker in peach and nectarine trees, respectively.[37] Grey was undoubtedly a gardener growing in confidence as he increased his experience and knowledge in this area of gardening and even openly criticised his employer. He took his experiences from Belsay with him throughout his career. In his written piece about growing figs, he referred to how Sir

[34] In 1827 he worked at Belsay Hall. In 1832 he worked at Beaufront Gardens near Hexham, Northumberland. In 1833 he worked at Shotley Grove, near Durham. In 1834 he worked at Scotswood, near Newcastle. Helen Brown and Jon Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country-House Garden', in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 82-101, p. 85

[35] `List of Persons to whom the Banksian Medal has been presented, by Order of the Council of the Horticultural Society of London, for Exhibition at General Meetings of the Society from May 1, 1827, to May 1, 1828', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 7 (1830) <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/155840#page/502/mode/1up> [accessed 19 May 2021]

[36] William Grey, `On the Culture of the Orange', *The Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 1 (1831-32), 548-549

[37] William Grey, `Remarks on the Vine in Pots', *The Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 2 (1833), 350-352; William Grey, `On the Culture of Figs', *The Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 3 (1834), 301-302; William Grey, `On Canker in Peach and Nectarine Trees', *The Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 4 (1835), 14-15

Charles Monck had built an unusual fig house at Belsay Hall which produced the finest fruit he had seen.[38] Despite not having worked at Belsay for some seven years, Grey could still recall the dimensions and placement of this fig house and the specific variety of plant grown there. He may have recorded this information in a working notebook as Thomas Challis did at Audley End. As undergardeners progressed in their career they absorbed a great deal of knowledge and many aspired to use this expertise to get into a position as head gardener.

Becoming the head gardener of a property was the ultimate goal of most young, professional gardeners. However, not every undergardener would gain a head gardener role due to fewer available positions and as such there would have been many older, highly qualified undergardeners working across the country. Head gardeners required business skills as well as horticultural knowledge as they were in charge of managing staff across the different areas of the garden, recording and organising the garden finances, liaising with estate craftsmen, predicting and responding to the weather, and generally keeping order and beauty in the garden.[39] They would also liaise regularly with the heads of the indoor staff, particularly the cook and housekeeper, and bring in the fruit, vegetables and flower decorations desired by the family.[40] Whereas a gardener's early career was characterised by short-held positions across multiple properties, their life as a head gardener was more stable.[41] If they worked well and could build a good relationship with the landowner and other important staff such as the housekeeper and land agent, a head gardener could stay at one property for decades or even for the rest of their working life. Twenty years after he had left his undergardener position at Audley End, Thomas Challis began a thirty-five-year tenure as head gardener at Standlynch Park, Wiltshire.[42]

The increased stability and income was undoubtedly a draw for younger gardeners who could rely on continuous housing for himself and his family who often could not afford to marry before gaining a head gardener position.[43] There were some options for a married undergardener such as living separately from his wife, finding a position that offered a cottage and could employ both gardener and his wife at the house, or at a smaller house the

[38] Grey, `On the Culture of Figs', p. 302
[39] Floud, `The Working Gardener', pp. 176-177; Ikin, *The Victorian Gardener*, p. 49
[40] Floud, `The Working Gardener', p. 177
[41] Brown and Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country-House Garden', pp. 85-86
[42] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[43] Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*, p. 18

couple could "live in" with the wife working as a cook or housekeeper.[44] Marrying as an undergardener was possible but it may have been more difficult to move between gardens frequently if it involved relocating an entire family. George Young was head gardener at Audley End between 1826 and 1874, working there for an impressive forty-eight years.[45] Unusually, by the end of his career it is recorded that he was joint head gardener with John Bryan who was in charge of the kitchen gardens while Young managed the pleasure grounds.[46] It is possible that the role was split between two men as Young was reaching retirement age and on the retirement of Mr Young, Mr Bryan negotiated a new contract as sole head gardener at Audley End.[47] Young was like most head gardeners in that he was married and had children.[48] Roderick Floud states that marriage was a general requirement of head gardeners for their employers thus many undergardeners must have married.[49] An obituary written in 1882 following Young's death at the age of eighty-six shows him to have been a well-revered man as an "entertainment" scheduled to be given at Audley End was postponed "out of respect for the memory of the deceased".[50]

Gardeners worked closely with a range of estate craftsmen. Blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, and glaziers were required to repair and maintain the gardens by fixing tools, building walls, replacing panes of glass in conservatories, and repairing flues. It is likely that the head gardener liaised with various estate craftsmen to organise maintenance work and the head glazier, blacksmith, or bricklayer billed the land agent individually with the rest of their monthly tasks. The involvement of craftsmen is something that Floud's economic history of English gardens fails to explore but they were crucial to the upkeep of the garden's infrastructure. Further, he underestimates how busy the garden was, especially the kitchen

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[44] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', pp. 65-66
[45] `Saffron Walden', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 29 September 1882, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/EN3218156493/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=f61ad7c3> [accessed 8 February 2021]; William Cresswell recorded Mr. Young retiring in May 1874 in his diary: William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*, pp. 75 and 127
[46] William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*, p. 23
[47] William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*, p. 128
[48] `George William Young and Mary Ann Bax', *Essex Marriages and Banns, 1537-1939*, 1815 <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS%2FESSEX-MAR%2F0543497%2F1> [accessed 26 May 2021]; `Garden House', *England, Wales & Scotland Census (1841)* HO 107/837/20 <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBC%2F1841%2F0014563938> [accessed 25 May 2020]
[49] Floud, `The Working Gardener', p. 176
[50] `Saffron Walden'

garden where gardeners might be working in close proximity to craftsmen. In 1818 Audley End's glazier was undertaking significant work in the kitchen garden during the colder months.[51] In December alone they installed seventy individual pieces of glass in the glass houses, pine pits, and hand glasses.[52] For most days in December a man and boy were working in the kitchen garden repairing panes of glass.[53] Throughout the year bricklayers worked on a new flue in the hot house, building walls in the mushroom house, creating new growing pits, installing a new cistern and drain system, and white-washing walls.[54] Working in a country house garden required a great deal of collaboration with many different people with different skill sets. It is not clear how harmonious the experience for gardeners and craftsmen was, but it was necessary to make sure that the garden space functioned and remained presentable. The input of craftsmen with a range of skills was necessary for the creation and maintenance of gardens.

A final member of outdoor staff to be mentioned was the gamekeeper. The majority of his remit was the wider parkland and estate, but the gamekeeper deserves some recognition for his involvement in the gardens. The "Register of Vermin Killed" account at Belsay Hall shows how the gamekeeper's work overlapped with the domain of the gardeners.[55] Occasionally, vermin were caught and destroyed in areas such as the quarry garden, the nearby lake, and follies. These areas made up only a small proportion of the total vermin killed and unsurprisingly most of the vermin was found in the woods and other areas away from the mansion house.[56] There was a variety of problematic animals at the quarry. Between 1827 and 1840 the gamekeeper recorded six cats, three hawks, one weasel and eight owls, five of which were caught in one month.[57] The gamekeeper spent on average three days each year, usually during the summer months, in these areas so his impact would have been limited but the work he did is worth acknowledging. The gamekeeper as well as the separately hired molecatcher as discussed in the previous chapter worked to keep the areas free of vermin.

[51] ERO, D/DBy A76, Household and Estate Papers, 1818
[52] ERO, D/DBy A76/12, Household and Estate Papers, December 1818
[53] ERO, D/DBy A76/12, Household and Estate Papers, December 1818
[54] ERO, D/DBy A76, Household and Estate Papers, 1818
[55] NA, ZMI/S/7, Register of Vermin Killed, 1825-1846
[56] NA, ZMI/S/7, Register of Vermin Killed, 1825-1846
[57] NA, ZMI/S/7, Register of Vermin Killed, 1825-1846

The gamekeeper was often hired from outside the local area as his role was directly in conflict with the local community and was particularly hated by the poor.[58] His role was to protect the game he reared from poachers which could involve searching cottages for snares and nets, surveillance of local people in the alehouse, and reporting any illicit activity to the Justice of the Peace.[59] Despite the criminality of poaching, local people retained much sympathy for those who were caught as it tended to be the poorest and most vulnerable that resorted to this "publicly sanctioned crime".[60] Indeed, in the first half of the nineteenth century, poaching was rapidly increasing, rising faster than any other criminal activity.[61] This was a reflection of the increasing impoverishment of rural communities particularly in southern and eastern counties and, more generally, peaks in poaching coincided with periods of seasonal unemployment and food shortages.[62] Four men were tried at the Essex Quarter Sessions in 1821 having been caught by Audley End's gamekeeper and four others approaching Lord Braybrooke's woods armed with guns and bags.[63] The men were found not guilty of intent to kill and destroy pheasants as the area they were apprehended in yielded none, but the newspaper report described the gamekeeper as a brave and heroic man.

Working and Living in Country House Gardens

As for most working people of this period, gardeners were expected to work six days a week with Sundays off. Before March 1772, under the head gardener Thomas Pennystone, the garden account at Audley End included a daily record of the work completed by each gardener and garden labourer that worked in the gardens.[64] These records are invaluable in building a picture of what a typical working week, month, season, or year looked like for staff

[58] P B Munsche, `The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660-1830', *Journal of British Studies*, 20 (2) (Spring 1981), 82-105, p. 85
[59] Munsche, `The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society', p. 96
[60] John E Archer, `Poaching gangs and violence: the urban-rural divide in nineteenth-century Lancashire', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1) (1999), 25-38, p. 25
[61] Archer, `Poaching gangs and violence', p. 25
[62] Archer, `Poaching gangs and violence', p. 26
[63] `Essex Quarter Sessions', *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 18 May 1821, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/IS3245270554/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=3739f49d> [accessed 25 November 2020]
[64] In May 1772, a new head gardener, Charles Higgins, opted for a simpler, less descriptive record of work done in Audley End's gardens. ERO, D/DBy A30/3 and /5, Household and Estate Papers, March and May 1772

in the mid-eighteenth century. Usually, two gardeners were stationed in the kitchen garden every working day. In 1770, John Bitton and John Noon worked every single working day bar Christmas Day and on one other occasion Bitton was "out all day".[65] 1769 saw a few more absences such as when Noon spent two weeks in London, and six days at the end of June and beginning of July which he spent in the kitchen helping the cook.[66] Between 1766 and 1774 every Christmas that landed on a work day was taken off.[67] Occasionally someone was "sick and not here" but generally each man worked six days a week throughout the year. The records do not break down these working days into a set number of hours, but Roderick Floud estimates a typical working day was 6am to 6pm with breaks for breakfast and midday meal though the changing lengths of daylight hours throughout the year would undoubtedly have extended or shortened this estimate.[68]

The few secondary sources that discuss the working conditions of country house gardeners tend to focus on their exploitation, particularly in terms of housing and pay, and the absolute power of the head gardener.[69] Much of this has been based on the writings of J C Loudon in the mid-nineteenth century who nominally advocated for the better treatment of gardeners though he often discussed the means of controlling the moral character of gardeners. For example, he worried that gardeners would use the little spare time they had outside of work to socialise in the pub and become idle.[70] In his *Gardener's Magazine*, he encouraged landowners to provide the labourers with distractions such as study and their own garden in which to grow food.[71] Loudon's advice has been widely cited in garden histories as a normative text and his advice was not necessarily followed nor would it have been reflective of all lived experiences. We know that the gardeners at Belsay Hall and Audley End worked long hours and long weeks, but we do not yet know what they did in their limited spare time as diaries are rare sources. Thomas Challis' diary from the 1790s does not give any specifics of how he spent his Sundays away from work, however William Cresswell's diary from his

[65] ERO, D/DBy A28, Household and Estate Papers, 1770
[66] ERO, D/DBy A27, Household and Estate Papers, 1769
[67] In 1768 and 1774 Christmas Day was on a Sunday and no extra day off was given. ERO, D/DBy A24-A32, Household and Estate Papers, 1766-1774
[68] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 166
[69] Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening*, pp. 44-51; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 166-170; Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, 176
[70] Howard Lethlean, `Loudon's "Gardener's Magazine" and the Morality of Landscape', *Ecumene*, 4 (1) (1997), 86-107, p. 90
[71] Lethlean, `Loudon's "Gardener's Magazine"', p. 90

time at Audley End between 1873 and 1875 goes into more detail about his time spent out of work. It is likely that Challis had similar experiences to him such as going to church on Sundays and pursuing a courtship with a local girl.[72]

The work required in a country house garden changed over the year with the seasons. Even if the plants grown differed between years, the sowing, potting, planting, pruning, harvesting and ground preparation all occurred in annual cycles that determined the type of work completed by gardeners.[73] Thomas Challis' diary of his time as undergardener in Audley End's kitchen gardens covers two full years and shows a seasonal and cyclical pattern of work. The colder, winter months were mostly spent preparing the ground for planting and securing fruit trees for spring growing. Throughout spring he sowed vegetable seeds and tended young seedlings, then in the summer and autumn he spent much of his time gathering ripe fruits and harvesting potatoes and other vegetables fit for the landowner's table.[74] The kitchen garden especially had its cyclical rhythms and routines, but the wider garden similarly required seasonal maintenance. Bills from Audley End show distinct seasonal patterns in garden work. 1771 was a reasonably typical year after the period of intense garden building under Lancelot Brown had finished. During the winter months, gardeners and labourers swept snow off the house and cleared walks, filled the ice house from the frozen lake, and planted trees for spring growth. As the weather became warmer the focus was on mowing grass and hoeing the spring weeds that were appearing throughout the garden. Hoeing and mowing continued throughout the summer into October and other tasks included rolling lawns, raking gravel, cleaning the river and tending to flowers. The autumn and winter required sweeping leaves away and preparing the ground for planting in the next year. These seasonal tasks were undertaken every year and were part of the ongoing cyclical rhythms of work in country house gardens.

As outdoor staff, gardeners had to contend with the British weather, not only to care for the plants but also to work in it. It is shown in Audley End's bills that gardeners rarely took days off and so would have worked through the rain, snow, and heat of a year. In two years of Thomas Challis' diary at Audley End, he recorded "very whet day" five times without any

[72] William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*, pp. 17-18
[73] Brown and Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country-House Garden', p. 89
[74] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845

other information which implies that he was unable to do any of his work.[75] He may have completed "little odd jobs" like in November 1796 on a "snowy day". Perhaps on these wet days he simply did not record them, or he took this time that could not be spent outside to catch up on reading or updating his diary. If it was indeed the case that these wet days prevented him completing any work, they must have been extremely poor weather and Challis would have continued working in some quite miserable conditions throughout the rest of the year. Before 1850 most outdoor and agricultural workers wore sturdy leather shoes, breeches made of strong cloth or buckskin and a shirt over which was worn a large smock coat to protect the clothing from dirt that would offer some barrier to the elements.[76] In the bitterest of weathers a gardener could avoid damaging lawns or flowerbeds by working in the shelter of the glass house or other building. In February 1873, William Cresswell spent most of his working days in the greenhouses and vinery at Audley End. One day the ground was "covered with snow and continued to fall all day" whilst he potted geraniums and cleaned bedding plants in the conservatory.[77] No doubt earlier gardeners also made the most of the covered and heated environment in the winter months.

It has already been mentioned that reading and writing was considered essential to the self-improvement of gardeners, especially in the nineteenth century. Alongside their long working days, some may have chosen to use their evenings or Sundays after church on reading the latest articles in gardening periodicals or writing their own submissions. John Claudius Loudon was one of the most prolific publishers of gardening advice for the wider public and actively criticised institutions like the Horticultural Society of London for being too exclusive.[78] It was a competitive market and Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* (1826-1844) was soon being undercut by new publications, particularly Joseph Paxton's *Horticultural Register, and General Magazine* (1831-1836), selling for 1s. compared to Loudon's 2s. 6d.[79] William Grey, undergardener at Belsay Hall, was a confident writer and regularly had pieces published in the *Horticultural Register*. Gardening periodicals helped foster a virtual

[75] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[76] Jayne Shrimpton, *Fashion and Family History: Interpreting How Your Ancestors Dressed* (Yorkshire: Pen and Sword, 2020), pp. 48-51
[77] William Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*, p. 32
[78] Ray Desmond, `Victorian Gardening Magazines', *Garden History*, 5 (3) (Winter 1977), 47-66, p. 55
[79] Sarah Dewis, *The Loudons and the Gardening Press: A Victorian Cultural Industry* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75 and 33

community of gardeners who could share advice based on their practical experience, and also build a reputation which might help them secure future career advancement. William Grey was able to correspond with other gardeners via the publication of the *Horticultural Register*. In August 1833, Grey published his experiences with vines in pots, and in November he received two responses from separate gardeners. The most substantial was penned in September by Mr William Brown Jr. from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, and points Grey in the direction of an earlier article written by a Mr Stafford which he hoped would answer Grey's questions about successful cultivation of vines in pots and suggests where Grey might have gone wrong with his experiments.[80] The other response, from a J Smith, was printed in the general "queries and answers" section and he encouraged Grey to keep trying instead of "altogether relinquishing the method".[81] This supportive correspondent goes on to invite Grey to visit Derbyshire the following spring to observe his own vines in pots which would no doubt have "from fourteen to twenty bunches" on them.[82] In January 1835, at the end of a piece on canker in peach and nectarine trees, Grey wrote an unrelated post-script that read:

> *"P.S. I have a great number of Vines coiled in pots for the ensuing season, I will report my success through the Register."*[83]

Over a year after his initial articles to the magazine he believed the *Horticultural Register*'s readers would still be interested in his experiments with vines. Reading and writing was an opportunity to learn about gardening techniques as well as publishing one's credentials and successes.

Living in the country house garden was experienced differently depending on where in the garden hierarchy one fell. The apprentices and other young, unmarried undergardeners were housed in or near the kitchen garden in "bothies" well into the twentieth century.[84]

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[80] William Brown Jr., `On the Culture of Vines in Pots', *Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 2 (1833), 497-498

[81] J Smith, `Vines in Pots', *Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 2 (1833), 519

[82] Smith, `Vines in Pots', 519

[83] Grey, `On Canker in Peach and Nectarine Trees', p. 14

[84] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 167; Ikin, *The Victorian Gardener*, p. 30; Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', pp. 114-120; Dennis Mills and Victoria Thorpe, `Bothy Boys', *Lincolnshire Past & Present* 112 (2018) 13-18

These were commonly simple structures built on the north side of the kitchen garden walls or backing onto a glass house where growing conditions would be unfavourable. At Audley End, the bothy rooms still stand and are dressed for visitors to see. They were rebuilt in the early-nineteenth century and backed on to the vine house. Comfort or homeliness was not a priority for the living conditions of these young gardeners, and according to Roderick Floud, many found it an "exacting" experience.[85] Rosemary Clare Greener suggests that the living conditions were purposefully difficult in order to build character and produce hardy workers.[86] Bothies were cold, damp, dark and rather cramped though some might be lucky enough to have a hot pipe running through them like at Audley End. The adjoining vine house was heated with stoves and a pipe ran across the back of it through the bothy accommodation which would have generated some heat for the young gardeners and would have been a useful place to dry damp clothes. A woman was often employed to cook and clean for the residents of the bothy who were sometimes permitted to eat any surplus vegetables from the kitchen garden.[87] This extra help meant that basic care tasks of cooking and cleaning would not interfere too much with the gardeners' work tasks.[88] The living and indeed working conditions of young apprentices and undergardeners were physically difficult but some enjoyed the independence of living away from family and the strong masculine friendships that could be made.[89] Greener summarises the bothy as simply not a financial priority of landowners who were more concerned with the plants they grew.[90]

Young gardeners were highly mobile early in their career until they found the desired position as a head gardener when they were in a better situation to settle in one place, get married, and start a family. However, not every undergardener became a head gardener and so some must have married regardless of the position. They would take on short contracts of a couple of years or less before moving on to gain experience in different types of gardening either in private or commercial gardens.[91] It was rare to gain a promotion within the same

[85] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 168; Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening*, p. 49
[86] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 114
[87] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 168; Ikin, *The Victorian Gardener*, p. 30
[88] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 116
[89] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 119; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 171
[90] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 120
[91] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 166

garden, so mobility was crucial to progressing to higher status roles within gardening.[92] The example of George Young at Audley End is clear evidence of this. During his forty-eight-year tenure as head gardener, none of the staff below him in the hierarchy had any opportunity to progress their career without leaving Audley End. Thomas Challis' diary included a record of his different positions throughout his life. After completing his apprenticeship, he went on to work at ten different places before taking on his final position as head gardener at Standlynch Park, Wiltshire. Challis' life and career will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. It is far more difficult to track the careers of typical gardeners without a source like a diary.

Undergardener at Belsay Hall, William Grey, moved frequently between 1824 and 1849. His career path during these years has been illuminated through several sources that confirm his whereabouts in certain years, yet the data remains highly fragmentary. Grey's first day at Belsay Hall, according to the labourer's day book in the estate archive, was Friday 14th November 1824.[93] In 1827 he appears in a report in *Transactions of the Horticultural Society* about him winning a prize for lemons grown at Belsay.[94] His last day at Belsay was Saturday 10th November 1827 and he moved to Beaufront Castle, Hexham where he stayed for six years which is confirmed in three further articles he published.[95] In 1833 he moved from Beaufront to Shotley Grove, near Durham where he remained until the following year when he moved again to Scotswood, near Newcastle.[96] An article in *The Gardener's Magazine* in 1837 shows William Grey as gardener to Sir M W Ridley at Blagdon Hall, Northumberland.[97] By 1849 Grey had returned to Beaufront gardens, likely as head gardener, and was exhibiting prize winning roses, stove and greenhouse plants, heaths, calceolarias, and fuchsias in Hexham.[98] It seems that Grey never worked outside the North East and he does not appear in the 1851 census so it is possible that he died sometime between 1849 and 1851. His

[92] Greener, 'The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 24
[93] NA, ZMI/B49/6, Labourers Day Book, 1820-1827
[94] `List of Persons to whom the Banksian Medal has been presented'
[95] NA, ZMI/B49/7, Labourer's Day Book, 1827-1839; Grey, `On Canker in Peach and Nectarine Trees', p. 14; Grey, `On the Culture of the Orange'; Grey, `Remarks on the Vine in Pots'
[96] Grey, `On the Culture of Figs'; William Grey, `On the Culture of Vines', *The Horticultural Register, and General Magazine*, 3 (1834), 57-58
[97] William Grey, `Critical Remarks on the Pot Culture of the Grape Vine', *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement*, 13 (1837), 500-501
[98] `Flower Shows Etc.', *Newcastle Courant*, 20 July 1849, British Library Newspapers Online, <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/Y3206585774/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=95929315> [accessed 27 March 2023]

published writing has produced a detailed if not necessarily completely accurate timeline of his career across multiple gardens in the region.

For most undergardeners, their marriage prospects were limited until they could find a more permanent position as a head gardener. This was partly due to the characteristic mobility and subsequent instability of their living situations but there is evidence that being a married undergardener was a direct barrier to gaining work. Hours were long and many employers specifically requested single men to work so that they did not have priorities elsewhere, such as a wife and children.[99] An advertisement in Audley End's local newspaper in 1786 asked for "a single man, between twenty and forty years of age, who understands gardening".[100] It further made sense to wait to marry until you were a head gardener as you would be provided with a home in which to support your family. Thomas Challis decided he would marry Mary Jones whilst still in the relatively precarious position of undergardener but they did not have their first child until Challis was head gardener at Standlynch Park. They had a further five children together at that property. [101] Older gardeners had the most experience and knowledge yet were likely not as physically fit as their younger colleagues. For some, old gardeners were seen as a hindrance to progress as they were considered to be more set in their ways regarding gardening techniques.[102] In her thesis research covering the period 1841-1901, Rosemary Greener found over a thousand gardeners who lived over seventy years, many of whom were still working.[103] The lack of standardised pensions meant that for many, retiring from work also cost them their home.[104] It seems that if one was not a married head gardener, the life of a gardener was characterised by instability both in position and in living arrangements.

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[99] Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 65

[100] `Advertisement and Notices', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 7 April 1786, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/IG3217958052/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=594253b6> [accessed 20 May 2021]

[101] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845; `Mary Anne Challis', *England Births & Baptisms, 1538-1975*, 26 July 1812 <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=R_934173949> [accessed 20 May 2021]

[102] Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 91

[103] Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', pp. 90 and 307

[104] Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 90; Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, pp. 174-175

At the top of the hierarchy, a head gardener could expect to live comfortably in his own house with his family. Both Belsay Hall and Audley End had a house near the kitchen gardens which was the residence of the head gardener. They would have been considerably more comfortable than the bothies and money and time was spent on their upkeep. Bills for works to the "Garden House" at Audley End in 1818 show that the house received repairs to the walls and floors of a parlour, scullery, pantry, seed room, and a new sink.[105] George Young lived in that house for nearly five decades and it was also the place in which he welcomed four children and lived with his wife of fifty-nine years, at time of retirement.[106] The surviving gardener's house at Audley End was not built until 1875 however the previous house was likely on the same site.[107] A head gardener and his family might also be joined by a younger, unmarried member of the garden staff as a lodger. At Belsay Hall, the census tells us that in 1841 head gardener Bartholomew Hepple lived with his wife and granddaughter, both called Margaret, his son John, a fellow gardener, and an undergardener, Alexander McDonald.[108] McDonald was around twenty-five years old at the time, five years older than John Hepple. Bartholomew and his family were still in residence there in 1851 but McDonald had been replaced by another "journeyman gardener" called Robert Dobson.[109] Dobson was recorded as "servant" to the household so was likely also bringing in more income for the family.

At the end of a gardener's career, he had to decide, or may have been forced, to retire from the garden. George Young had been head gardener at Audley End for an impressive forty-eight years on account of "his health [being] so good" and retired at the age of seventy-eight.[110] Young's obituary in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* explained that he had been "in receipt of a liberal pension granted by his lordship" and moved to "Rose Villa" in the nearby town of Saffron Walden for the last eight years of his life.[111] The 1881 census for Rose Villa recorded George Young as a "retired gardener" alongside his daughter Alison Smith and Eliza Havers, a

[105] ERO, D/DBy A76, Estate Paper, 1818
[106] `George William Young and Mary Ann Bax'
[107] Magnus Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation: Audley End, Essex* (Swindon: Historic England, 2015), p. 192
[108] `Garden House', *England, Wales & Scotland Census (1841)*
[109] `Garden House', *England, Wales & Scotland Census (1851)* HO 107/2413 <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBC%2F1851%2F0016330716> [accessed 25 May 2021]
[110] `Saffron Walden'
[111] `Saffron Walden'

widow and housekeeper.[112] For some, however, retirement or sickness meant the loss of their housing as well as their income if the house was tied in with their employment contract.[113] The emergence of the Gardeners Benevolent Institution in 1839, specifically established to support "the aged and indigent" gardeners and their widows, shows that there was an extant issue of poor retirement relief.[114] By the second anniversary of the fund it had royal patronage and by 1848, a newspaper reported on a committee meeting in which subscribers were congratulated for the continued growth of the institution, "the funded stock having increased to £1,850, and there being thirty-four pensioners receiving annuities".[115] The men were given £16. per annum and the women received £12.[116] Although relief was available it was difficult to access. Rosemary Greener explains that a gardener could be placed on the pension list "if of good character and incapacitated from work" and only if he had paid one guinea a year for fifteen years, could he receive a pension for the rest of his life.[117] Thus gardeners still relied heavily on the landowner to offer them accommodation, relocated to live with family, or were forced to enter the workhouse like other professions that relied on tied housing.[118]

[112] It is not clear whether the two ladies were residents of the house or visitors. `Rose Villa', *England, Wales & Scotland Census (1881)*, RG11/1819 <https://www-findmypast-co-uk.mmu.idm.oclc.org/transcript?id=GBC%2F1881%2F0008440740> [accessed 15 November 2022]
[113] Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, p. 172
[114] Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening*, p. 48; `Multiple News Items', *Standard*, 18 January 1839, British Library Newspapers Online, < https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3212151690/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=d244dd5b> [accessed 26 May 2021]
[115] `Money Market and City News', *Morning Post*, 22 January 1841, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3209971527/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=7e009e9b> [accessed 26 May 2021]; `The Revenue', *Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper*, 9 July 1848, British Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/BC3206192338/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=b319a362> [accessed 26 May 2021]
[116] `The Revenue'
[117] Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 93
[118] Jones, *Servants of the Lord*, p. 176

Thomas Challis (1777-1845), Undergardener at Audley End

Historic garden diaries have inspired academics and the public for many years and a handful of transcriptions have been studied or are available to buy in bookshops.[119] They come from a range of authors including leisured and professional gardeners, though surviving diaries of working gardeners from before 1800 are rare. John Claudius Loudon gave specific advice on the matter of a young gardener's written education in his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1824). Loudon dedicated several points to instructing young gardeners on the importance of retaining the vast amount of information, facts, numerical data, as well as the Latin and Greek names of plants.[120] Keeping a diary was central to this end. Thomas Challis' diary demonstrates that these ideas existed long before Loudon was publishing information about it. Challis was a young gardener at Audley End when he started recording his work in his diary. The diary dates from the beginning of his apprenticeship, but the bulk of the working diary was kept between 1795 and 1798 when he was working in Audley End's kitchen gardens. In this section of the diary, he recorded his daily tasks such as pruning, potting, or picking the wide variety of fruits and vegetables he tended to. The rest of the diary includes a number of recipes, copied advice, and autobiographical information as was typical of commonplace books of the time [Fig. 2.1 and 2.2].[121] This is a fascinating source recently acquired by English Heritage and has received minimal scholarly attention outside of this thesis. This detailed case study explores some of the themes drawn out in this chapter through the pages of Challis' diary.

Thomas Challis was born in October 1777 at Kirtling, Cambridgeshire.[122] Aged fourteen, Challis left home to live and train as an apprentice gardener under Mr Mail at Cheveley Park,

[119] Particularly popular are Robert Aughtie's diary from 1840s Chatsworth and William Cresswell's diary from 1870s Audley End; Academic attention on garden diaries include: Donna Canada-Smith, `Diary of a Scotch Gardener: Thomas Blaikie, Travel Writing and the construction of Monceau and Bagatelle, *Word and Image Interactions*, 9 (2019), 133–148; P K Stembridge, `Thomas Goldney's Garden: An Eighteenth-Century Garden Notebook', *Garden History*, 44 (2) (Winter 2016), 209-239; Susan Campbell, `"Sowed for Mr C.D": The Darwin Family's Garden Diary for The Mount, Shrewsbury, 1836-65', *Garden History*, 37, (2) (2009), 135-150; Tanfer Emin Tunc, `Martha Turnbull's Garden Diary: Unearthing the Domestic Sphere at Rosedown Plantation, *Home Cultures*, 14 (2) (2017), 167-191

[120] J C Loudon, `Education of Gardeners', in *Encyclopaedia of Gardening: comprising the theory and practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture and Landscape-Gardening, including all of the latest improvements; a general history of gardening in all countries; and a statistical view of its present state, with suggestions for its future progress in the British Isles* (London: Longman, 1824), pp. 1139-1146, p. 1140

[121] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 119-120

[122] Kirtling is just over sixteen miles from Audley End

near Newmarket. In the summer of 1795, he had completed his apprenticeship and took a position as undergardener at Audley End where he stayed until Spring 1798. Between 1798 and 1810 Challis was employed at nine different establishments, four of which were nurseries in and around London. In 1810 he took his final position as head gardener at Standlynch Park, Wiltshire which eventually came to be gifted to Lord Nelson's family and was occupied by Nelson's brother.[123] This biographical detail of his career is outlined at the very front of the diary, added to throughout his life as his circumstances changed. Eventually he ran out of the space he had allotted to this section and had to insert an extra leaf to complete the list.

Written from the back, is a summary of personal life events, some of which were recorded by his son after his death in 1845. This shows a life full of joys and sorrows, particularly a great deal of bereavement. Whilst at Audley End his older sister died shortly after her twenty-fifth birthday. Between 1799 and 1801 he lost two more sisters aged twenty-five and a half and twenty years and eight months, his mother aged fifty-seven, and an uncle [Fig. 2.1]. He married Mary Jones, a woman from Llandyrnog, North Wales, in 1805 at St George's Church, Hanover Square, London. This was an area of London inhabited by the fashionable upper classes, Challis' employer at the time had a residence in St James', Westminster only half a mile away which he likely travelled to while the family spent the social season in London.[124] It is likely that Mary's employer resided in St George's, Hanover Square. In total they had six children, five of which survived infancy. Challis wrote of his daughter's death:

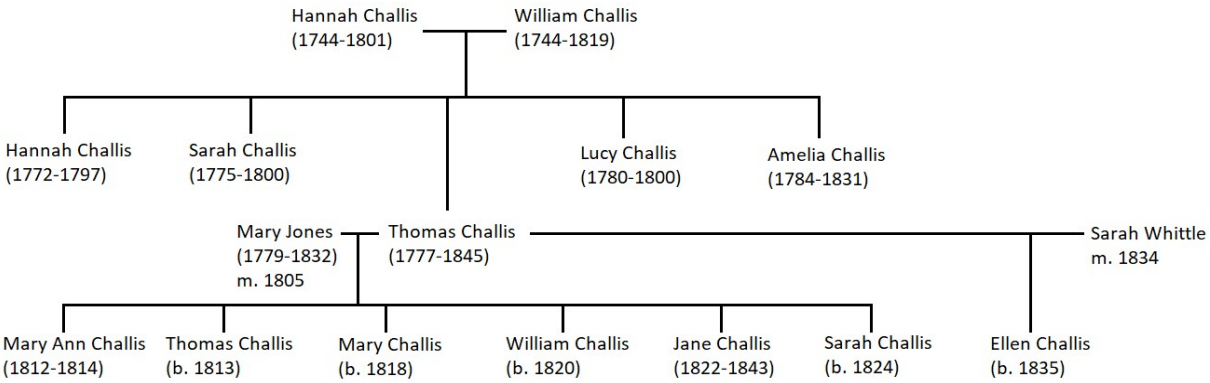
> *"Mary Ann, Daughter to Thomas & Mary Challis, Died January 21st, 1814, Aged one year, 6 months 21 days & buried at Downton the 24 of January, at the west end of the church in the New burien [sic.] ground and a rail is there Erected over her to her Memory".*

Jane, their fifth child died in 1843 aged twenty years and nine months and was buried alongside her mother who had died in 1830. Two years after Mary's death in 1832 Thomas remarried a local widow and they had one daughter together. Thomas Challis had an eye for detail, recording specific dates of life events and the lives of his loved ones to the number of

[123] Standlynch Park is now known as Trafalgar Park

[124] `Richard Neville and Jane Cornwallis', *Westminster Marriages*, 1819 <https://www-findmypast-co-uk.mmu.idm.oclc.org/transcript?id=GBPRS%2FM%2F492289042%2F1> [accessed 16 November 2022]

days they lived. This kind of family chronicling was typical of the time, often recorded in family bibles, and was part of a family's heritage.[125]



[Figure 2.1: Thomas Challis' family tree built from information in his diary and official records]

The diary gives us a lot of valuable information about Thomas' working life. His detailed record-keeping allows us to explore the day-to-day work performed by a trainee gardener. Following the daily records of his tasks in Audley End's kitchen gardens it includes a range of learned information, some based on personal experiences, some taught by colleagues, and some copied from published works [Fig. 2.2]. The diary is a professional ledger and does not mention anything about his interests outside of work or his social life. The later diaries of William Cresswell and Robert Aughtie from the mid to late-nineteenth century in contrast record their activities in their spare time, their friendly and romantic relationships, and what they spent their wages on.[126] It seems that Challis' diary was a compilation of various separate pieces of writing, perhaps a best-copy. This may be one of the reasons behind its survival. One example that supports the idea of its being a best copy is that the work done in the kitchen gardens at Audley End was recorded separately to the work done at the melon ground. The dates of each overlap and while most of his time was spent in the kitchen

[125] Harvey, *The Little Republic*, p. 119; Elizabeth James, `Heritage and Identity: The Cockayne Family Bible', *The Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review* (Spring 2016), 34-38, p. 37
[126] Harley and Harley, *A Gardener at Chatsworth: Three years in the life of Robert Aughtie*, Cresswell, *Diary of a Victorian Gardener*

garden, he worked around ten days at the melon ground each month. In the diary however, these areas of work have been separated and Challis copied out his work at the melon ground in full before restarting the chronology of his work in the kitchen garden. There is also an error by which two months are confused. Friday 25th of November 1796 is recorded as "Sunday and Christmas Day". Christmas Day 1796 was indeed a Sunday, and this record of "November" is followed immediately by January 1797. This example may be evidence of copying from a separate document that may have been taken out into the garden and as such got dirty and worn over time. The act of copying was also a way of digesting the content and would be an aide to memory.[127] Generally, the book is neatly presented and has survived in good, clean condition. Challis had clear handwriting and some inconsistencies in spelling but overall, it is highly legible [Fig. 2.3].[128]

Challis' career progression aligns with what historians might expect for a professional gardener at the turn of the nineteenth century. His apprenticeship at Cheveley Park lasted two years and four months, a similar length to his subsequent employment at Audley End. The frequent mobility between workplaces was an important part of a young gardener's training as it offered them experience of different scales of gardening, different soil and weather conditions.[129] It was also the best way to seek out better positions as the turnover of the most senior gardeners was significantly slower.[130] At Audley End, Challis was paid in line with the other undergardeners at the property.[131] Challis also moved freely between commercial nurseries and private properties which was not uncommon.[132] John Harvey explains that a clear delineation between nurserymen and gardeners is problematic as individuals frequently "moved from one side to the other".[133] Challis seems to have utilised

[127] E J Monaghan, `Family Literacy in early 18th-century Boston: Cotton Mather and his children', *Reading Research Quarterly* 26, 4 (1991), 342-370, p. 350

[128] His spelling of certain plants may have been correct for the time but there are multiple spellings of the same word in different parts of the document. For example, broccoli is spelt three different ways: "brocolei", "brocoli", and "brocly".

[129] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 166

[130] Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 56

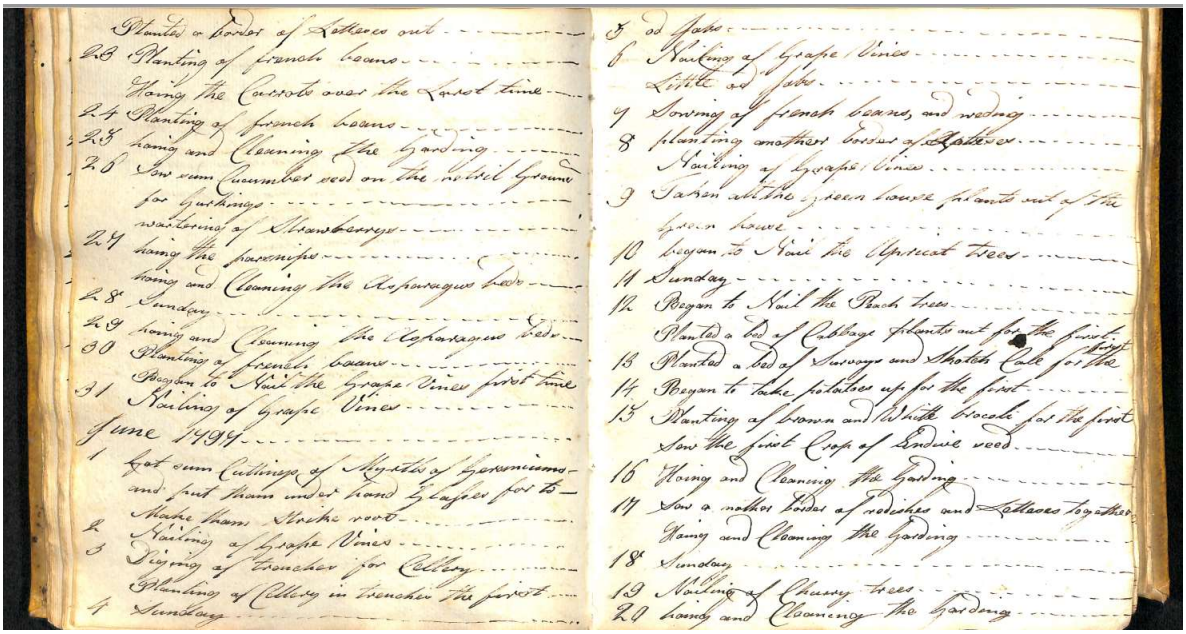
[131] When living off-site he received the standard 1s. 4d. but was occasionally boarded and paid lower board wages. ERO, D/DBy A54, Household and Estate Papers, 1797

[132] He had placements at eight different private gardens and four different nurseries. At one nursery he had two separate employment periods; Greener, `The Rise of the Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon', p. 275

[133] John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore, 1974), p. 92

- Biographical details of his career between 1792 and 1835. His and his first wife's birth dates.
- Work done at Audley End first at the melon ground. This was seasonal work completed between December and June each year involving around 7-8 days spread out across each month. December 1795 to February 1798.
- Work done at Audley End's kitchen gardens. This section fills sixty pages of the document and is dated daily. January 1796 to February 1798.
- Receipt for making black ink.
- Receipt for making gooseberry vinegar.
- A direct copy of the first 190 pages of William Speechly's Treatise on the culture of the Vine (1790).
- Some personal observations on the cultivation of potatoes.
- A recipe for dealing with red spiders in houses on peaches.
- On the management of the pine apple plants at William Goslings Esq. by Mr Turner, Gardener, 1803. There are also some small entries in the same style about orange trees and potatoes though it is mostly related to pine plants. Challis worked under Mr Turner at this property from April 1803 to September 1804.
- Observation on planting of 1 acre of ground from 1-foot distance square to 12 feet. Numerical data recorded.
- On Keeping of Peach and Nectarine trees in houses during the time they are in forcing free from insects and the benefit the bloom and young fruit receive thereby.
- Work done at the Portman Nursery. Dated 1809. Some specific days mentioned some months mentioned.
- A method from an old gardener for the management of forcing peaches and nectarines and the sorts he recommended.
- A receipt for the white sealy insects on pines (insecticide).
- On planting potatoes in the field.
- A recipe for making mead.
- On the management of the Lewsine(?).
- Receipt for curing the itch.
- Receipt for making elder wine.
- Receipt for current wine.
- Receipt for parsnip wine.
- Receipt for English champagne.
- There are then multiple pages ripped out. It is unclear whether anything was written on these pages before they were removed or when this removal occurred.
- The writing then begins from the back (upside down). This gives biographical detail of life events. This includes births, deaths, and marriages.
- A short memorandum by Thomas Challis (junior) recalling his career and the situation of his father's death. He takes over at Standlynch Park, Wiltshire in his father's place.
- The very last page is a diagram of two cross sections of greenhouses.

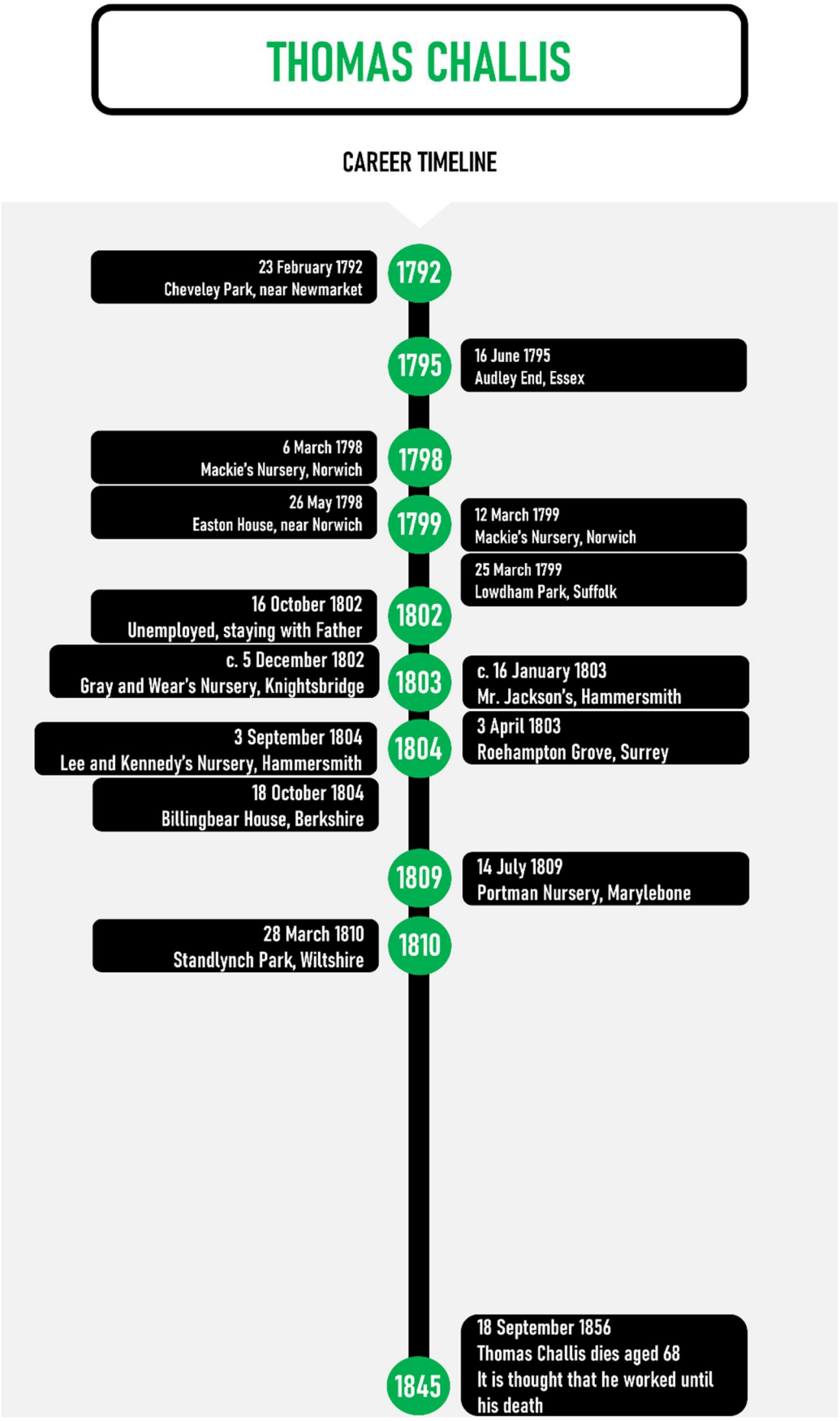
[Figure 2.2: The contents of Challis' diary]



[Figure 2.3: A typical double page spread of Challis' record of work done at Audley End]

nurseries as stepping stones between longer periods of employment in private gardens. For example, Mackie's nursery was only around four miles from Easton House and Challis worked at Mackie's both before and after his time at Easton. All of his work at nurseries was short-term in comparison to his work in private gardens. However, that is not to position nursery work as unimportant. It remained an opportunity to learn about different scales and techniques of horticulture and interact with different kinds of plants. Challis eventually became a head gardener at Standlynch Park, Wiltshire at the age of thirty-two where he lived out the rest of his career and life [Fig. 2.4].

Challis' position as undergardener at Audley End would have been a great education for any young gardener. There was opportunity to handle many different plants in a range of environments and gardening conditions. The glass vine house, the rose house and tan pool, the mushroom house, and the various dung-heated hot-beds each required different techniques of growing and further knowledge of horticulture. He worked with more than fifty edible plants, from gooseberries to turnips and melons to celery, alongside many varieties of flowers, tools, and equipment. A similar apprenticeship scheme still exists at Audley End today as part of the Historic & Botanic Garden Training Programme in which



[Figure 2.4: Thomas Challis' career path]

trainees interact with a wide variety of plants and gain practical skills in cultivation, pruning, propagation, and machinery.[134]

In order to visualise which plants Challis worked with most and how seasonal the tasks were, Figures 2.5 and 2.6 show two heatmaps based on data collected from Challis' work record at Audley End. Figure 2.5 shows the frequency of tasks mentioned and grouped into seasons based on the Met Office's definition of the meteorological seasons.[135] It is of no surprise that the work Challis completed varied seasonally with planting and harvesting certain plants happening at the same time each year. Spring was characterised by preparation for the growing season. Sowing (73 mentions), potting (15 mentions), preparing the ground and planting (38 and 31 mentions, respectively) were the most common jobs for Challis in this season. During the summer, planting remained the second most frequent job and sowing and preparing the ground remained common (13 mentions each). However, the task of managing the fruit trees and vines took up most of Challis' time. He only weeded twice in the spring and once in the summer, though this would not have been for lack of weeds but that the job of weeding was given to less experienced garden staff, particularly women.

By autumn, the plants sowed in the spring were ready for harvesting which was Challis' most frequent task. There was still a good amount of planting, preparing the ground, and potting to be done but on a lesser scale than in the spring. He was also engaged in cleaning the garden, likely due to more leaves and mud in the garden as the weather got cooler and wetter. Unlike the spring and summer, Challis began forcing plants in the autumn and winter so that the plants could be harvested outside their usual season. By the winter, the biannual task of nailing and training the fruit trees and vines was the primary job for Challis with 40 mentions and a further 15 and 4 mentions each for the cutting and staking of fruit trees. The amount of time spent sowing increased again in the winter after a low period in the autumn and preparation of the ground for spring planting was the second most frequent winter task.

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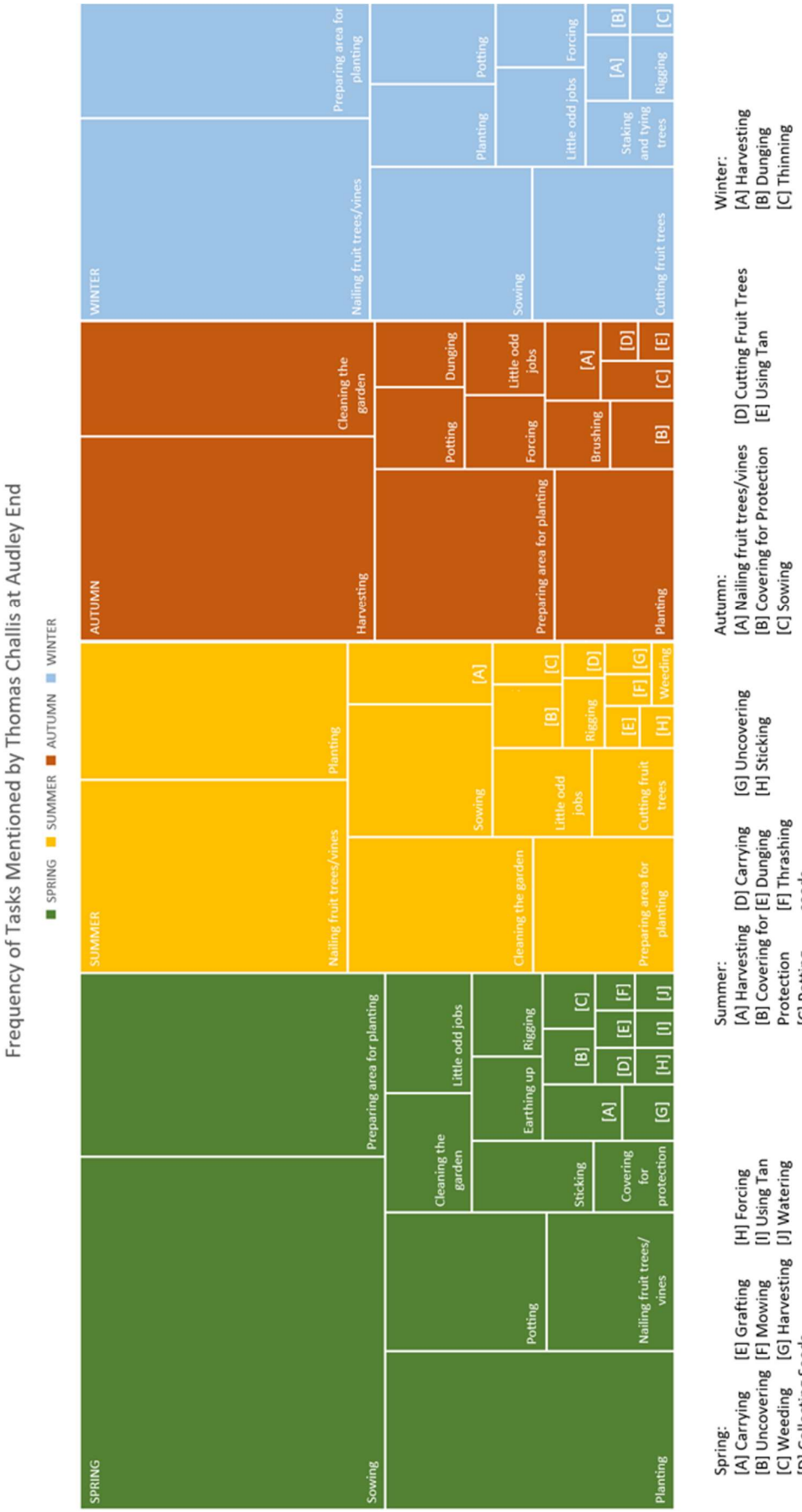
[134] Historic & Botanic Garden Training Programme, *English Heritage*, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/jobs/working-at-gardens/historic-botanic-garden-training-programme-hbgtp/> [accessed 18 May 2023]; HBG Training Programme, *Historic and Botanic Garden Training Programme*, < https://hbgtp.org.uk/> [accessed 18 May 2023]

[135] Spring: March, April, May. Summer: June, July, August. Autumn: September, October, November. Winter: December, January, February. Met Office, `When does Summer Start?' <https://www.metoffice.gov.uk/weather/learn-about/weather/seasons/summer/when-does-summer-start> [accessed 16 November 2022]

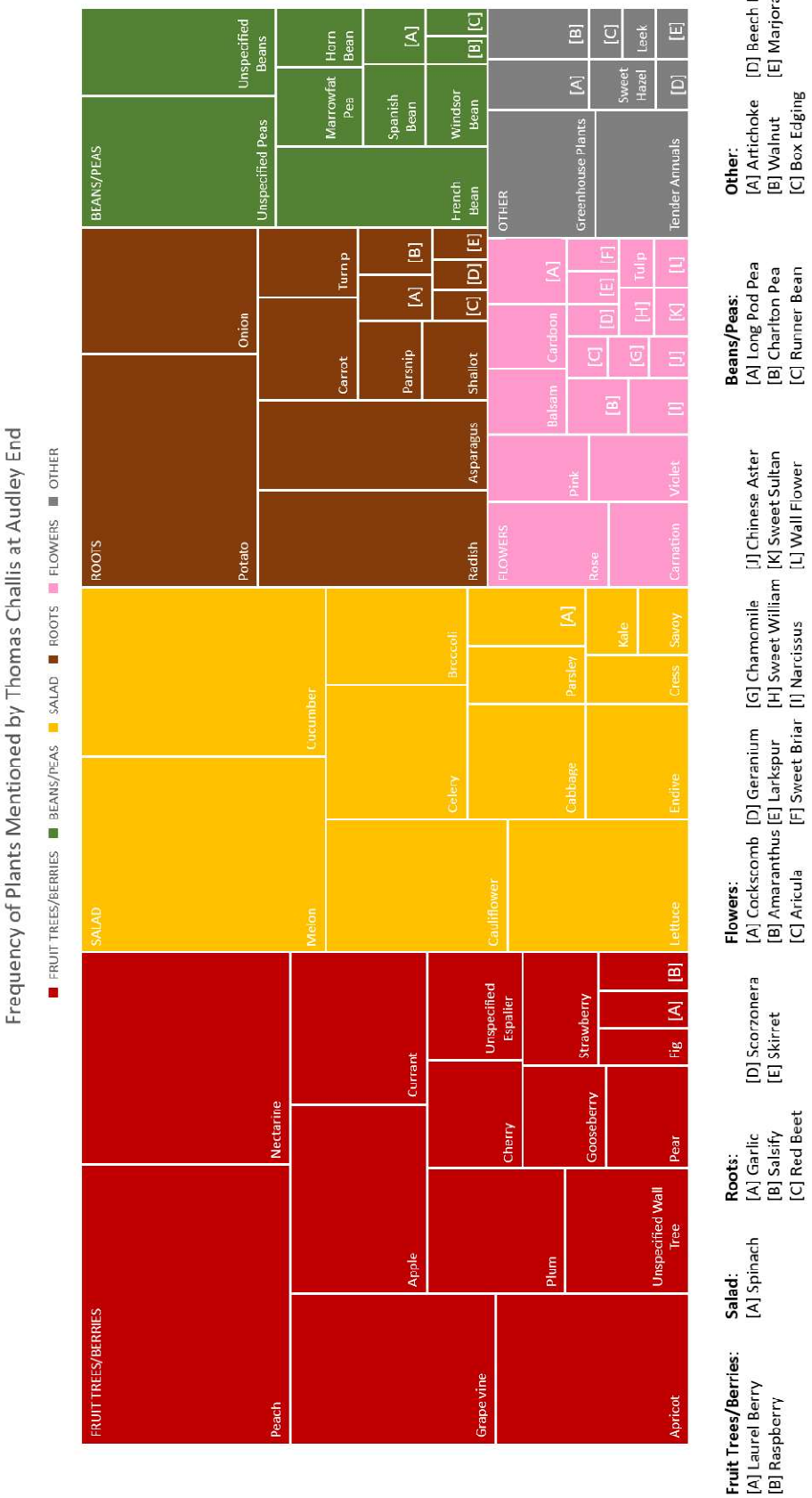


[Figure 2.5: Frequency of tasks mentioned by Thomas Challis at Audley End]

The amount of time Challis devoted to completing "little odd jobs" remained relatively stable throughout ranging from four days in the winter, six in the summer and autumn, and seven in the spring. "Little odd jobs" is seemingly the only shorthand he used. Usually, the tasks he completed were itemised, and he might list around one to six tasks a day. Some jobs like harvesting and preparing the ground occurred all year round and it was common that early and late varieties of vegetables would be planted to prolong the harvesting season. Some tasks were more time-consuming than others. On 29th March 1797 he sowed nine different crops of plants including salsify, cabbages, broccoli, and celery. Sowing was undoubtedly a quicker task than harvesting as by October, gathering the apples, and taking up the potatoes was completed almost every day for a month. The great variety of tasks Challis was assigned shows how much knowledge an individual gardener could, and indeed should, acquire through the early stages of his career. This differs from his later work at Portman Nursery where, in 1809, Challis dealt with vast quantities of seeds, cuttings and young plants. For example, he sowed six thousand pots of mignonette in under a fortnight making for repetitive work.[136]

Figure 2.6 shows the frequency of plants mentioned which have been categorised in line with the organisation of nursery catalogues in the eighteenth-century, particularly a catalogue from Stephen Garraway's nursery c. 1770 that was published by John Harvey in his book *Early Gardening Catalogues* (1972).[137] For this reason the melon is classified as a "salad" and some plants that do not appear in Garraway's catalogued have been grouped as "other". The fruits, vegetables, salads, and flowers that Challis recorded in his diary are typical for a large kitchen garden of the late-eighteenth century. The stone fruit particularly peaches, nectarines, and apricots were some of the more labour-intensive plants for Challis as reflected in Figure 2.5. The sheer range of plants grown meant that the kitchens at Audley End had a constant and varied supply of foods to cook with. The multiple varieties of beans and peas could be chosen for their unique properties. Further, the different flowers grown in the kitchen garden brought colour to the space as well as the home when they were cut for

[136] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845: 21st August to 7th September 1809
[137] John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues, with complete reprints of lists and accounts of the 16th-19th centuries* (London: Phillimore, 1972), p. 116 insert



[Figure 2.6: Frequency of plants mentioned by Thomas Challis at Audley End]

bouquets and flower arrangements in vases to be displayed indoors. What makes his diary so useful for knowing what kinds of plants grew in Audley End's kitchen garden is that it highlights plants that do not appear in other accounts. For the most part, the plants that Challis worked with over the year reflected what plants and seeds were being purchased from Mackie's nursery in 1818. The diary, however, adds depth to our understanding of plants grown in kitchen gardens where bills of garden seeds from nurseries only record the plants that needed replacing seasonally or annually. Challis' diary illuminates the importance of long-standing trees that produced fruit over many years.

The record of his work at Audley End offers little indication of his working relationships with colleagues, superiors, or with external businesses. The wider notebook does give some evidence of his respect for the men he worked under or who were more experienced than him. Firstly, in his employment record he often recorded the head gardener (or nurseryman) he was overseen by. At Cheveley he worked under Mr Mail, and at Hammersmith he was under a Mr Mackdonald. Similarly, Challis recorded advice given to him by others. The first section of advice given explicitly by a superior colleague is titled "On the management of the pine apple plants at William Gosling's Esq. by Mr Turner, Gardener, 1803".[138] The seven pages filled with Mr Turner's advice includes practical information about preparing the soil, watering, and heating the plants as well as some shorter sections about grape vines and orange trees. The second piece of recorded advice specifically from a colleague is on the forcing of peaches and nectarines and the sorts of varieties he recommended. The presenter of this recommendation was an unnamed "old gardener", and the advice covers maintenance of these trees throughout the year, noting when to introduce artificial heat and why a tree might produce unsatisfactory fruit. The expertise of the seasoned gardener was clearly a valued source of information that should be recorded to aid his own memory and refer back to if needed. By the 1820s, Loudon encouraged gardeners to learn their trade chiefly from books, however, realistically a great deal of learning was done by observing and recording advice from colleagues in person.[139] Challis showed respect to those more experienced than himself by not only taking on their advice but preserving their words in his personal notebook so that he could access it for the rest of his career.

[138] Challis worked "under Mr. Turner the Gardener" for a year and 5 months
[139] Loudon, `Education of Gardeners', p. 1139

This document has been invaluable in understanding the professional life of a typical young gardener at the turn of the eighteenth century. But what can this source tell us about Challis' personality? As mentioned, Challis did not use this document to record his social life or recreation activities. However, the information he did choose to save in his diary may reflect his professional interests. A substantial feature of this diary is a direct copy of William Speechly's *Treatise on the culture of the Vine* (1790), a book he likely borrowed from a head gardener. It is not clear when the copy was made but it is likely this content aligned with a personal and professional interest in managing vines as it would have taken a significant amount of time to complete. Similarly, it meant he could take that knowledge with him from job to job without having to purchase a large, printed volume. Challis also recorded many recipes for making insecticides, medicine, and various alcoholic drinks. These may have been collected from colleagues, friends or by personal experimentation with materials available to him. Sandra Sherman's article on domestic recipes housed in the Wellcome Institute argues that collecting recipes from trusted sources was an important aspect of community.[140] The manuscript is deemed reliable because of the connection between compiler and their knowledgeable community and because these recipes are not for commercial purposes, the compiler and any future reader is protected from profiteers.[141] Challis' diary was a useful aide memoir for himself as well as being a trusted source for future readers.

External Garden Businesses and their Commercial Operations

Commercial expertise was called upon for advice on garden design, the latest trends in planting and for the supply of seeds, plants, and tools. Nurserymen and designers were fundamental to the final look of any large garden and for early eighteenth-century nurserymen these remits substantially overlapped.[142] George London and Henry Wise, for example, were nurserymen at Brompton Park in London but were also prolific designers who championed the formal style of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[143] Even

[140] Sandra Sherman, `Printed Communities: Domestic Management Texts in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 3 (2) (2003), 36-67, p. 37
[141] Sherman, `Printed Communities', p. 37
[142] Kathleen Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us: the roles and influence of the nursery trade on the landscapes and gardens of the eighteenth century', *Garden History* 40 (1) (Summer, 2012), 17-33
[143] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 103

as the two professions of nurseryman and designer diverged each could still advise on the other with nurserymen giving advice about design choices and designers advising on species of trees or decorative shrubs.[144] This section highlights the work and personalities of those that were employed within the nursery trade and the work of Lancelot "Capability" Brown at Audley End and his wider business. Other designers contributed to the gardens at Audley End but there is less evidence of their work there in the archive. Belsay Hall does not have any known connection to a professional designer, though there does survive an unexecuted plan created in 1792 by a Mr Robson who remains elusive.[145] Following Sir Charles Monck's succession, his interest in horticulture and garden design likely meant he did not feel the need to engage a professional garden designer though he may have consulted with nurserymen or his head gardener. These differences of approach to garden design are a useful comparison for how an individual landowner might redesign his gardens. Overall, this section deals with the ways garden businesses operated as commercial firms.

In the development of the nursery trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a distinction between London-based and provincial nurseries. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, much of the nursery trade was based in London which became the centre of fashionable plant growing due to its proximity to the royal court, Parliament, the London season, the influx of exotic plants into the city through the port of London and the botanical gardens at Kew.[146] London firms could sell their wares to the fashionable elites from across the country during the annual London Season and word-of-mouth could get their names to the furthest estates in England.[147] Sir Charles Monck occasionally visited London nurseries when he was residing in London as well as visiting the Horticultural Society's garden at Chiswick. In 1821 he visited Lee and Kennedy's nursery, the Vineyard Nursery and purchased two trees for 5s. each. In 1824, Monck visited Mr Thompson's nursery at Mile End, near London, which exhibited "four or five trees of *Salisburia Adiantifolia*, one of which is extraordinary [sic.] fine".[148] However, the accounts at both

[144] Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us', p. 25; F Nigel Hepper, `The Cultivation of The Cedar of Lebanon in Western European Parks and Gardens from the 17th to the 19th Century', *Arboricultural Journal*, 25 (3) (2001), 197-219, p. 210
[145] NA, ZMI/S/69/1, "A design for the improvement of the grounds about Belsay Castle" by J. Robson, 1792
[146] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 135; Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us', p. 18
[147] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 135
[148] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special reference to horticultural practices, 1815-1836

Belsay Hall and Audley End show that they relied more heavily on provincial nurseries, particularly for the more routine purchases of kitchen garden seeds. As discussed in the previous chapter, delivery was an extra expense that was taken into account and so firms that were in closer proximity to the estate or could provide more efficient delivery were favourable for less specialised plants and seeds.[149] The flourishing of the provincial nursery trade occurred from around 1750, and many firms were large and influential such as Falla & Sons in Gateshead and the Norwich Nursery, also known as Mackie's Nursery. Despite being in competition with each other, particularly for the custom of country landowners, both provincial and London nurserymen traded with each other. John Harvey notes that provincial firms stocked their businesses with exotic plants bought from London and London firms relied on smaller growers who specialised in particular varieties of common plants.[150]

John Harvey states that, before the mid-seventeenth century, nursery gardening was a by-occupation rather than a full-time trade.[151] These early horticultural businesses were more generalised compared to later periods where some businesses specialised in particular plants as a way to make their name in an expanding market.[152] In the second half of the eighteenth century the new informal pleasure grounds of the upper classes needed furnishing with seeds, plants, and trees "on demand on a scale hitherto not seen".[153] Large provincial firms such as Mackie's nursery, Norwich and Falla & co. based in Gateshead were the preferred suppliers of Audley End and Belsay Hall respectively for extended periods of time. They appear in estate records, usually settling accounts at regular intervals of a year and surviving receipts show multiple orders a year that aligned with growing seasons.[154] One could visit nurseries in person to browse or purchase plants and be shown around by members of staff. Further, it was common to order plants by mail after consulting a catalogue of stock.

[149] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries'
[150] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. x
[151] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 4
[152] Clark, `What the Nurserymen Did For Us', p. 28; Malcolm Thick, `Garden seeds in England before the late eighteenth century – II, the trade in seeds to 1760', *Agricultural History Review* 38 (2) (1990), 105-116, p. 109
[153] Thick, `Garden seeds in England', p. 114
[154] NA, ZMI/B36/20, Cash Book no. 6, 1809-1815; ERO, D/DBy A82/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1824; ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Household and Estate Papers, July 1818

It was a common business format for a nursery to be run by a family and pass down responsibility to sons or nephews, hopefully, for many generations.[155] Many entrepreneurs formed family businesses, organising their firms around the loyalty, labour, expertise, and resources of relatives.[156] This was the case at both Falla's nursery in Gateshead and the Norwich Nursery. In the North East, the elder William Falla took over an existing nursery in 1781 which had been established by George Dale in 1734.[157] William soon shared the running of the business with his son, another William Falla, who took over sole ownership on the death of his father in 1804.[158] In 1830 a third generation, and third William Falla inherited the business until its bankruptcy six years later.[159] Individual personalities and domestic family affairs meant that this kind of generational inheritance could be complicated and potentially unsuccessful. Sometimes, sons were not interested in carrying on in the family business or had not inherited the management skills necessary for that position.[160] In the case of Falla & co. the second William Falla oversaw something of a golden age in the business between 1804 and 1830. According to John Harvey, William Falla (II) had fine-tuned his father's business methods and had gained some lucrative contracts as well as investing in new machinery and expanding the acreage of the nursery.[161] Under the third William Falla, the company fell into financial difficulties, potentially due to mismanagement and personal expensive tastes, and the large rent for their premises became a severe burden. In 1836 Falla was reported to have committed suicide and the nursery was sold to pay his many creditors.[162]

The Norwich Nursery remained a family business for an impressive hundred and two years. It was first run by William Aram who was later joined by John Mackie who subsequently married Aram's daughter thereby joining the Aram family.[163] Following Aram's death, Mackie put his name to the business which was taken over by his two sons, William and John on his

[155] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 128
[156] Thomas Max Safley, `Business Failure and Civil Scandal in Early Modern Europe', *Business History Review* 83 (1) 2009, 35-60, pp. 41-42; Christina Lubinski, `Path Dependency and Governance in German Family Firms', *Business History Review* 85 (2011), 699-724, p. 702
[157] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 124
[158] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 124
[159] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, pp. 126-127
[160] Lubinski, `Path Dependency and Governance in German Family Firms', p. 721; `Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 128
[161] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 126
[162] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 127
[163] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', pp. 122-123

death in 1796.[164] John Harvey stated that John Mackie died in 1797 however a newspaper notice shows William referring to his late father as early as October 1796.[165] It was not only sons that could take over nursery businesses. Sometimes the managing role was passed to the wives of nurserymen.[166] When William and John Mackie died in quick succession, the business was managed by William's wife, Sarah, between 1818 and 1833.[167] Audley End remained a customer of Mackie's nursery throughout these changes and two bills, one from the year of John Mackie's death (1818) and six years later under Sarah were very similar in terms of content and value suggesting the succession was relatively smooth.[168] Louise Crawley states that while the term "nurseryman" is linguistically exclusive of women, female nurserymen were not uncommon in this period. Sarah Mackie received a half-page obituary in *The Gardener's Magazine* in 1833 in which she was described as "active and exemplary" in her running of the firm which had become a model of "modern improvement".[169] Family succession was a common way of organising a business and it worked more successfully for some than others.

The general staff at nurseries are more elusive in histories of these businesses. Those firms selling trees by the thousand, for instance, would require a large staff to cope with the demand of customers and planting and tending to the many young plants.[170] The work would also likely be more repetitive due to the high quantities of plants being stocked. When working at Portman's nursery in 1809 Thomas Challis' diary entries frequently opened with "planted a great many" or "sowed a quantity" of various flowers.[171] One common way of bringing in new staff to a nursery business was to utilise the professional networks built between these commercial businesses and the private domestic gardens they supplied. Thomas Challis recorded in his diary that when he moved to Audley End, he was working under a "Mr Aram, the gardener" and there is a possibility that he was related to the Arams

[164] `Advertisement and Notices', *Norfolk Chronicle*, 29 October 1796, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/GW3218766465/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=978fc9f2> [accessed 21 November 2022]
[165] Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, p. 142
[166] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 83
[167] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 123; J G, `Art. IX. Obituary', *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement* 9 (1833) 751
[168] ERO, D/DBy A76/7, Estate Papers, July 1818; ERO, D/DBy A82/7, Estate Papers, July 1824
[169] G, `Art. IX. Obituary'; Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 123
[170] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 90
[171] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845

and later Mackies that ran the Norwich Nursery that Challis worked at twice in his career.[172] Based on a baptism record from Saffron Walden, it is highly likely that "Mr. Aram" was John Aram who was himself baptised in Wells-next-the-Sea, some thirty-two miles north of Norwich.[173] It would therefore not be surprising that John Aram, head gardener at Audley End, would recommend his member of staff to work at a relative's nursery firm. The family connection is not conclusive, and it may have been the case that Challis worked at Mackie's nursery because of its role as supplier to Audley End or its general fame for dominating eastern England's garden industry since the 1760s.[174] John Harvey highlights a kind of mutual relationship between nurserymen and their clients in the trade of staff with recommendations of individuals going in both directions.[175] He goes so far to say that nurserymen "depended quite largely" on this kind of employment strategy.[176] It was also possible to utilise the local newspapers to find work.[177] In 1813, an employee at Mackie's Nursery advertised their services as a "thoroughly capable" and well experienced gardener in the *Ipswich Journal*.[178] He wrote that he "would have no objection to undertake new groundwork, or forming plantations" which were associated with large country house gardens suggesting he was not looking for a further commercial position. Nurseries therefore functioned with a characteristically transient labour pool.

Nursery gardens were a spacious and visible aspect of Georgian retail, often taking up many acres of land on the fringes of provincial urban centres. Not only did they need favourable growing conditions such as rich soil and protection from flooding, but they also benefited further from having good transport links and accessibility for visiting customers. In London, nurseries tended to cluster together, and there were at least twenty-five nurseries

[172] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[173] 'John George Aram', *Essex Baptisms*, 15 September 1791 <https://www-findmypast-co-uk.mmu.idm.oclc.org/transcript?id=GBPRS%2FESSEX-BAP%2F0488166> [accessed 21 November 2022]; 'John Aram', *Norfolk Baptisms*, 23 March 1764 <https://www-findmypast-co-uk.mmu.idm.oclc.org/transcript?id=PRS%2FNORFOLK%2FAT%2FBAP%2FWELLS%2F02621> [accessed 21 November 2022]
[174] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 119
[175] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 92
[176] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 92
[177] R B Walker, `Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750', *Business History*, 15 (2) (1973), 112-130, p. 124
[178] `Advertisements & Notices', *Ipswich Journal*, 2 October 1813, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/Y3202541706/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=bf225f55> [accessed 25 November 2020]

established along the King's Road alone between 1750 and as late as 1916 and these streets became a fashionable tourist destination for the wealthy.[179] In 1829, the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith had a total acreage of around eighteen, three acres of which was based on a separate smaller area called Swanfield on which were built ten hothouses and greenhouses.[180] By 1839, a valuation of some of the land at Butterwick, Hammersmith shows eight and a half acres, "well planted with trees and a building of a hothouse", was worth £2212.[181] One benefit for provincial nurseries was that land was generally cheaper than in London.[182] Mackie's Nursery was based at three different sites during the transition from the original smaller site at St Benedict's, to an impressive hundred-acre site at Lakenham, south of Norwich.[183] A city centre warehouse which also included offices acted as a shop front and was a useful retail and management base.[184] The Lakenham site was designed to be something of a show garden with a mile long drive along which customers could be accompanied by staff and shown the vast range of species on offer.[185] This was a dynamic shopping experience though remote ordering through catalogues remained popular.

Printed catalogues and advertising in the periodical press were important tools for reaching prospective clients, particularly outside the firm's locality. A nursery could announce the types of plants they had in stock, whether they were plants from overseas, and the quality and size of the collection.[186] Sometimes nurserymen came into possession of a full collection of plants, perhaps from a failing company or retiring nursery gardener. In 1822, George Lindley of Catton Nursery, near Norwich bestowed his nursery stock upon Sarah Mackie at the Norwich Nursery due to his retirement from the business. This was advertised in the *Bury and Norwich Post* by both Lindley and Mackie who both encouraged "Friends" of the Catton Nursery, their current regular customers, and the wider "Public" to purchase plants

[179] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 135
[180] E J Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery Hammersmith* (London: Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961), p. 11
[181] Hammersmith and Fulham Archives (HFA), DD/218/5, Valuation of Land at Butterwick, 1839
[182] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 140
[183] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 122
[184] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 129
[185] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 125
[186] 'Advertisement and Notices', *Newcastle Journal*, 19 January 1833, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/GR3216145513/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=BNCN&xid=06c590ae> [accessed 08 December 2020]

from the Norwich Nursery.[187] The differentiation of "friends" and "public" was a common trope in advertising at this time to create a "privileged (and self-identifying)" group of consumers separate from the general reader.[188] Other paper ephemera such as trade cards, catalogues, and bills might include space for advertising.[189]

Horticultural shows and other growing competitions were an excellent way for nurserymen to get their name out either by hosting and financing, entering, or judging them. The presenting of prizes for growing flowers has occurred in England since the early-seventeenth century and were a celebration of amateur growers and their experiments of hybridisation.[190] By the later eighteenth century, the structure of prize giving to the top three flowers in a category was commonplace. These shows were relatively local affairs often held in public houses.[191] From the early-nineteenth century horticultural societies grew and efforts were made to coordinate the competitions and publish records of winners in horticultural journals and newspapers for the readers to see.[192] In the 1826 *Gardener's Magazine*, Loudon published the results of fourteen flower and fruit shows run by regional horticultural societies in April and May.[193] By the mid-nineteenth century, the role of nurserymen in flower shows was becoming problematic in that they were often the main financers of competitions, and it was only the wealthiest growers that could compete with these professionals.[194] By 1856, the Crystal Palace Company had begun excluding nurserymen from entering their shows.[195] Despite not being able to enter, these events were useful advertisements of the nursery firms and the expertise of nursery gardeners.

[187] `Multiple Classified ads', *Bury and Norwich Post*, 16 October 1822 <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3212614205/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=07536da2> [accessed 22 November 2022]
[188] Jon Stobart, ` Selling (Through) Politeness: Advertising Provincial Shops in Eighteenth-Century England', *Social and Cultural History*, 5 (3) (2008), 309-328, p. 316
[189] Crawley, `The Growth of Provincial Nurseries', p. 123
[190] Brent Elliott, `Flower Shows in Nineteenth-Century England', *Garden History*, 29 (2) (2001), 171-184, p. 171; Ruth E Duthie, `English Florists' Societies and Feasts in the Seventeenth and First Half of the Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History*, 10 (1) (Spring 1982), 17-35
[191] Elliott, `Flower Shows in Nineteenth-Century England', p. 171
[192] Elliott, `Flower Shows in Nineteenth-Century England', pp. 171-172
[193] J C Loudon, `Provincial Horticultural and Florists' Societies', *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural & Domestic Improvement*, 2 (1826), 470-475
[194] Elliott, `Flower Shows in Nineteenth-Century England', pp. 174-175
[195] Elliott, `Flower Shows in Nineteenth-Century England', p. 175

Garden design, as a singular recognised profession, was a surprisingly late development. Of course, many men were paid to design gardens in a "professional" capacity, but it was not until 1929 that the Institute of Landscape Architects was founded, and the profession of garden design protected.[196] Other professions such as civil engineering and architecture were formally recognised in the early nineteenth century, but garden design lagged behind. Therefore, professional garden designers of the Georgian period were individuals who were commissioned and paid for their work, but like architecture this was also a field in which gentleman "amateurs" could create their own gardens such as William Pitt and his wife Hester.[197] There were no landscape design apprenticeships through which to receive a formal education. Instead, enthusiastic members of polite society or professional gardeners could branch out into design.[198] They were gentlemen and gardeners with an eye for design, rather than members of a recognised profession of garden designers. Lancelot "Capability" Brown began his career on the estate of Sir William Loraine with an apprenticeship under the head gardener like any other aspiring gardener.[199] His career pattern was typical of professional gardeners by taking on positions at multiple estates, and like other successful designers such as William Kent and Charles Bridgeman, he gained a royal appointment, at Hampton Court.[200] When he was gardener at Stowe, Brown undertook several designing commissions for friends and associates of his employer, Lord Cobham.[201] Following the death of Lord Cobham in 1749, Brown went to London to establish himself as an independent designer and by 1760 he had taken on around thirty major commissions.[202] By the time Sir John Griffin Griffin invited Lancelot Brown to Audley End in 1763, Brown was already a famous and fashionable designer amongst the English upper classes having worked at Chatsworth, Warwick Castle and Croome Court.[203]

[196] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 120
[197] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 123
[198] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 122
[199] Jane Brown, *Lancelot "Capability" Brown: The Omnipotent Magician, 1716-1783* (London: Pimlico, 2011), p. 15
[200] David Brown and Tom Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Reaktion, 2016), p. 9
[201] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 9
[202] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 9
[203] Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 104, 60, 57

Brown's rise to fame and wealth was relatively swift and by the age of forty-two he had adopted the title of "Esquire".[204] Despite the title, renown and acquired wealth, his position like others on a similar trajectory remained precarious. Roderick Floud poses some interesting questions asking how professionals like Brown were integrated into the world of the noble employer.[205] Was he their friend, adviser, employee, or servant? And as such how should he be treated? Should he be invited in as a guest or expected to keep a sensitive distance as an employee? Brown, it seems, was a master in charm and had successful social skills in dealing with his clients.[206] He even became the friend and acquaintance of some of the most important figures in the country's elite, more so than other professionals such as Chippendale who, according to Sarah Rutherford was "definitely treated as a tradesman by his clients".[207] Over ten years after Brown worked at Wrest Park, he was still in correspondence with and visiting the family.[208] However, this amiable relationship was not guaranteed. At Audley End, Sir John Griffin Griffin and Lancelot Brown fell out over the progress of his work and this incident is well referenced in historians' discussions about Brown's business relationships.[209] It is a well-documented corrective to his general success at winning over his clients. There had been some issues in the progression of the project with delays and the key feature of the widened river Cam had been implemented incorrectly.[210] A lack of communication, at the time described as "total silence", and both parties showing some stubbornness, did not improve the situation.[211] Further disagreements over interest and travel expenses continued into 1768 resulting in Sir John paying a further £150 and their relationship was never repaired.[212] Even after disagreements such as this, Brown continued

[204] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 120
[205] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 122
[206] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 136
[207] Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra, `Lancelot "Capability" Brown: An Eighteenth-Century Life', in *Capability Brown, Royal Gardener: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe*, ed. by Jonathan Finch and Jan Woudstra (York: White Rose University Press, 2020), pp. 1-16, p. 8; Sarah Rutherford, *Capability Brown and his Landscape Gardens* (London: National Trust, 2016), p. 15
[208] Mark Laird, `Lancelot Brown and the Pleasure Grounds at Luton Hoo and Wrest Park', *Garden History*, 44 (2016), 39-50, p. 46
[209] Stroud, *Capability Brown*, pp. 113-114 and 170-171; Rutherford, *Capability Brown and his landscape gardens*, p. 56
[210] ERO, D/DBy A365, Bills for work carried out at Audley End under direction of Robert Adam and Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, 1762-1768; Stroud, *Capability Brown*, p. 114
[211] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768
[212] ERO, D/DBy A365, Adam and Brown work at Audley End, 1762-1768; Emily Parker, `Capability Brown and the War of Words at Audley End', *English Heritage Online* <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/audley-end-house-and-gardens/history-and-stories/capability-brown-at-audley-end/> [accessed 09 December 2020]

with reputation intact. Out of the hundreds of contracts Brown entered into, this and one other evidenced dispute were the tiny minority.[213] There may well have been other aristocratic clients who were less than satisfied with Brown's work, though were unwilling to voice these opinions.

Lancelot Brown was in demand from many English landowners and sometimes a prospective client might have to wait several years before Brown visited to assess their estates.[214] One aspect of his business management that allowed him to take on so many projects at any one time was to hire foremen. Brown did not directly oversee the day-to-day progress of all of his works but hired trusted and skilled "associates" to manage the sites on his account.[215] These dependable men allowed Brown to travel around the country, checking in on ongoing projects, networking and socialising with hopeful clients, and assessing potential new commissions.[216] Foremen were tasked with hiring labourers, either independently or taking on the existing estate staff.[217] The flexibility of the business operations was another factor in Brown's success. Employing labourers to build Brown and other designers' parks and gardens could be done through different approaches.

It is not entirely clear how the labour was contracted for the work done at Audley End between 1763 and 1768. Bills for garden work between 1766 and 1768 are very similar to the bills of garden work after Brown had left Audley End, suggesting that their usual work was not changed much under Brown's tenure. Unfortunately, equivalent bills for the period before 1766 have not survived so it is difficult to determine how much the existing gardeners and labourers at Audley End contributed to Brown's design implementation. In contrast to the work done in the garden, the accounts of work done to the house by Robert Adam between 1763 and 1765 name the estate craftsmen and describe their work in great detail.[218] The absence of bills for the garden suggests the likelihood that Brown, or Brown's foreman, hired independent labourers to complete the project.

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[213] Stroud, *Capability Brown*, p. 113
[214] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 135
[215] David Brown, `Lancelot Brown and his Associates', *Garden History* 29 (1) (2001), 2-11, p. 4; Woudstra, `Lancelot Brown's Legacy of Landscape Practice: Samuel Lapidge'
[216] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 97; Rutherford, *Capability Brown*, pp. 80-81; Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 137
[217] Rutherford, *Capability Brown*, p. 80
[218] ERO, D/DBy A259, Very detailed accounts of works carried out at Audley End, 1763-1764

Designers like Brown were just one part of a broad community of working gardeners who all contributed to the creation and maintenance of gardens. His work at Audley End was only a short episode in the long story of the gardens. Traditionally in garden history, the designer is the most important person to examine when discussing a property. It is undeniable that designers were central to a garden's history but rethinking country house gardens as spaces of work and consumption means the look of a garden is secondary to the contributions of working gardeners. This approach contextualises great men like Brown and his work at Audley End within a wider working community of labourers, gardeners, craftsmen, and nurserymen who created and maintained the gardens on a daily basis. Similarly, designers can be re-thought in terms of their businesses rather than the content of their designs for a more practical understanding of the gardening community.

Conclusion

The continued creation and re-creation of country house gardens was undertaken through the day-to-day labour of its working communities and commercial connections. This chapter has highlighted different roles in garden teams, the typical career progression of professional gardeners as well as some of the other members of staff they would have come into contact with during their working lives. Further, it has recognised the contributions of other members of the estate outdoor staff: craftsmen and the gamekeeper. The working and living conditions of gardeners across the garden hierarchy are an important part of understanding how individuals might have experienced their time in country house gardens across their working lives. It is clear that age, career progression and a person's life cycle were closely connected as gardeners. The goal of becoming a head gardener was in one respect a mark of personal achievement within a career but also an opportunity to make a higher wage, upwards social mobility, receive housing, geographic stability whereby they would no longer need to move around properties as regularly, and an opportunity to marry and have a family under these more stable conditions.

Approaching the country house garden through its employed staff goes some way towards decentring and democratising garden history. The lives and experiences of working people are a useful addition to a scholarship that traditionally focussed on famous men and wealthy

landowners. Looking at the daily tasks and seasonal cycles of gardening reminds us that gardens are not just designed but reproduced year on year by those who maintained them. The working lives of gardeners did not change radically between 1750 and 1850. Many of the plants and tools they worked with were the same and the act of working out of doors was similar throughout the period. However, there were fluctuations in the work of gardeners over time such as when designers remodelled areas of properties or as the seasons changed and plants grew, and maintenance of these plants adapted to their continuing growth and harvesting cycles.

By studying the lived experiences both of the group of garden staff in general but also through their own words in rare diaries like that of Thomas Challis, this chapter has attributed greater agency to working gardeners and produced a more detailed picture of what it meant to be a professional gardener at this time. Challis' diary is a unique source that has been extremely valuable in offering detail on how gardeners experienced their working lives. It has allowed us to see what a gardener did day-to-day, the advice and recipes he decided were important enough to record, and the general importance of reading and writing for a gardener's education. More broadly, his records have highlighted the seasonality of garden work and the variety of plants and objects a gardener could interact with over time. Further, the information about his personal and family life, although only basic biographical detail, emphasises his humanity and lived experiences that broad statistics about gardeners overlook.

Garden businesses, particularly nurseries and designers, were operating in a competitive commercial market. Studying their organisation and structures highlights the practicalities of their day-to-day operations. This focus gives greater credit to the many individuals involved in the running of garden businesses and moves away from the narrative of the great man. Nursery gardeners were in charge of a staff, sometimes across multiple sites, who contributed to the smooth and successful running of the firm. A designer such as Lancelot Brown may have had artistic genius, but he was also a businessman supported by foremen and labourers that allowed him to work efficiently. This chapter has contextualised him as one individual in a wide network and community of working gardeners.

Collaboration with English Heritage allowed the research to contribute to interpretation projects for public engagement. In the summer of 2022, English Heritage ran an

interpretation project in which characters representing historic themes were played by volunteers and interact with visitors. Through consultations with English Heritage staff and an artist, the research in this chapter was used to build a stylised characterisation of a nurseryman. Their coat was made of various organic textures alongside representations of catalogues and receipts used in their trade. The main object the character carried was a Wardian case through which visitors learned about the international plant trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The research also contributed to the writing of information packs to be given to volunteers to deepen their understanding of the context of the nurseryman character they were portraying.

This chapter has demonstrated that the creation of country house gardens was the result of contributions made by a host of different people with different and complementary skills. It has highlighted the importance of staff across the garden hierarchy from women and children to the head gardener. Working gardeners and labourers who tended the gardens every day were joined by estate craftsmen such as bricklayers, blacksmiths, and glaziers to maintain the space. Their range in skills and professional status meant the garden staff were able to complete the required tasks. Their work interacted with the materials provided by nurseries whose consignments of seeds, plants, tools, and knowledge entered the gardens periodically across the year. The presence of designers was felt strongly in the short term as the garden was being remodelled. When the designer's contract was completed, the final design affected both the look of the garden and the work that was required to maintain it, and so the designer's influence was felt at a continuing low level for many years. Working communities were central to the creation of gardens.

Creating gardens was an ongoing process and contributed to by networks of spending and supply and a broad working community of gardeners and craftspeople. This thesis now considers how these creations were consumed by owners and visitors as recreational spaces. Gardens were sites of production and consumption, but they were also spaces to be consumed by those that entered them. The following chapters examines how they were used and enjoyed as places of leisure rather than work and how those experiences were felt in the body by the senses.

Chapter 3:

Uses and Experiences of Country House Gardens

Introduction

In 1793, Humphrey Repton wrote in one of his famous Red Books that "we ought never to forget that a park is a habitation of men… woods enriched by buildings, water enlivened by… pleasure boats".[1] Designed landscapes have always been created to be enjoyed in a multitude of ways by the many people that used, worked in, and lived in them. Men, women, children, as well as owners, friends, and tourists all experienced gardens as groups and individuals. As explained in previous chapters, garden history has hitherto been dominated by design narratives, and most histories that deal with interactions with gardens only consider walking around, looking at, and thinking intellectually about those designs.[2] The use of country house gardens beyond looking and thinking about design was mentioned occasionally in Mark Girouard's seminal work *Life in the English Country House* (1978) which primarily deals with the practical use of the country house.[3] Similarly, there are mentions of how people spent time in gardens in the works of Adrian Tinniswood on country house visiting, and in Roderick Floud's *Economic History of the English Garden* (2019) in relation to how use and expenditure were related.[4] However, the use of gardens is not the main focus of these works.

Stephen Bending's work *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (2013) makes promising remarks to counter the general omission of garden use in the historiography in its introductory chapter. The opening passage to the book explains that "gardens are places of pleasure and of punishment; they are places to read, to dance, to work, to laugh, to study, to labour, and to rest" as well as spaces for horticultural work, for

[1] Cited in Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p. 182

[2] Katja Grillner, `Experience as imagined: writing the eighteenth-century landscape garden' in *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Martin Calder (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 37-64; Oliver Cox, `A Mistaken Iconography? Eighteenth-Century Visitor Accounts of Stourhead', *Garden History*, 40 (1) (Summer, 2012), 98-116

[3] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978)

[4] Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019)

feeling a variety of emotions from excitement to boredom, and as a signifier of home.[5] However, the rest of the book does not actively foreground these activities and again relies on narratives of viewing design and cultural manifestations of design in contemporary literature. Here, design and literary culture come together to create meaning as visitors travelled through the garden space. This experience of moving around gardens was indeed important and was accessible to a much wider public than some of the garden activities reserved for the privileged few. It was also seen across many different gardens and time periods. However, this chapter seeks to show this activity as just one of many that occurred in garden spaces. Bending's acknowledgement of the reading, dancing, and working that happened in gardens shows that he is aware of the fact that there was far more variety in garden use than simply looking and thinking intellectually. However, the lack of serious analysis of these activities asserts a value judgement over what was more important.

Around 40 years after Mark Girouard's book was published, Kate Feluś' *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (2016) is an excellent and welcome addition to garden historiography. Its goal is to explore the wide array of activities that Georgians performed in gardens and in and around garden buildings. The simple stroll about a garden is described as "the most basic manner of experiencing it", but there was also a host of sociable and exciting activities such as dining, boating, games, music, and fireworks to be considered.[6] Feluś categorises the use of garden buildings by time of the day. She states in her introduction that "almost any activity that took place within the house… could also take place outside" and that "Georgian parks and gardens were used at all hours, from sunrise to sunset and beyond".[7] Feluś has grouped together activities that occurred most frequently at certain times of day though she recognises that these were not rigid practices and that "different people had different habits".[8] Variables such as whether the family were present at a country seat similarly effected what activities were done at what time.[9] As this is a book about what was done in gardens Feluś does not cover situations that prevented being outdoors, such as poor

[5] Stephen Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 1
[6] Kate Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* (London: I B Taurus, 2016), p. 32
[7] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 6-7
[8] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 7
[9] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 7

weather or illness. The exploration of individual activities as well as a focus on time and space in the following chapter has been heavily influenced by Feluś' work. It will also cover the various levels of access and exclusion present in garden use.

In order to examine the use of gardens a wide archival approach is needed. An understanding of the accounts and other economic sources from the previous chapters remains necessary, but this type of experiential analysis requires different types of sources too. Personal writings such as letters and diaries, newspaper reports and images offer useful insights into time spent out of doors. However, it was uncommon for landowners to record their daily activities whilst in their own homes so what survives is a wealth of diary entries documenting the activities of the families of Audley End and Belsay Hall when visiting other country house gardens. These sources are drawn mainly from the early to mid-nineteenth century due to better survival rates. This chapter also utilises accounts of family members, friends and general tourists who recorded their experiences of visiting Audley End and Belsay Hall. All of the sources written by or about tourists in this chapter relate to Audley End, potentially due to its closer proximity to London, the historical and aesthetic reputation of the property and the status of the family. This does not mean people were not visiting the gardens at Belsay Hall, but tourist accounts of the property have proved difficult to locate. There are only a handful of contemporary accounts of the property in histories and directories of Northumberland. [10] Women's voices feature more heavily in this chapter than previously, as their personal writings tended to focus more on social engagements than their male counterparts, whose letters gave more attention to estate matters or political affairs. The women included here are all of a high status and with a good education. They kept journals sometimes of their daily life and sometimes only during periods of travel.[11]

It is important to approach experiential analysis with an understanding of the individual positioning of the person creating the source. Interactions with gardens do not happen in a vacuum, rather each individual brings with them a life's worth of education, personal

[10]William Parson and William White, *The History, Directory and Gazetteer of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland, Volume 2* (W White and Co: Leeds, 1828), p. 522; John P Neale, *Jones' Views of the seats… of Noblemen and Gentlemen…* (1829), pp. DD-DD2

[11] Northumberland Archives (NA), ZMI/52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816; National Library of Wales (NLW), Glynne of Hawarden/27, Small pocket diary kept by Mary Glynne, 1824; Essex Records Office (ERO), A8422, Volumes and papers relating to Audley End Estate, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841; ERO, A8422, Volumes and papers relating to Audley End Estate, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846

experiences, ideas and subjectivities. Perhaps a visitor had been to the garden before and was experiencing it in relation to their previous experience. Perhaps they had read a guidebook or other description of the place which had influenced their expectations. Or perhaps they were comparing the gardens they visited against their own gardens and judging the owner's choices against their own. The knowledge that was learned about gardens would be brought with them into every garden they visited and used to draw comparisons with other properties or with their understanding of the latest fashions. As well as one's internal positionality, there was a wealth of temporal variables that would affect one's interaction at a particular time of a particular day. In previous chapters, the gardens have been shown to be seasonal in their practical maintenance and this was also the case with the experience of leisured individuals. Other factors that made for inconsistent experiences were the weather conditions, how busy the place was, whether they were feeling well, or what activities they engaged with. Walking and riding, for instance, were done all year round, but a game of cricket was reserved for the warm summer months.

Drawing on this range of personal documents allows us to address questions of everyday use. The gardens at Audley End and Belsay Hall had been created deliberately, with different design motivations in mind, but what were they actually used for and how were they consumed by visitors? How did people interact with gardens and designed landscapes? Part of the appeal of having a large fashionable garden around one's mansion was that it contributed to a landowner's cultural capital. It showed their wealth, status, taste and by extension their education. However, this is only one perspective on how gardens were used day to day, season to season, or over many years.

This chapter first addresses who came into the gardens through an examination of the culture of country house visiting. Garden owners were regularly joined in their gardens by visiting family members, friends, and polite tourists who conducted regional and national tours of England's country seats. Secondly, it analyses how these visitors moved around the gardens. Walking, riding, or driving in a carriage was undertaken to traverse the space and move from one point of interest to another by all those who entered the gardens. This section approaches the different visiting experiences these modes of transport offered as well as some barriers to movement out of doors. Finally, the chapter explores some of the many different activities that were available to certain groups in country house gardens. To

provide some structure the activities have been organised into three categories. Firstly, sport and other physical activities from the more formal organised game of cricket to seasonal hunting and more relaxed boating or bathing. Second, the section examines activities where socialising was the primary goal and how the garden space facilitated certain kinds of socialising. The third group addresses activities that were considered intellectual pursuits, many of which could also be social events. These educational activities may well have been undertaken in a group such as communally judging a landowner's taste levels by their design choices. However, they could be done alone such as horticultural experiments, reading, or painting. Through an analysis of garden activities, this chapter examines themes of access, accommodation for visitors, and experiences of time and space.

Country House Visiting and Tourism

Visiting country houses is part of a long tradition of hospitality to all and "good lordship" stretching back to the Middle Ages and the folk tales of Arthurian legend.[12] Adrian Tinniswood's *Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (1989) is a detailed overview of the changes over time that brought people from all over the country and beyond into the homes of the wealthy and powerful. Tinniswood explains that for much of the early modern period, travel was uncomfortable, cumbersome, and made for "bone-jolting" journeys.[13] These issues meant that travel was done infrequently, and hospitality was extended for long periods of time. By the eighteenth century, the Grand Tour of continental Europe was a well-established rite of passage for young aristocrats and from 1750 there was a boom in domestic tourism. This increase in British travel was driven in part by conflict in Europe but also by improvements to both carriages and roads. Carriages became better sprung and more comfortable to travel long distances in, and lighter-weight chaises and phaetons were considerably faster.[14] The improvement of main roads, through a network of turnpike roads begun in the mid-seventeenth century, growing throughout the eighteenth century and reaching its peak in the 1830s, allowed for faster and more pleasant

[12] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, pp. 5-6
[13] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 7
[14] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 190

travelling.[15] As turnpike trusts improved road maintenance, historians estimate that passenger travel times decreased by sixty per cent, though Dorian Gerhold has attributed almost equal importance to horse-breeding and carriage improvements as to the turnpike roads.[16] As a result of these innovations in transport and road infrastructure, the leisured elite could travel both shorter and longer distances more frequently, whether that was moving between country and London properties, visiting family and friends as guests, and tours and day-trips as tourists. Every region of the country had a wealth of country houses with their architecture, interiors, collections, and gardens all of interest to polite tourists.[17] Other forms of transport emerged in the early nineteenth century and made travel even more popular and convenient. Joseph Romilly used the railway to visit Audley End, usually travelling from Cambridge to Wendens Ambo, and then taking a coach to the house.[18] Lady Braybrooke, on her travels, used the roads and railway systems as well as waterways for example when she crossed the Mersey on a steamboat.[19] Coasting vessels remained an efficient mode of transport for coastal regions. When Sir Charles Monck travelled from Belsay Hall to Edinburgh and back he caught a paddle steamer, much to the upset of his stomach, perhaps the Ardincaple Steamer which sailed from Newcastle to Edinburgh twice a week in the 1830s.[20] His illness on the return journey started as soon as the boat left the pier and even when his stomach had settled, he recorded in his diary, the journey had left him "very weak and quite unable to think of or look at the views".[21] His sister, Netty, also had difficulties with travel sickness and found that rough roads made her "insides" very "sore".[22] Overall, however, travel became increasingly comfortable and elite families and polite tourists were willing to travel more frequently and over longer distances to and between country house gardens.

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[15] Bill Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Dan Bogart, `Turnpike trusts and the transportation revolution in 18th century England', *Explorations in Economic History*, 42 (4) (2005), 479-508, p. 482; Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 22

[16] Bogart, `Turnpike trusts and the transportation revolution', p. 480; Dorian Gerhold, `Productivity Change in Road Transport before and after Turnpiking, 1690-1840', *The Economic History Review*, 49 (3) (1996), 491-515; Dorian Gerhold, 'The development of stage coaching and the impact of turnpike roads, 1653–1840', *The Economic History Review*, 67 (3) (2014), 818–845

[17] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, pp. 88-89

[18] Cambridge University Library (CUL), GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845

[19] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841

[20] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, including sketch of Pentland, 1831; John Gray, *Gray's Annual Directory… Edinburgh, Leith and Suburbs, 1832-1833* (Edinburgh: John Gray, 1832), p. xliv

[21] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, including sketch of Pentland, 1831

[22] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke from Aunt Netty (Louisa Blackett?) and other friends…, 1846-1865

Travel and tourism were complemented by a growth in travel writing through the eighteenth century. Descriptions of tours could be written in letters, private journals, or for print publication. A significant proportion of the literature on eighteenth century travel writing has focused on women writers from the famous Celia Feinnes and Mrs Lybbe Powys, whose work was published and widely read, to journals found in estate archives penned by the more typical tourist.[23] Travel writing has been an important source base for this chapter and descriptions of country house visiting in these sources have been invaluable for learning about the types of activities tourists engaged in. The "genre" of travel writing is complex and cannot be defined in simple terms; it should rather be understood as a collection of a variety of texts surrounding the theme of travel.[24] Each text has an intended purpose and its intended audience, whether that was for publication or private use, and these factors would have had a major impact on what was recorded. Similarly, Grand Tour journals often conformed to established literary conventions.[25] Emma Smith's letter, describing a day-visit to Audley End, was a personal and friendly update of her travels, written to her sister Eliza and perhaps read by other members of the family with an interest in her whereabouts. Sir Charles Monck's and Lady Braybrooke's journals were travel diaries often with useful, practical information about distances between destinations, reviews of inns stayed in and some detailed descriptions of the houses and gardens they visited. These could have been a useful resource for a friend or relative planning on taking a similar tour as well as an aide memoire for themselves. When on her travels Louisa Monck's daily journal includes similar logistical information and sometimes some biographical notes about the house or landowner. However, the whole diary, with accounts of daily life at home, was likely intended for personal use. Joseph Romilly, a friend of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, kept extensive diaries that included visits to Audley End. His diaries were published and abridged in the 1960s so were not necessarily initially intended to be published.[26] Each of these sources

[23] Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Katherine Turner, `The rise of the woman travel writer', in *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800: Authorship, Gender and National Identity*, by Katherine Turner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 127-180; Zoë Kinsley, `Narrating Travel, Narrating the Self: Considering Women's Travel Writing as Life Writing', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 90 (2) (2014), 67-84

[24] Kinsley, `Narrating Travel, Narrating the Self', p. 69

[25] John Towner, `The grand tour: Sources and a methodology for an historical study of tourism', *Tourism Management*, 5 (3) (1984), 215-222, p. 219

[26] M E Bury and J D Pickles, *Romilly's Cambridge Diary, 1842-1847: Selected passages from the diary of the Rev. Joseph Romilly Fellow of Trinity College and Registrary of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridgeshire Records Society, 1994)

shows that gardens were regularly the objects of fascination for visitors and these sources have been central to building a picture of their interactions with country house gardens.

The reception visitors received at country houses varied considerably. The larger, more famous houses began codifying access to the properties by introducing opening times, information that could be found at inns or nearby towns.[27] At Chatsworth, for example, the house was only open to the public two days a week as early as 1760.[28] There is no evidence to suggest that such limitations were in place at Audley End or Belsay Hall, but show days were of interest to Lady Braybrooke on her travels in 1839. She noted that "show days at Longford Castle, Tuesdays and Fridays when Lord and Lady Radnor are there. If not at home, every day".[29] The next day, at Wilton House, she wrote that access was granted on "Wednesday, when Lady P is there, Tuesday and Friday when not".[30] However it appears that these restrictions did not always apply to her Ladyship. She visited Longford on a Friday suggesting that the owners of the house were present, but her visit to Wilton fell on a Saturday which was not an option given in her diary. This did not limit what she saw: she was able to tour around both house and garden and described being charmed with the pictures and some impressive trees.[31] Her access to the property may have been a result of a friendly or family connection. Alternatively, at some properties the show day restrictions could be avoided by simply writing ahead for permission. Lady Braybrooke recorded in her diary that "the day for showing Woburn is Friday but travellers may see it any day by sending their name to the housekeeper".[32] These limitations and required permissions at Woburn were not relevant to her as she was an invited guest of the family. Generally, access to visit a house and garden could change depending on the status of the individual and their connections with the owners.

Once access to a country house garden had been granted to a visitor, the activities they did there ranged from simply moving around the space and viewing the different elements of the garden, to more active participatory activities such as hunting which required more involvement of the landowner. A sense of the relatively unintrusive act of walking around a

[27] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, pp. 92-93
[28] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 92
[29] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[30] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[31] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[32] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846

garden can be seen in the 1845 publication *Sketches of Saffron Walden, and its vicinity* by John Player and John Mallows Youngman. On their tour of the village of Saffron Walden, the authors "saunter undisturbedly" through the outskirts of the grounds of Audley End and view the gardens from afar.[33] This distant experience of the garden is written with great romanticism particularly relating to the "imposing" effect of the trees and lawns that frame the mansion. These visitors pass seemingly unnoticed and the family, if in residence, would not be disturbed by their presence.[34] However, visitors could request a more tangible form of garden experience. One letter received by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke in 1818 was from a man asking permission to spend "a few hours shooting some morning… upon your lordship's domain" as well as the assistance of the estate's gamekeeper.[35] It is not clear who the letter was from, and if this was a good friend then perhaps it was not a bold request. A line towards the end of the letter suggests the sender had shot at Audley End before: "your lordship hath given me yearly more amusement in three hours than I can get here in as many weeks". This would undoubtedly have helped his case even if only in flattery. Organising a shooting party was predominantly done by the head gamekeeper and the party might be attended by a number of other keeping staff, and refreshment prepared and served by members of the household staff.[36] The imposition of a shooting party does not necessarily mean that Lord Braybrooke resented being asked, indeed he may have joined them with great enjoyment. Yet it is clear that visitors to country house gardens had a range of visibility to and interaction with the landowners.

It is widely accepted that casual country house tourists would be shown around the mansion house by the housekeeper who could provide additional information about the architecture, portraits, or interiors.[37] It was also possible to be accompanied on a tour of the grounds by the head gardener who was knowledgeable about the plants, garden layout, and design elements among many other garden-related topics. By conducting these tours both the head gardener and housekeeper could expect a respectful tip for their time and expertise making

[33] John Player and John Mallows Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden, and its vicinity* (Saffron Walden: Youngman, 1845), p. 5
[34] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 89
[35] ERO, D/DBy C35, Private correspondence addressed to 2nd and 3rd Lords Braybrooke, 1802-1848
[36] David S D Jones, *Servants of the Lord: Outdoor Staff at the Great Country Houses* (Shrewsbury: Quiller, 2017), pp. 27-28; P B Munsche, `The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660-1830', *Journal of British Studies*, 20 (2) (Spring 1981), 82-105, p. 92
[37] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 97

it a lucrative side-occupation.[38] When Emma Smith and her companions visited Audley End in 1801, she did not specify in her letter whether she was guided through the house or gardens by a member of staff. However, what she did state was that, whilst strolling through the grounds, they met Lord Braybrooke who had been absent from the house.[39] Her letter states that:

> *"we met my Lord, who very politely regretted his being from home, but insisted on showing us his menagerie and the flower garden called Elysium; very pretty and worth seeing. We declined his… invitation to… dinner".*[40]

As country house tourism increased throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it became difficult to manage the influx of guests. An extreme example of this comes from Horace Walpole who described tourists as a "plague" and would hide in his bed chamber from visitors so that he did not have to interact with them.[41] It is not possible to know if Lord Braybrooke offered to guide every tourist, let alone offer them dinner. He was acquainted with one of the party, which was likely an important factor in this invitation.[42] Adrian Tinniswood writes that to be shown around by the landowner was a very occasional experience.[43] Social status and relationship to the owner likely played a role in the level of hospitality offered as evidenced by Lady Braybrooke's experience at Powis Castle where she visited for a few hours as part of a Welsh tour and was shown around the grounds personally by the daughters of the landowner.[44]

In Lady Braybrooke's descriptions of gardens that she visited, she does not give much indication of how busy the spaces were. She only mentions the number of people outside on one occasion, in which a grand dinner was given in tents on the front lawn of Stowe, attended by 2,400 people.[45] This was a rare event celebrating the majority of the Marquis of Chandos. Usually, Lady Braybrooke's accounts of garden visiting suggest that she and her

[38] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 97; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 89
[39] Hampshire Records Office (HRO), 23M93/70/3/39, Letter from Emma Smith concerning an expedition to Audley End and Cambridge with Charles Smith and Augusta, 12 July 1801
[40] HRO, 23M93/70/3/39, Letter from Emma Smith, 1801
[41] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, pp. 88-89
[42] HRO, 23M93/70/3/39, Letter from Emma Smith, 1801
[43] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 97
[44] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[45] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846

party were entirely alone in gardens. Of course, as seen in the previous chapter, members of the garden and outdoor staff would have been present but were simply written out of Lady Braybrooke's account. On a tour around the gardens of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire, Sir Charles Monck chose to engage in conversation with "the gardener" who gave him more information about the property and complained about his employers' lack of interest in their gardens and their reluctance to buy plants.[46] Staff would have been visible in gardens but as for other guests it is difficult to estimate their numbers. Mark Girouard explains that in the later eighteenth century the idea of solitude and nature grew in popularity and that to experience an empty countryside became desirable.[47] As a result paintings of country houses and their gardens were no longer "thronged with people" and were instead depicted in "idyllic solitude with perhaps a single figure".[48] William Tomkins' paintings of Audley End fall into this category showing pastoral scenes featuring herds of livestock, and where people are included they are in small groups [Fig. 3.1]. It is possible that this change in artistic style affected how people viewed gardens and subsequently wrote about them.

Visiting any outdoor space requires a consideration of weather conditions which will ultimately determine how comfortable the visit will be. Roy Strong mentions this in his foreword to Kate Feluś' *Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (2016) stating that tourists of the past had to ask: "will it be too hot or too cold, too windy or belting down with rain".[49] One might expect, therefore, that garden visiting was seasonal and most commonly done in the warmer months of the year. The summer months were also the time when families usually resided in their country estates and received guests. Having spent the autumn and winter in London, landowners would return to their country seats to manage their rural responsibilities, but the warm weather and long days created opportunities to make excursions to other parts of the country and to take tours of the grand houses there.[50]

[46] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVII, Travel diary of Sir Charles Monck re Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Derbys., 1825-1826
[47] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 215-217
[48] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 217
[49] Roy Strong, `Foreword', in *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats*, by Kate Felus (London: I B Tauris, 2016), pp. xi-xii, p. xii
[50] Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-3

[Figure 3.1: *Audley End and the Temple of Concord*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

Similarly, gardens were most in bloom at this time of year and so were more visually interesting than in the colder months. In *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, the authors wrote "surely the month of May is the most delightful of all periods in the year, to seek the liberty of the fields, and to remark the beauties of the natural world".[51] However, Lady Braybrooke's travel diaries show that the summer was not the only time for travelling and, in reality, people visited friends and family throughout the year. Over the ten years covered by her journals, over half of her trips were conducted around September and October and these were also the longest in duration. Of the rest, four were in the winter, two in the spring and one in August.[52] Adrian Tinniswood's work on country house visiting does not highlight any seasonal trends. Of course, viewing a house indoors was possible in any weather condition, but it is important to remember that travel to and from a location could be made uncomfortable and in extreme examples impossible due to the impact of bad weather on

[51] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 1
[52] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841; ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846

the roads.[53] When travelling to and from Woburn in January 1839, Lady Braybrooke commented on the state of the roads. On her outbound journey, there was snow in parts, but the roads remained in good condition, and on her return, she noted that it was "very slippery" and "very wet".[54]

During the winter, Lady Braybrooke was still able to explore the gardens of the houses she visited, though some days she was forced inside by poor weather. In colder weather, snow made it harder to get around gardens. Gardeners at Audley End cleared the gravel paths of snow in January 1767 so that the main routes could be accessed but this limited the visitor in where they could walk.[55] There were still comfortable ways to experience a garden during the winter, particularly from the sheltered indoor areas. At Woburn in January 1839, Lady Braybrooke and the Duchess of Bedford stayed out of the snow by walking through the "covered way in [the] conservatories" that brought the gardens indoors. Here they saw cactuses, "orchideous plants", palms, and camelias in their heated environment.[56] Even in the summer, the weather could be changeable and disappointing if outdoor activities were desired. In July 1812, Louisa Monck had driven to Capheaton Hall "to see the garden etc." though she and her company were "detained some time in the vinery by heavy rain and a thunderstorm".[57] Variations on the diary entry "rainy day, did not go out" appear frequently across the source material.[58] Some record being caught out in a rain shower and sheltering under trees, in buildings or being forced to abandon an excursion entirely.[59]

The Geography and Experiences of Movement around Gardens

The most "basic", and indeed ubiquitous, part of visiting and experiencing a country house garden is simply by traversing the space.[60] During this period, walking, driving and riding around gardens, either one's own or someone else's, was a popular leisure activity for

[53] Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters: Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 304
[54] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[55] ERO, D/DBy A25/1, Household and Estate Papers, January 1767
[56] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[57] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[58] NLW, Glynne of Hawarden/27, Mary Glynne's diary, 1824; NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849; ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[59] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, 1831; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[60] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 32

members of the social elite in England.[61] Eighteenth-century landscape parks were often designed with specific routes in mind where woods and other landscape features were used to conceal garden buildings and views until the last moment for an element of surprise.[62] Earlier designer, Thomas Wright (1711-1786) argued that no garden feature should be visible from another and an ideal circuit of features was one of "rising elegance" from "minor objects… to others of more consequence" and culminating in the finest view as the final scene.[63] In this way, visitors were encouraged to travel in a certain direction though it is possible that individuals chose to subvert the route laid out by the landowner.[64]

Understanding exactly which routes and by which mode of transport visitors experienced the garden is not always clear though some journals, images of gardens, and the design itself can illustrate these. Two depictions of Audley End's gardens by William Tomkins from the later eighteenth century show people moving across the landscape in the three main forms of transport: walking, on horseback, and in carriages. The first, "View from the Tea House Bridge", shows four people walking through the Elysian Garden, three of whom have formed a small group [Fig. 3.2]. The second, "A Prospect of Audley End from the Ring Temple, Saffron Walden Beyond" shows a wider scene featuring three male riders and a carriage pulled by two horses in which sit two ladies [Fig. 3.3]. It appears in these representations that different forms of transport were favoured depending on the proximity to the house and possibly gender. The Elysian Garden, around 400m north of the house, was traversed on foot as the paths were narrower than elsewhere. Further, the original access point for the Elysian Garden was through a narrow sunken gateway only accessible on foot. By contrast, the Temple of Victory, situated 900m away atop Ring Hill, was more easily accessed on horseback or in a carriage. In the wider parkland, gravel or grass drives could accommodate horse riders and carriages. In June 1787, Miss Clayton, half-sister of Sir John Griffin Griffin's wife, Katherine, wrote a letter to her friend, Miss Port, about her stay at Audley End. She wrote about drinking tea in the Elysian Garden in fine weather and "sometimes we drive,

[61] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 210; Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 32
[62] Michael Symes, *The English Landscape Garden: A Survey* (Swindon: Historic England, 2019), p. 50
[63] Newcastle upon Tyne Central Library (NCL), Thomas Wright, Eight Volumes of Wright MSS, Volume 8, p. 65
[64] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 48

and sometimes walk, but to-day is so very sharp I hope we shall do neither".[65] It appears that the way in which individuals chose to move around a garden was fluid and circumstantial, and a carriage could be ordered from Audley End's carriage house at relatively short notice.

[Figure 3.2: *Audley End, View from the Tea House Bridge*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

The amount of effort required to traverse a garden varied depending on the mode of transport and the area of the garden. The flower gardens and pleasure grounds around Belsay Hall and Audley End House were relatively flat and easy to walk around using gravel paths. Walking in the wider parkland called for stout footwear over longer distances and greater inclines. The use of gravel, and occasionally sand, aimed to provide adequate drainage for garden paths and allow walkers to protect their footwear from mud or wet grass.[66] A certain amount of thought and maintenance was needed to keep these paths in

[65] Emilia Clayton, `Miss Clayton to Miss Port, Audley End, June 17th, 1787', in *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville. Mrs. Delany, with interesting reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte*, ed. by RH Lady Llanover, pp. 442-445, pp. 442-443

[66] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 32; Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 109

[Figure 3.3: *A Prospect of Audley End from the Ring Temple, Saffron Walden Beyond*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

optimum condition. The size of the gravel effects how fast one can walk, and, throughout the year, they needed to be raked, weeded, and kept clear of leaves or snow, as was the job of Robert Bunton at Audley End in January 1767.[67] Thomas Whatley's famous *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770) stated that "plain gravel walks to every part are commonly deemed to be indispensable; they undoubtedly are convenient".[68] By this time gravel in gardens was not a new design choice but rather an alteration of earlier styles. Kensington Palace was laid out with gravel by 1690 and it was "the most obvious material covering the earth" as seen in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707).[69] The wider landscape of Audley End is more topographically interesting and Ring Hill, upon which can be found the Temple of Victory and the aviary, has a considerably higher elevation than the house.[70] In February 1844, Joseph

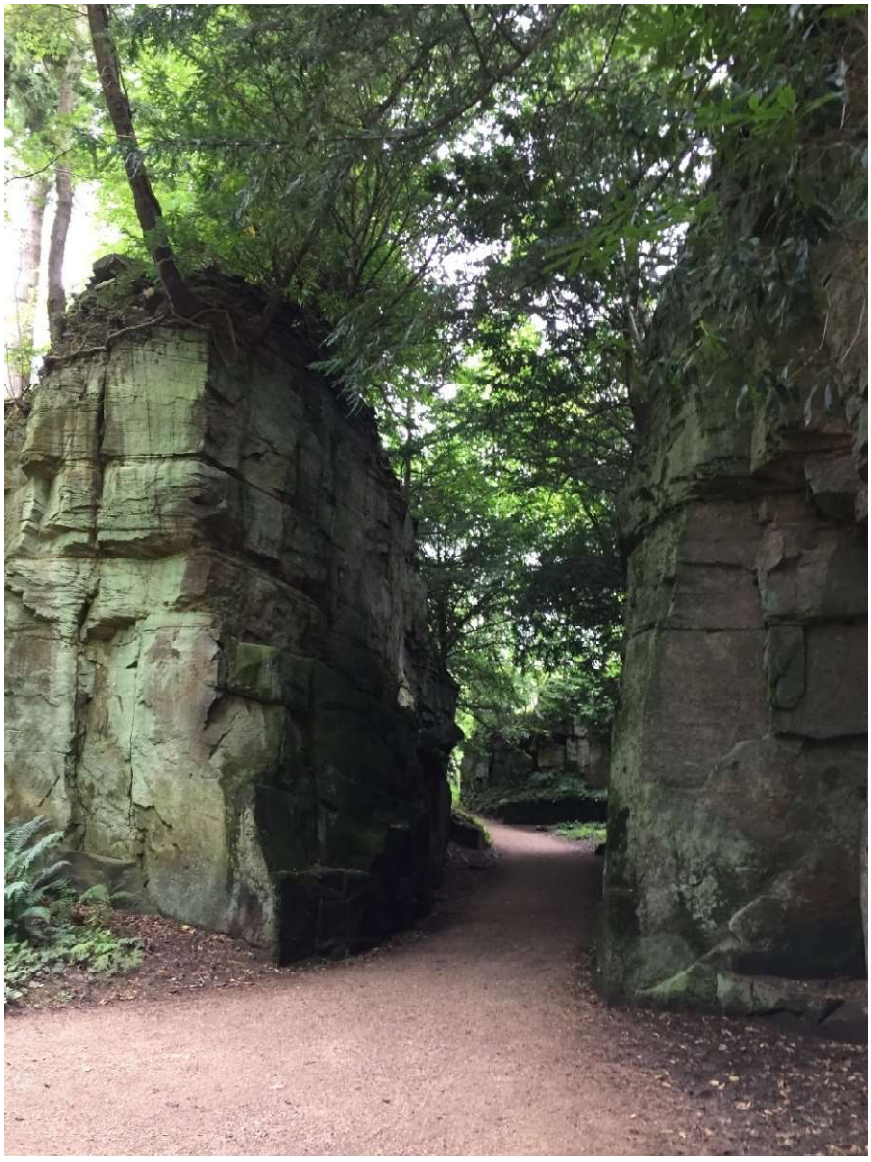
[67] John Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens* (London: Reaktion, 2004), p. 148; ERO, D/DBy A25/1, Estate Papers, January 1767
[68] Thomas Whatley, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London: Payne, 1770), p. 210
[69] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 29 and 212
[70] The Temple of Victory stands atop a hill around 170 feet higher in elevation than the mansion house. See Fig. 3.5

Romilly, accompanied by his friend the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, two Miss Townshends and a Mr Pearson visited the aviary at Ring Hill, "walked around the park and examined the conservatory". Romilly further commented that "in spite of the snow… [and] considering the age of the Miss Townshends [about 70 years] was no bad walk for them".[71] Michael Symes explains in his survey of the English landscape garden that in mid-eighteenth-century designs one could take a range of routes that were designed to "allow for easy or arduous exercise" depending on the conditions of the day or the capabilities of the individual.[72]

Movement around gardens was generally organised along a circuit route. These circuits are a common theme in the secondary literature around designed landscapes of this time.[73] Historians tend to discuss the exceptional examples such as Stowe and Stourhead as well as other examples such as Rousham, Chatsworth and the Leasowes.[74] The design premise of these gardens came from an early-eighteenth-century desire to use gardens as a didactic tool in which a series of prospects on a prescribed circuit had classical, literary, moral and political meanings that reflected the ideals of the landowner.[75] A particular circuit around the gardens was clearest to visitors if a guidebook was available, as at these more famous gardens, however such a strict route does not appear to have existed at Audley End or Belsay Hall.[76] At Audley End, the design laid out by Lancelot Brown was completed in the 1760s by which time Brown had moved away stylistically from the "set-piece views" of earlier decades to a freer continuum of experience.[77] The vague circular route that visitors could follow did not have a specific ideological meaning though the Temple of Victory and the Temple of Concord were symbolic of Sir John Griffin Griffin's patriotism.[78] These would have acted as viewpoints along a visitor's stroll about the garden but it is not so strict as at Stowe or Stourhead where the views should be seen in a particular order to construct a

[71] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[72] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 48
[73] Cox, `A Mistaken Iconography?'; Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 48; Max F Schulz, `The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15 (1) (1981), 1-25; Martin Calder, `Foreword', in *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Martin Calder (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 7-12, p. 8
[74] Schulz, `The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden', p. 3
[75] Schulz, `The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden', p. 10
[76] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 50
[77] David Brown and Tom Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Reaktion, 2016), p. 98
[78] The Temple of Victory commemorated the victory of the Seven Years' War and the Temple of Concord celebrated King George III's recovery from a bout of illness/madness.

particular narrative. At Belsay Hall, the route through the gardens is slightly more prescriptive than at Audley End due to its limited pathways. In order to reach the semi-ruined Belsay Castle from the new hall, some 400m away as the crow flies, one travelled across terraces, through a wooded area and into the quarry garden. The quarry garden has a choice of two enclosed paths that cannot be deviated from due to planting and rock formations [Fig. 3.4]. The wide-open spaces of Audley End's landscape allow for more variation of movement, though as mentioned above, leaving the gravel paths would have been weather dependent.



[Figure 3.4: Narrow paths through the quarry garden at Belsay Hall do not allow for free roaming, photograph taken by Helen Brown]

Understanding the exact routes taken by individuals across the gardens and grounds of Audley End and Belsay Hall is difficult due to the lack of guidebook suggestions, or written evidence in the diaries and letters of visitors. However, what has been recorded are references to particular points of interest that visitors arrived at, though it is rare that they recorded the route taken to get to them. Destinations within a large garden could include any garden buildings, permanent or otherwise, obelisks and columns, the kitchen garden, a body of water, or simply a clearing from which one could view the wider countryside. Figure 3.5 is a basic map of Audley End showing the main points of interest of the site. Dutch senior civil servant, Bernard Pieter van Lelyveld, spent time at Audley End after political unrest in the Netherlands in 1795, and in 1797 he wrote an account of the property, its interiors and furnishings, and a tour of the grounds.[79] At the start of the garden tour he wrote: "let us run together through these fields… through which an undulating walk takes your steps to gardens more beautiful than those of Armida or Antinous" which suggests he experienced the gardens by walking.[80] The text shows his route around the gardens and estate from which the general direction of his circuit has been mapped [Fig. 3.6].[81] He began his tour of the gardens at the Mount Garden (O) and followed a long outer-circuit viewing the Temple of Concord (P) and the monument to Lady Portsmouth (Q). Then to the Home Farm and the village of Littlebury, through the plantation to the Temple of Victory (C) and Aviary (D) on Ring Hill, down the hill to the London Lodge before returning to the gardens. He viewed "the fleet" on the river before walking through the Elysiam Gardens (L), seemingly in an anti-clockwise direction though this is not entirely clear. It is interesting that he did not visit the stables or kitchen gardens on this occasion. Perhaps he did not wish to write about them, or he had visited them on another excursion, or perhaps the approximately five-mile walk around the estate meant he was short on time or energy to extend his visit to these areas.

[79] ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End* [Saffron Walden], by Bernard Pieter van Lelyveld, 1797
[80] ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End*, 1797: "Parcourons ensemble cec campagnes… dont la marche ondoyante portera pas dans des jardins plus beaux que ceux d'Armide ou d'Artinoüs"
[81] The text was translated by Steven Brindle, Properties Historian at English Heritage in March 2023

[Figure 3.5: Map showing the points of interest at Audley End and elevation of the house and two temples. A: Lion Gate; B: Three-arched bridge designed by Robert Adam; C: Temple of Victory; D: Aviary; E: Cambridge Lodge; F: Stable Yard; G: Kitchen Gardens; H: Vine House; I: Stables Bridge; J: Cascade; K: Tea House Bridge; L: Elysian Garden; M: Bath House; N: Parterre (built 1830s); O: Mount Garden; P: Temple of Concord; Q: Monument to the Countess of Portsmouth]

[Figure 3.6: Map showing the approximate route around the gardens and estate taken by Bernard Pieter van Lelyveld in 1797 following the succession of landmarks he visited. Starting at point O. The exact route between points has been estimated. Note: The Parterre (N) was not built until the 1830s]

At Audley End, the aviary appears in multiple accounts covering more than half a century. Sometimes referred to as "the menagerie", the aviary was built in 1774 near the Temple of Victory, 900m west of the mansion house [Fig. 3.7].[82] Van Lelyveld recorded the aviary in 1797 in his *Souvenirs d'Audley End* in which he describes viewing peacocks, guineafowls, partridges, cockerels, pigeons and doves.[83] In 1801, passing tourists Emma Smith and her companions were shown the menagerie by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke.[84] Twenty-five years later, in 1836, Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau describes a large aviary filled with parrots, and an "extensive habitation for canaries, goldfinches, and other small birds" as well as a collection of pheasants, "exotic fowls" and pigeons: much like those described by Lelyveld. [85] Relative of the family Mary Glynne briefly mentions an excursion to the menagerie in 1827 and Joseph Romilly, another repeat guest at Audley End, went to the aviary eleven times over multiple visits to the property between 1834 and 1853.[86] The building had a keeping room where the birds were housed, as well as rooms for the keeper and a place for refreshments, one named as a "tea room" and the other likely a kitchen.[87] It was a place to rest, drink tea, and be entertained by the birds. It was also an excellent viewpoint from which to look back at the wider estate, the river, and the house. In 1841, Louisa Ann Neville, daughter of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke took the time to paint the building in which can be seen a slanted glass roof over the keeping room and the "gothick" style arches designed by John Mose in 1771.[88]

[82] Michael Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 6 (1996), 102-119, pp. 103 and 110

[83] ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End*, 1797: "Vous avez rassemblé les petits oiseaux des airs; la Linette, la Bouvreuil, le Tarin, le Chardonneret, le Pinson, la Mésange, le Verdier, la Fauvette, le rouge-gorge, la Bergeronnette, le Canarie"

[84] HRO, 23M93/70/3/39, Letter from Emma Smith, 1801

[85] von Pückler-Muskau, H, *Tour in England, Ireland and France in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829 with remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and anecdotes of distinguished public characters* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833), p. 32

[86] NLW, Glynne of Hawarden/29, Small pocket diary kept by Mary Glynne, 1827; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6817, Diary, 1834; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6828/1, Diary, 21 July 1851-7 Dec. 1852; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6829, Diary, 18 July 1851-18 Dec. 1852; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6830, Diary, 19 Dec. 1852-30 May 1853

[87] Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', p. 110

[88] Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', p. 110

[Figure 3.7: *Aviary Audley End. August 1841*, by Louisa Ann Neville]

Going out of doors and moving around gardens was a flexible activity. It could be performed at any time of day for however long the individual or group wanted. It is not easy to be conclusive about when individuals used the gardens as they often neglect to record time markers in their diaries. Joseph Romilly, who had no constraints on him when staying at Audley End was characteristically leisurely with his routines. On several occasions he spent the morning inside Audley End house, playing billiards, looking over books in the saloon, or reading in his bedroom, before heading out into the gardens after lunch.[89] He seems to have a preferred structure to his own day, spending most afternoons at Audley End out of doors. Mary Glynne, who was a child and had less control over her own time, went in the garden when she could. In 1824 she recorded that she went out into Audley End's gardens after "we finished our lessons" and it is likely that this was a regular occurrence despite this being the

[89] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826; Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850

only written mention of lessons.[90] Mary sometimes walked or rode out before breakfast, perhaps before her schooling began that day. These examples all relate to people who were in residence at the property. When visiting Edinburgh in 1831, Sir Charles Monck was out of his rented lodgings as much as possible, visiting country houses, botanic gardens, and other landmarks.[91] There is a sense that as a tourist he wanted to fill his days with as many excursions as possible as he was only in Edinburgh for a limited amount of time. This was likely typical of tourists, more so than those staying as guests at familiar properties.

People could be flexible with how much time they spent moving around the gardens. An excursion out of doors could range from a brief stroll to a longer walk of a few miles or a tour around the park in a carriage. The route taken by van Lelyveld was roughly five miles in length which could have lasted several hours if he stopped to admire views, discuss agricultural matters at the Home Farm, rest at the top of Ring Hill, or inspect the flowers in the Elysian Garden. Joseph Romilly's snowy walk with the elderly Townshend sisters took them two and a half hours.[92] A shorter post-breakfast walk with Lord Braybrooke and Lord Colborne lasted only an hour, though he did not record where they went.[93] One journey that began in the gardens but became a ten mile round trip to the local village of Ashdon was attempted in such "broiling" heat, with an umbrella over his head, that Romilly had to sit down every quarter of an hour. Thus it "took a long time" to complete his journey. The weather conditions, the company with whom one walked, and simply how much time one had to spare were all factors in how long a walk might take. A visitor had some control over the route they took around the garden, how meandering or strict to paths they were, and whether they were moving with purpose to reach a destination or were more relaxed in their exercise.[94]

The mode of transport one decides to take around a garden has a great effect on the way an individual experiences the space. John Dixon Hunt highlights the importance of movement and motion in the reception of gardens but limits his analysis to ritual walks, strolls and rambles – all of which are performed on foot.[95] If people wanted to move with greater

[90] NLW, Glynne of Hawarden/27, Mary Glynne's diary, 1824
[91] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, 1831
[92] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[93] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849
[94] Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, p. 146
[95] Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, pp. 145-146

speed, they might travel on horseback or in a small carriage. This would allow the visitor to cover a greater area of the gardens or parkland in a shorter amount of time. In the 1810s, Louisa Monck was able to visit multiple properties on the same day by driving into and around the grounds, something she would not have had time for if she disembarked to walk.[96] Similarly, sitting in a carriage was considerably less effort and made the landscape more accessible to those who could not walk long distances. Increased speed was the obvious advantage of riding and driving, but it also raises the viewer of a landscape above their natural height and so the garden would be experienced in a subtly altered way.[97] Where a prospect might be improved from a higher viewing perspective, it also meant a rider was less able to engage with their surroundings by smelling the flowers or touching the water in a stream. Interestingly, this height and speed dynamic is not something that is mentioned in the primary material with regards to how it changed their viewing experience of the garden. However, designers like Lancelot Brown purposefully implemented stylistic features that would be best viewed from the height and speed of a carriage. The drives could be laid out in such a way as to "reveal the house, suddenly or dramatically… or to provide tantalizing glimpses, followed by a sudden reveal".[98] It is probable that the speed and height of riding and driving meant one was less likely to pause to take in the details of individual plants and the focus was directed towards the wider landscape. Of course, there is an appropriateness to each of these modes of transport. Horses and carriages would not enter a kitchen garden so this area of the property would always be traversed at ground level. Similarly, the narrow paths of the Elysian Garden at Audley End, as previously mentioned, were only suitable for pedestrians.

Horse riding was a useful way of getting around the grounds of country houses and was considered an important form of exercise and an enjoyable recreational activity, particularly for women.[99] There are many examples of women riding, and riding frequently, in the diaries. Louisa Monck, following a severe winter in early 1814, rode out many times at

[96] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[97] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 36
[98] Brown and Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men*, p. 88
[99] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 32; Martin, *Wives and Daughters*, pp. 300-301; Jean R. Druesedow, `Aside and Astride: A History of Ladies' Riding Apparel', in *Man and Horse: An Illustrated History of Equestrian Apparel*, by Alexander Mackay-Smith, Jean R. Druesedow, and Thomas Ryder (USA: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 58-91, p. 59

Belsay in the warmer weather of April.[100] During the last two weeks of that month, she rode out every day that it was not raining, which was only seven. On the 19th April, after describing three "soaking rainy day[s]", it was finally a "fine day", and she rode out twice before the weather turned in the evening when there were "tremendous showers with hail and a good deal of thunder and lightning".[101] Mary Glynne was a very active child and was often out of doors. During a visit to Audley End in March and April 1824, she walked out thirteen times, rode twelve times, and went out in carriages six times.[102] Mary and Louisa share a common factor in their riding; they mostly rode when they were either at their homes or, in the case of Mary Glynne, at a house in which they were long-term guests and as such was permitted access to the use of the estate's horses, or in Mary's case likely a pony.[103] When travelling, Louisa Monck made use of her carriage as a means of transport to other gardens and walked regularly on arrival but did not take to the saddle. This is an important distinction of the types of visitors to the garden and the ways they experienced movement.

Moving around and indeed between country house gardens came with risks and dangers. Lady Braybrooke described two such incidents in her diary where she hurt herself in the gardens of others. On 4th December 1841, whilst staying at Hatfield House in Hertfordshire, she and her company walked out after church.[104] It was a fine day though there had been a considerable amount of rain in the days previous and she even struggled to arrive at Hatfield as many of the roads in the area were under water and the carriage "nearly overturned in a hole". Whilst walking one Sunday she "fell going down the avenue and pulled Lord Salisbury with me!". She sprained her ankle "very badly". Four years later when at Cossey Hall (more commonly known as Costessey Hall), she "drove with Lady Barning in her pony carriage which in pulling round too sharply she upset… a good deal inclined, and the horse hurt my head".[105] Yet an injury did not mean that access to the garden was off limits whilst in recovery. Louisa Ann, the third child of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke and his wife, was convalescing with a "strained ankle" but was "drawn out daily in a garden chair", a small

[100] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[101] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[102] NLW, Glynne of Hawarden/27, Mary Glynne's diary, 1824
[103] Mary was ten years old in Spring 1824.
[104] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[105] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846

carriage pulled by a single horse.[106] Injuries associated with garden activities were also possible. Joseph Romilly recorded an injury during "a grand cricket match at Audley End" in which a Mr Morgan from the visiting side was "severely hurt by two balls striking his knee".[107] Notable injuries related to moving around gardens were not common, Lady Braybrooke recorded two in ten years. However, there was always a risk of personal injury when moving around out of doors that visitors would have been aware of.

Activities Performed in Country House Gardens

Sport and Physical Activity

There has been some debate by historians as to the role of field sports and the growth of particular designed landscape features. Tom Williamson suggested that the increased implementation of perimeter belts of woodland was directly influenced by a growth in popularity of driven shooting.[108] However, since the publication of his book he has received much counter-debate and it is now thought that this was not such a linear cause-and-effect relationship, particularly regarding the eighteenth-century landscape garden.[109] John Phibbs goes so far to say that driven shooting was irrelevant to parkland design.[110] However, even where a designed landscape facilitated field sports, it was sometimes not enough to guarantee a day of sports. The weather, in particular, was a major factor in allowing sport to go ahead. Louisa Monck recorded two occasions where the conditions of the day interfered with the hounds, most likely for foxhunting, and their ability to work. In December 1813, their plans were thwarted due to a heavy frost that affected the hounds' ability to scent, and in September 1815 it was "so hot a day" that the "dogs would not hunt".[111]

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[106] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850; Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 38
[107] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[108] Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), pp. 137-138; John Phibbs, `Field Sports and Brownian Design', *Garden History*, 40 (1) (2012), 56-71, p. 56
[109] Phibbs, `Field Sports and Brownian Design', p. 56; Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 13; Jonathan Finch, `"Grass, Grass, Grass": Fox-Hunting and the Creation of the Modern Landscape', *Landscapes*, 5 (2) (2004), 41-52, pp. 44-45
[110] Phibbs, `Field Sports and Brownian Design', p. 65
[111] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816

The shooting of birds, particularly pheasants and partridges, was popular among much of the landed elite. At Audley End, the estate accounts dedicated a separate section to recording the expenditure on shooting suggesting considerable effort was taken to rear game birds for sport. Game was also a source of cultural capital and an opportunity to show the wealth of the landowner and the expertise of his game staff. However, not everyone was content with the idea of blood-sports. Joseph Romilly, friend of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke and repeat visitor to Audley End, joined a shooting party as a spectator but was "very much disgusted with the cruelty of the sport and very soon left them" and instead walked to the village and finished his book.[112] The seasonality of hunting and shooting meant participants were anxious to have successful sporting days before the end of the season. The correspondent of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, who requested a day of shooting on his land in 1818 described his deep disappointment with his current situation: "I have been a sporting fellow for nine and fifty years of my life but never knew the birds half so wild as they have been this season… I have been out eleven mornings without a shot".[113]

In previous chapters, it has been mentioned that maintaining the desired aesthetic of lawns was a key seasonal requirement of any country house gardening team. Short cut grass was a key design feature of landscape gardens but also allowed for ball games such as bowls and later cricket.[114] At Audley End, the lawn to the west of the house was created by Lancelot "Capability" Brown on the site of the old Jacobean courtyard and foundations of the outer court of the house.[115] A newspaper report from 1842 states that Henry, son of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke had further levelled and prepared the area specifically for a cricket ground [Fig. 3.8].[116] Playing cricket at country houses was not uncommon and at least thirteen had specially built pavilions.[117] If a pavilion was not built, temporary tents could be put up to cater for the players much like those depicted in a watercolour by one of the Braybrooke daughters in the mid-nineteenth century [Fig. 3.9]. During one match at Audley End, the

[112] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6818, Diary, 1835-1836
[113] ERO, D/DBy C35, Correspondence to Lords Braybrooke, 1802-1848
[114] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 13; Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 141
[115] Magnus Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation: Audley End, Essex* (Swindon: Historic England, 2015), p. 16
[116] `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 01 July 1842 <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3208595650/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=0dd83bea>
[117] Lynn Pearson, `The Architecture of Cricket: Pavilions Home and Away', Paper to be presented at the British Society of Sports History Conference, London, 2-3 September 2011, <tinyurl.com/2p8bud7v>, p. 1

players were driven into their tents by "occasional violent showers of rain".[118] Cricket had appeared as an organised game around 1700 and by 1830 it was mostly recognisable as the modern game.[119] By the mid-eighteenth century, some were worried about the diversion of cricket and the *Gentlemen's Magazine* published an attack on the game. It argued that it was a distraction for working men and although the wealthy might do as they please, the author argues, "I very much doubt whether they have any right to invite thousands of people to be spectators of their agility, at the expense of their duty and honesty".[120] The games at Audley End attracted many spectators, one being attended by "Lord and Lady Maynard and the whole neighbourhood".[121] Each grand cricket match was accompanied by a large luncheon catering for eighty to ninety guests.[122] Matches were great social events, and the visitor book shows that the away side, some of the home team, and other friends stayed overnight at the house.[123] This was undoubtedly in part due to travel constraints but also allowed for extended socialising. For one fixture between Audley End and Marylebone Cricket Club on 18th and 19th July 1844, the surviving team list can be cross-referenced with Audley End's visitor book and shows that every Marylebone player and seven of the Audley End side, including two of Lord Braybrooke's sons, were guests of the family for three to four days.[124] In general, cricket players were not exclusively public schoolboys or university graduates, some were paid professionals such as James "Jemmy" Dean who was a sawyer by trade.[125] Further, some on the Audley End team were likely local labourers. J P Pollitt, who appears on the team list, may be John Pollitt, a local land labourer listed in both the 1841 and 1851 census for the Saffron Walden area.[126] His name does not appear in the guest book of Audley End

[118] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849
[119] John Ford, *Cricket: A social history, 1700-1835* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), p. 13
[120] Quoted in, Ford, *Cricket: A Social History*, pp. 36-38
[121] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[122] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849
[123] ERO, A8422, Volumes and papers relating to Audley End Estate, Box 8, Visitors to Audley End, 1844-1853
[124] ERO, A8422, Visitors to Audley End, 1844-1853; `Audley End v Marylebone Cricket Club… 18th and 19th July 1844' in *Audley End Cricket Book: being the scores of matches played on the lawn, in front of the house from the 1st May, 1842 to 31st August, 1844* (Saffron Walden: Youngman, 1844)
[125] Frederick Lillywhite, *Scores and Biographies. Vol. II (1827-1840)* (Surrey: Frederick Lillywhite, 1862), pp. 311-312
[126] `No. 25, Wicken Bonhunt', *England, Wales & Scotland Census (1851)* HO 107/1786 <https://www-findmypast-co-uk.mmu.idm.oclc.org/transcript?id=GBC/1851/0008070603&expand=true> [accessed 5 May 2023]; `Brick House, Wicken Bonant', *England, Wales & Scotland Census (1841)* HO 107/340/22 <https://www-

[Figure 3.8: Cricket at Audley End, undated, c. late-19th century]

[Figure 3.9: Cricket at Audley End, by one of the Braybrooke daughters, c. 1840-1850]

findmypast-co-uk.mmu.idm.oclc.org/transcript?id=GBC/1841/0001386390&expand=true> [accessed 5 May 2023]

House for the dates of the match. The garden as a place for sport and games was a cause of great enjoyment and sometimes days-long inter-class sociability.

Cricket was an activity that aimed to take up most of the day. In the mid-nineteenth century it was played with unlimited 4-ball overs and most professional games were played over two or three days.[127] When games were organised by the sons Braybrooke at Audley End, outside of the official league, they usually only allotted one day to complete the match meaning that games were either drawn or only one innings was played.[128] Joseph Romilly attended three important cricket matches at Audley End between 1845 and 1848 but other games were played from as early as 1842.[129] On 8th August 1845, the match against Cambridge University started at half past ten. It was "a fine day without a single shower" and was completed at half past seven that evening. Luncheon was at half past two. Three weeks later Audley End played local side Linton and completed one innings between ten and seven o'clock suggesting this nine-hour day of sport (with lunch in the middle) was commonplace. Romilly attended the first day of a two-day match against Marylebone Cricket Club which was interrupted by violent showers of rain, yet they were still able to complete a full two innings game.[130] The spectators of the game were well provided for over these many hours. Luncheons and marquees were available to the privileged few and seats were offered to the other spectators.[131] Cricket transformed the gardens at Audley End from their usual quiet state into a space full of people taking part in a day of sporting entertainment, socialising and taking refreshment just outside the mansion house.

The different seasons allowed for different sporting activities to be undertaken and certain sports became associated with certain times of year. Just as a gardener's pattern of work and a plant's growth was seasonal, so was the use of gardens, usually due to the weather. The

[127] 1848 cricket results, *ESPN Cricinfo* <https://stats.espncricinfo.com/ci/engine/records/team/match_results.html?class=4;id=1848;type=year> [accessed 14 January 2022]
[128] `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 01 July 1842; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849
[129] `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 01 July 1842; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849
[130] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849; `Cricket', *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 22 July 1848 <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/IS3245288030/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=e65341ac>
[131] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849; `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 01 July 1842

shooting season was in the autumn due to the breeding cycle of game birds. Cricket remained a predominantly summer sport as it worked best on long, dry days. Ice skating could only be performed if the lake or river one intended to skate on was frozen, and frozen thick enough to be able to skate safely. One January, around 1850, Belsay Hall experienced extremely cold weather which froze the lake and the ice on it was "very strong".[132] Sir Charles' sister, Aunt Netty, corresponding with her niece Isabella, reported that "the frost is very severe, down to 13 [degrees Fahrenheit] at night and about 30 in the middle of the day". In Celsius these translate to around -10 degrees at night and -1 in the day. In her letter she wrote:

> *"the amusement now, is skating – the ice very strong and the boys very keen, John Ogle has come over several times to skate with them, they get Jackson and some of the village boys to play hockey, and I believe have fine fun on the ice."*[133]

In Kate Feluś' work on the use of country house gardens, she does not mention skating or any other winter activity. This is perhaps not surprising as many families typically spent their winters in London and retired to the country in the summer months, and so skating was not as widely practiced at their country estates. The excitement of the boys and their wanting to make the most of the entertainment is clear in Aunt Netty's letter.

The lakes that were skated on during the winter were used for a variety of activities during the summer, particularly boating. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, designer Humphry Repton stated that water should be "enlivened by… pleasure boats".[134] Two paintings of Audley End by William Tomkins include scenes of boating on the River Cam [Figs. 3.10 and 3.11]. Figure 3.10 shows a boat with two small sails on the widened river to the west of the house, and Figure 3.11 depicts a rowing boat in which sit four guests and two oarsmen. The picture is calm and relaxed though boating was not without its dangers. Kate Feluś draws attention to the risks of boating as she describes instances of ladies falling overboard and being soaked, and even a death due to a capsized vessel.[135] The boats in Tomkins' paintings appear to be of a modest size, suited to the size of the waterway and

[132] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke, 1846-1865
[133] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke, 1846-1865
[134] Cited in Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players*, p. 182
[135] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 71-72

appropriate for the use of the family and their invited guests. This is in contrast with the vessels at Stowe which was a significantly busier tourist destination and had a much larger lake on which to sail.[136] A painting of Stowe by Jacques Rigaud from the 1730s shows a great galley with ten oarsmen and a collection of smaller boats surrounding it and by the end of the century a guidebook mentions a model man-of-war battleship.[137] When Lady Braybrooke visited Stowe in 1842 she was entertained by Lord Chartris who was launching his "little steam boat… it has oars which feather well, altogether a pretty ingenious toy".[138] The boating depicted by Tomkins at Audley End in the late-eighteenth century was a rather more domestic affair. The use of boats on the river continued into the nineteenth century and a new decorative boat house was erected around the year 1840 which would have been able to house smaller rowing boats or skiffs with removable masts.[139]

[Figure 3.10: detail of *Audley End and Ring Hill Temple*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

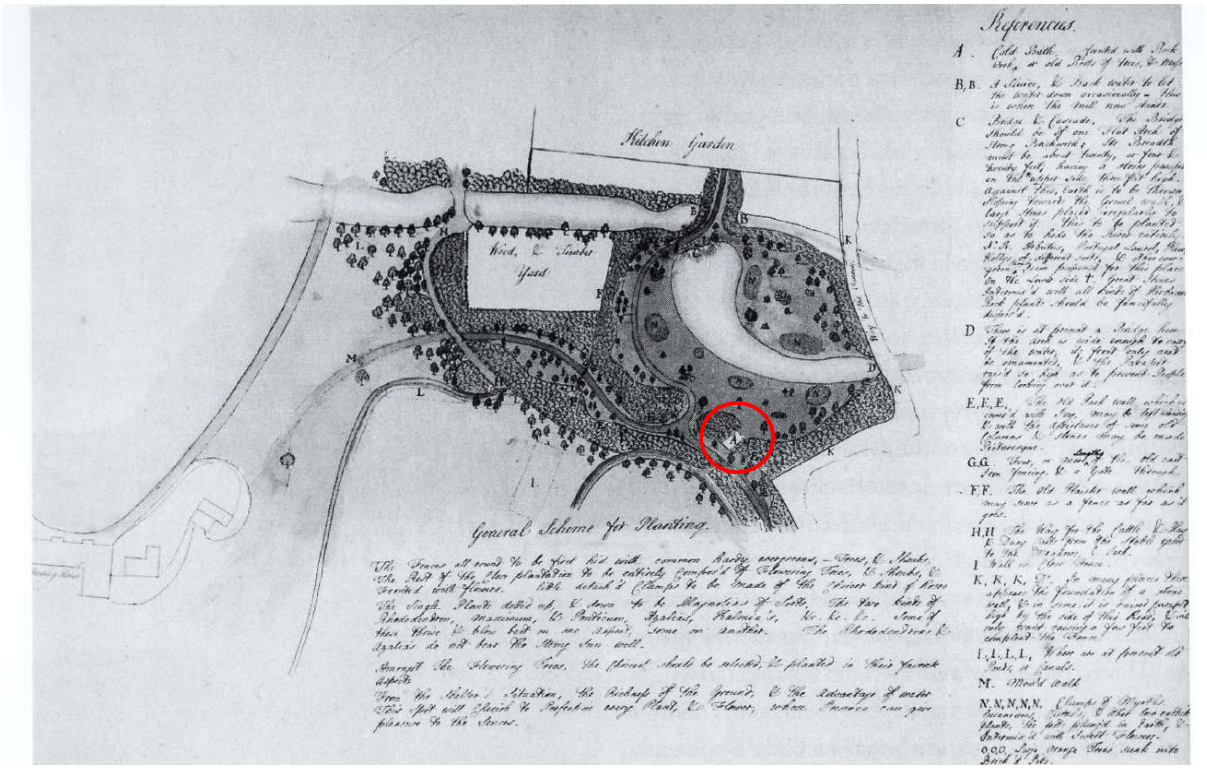
[136] Kate Feluś, `Boats and Boating in the Designed Landscape, 1720-1820', *Garden History*, 34 (1) (2006), 22-46, p. 26
[137] Feluś, `Boats and Boating in the Designed Landscape', pp. 28-29
[138] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[139] Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation*, p. 163; Feluś, `Boats and Boating in the Designed Landscape', p. 39

[Figure 3.11: detail of *Prospect of Audley End from the West*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

Bathing was a popular and medically fashionable water-related activity. There was a particular focus on sea bathing, the marketing of which was the driving force behind the growth of seaside resorts across England.[140] Much advice on the subject stated that a single plunge into cold water could be beneficial and so cold baths and plunge pools were widely built in the gardens of country estates to offer this benefit away from the coast.[141] The health benefits of cold bathing were widely promoted by the later eighteenth century being suggested for the treatment of anything from gout to depression or to generally "strengthen the constitution".[142] The cold bath at Audley End no longer exists though it appears on some plans and surveys and remains were found in an excavation in the 1990s.[143] A plan of the Elysian garden attributed to Placido Columbani around 1780 shows the site of a "Cold Bath, fronted with rock work and roots of trees and moss" and a survey completed in 1783 confirms the design was realised [Fig. 3.12].[144] The installation of a bath house required not only the creation of the building itself but hidden engineering works to carry water from the nearby river to service the pool. A brick culvert was constructed rather than the originally

[140] Robin Jarvis, `Hydromania: The social history and literary significance of Romantic swimming', in *The Aesthetics of the Undersea*, ed. by Margaret Cohen and Killian Quigley, pp. 67-83, p. 69
[141] Jarvis, `Hydromania', p. 69
[142] Martin, *Wives and Daughters*, p. 199; Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 73-75
[143] Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation*, p. 93; Michael Sutherill, `The Buildings of the Elysium Garden at Audley End', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 7 (1997), 94-104, pp. 94-96
[144] Sutherill, `The Buildings of the Elysium Garden at Audley End', p. 94

designed open ditch.[145] However, the design had proved impractical and was demolished by 1830.[146] When built it was situated in the typical setting of a clearing in some woodland, set back from the rest of the Elysian Garden to offer some privacy.[147] Although there are no explicit references to the use of the pool at Audley End, Mary Glynne's diaries exhibit this desire for bathing on warm days whilst staying at Escrick Hall in 1828. On the 20th, 22nd and 25th August she spent the days having "delightful dips" with her sister Catherine. Although this may seem the most satisfying time of year to use a cold bath, it could be prescribed for the winter though it was advised that one did not stay in for long and be followed by exercise and sufficient drying before dressing.[148]



[Figure 3.12: Columbani plan, the cold bath is depicted as "A" near the bottom of the plan]

[145] Sutherill, `The Buildings of the Elysium Garden at Audley End', p. 96
[146] Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation*, p. 158
[147] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 75
[148] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 74

Socialising

Socialising can be done as part of almost any garden activity mentioned in this chapter. This section has been separated from the rest to highlight that socialising was the primary focus of some activities and that gardens were created in order to facilitate these forms of socialising. Various design choices were made for the accommodation of different forms of socialising from small groups to large celebrations and to the antithetical desire for privacy or peace and quiet in the garden. Over time, even if the details of a garden changed as fashions in design came and went, the importance of creating a space that could be used to socialise remained at the forefront. Socialising was a key function of gardens.

The most common form of outdoor socialising in the garden was done in small groups. Most tourists had only a few travel companions, enough to sit comfortably in a private carriage. Lady Braybrooke travelled mostly with her husband and sometimes their daughter Mirabel, and similarly Louisa Monck tended to tour with her husband Sir Charles.[149] On Sir Charles Monck's solo trip to Edinburgh, he toured the houses near the city having met with his friends Mr and Mrs Bigge.[150] If one wanted to take a drive around a park, the fashionable and fast phaetons of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century could seat a limited number of people. Lady Braybrooke drove out with two other ladies "all round the drives" at Wynnstay in 1836, the outing covered ten miles and took them two hours.[151] After lunch she walked out with a larger group of companions.

The transition from the wide, straight axial plans of the seventeenth century garden to the narrower, winding walks of the Brownian landscape required a consideration of how visitors would move around whilst socialising in groups. Brown's designs allowed for paths of around seven and a half to eight feet in width which would allow a sociable number of two or three to walk side by side and could accommodate a carriage.[152] The final design and width of paths could facilitate greater sociability or intimacy.[153] Of course, a consideration of the changeable diameter of ladies' skirts over the decades would affect how many women could

[149] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841; ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846; NRO, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[150] NRO, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, 1831
[151] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[152] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 33
[153] Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, p. 148

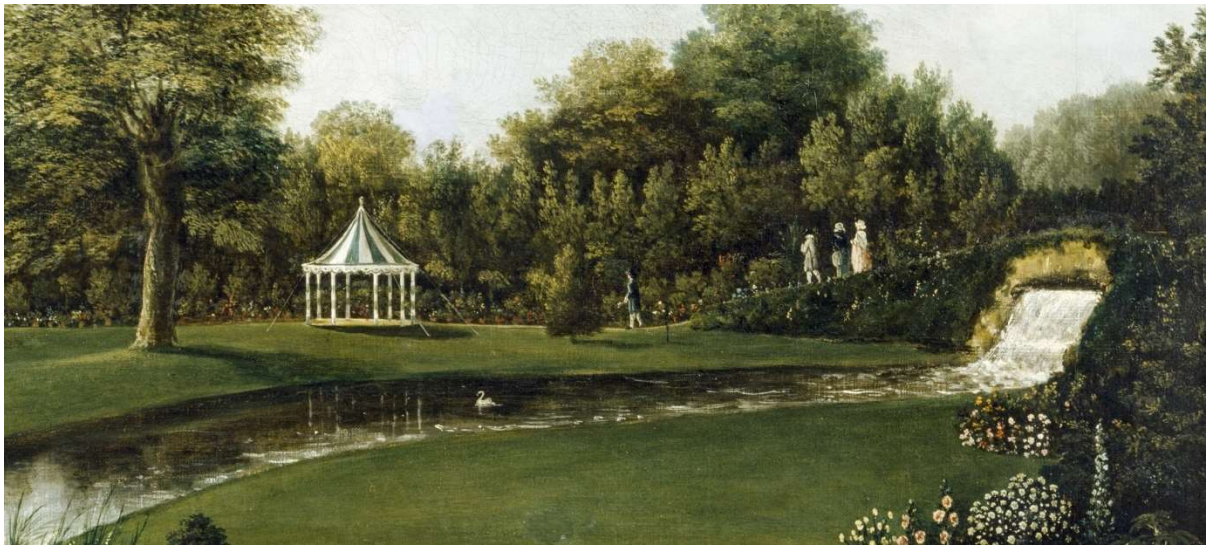
walk side-by-side. As previously mentioned, the quarry gardens at Belsay Hall are enclosed by rock and planting so there was not much room to manoeuvre beyond the gravel path. A small scrap of paper likely penned by Sir Charles shows he had a clear understanding of how people moved around a space and as a result how that should be reflected in any design. He wrote:

> *"Garden Walks (width of). Four persons do not usually walk abreast. Those on the outside cannot converse. The four usually break up into two pairs. But three persons walk together abreast. This takes seven feet. If there are flower borders on each side there must be room to pass them, and a nine foot path will be found to be ample. Any extra width is useless ~~unless you have room for two sets of three persons to pass each other~~ for ordinary garden & you cannot see the flowers."*[154]

Small groups could take refreshment in the garden with relative ease and flexibility. The aviary at Audley End was well equipped for this. A 1797 inventory of this building included: "4 Painted Chairs, Cane, 4 Wood Stools, a mah[ogan]y, Circular table… 12 Silver Tea Spoons, 1 pair tongs, 1 ditto strainer, tea pots. Cups and Saucers, a Hand Bell and Tea Chest" as well as a writing case and a number of books.[155] The aviary is one of the furthest points from the house on the vague circular route of the garden [see Figure 3.5, point D] and so ideal for stopping for some refreshment, especially if one had recently walked up Ring Hill and was in need of a rest. Tea in particular could be prepared at garden buildings or brought from the house to a tent or anywhere that one could place a table and chairs. Taking tea could be adapted for the number of individuals, the time of day, or the weather. Garden dining had also been enjoyed in Elizabethan and Jacobean country houses, more commonly in purpose-built banqueting houses or in distant hunting lodges as an accompaniment to sport.[156] By the Georgian period, places to take refreshment were conveniently placed along the circuit walks in the form of tea houses, lodges, temples and other garden buildings with small kitchens and parlours, or in temporary structures such as tents.[157] In the Elysian Garden at Audley End, there is evidence of a tent, usually referred to as the Turkish tent, which stood

[154] NRO, ZMI/S/38, Bundle of papers re trees, shrubs, and other plants at Belsay, 1807-1949
[155] Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', p. 111; Audley End House, South Library, `An inventory of the Furniture Pictures Etc, of Audley House, August 1797'
[156] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 105-108
[157] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 43

next to the cascade and opposite the Tea House Bridge, another potential venue for tea drinking. Its position is demonstrated in a previously mentioned William Tomkins painting titled “Audley End, View from the Tea House Bridge”, shown in detail in Figure 3.13. The tent has an artificial floor on which furniture could be put and stabilised without sinking into the grass. It is not clear whether there was specific outdoor furniture stored somewhere or if furniture from the house was brought out as and when required. This tent may have been the location that Miss Clayton, a relative of the family, was referencing in her letter to a friend. She wrote in 1787, “When the weather has been fine enough, we have drank [sic.] tea in the Elysian Garden (which you have often heard me speak of), with two French horns playing all the time which was delightful”.[158] The role of sound and music in the garden will be discussed in the next chapter.



[Figure 3.13: Detail of *Audley End, View from the Tea House Bridge*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

Less frequently, a garden was used to host great celebrations, balls, and parties. The open lawns by Belsay Castle which had been improved in the picturesque style by Sir Charles Monck, was a useful area to host large groups of people and temporary structures. A photograph from 1905 shows this area of lawn as the location of a fete in celebration of the

[158] Clayton, `Miss Clayton to Miss Port, Audley End, June 17th, 1787’, pp. 442-443

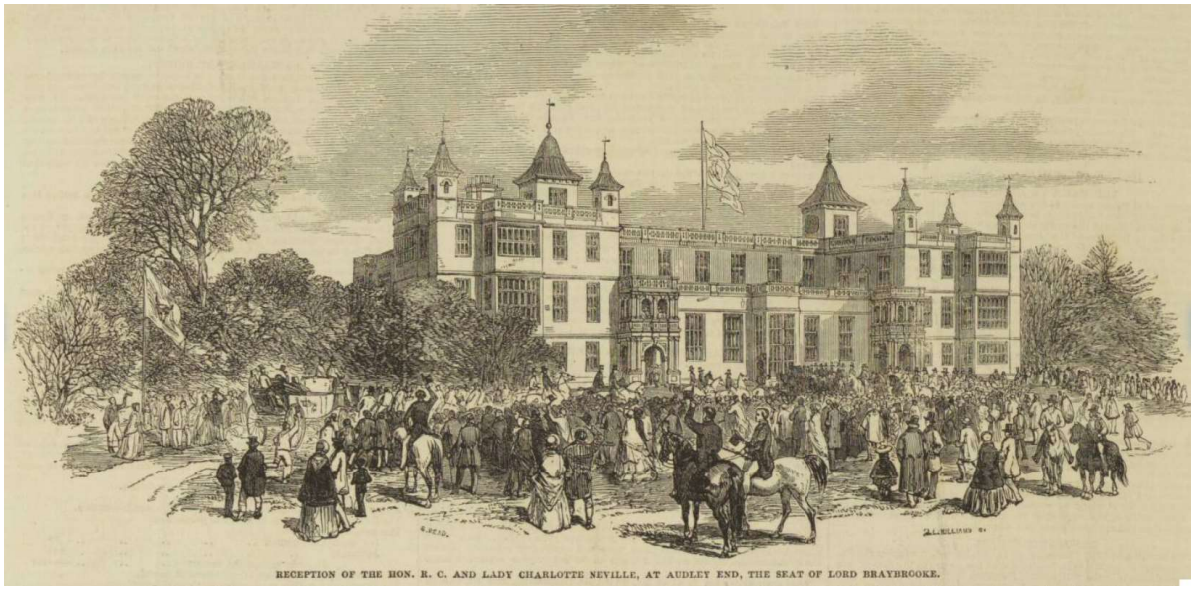
marriage of Hugh Middleton, youngest son of Sir Arthur Middleton [Fig. 3.14]. Large celebrations could be opportunities to invite many people of all ranks from the surrounding neighbourhood or even the whole county into the gardens.[159] In July 1819, their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester visited Audley End. A short time after their arrival the "gates at the village were thrown open and the lawn before the house was crowded by… people who did not advance beyond the gravel walk… giving heavy cheers".[160] Large celebrations could be opportunities to invite many people of all ranks from the surrounding neighbourhood or even the whole county into the gardens.[161] A similar reception was held for Richard Cornwallis Neville, oldest son of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, and his new bride in March 1852.[162] An image in the London Illustrated News [Fig. 3.15] shows the tenantry and local tradespeople crowded together on the lawn outside the west front of the house. Some celebrations included outdoor dining and balls such as at the majority celebrations of Sir Stephen Glynne at Hawarden Castle in 1828. Sir Stephen was the brother-in-law to Lord Braybrooke and many of the Braybrooke and Neville families were in attendance. A newspaper clipping describing the event reports a temporary building being constructed outside the main entrance to the castle "measuring 70 feet by 35 feet" that was used for a dinner and ball as well as the tenant's and servant's balls.[163] Similarly, in 1844 upon the majority of the Marquis of Chandos, three temporary entertaining spaces were constructed in the gardens of Stowe.[164] A large pavilion was reserved for a great ball to be attended by "all the aristocracy and principal gentry of the county" including Lord and Lady Braybrooke.[165] Two further marquees were erected on the north lawn to cater for some

[159] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 241-242
[160] ERO, D/DBy F41, Account of visit to Audley End of Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and letter accepting invitation signed by the Duke 1819
[161] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 241-242
[162] `Festivities at Audley End', *London Illustrated News*, 27 March 1852, British Newspaper Archive <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001578/18520327/043/0012?browse=true&fullscreen=true> [accessed 7 May 2023]
[163] ERO, D/DBy Z79, Commonplace and newscuttings book, kept by Jane Neville, wife of 3rd Lord Braybrooke; `Heir of Hawarden Castle', *Chester Chronicle*, 26 September 1828, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/JE3233324726/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=7a6a9748>; `Celebration of the Event', *Chester Chronicle*, 26 September 1828, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/JE3233324727/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=5edb772d>
[164] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[165] `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos', *Morning Post*, 11 September 1844, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3210007748/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=5b2105db>

2400-2500 guests of smaller tenantry and "dependents" from the surrounding villages.[166] Another small temple was constructed on the north lawn for the purpose of "exhibiting a grand pyrotechnic display" later in the evening.[167] The gardens at Stowe were also the setting for a grand procession of local people, Morris dancers and other rural entertainments and in the park a whole ox was roasted.[168]

[Figure 3.14: Photograph of a fete held at Belsay Hall on the lawn next to the castle, 1905]

[166] Lady Braybrooke reports 2400 and the newspaper report records 2500. ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846; `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'
[167] `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'
[168] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846; `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'



[Figure 3.15: "Reception of the Hon. R. C. and Lady Charlotte, at Audley End, the seat of Lord Braybrooke" in *The London Illustrated News*]

Where gardens can be at once spaces of open and visible socialising, they could also be arenas for privacy, both for individuals and small exclusive groups. The theme of gardens being well suited to illicit behaviours appears occasionally in the secondary literature of country house gardens. The basis of these analyses is that gardens, away from the bustling house and prying eyes, offered a greater amount of shelter and distance from others and facilitated a range of behaviours from political scheming and gossip to romantic liaisons.[169] These were not a new phenomenon in the Georgian period. Plotting and political gossiping in gardens was referenced by Shakespeare and Samuel Pepys, and references to amorous relations happening in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gardens are many and easy to find.[170] Similarly there are many contemporary references to this behaviour in literary and

[169] Dr Ruth Larsen recently presented a conference paper entitled "Locations of danger and desire: elite women in the early modern garden" at Women and Gardens Conference, 28 March 2023, Wrest Park, organised by English Heritage; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 89; Mary Thomas Crane, `Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9 (1) (2009), 4-22, p. 4 and pp. 7-8; Bending, *Green Retreats*, p. 1; Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 126-136

[170] Crane, `Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces', p. 8 and p. 14; The Gardens Trust, `What's going on in the Shrubbery? And what's it got to do with Mr. Repton?', *The Gardens Trust Blog* <https://thegardenstrust.blog/2018/03/17/whats-going-on-the-shrubbery-and-whats-it-got-to-do-with-mr-repton/> [accessed 10th January 2021]

cultural texts.[171] Examples relating to Audley End and Belsay Hall have, on the contrary, been elusive; but that does not mean that the gardens were not used in such a way, simply that they were not recorded. However, the users of these spaces did have an understanding that privacy and some peace and quiet for less scandalous activities could be gained from being out of doors. Country houses were busy places, full of family members, invited guests, tourists and servants and being outdoors could offer some respite to this bustling environment.[172] Similarly, certain landscape features and garden buildings such as hermitages, root-houses, and grottos were understood as spaces for meditation and melancholy.[173] Lord Coventry of Croome Court, Worcestershire explained that the tradition of hospitality to guests and tourists made it impossible to "effect any privacy or retirement" and as a result built a number of garden buildings to which he could withdraw.[174] Walking, reading, painting and other activities could be done alone and create a sense of peaceful retirement. Features of the garden's design from shrubberies and enclosed walks to secluded garden buildings accommodated privacy in the garden.

Intellectual Pursuits

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, most garden historians consider the main activity performed in country house gardens to be moving around the space, looking at and thinking about garden design. A visitor may take particular note of the garden's layout, the inclusion of modish design elements, certain exotic plants, or political allusions and classical symbolism. Having the ability to understand and recognise these aspects of garden design required a certain kind of polite education that led to, and was part of, the "cultivation of good taste".[175] Politeness, refined sociability, and taste had rules for participation that were only taught to and learned by the social elites and as such people were able to identify themselves as having status and wealth.[176] Therefore, going into gardens and making judgements about the garden, its owner and designer was a matter of education and

[171] Bending, *Green Retreats*, p. 6
[172] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 22
[173] Bending, *Green Retreats*, p. 234
[174] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 22
[175] Martin, *Wives and Daughters*, p. 215; Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 89
[176] Lawrence E Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 8

knowledge of taste. Garden discourse was circulatory as visiting gardens provided people with more knowledge and that in turn was taken into the next garden and so on.

Aesthetic analyses of gardens can be found most prevalently in the travel journals kept by both Sir Charles Monck and his wife Louisa on their various travels either together or alone. Louisa tended to present her opinions in only a few sentences. Bavington, Sir Cuthbert Shaftoe's place was, according to Louisa Monck, "a cold, bleak and damp place though the ground around it rather pretty, but altogether a most neglected, craftless place", whereas Norton Place's grounds were, "very pretty and neatly kept. The lake a nice clear piece of water and resembles a river. The bridge over it a great ornament".[177] Bywell Castle was "very pretty and the woods all around beautiful", but she did not approve of the placement of the river which had previously caused a flood in the house, and at Heslyside she commented that "the ground all about the house is kept very unneat. The cows are miles close to the windows".[178] She frequently commented on how well the gardens were being maintained and occasionally on the productivity of the kitchen gardens. These visits were conducted in 1811 and 1812, around the time that the new gardens at her own home were being conceived and laid out. At Nunwick, she directly compared the property to her own, stating that "the tower is not so pretty as Belsay" so perhaps the element of comparison and competition was also in her mind when she made judgements of other gardens.[179] Sir Charles' analyses ranged from a few sentences to whole pages of his travel journals. His account of Chatsworth in 1826 is particularly full of both positive and negative opinions. Overall, Monck thought it a handsome place and noted that some areas of the garden had the same plants as his garden at Belsay. However, he described being underwhelmed by the artifice of the lake and the conservatory in which the plants were not thriving.[180] Charles was particularly passionate about plants and so it is not surprising that the condition and selection of plants were at the forefront of his report.

Sir Charles Monck was a prolific note taker in his own garden. His surviving notebook records his horticultural endeavours in the gardens of Belsay Hall, some of which went on to be

[177] NRO, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[178] NRO, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[179] NRO, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[180] NRO, ZMI/B33/XXXVII, Travel diary of a tour around northern England, 1825-1826

published in journals such as *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*.[181] This was a way of using and experiencing gardens that many landowners did not have an interest in. Some of his observations spanned whole decades, particularly his attempts to successfully grow figs in Northumberland.[182] His original hypothesis was that his failure to produce edible fruit was an issue of climate and artificial heat would be required. After experimenting with trees planted against heated walls and in conservatories with surprisingly little success, he decided the issue must be something other than climate. He studied the fruit with a microscope and concluded that the internal structure of the fruits determined their size, shape and taste.[183] Monck found a way to identify if a tree would be barren or produce edible fruit and although it is not necessary to understand his experiment, it is clear that the whole process was interesting and enjoyable to Monck. It was something he was prepared to spend time and energy on. Clare Hickman has drawn attention to the use of gardens as laboratories for medical, agricultural and horticultural experimentation that could produce results of national and international significance.[184] Her recent publication, *The Doctor's Garden: Medicine, Science, and Horticulture in Britain* (2021) aims to highlight the importance of private, domestic gardens, their owners and intellectual networks in the field of medical and scientific knowledge production.[185] Generally, it goes some way to shift the focus from the most famous botanic gardens and highlight the role of lesser gardens and their potential for significant medical research.[186] For some, entertainment in the garden meant conducting horticultural experiments though this was not typical of all country house garden owners.

The relative solitude that could be attained in gardens meant they became places of reading and study. Retiring to the country and one's country estate was seen in cultural terms as an

[181] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836; Charles Monck, `Directions for removing Worms from the roots of plants grown in pots or tubs. Communicated to the Meeting of the 16th of July', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 6 (1826), 114-115
[182] Charles Monck, `XIII. Some Observations on the Fruit of Fig trees. In a Letter to the Secretary', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, 5 (1824), 163-169; Charles Monck, `XLIX. Upon the Cultivation of the Fig Tree. In a Letter to the Secretary', *Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London*, Second Series Volume 1 (1835), 395-398
[183] Monck, `XIII. Some Observations on the Fruit of Fig trees.', p. 165
[184] Clare Hickman, `The garden as a laboratory: the role of domestic gardens as places of scientific exploration in the long 18th century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 48 (1) (2014), 229-247, p. 234
[185] Clare Hickman, *The Doctor's Garden: Medicine, Science, and Horticulture in Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2021)
[186] Hickman, *The Doctor's Garden*, p. 2

opportunity for "improving oneself by study and meditation" away from the distractions and entertainment of urban areas.[187] Stephen Bending's work on women and country retirement explains that, depending on the personality of the woman, this relative solitude could be a welcome change of lifestyle or a direct punishment.[188] Country houses had multiple garden buildings and spaces for seats in which to sit in quiet contemplation or intellectual self-improvement.[189] In *Sketches of Saffron Walden* (1845), the authors twice mention the Elysian Garden at Audley End as being a perfect space to read a book. The first reference describes the "privileged" activity of reading a book on summer mornings as a "sweet retreat from the din and turmoil of busy life".[190] Joseph Romilly recorded reading in the temples of Audley End for example in 1849 he "passed all the morning till luncheon in one of the temples reading the Edinburgh Review", and in 1851 he went to the temple after lunch and read until dressing time.[191] A watercolour painting by one of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke's daughters shows a woman sitting alone, reading in the shade of some trees [Fig. 3.16]. It is not clear whether the figure was strategically placed for the purposes of the painting exercise, but the activity of reading out of doors was likely a common enough activity. Sat by the Cambridge Lodge gate was probably not the quietest nor most secluded reading spot though the shade was probably pleasant. Writing was also a popular activity to do in garden buildings. Kate Feluś draws particular attention to Jemima Grey of Wrest Park who often retired to her garden to write letters.[192] As already mentioned, a 1797 inventory of the aviary at Audley End included a writing case which could be stored there permanently for the family to use when out of doors.[193]

[187] Bending, *Green Retreats*, p. 70
[188] Bending, *Green Retreats*
[189] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 98-99
[190] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[191] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6828/1, Diary, 21 July 1851-7 Dec. 1852
[192] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 102
[193] Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', p. 111; Audley End House, `An inventory of the Furniture Pictures Etc', 1797

[Figure 3.16: Watercolour of a lady reading in the gardens at Audley End, c. 1840-1850]

For women, an area of polite education that could be practiced in gardens was arts and crafts. A mid-nineteenth century advice book to young women included many more outdoor art activities such as creating flowers and pictures of birds with feathers, "pictures in sand", and "seaweed pictures", but what survives most commonly are paintings and drawings.[194] Generally, honing one's skills and knowledge of the arts was considered essential for women in polite society to fill their leisure time, "render [them] an agreeable friend and acquaintance", and elevate the soul.[195] Mary Elizabeth Bennett, Sir Charles Monck's second wife, was an accomplished picturesque artist who painted several watercolours of the gardens at Belsay Hall in the mid-nineteenth century. Her paintings have clear fore-, middle-, and backgrounds that stretch far into the distance [Fig. 3.17]. There were often one or two people included which further highlighted the scale of the wider wooded and rocky

[194] *Elegant Art for Ladies* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856), pp. v-viii; Clive Edwards, `"Home is where the art is": Women, handicrafts and home improvements 1750-1900', *Journal of Design History*, 19 (1) (2006), 11-21, p. 13

[195] John Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady on a variety of useful and interesting subjects, 6th American Edition, originally published 1795* (USA: W E Norman, 1811), p. 103; Edwards, `"Home is where the art is"', p. 14

[Figure 3.17: A watercolour of the terrace at Belsay Hall looking out towards the wider landscape, by Mary Elizabeth Monck (née Bennett), 1853]

landscape. In Figure 3.17 a lady is depicted collecting flowers from the terrace at Belsay Hall in a small basket.

When Mary Glynne was at her home of Hawarden Castle in late summer of 1824, she went out to draw, and on one occasion she rode out with her drawing equipment.[196] At Audley End, numerous watercolour paintings created by the daughters of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke survive that depict scenes both inside and outside the house. The various views place the

[196] NLW, Glynne of Hawarden/27, Mary Glynne's diary, 1824

painters in many different positions within the gardens and wider landscape: some with a focus on the house and other buildings, others of trees and flowers and a few that depict people engaging in recreational sport or reading. According to *Elegant Arts for Ladies* (1856), landscapes were one of the easiest forms of painting for the details such as leaves on trees could be simplified and to some degree imagined within the general outline.[197] In August 1849 Mr Stanley the drawing master took the Miss Nevilles to Strethall to paint the manor house from the gardens there.[198] It is likely the young artists at Audley End were provided with a chair and table, a small easel, some water, and a paint box with which to complete the activity. This could potentially lead to a number of hours spent out of doors, ideally in pleasant weather. The images that survive all show the trees in full leaf suggesting that the favoured time to paint outside was in the warmer summer months. Indeed, it would have been too cold to sit stationary in a winter scene for a prolonged amount of time.

Conclusion

Country house gardens were experienced in a variety of ways and offered opportunities for a range of activities. Leisured audiences consumed the garden space with different levels of access depending on their relationship to the family owning the house and accommodations could be put in place to welcome or restrict casual tourists. Visitors to country house gardens included polite tourists who could spend their limited time on a brief tour of the grounds perhaps taking in the furthest points in their carriage. Invited guests might stay at the house for several days and as such visit the gardens on a number of occasions with more freedom to wander in the garden or engage in activities such as sports, taking refreshments, or spending time reading in solitude. The landowner, their family and frequent guests had the most access to garden activities and would have experienced the gardens in different seasons and weather conditions. This chapter has addressed the culture of country house visiting and the audiences that travelled to gardens, how these audiences moved around garden spaces and their experiences of movement, and some of the many activities that were performed in and around gardens.

[197] *Elegant Art for Ladies*, p. 91
[198] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850

Landowners were prepared to receive visitors and certain amenities were provided. This could include a guided tour by the head gardener, the provision of refreshments at garden buildings, and a selection of resting points along a route. The more famous properties restricted tourism by implementing open days, though Audley End and Belsay Hall were not so commercialised as the likes of Stowe and Stourhead. Access to certain activities was not granted to all and social norms meant certain visitors would not expect to participate in every activity possible. The family and other long-term residents had the time and access to perform a wider range of activities such as boating, painting, field-sports, and ball games. These activities were facilitated by certain design choices such as the inclusion of bodies of water, wide open spaces, and remote garden buildings. Gardens could host large celebrations in some areas while be suited to quiet and privacy in others.

Space and time were important features of an individual's experience of the garden. Kate Feluś' focus on the time of day in which activities occurred was a crucial starting point for this chapter. How much time they could allocate to a visit would determine the activities they could undertake as well as how fast they moved around the space. The mode of transport they chose affected how quickly and with how much effort a person or group required to reach different areas of the garden as well as changing the height and experience of gardens. Activities such as taking tea or reading could be performed almost anywhere though larger recreations were restricted to the flatter open spaces. Seasonality and the use of gardens were closely connected, some activities were associated with different times of the year and the practicalities of the weather were taken into account. Inclement weather was a significant barrier to enjoying gardens as has been shown throughout this chapter. Space and time considerations add to our understanding of country house gardens as they highlight the multiplicity of the space. Visits to gardens were experienced as individual moments and would differ between people, the places they visited, the weather conditions of the visit, and the amount of time spent there. Similar to Benjamin Heller's argument that rooms in the Georgian House were transformed by the presence of different people, so too was the garden space.[199] They could be transformed from quiet private spaces for the owning family, to tourist destinations enjoyed by strangers

[199] Benjamin Heller, `Leisure and the use of domestic space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal* 53 (3) (2010), 623-645, p. 644

or to extremely busy places when the whole neighbourhood was invited in for large celebrations.

Gardens were created with use in mind. Paths and drives were designed to be walked and ridden on, lakes were expected to carry vessels, and garden buildings were built for shelter and refreshment. The work of gardeners, craftsmen, designers, and other members of the working garden community was expected to create not only beautiful but usable spaces. Owners and visitors were able to subvert design choices by moving around the gardens along different routes. This chapter has further repopulated gardens with leisured visitors by rethinking them as spaces of rest, play, and work, rather than as art objects to only be visually admired. Highlighting the use of gardens contributes to our understanding of why and how gardens were created with people and their experiences at the centre. It adds to the practical nature of gardens by looking at tangible aspects of garden use rather than the culture and ideological frameworks behind designs. Generally, it demonstrates how people consumed, interacted with, and participated in gardens on a day-to-day basis.

The next chapter explores the experiences of garden audiences further by examining how people interacted with the space with their whole body and all of their senses. The embodiment of garden experience adds new levels of understanding to how gardens were consumed by visitors.

Chapter 4:

Sensory Experiences of Country House Gardens

Introduction

Gardens are experienced with the whole body. All the senses are active all the time even if one is at the forefront of an individual's perception and others are working in the background. Sensory history is a relatively recent development in historical research and was born out of the new cultural history of the late 1980s. It has its roots in the history of material culture and the history of the body.[1] Generally, it forms part of a trend of interest in how people in the past interacted with the world around them and their perceptions of it.[2]

A major proponent of sensory history is Mark M Smith who defines useful sensory histories as those which contextualise and historicise the reception of the senses and which distinguish between the "production" and "consumption" of sensory stimuli.[3] Although we may be able to recreate or reproduce a sound or event from history, we cannot use this alone as a tool for understanding how people perceived or consumed that sound or event in the past. Alain Corbin's work *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (1998) does this particularly well and highlights that simply looking at the object that produced the sound is not useful.[4] Rather, he looks at how the perception of the sound of bells changed over time for rural French citizens and the emotional reactions they inspired. In a garden context, it might be that we could view a garden building that was built centuries ago, or taste a historic variety of fruit, but without the correct context this creates an ahistorical understanding of what and how people viewed, heard, smelled, touched, and tasted in the past, and their reactions to those sensory stimuli.

In the last thirty years, sensory history has been applied to a wide range of topics as shown in various edited volumes such as *Empire of the Senses* (2005) and *The Book of Touch* (2005)

[1] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), pp. 67 and 70
[2] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 110
[3] Mark M Smith, `Producing sense, consuming sense, making sense: perils and prospects for sensory history', *Journal of Social History*, 40 (4) (2007), 841-858, p. 841
[4] Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, translated by Martin Thom (London: Columbia University Press, 1998)

both of which form part of the Sensory Formations Series.[5] There are different ways a sensory history can be approached. Emily Cockayne uses all the senses and applies them to the specific context of urban life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[6] She narrows her scope by only considering the negative experiences recorded as a balance to existing histories that had focused on more pleasant accounts.[7] William Tullett, on the other hand, takes one sense, smell, and traces its reception throughout eighteenth-century life.[8] He argues that the senses "are not just a topic of inquiry but a way of framing our understanding of the past" and this chapter has been influenced by this.[9] An exploration of the senses and memory is the focus of Joanne Begiato in her article about the interaction between the remembering of childhoods spent in country houses and the use of sensory language in Georgian memoirs.[10] Within this she also draws out the connection between the senses and the emotions. Seen this way the senses are a lens through which to access a deeper understanding of how people interacted with and consumed garden spaces.

This chapter utilises personal documents such as letters, diaries, travel journals, and commonplace books. These sources are the places where people in the past would be most likely to record their reactions and reflections on certain sensory stimuli. Some senses were more commonly written about than others as will be discussed throughout the chapter. Smell, for example, is rarely recorded in diaries and letters and reflects the general feature of the sources in which descriptions of the every-day are often left out. For Tullett's analysis of smell, the limited mentions found in diaries and letters is resolved by studying a wide source base from across the country as well as consulting literature, medical and public health sources, and recipes.[11] The smaller pool of source material for this chapter reduces the likelihood of the senses being directly referenced, but allows for greater opportunities to explore the presence of "unremarkable" sensory stimuli that can be inferred or implied from broader contextual knowledge. The absence of data is important in itself. People were more

[5] David Howes (ed.), *Empire of the Senses: the sensual cultural reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2005); Constance Classen (ed.), *The Book of Touch* (Oxford: Berg, 2005)
[6] Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England, 1600-1770* (London: Yale University Press, 2007)
[7] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 1
[8] William Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)
[9] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 12
[10] Joanne Begiato, `Selfhood and "Nostalgia": Sensory and Material Memories of the Childhood Home in Late Georgian Britain', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 (2) (2019), 229-246
[11] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 20

likely to record stimuli that were out of the ordinary, particularly pleasant or unpleasant, or exciting and so where there is a lack of references to some senses this suggests that their experiences were meeting their expectations.[12]

This chapter also makes use of Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (third edition: 1771).[13] Garden treatises are useful sources for gaining an understanding of how people were trained to look at gardens and how tastes of visual culture changed over time. However, most do not discuss other sensory experiences that could be found in gardens. This is not surprising, especially for the picturesque writers such as Humphry Repton or William Gilpin whose interest in gardens was characteristically visual.[14] Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* (1728) similarly was primarily focused on the visual, however, his descriptions of flowering shrubs included references to smell for those plants with particularly pleasant aromas.[15] Whately's *Observations* stands out as a treatise that references sight, sound, smell, and touch on multiple occasions and as such covers the broader range of sensory stimuli that people interacted with in gardens. This work has been useful for adding general context to the sources that discuss the case studies and connected properties.

References to senses within the case-study source material are plentiful but they are spread out over the time period, different events, and different locations. There are only a handful of sources that deal with most of the senses in an account of a single event. As a result, the analysis is structured according to each individual sense though there is a significant amount of overlap. People experience multiple senses at the same time so separating them is not suggesting that they were individual experiences. However, there are times when senses are experienced sequentially. One can see an apple, touch it when picking it up and biting into it, and then taste it, or one might smell flowers or hear birds before seeing them.[16] There is no single right way to structure a sensory history and this chapter has been structured based on the material available. Therefore, the senses have required ordering.

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[12] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 1
[13] Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening, Third Edition* (London: T Payne, 1771)
[14] Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening…* (London: J Taylor, 1805); William Gilpin, *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening…* (London: T Cadell, 1835)
[15] Batty Langley, *New Principles of Gardening…* (London: Bettesworth and Batley, 1728), pp. 177 and 179
[16] David Howes, `Introduction' in *Empire of the Senses: the sensual cultural reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2005) ed. by David Howes, pp. 1-17, p. 9

Discourse about a "hierarchy of the senses" has a long historic tradition. In his work *De Anima*, Aristotle ranked sight above the other senses for its links to thought, intellection, and the soul.[17] By contrast, touch was considered the lowest and most ordinary, possessed by animals without the human characteristics of thought and soul. The primacy of seeing and hearing over the more proximate senses prevailed through the Middle Ages, with writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) and Bartholomew the Englishman whose early thirteenth-century Latin composition *On the Properties of Things* was translated into Middle English by the end of the fourteenth century.[18] By the eighteenth century, thinkers were debating which sense produced the most "accurate" or "reliable" information about the world, with some championing sight and others touch for its proximity to material objects.[19] For educated members of eighteenth-century polite society, the hierarchy of the senses would have been a cultural conversation they were aware of and may have personally subscribed to.

The hierarchy that places sight and hearing as the primary senses is evident in the source material for the case studies. Those reporting on their experiences of gardens tended to privilege sight and sound over the others. There was an established cultural connection between garden design and landscape painting, and between birdsong and music.[20] These writers therefore skew their descriptions of gardens with references to the visual and auditory. In this chapter the senses have been organised in terms of frequency of reference in the sources and as such reflects some of the hierarchical bias held by polite society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, no value judgement has been placed on the relative importance of each of the senses to a holistic experience of the garden. There is no reason to believe that any of the accounts included in this chapter were written by individuals who experienced any less than the full range of senses.

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[17] Pascal Massie, `Touching, Thinking, Being: The Sense of Touch in Aristotle's *De anima* and Its Implications', *Minerva – An Internet Journal of Philosophy*, 17 (2013), 74-101, pp. 76-77

[18] Richard G Newhauser, `The Senses, the Medieval Sensorium, and Sensing (in) the Middle Ages', in *Handbook of Medieval Culture, Volume 3* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), ed. by Albrecht Classen, pp. 1559-1575, p. 1564

[19] Anne C Vila, `Introduction: Powers, Pleasures, and Perils of the Senses in the Enlightenment Era', in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), ed. by Anne C Vila, pp. 1-40, p. 2

[20] Michael Symes, *The English Landscape Garden: A Survey* (Swindon: Historic England, 2019), p. 7; Richard d'A Jensen, `Birdsong and the Imitation of Birdsong in the Music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', *Current Musicology*, 40 (1985), 50-65

This chapter uses the senses to breathe life and texture into the analysis of garden experiences. It considers sight, sound, touch, smell and taste, their active uses and responses to them in a range of primary material as well as their absences from these texts. It aims to further contribute to the repopulation of gardens with real people and looks further into how these people experienced, interacted with and participated in the space.

Sight/Vision/Looking

Country house gardens were designed to be beautiful and aesthetically pleasing within the visual culture of the time. Their forms and designs were the subject of intellectual analysis in garden treatises by writers such as Batty Langley, Thomas Wright, Thomas Whately, Humphry Repton, and William Gilpin. Spanning the period from the 1720s to the 1830s, these writers differed in the details of what was pleasing to the eye, but they shared many similarities in how they taught amateurs how to view and actively read landscapes. Each theorist discussed the correct shapes, sizes, and proportions of well-designed gardens. The technical geometry of Batty Langley's work was not dissimilar to how Humphry Repton was manipulating proportion and perspective to create visual illusions of size or distance.[21] They wrote about the trees that would look best when planted together and both William Gilpin and Thomas Wright highlighted the importance of seasonal planning when it came to the placement of trees.[22] These treatises gave members of polite society a structured framework and artistic vocabulary to discuss the designs and features they viewed. It taught them how to identify "good" or "poor" design choices and made their viewing of gardens active and educated. Anyone could look at a garden but only the educated elite could read the designs in the appropriate manner according to the taste of polite society. It allowed viewers to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of looking at gardens and would have influenced how they themselves wrote about gardens in their diaries and letters. Further, this education influenced how they designed their own gardens to reflect normative attitudes and design concepts. When Sir Charles Monck visited Chatsworth House in 1826,

[21] Langley, *New Principles of Gardening*, pp. 1-24; Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*

[22] Gilpin, *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening*, p. 50; Newcastle upon Tyne Central Library (NCL), Thomas Wright, Eight Volumes of Wright MSS, Volume 8, p. 98

he wrote a description of the gardens in which he praised the size of the terraces and the grandness of the conservatory, though he disliked the artificiality of the cascade.[23] Other descriptions of gardens were briefer such as Emma Smith's letter describing Audley End's gardens as "very pretty and worth seeing".[24]

Garden visiting, a popular activity among the leisured class, was a highly visual experience as highlighted in the previous chapter. Tourists travelled to various properties looking at and making judgements about their design and upkeep based on their education and previous experiences.[25] Adrian Tinniswood explains that "everyone strove to exhibit good taste" and "criticism denoted discrimination" and this ability to discriminate was a valuable social skill.[26] The books they had read and the conversations they had with their peers taught a discernment of neat or untidy gardens, modern or outdated designs, and exciting and boring prospects. Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau included some criticisms in his generally positive description of Audley End during his visit in 1826. As well as the "tiresome" views, he further commented that the temples and obelisk had a "very heterogenous appearance in the midst of these pasture-grounds".[27] Conversely, Bernard Pieter van Lelyveld particularly enjoyed Audley End for its noticeable lack of picturesque features in the 1790s despite the fashion for the sublime. He preferred the "undulating" lines of the gardens and praised the absence of "peaks of high mountains [that would] burden the horizon", "dark forests [that] darken the countryside to inspire gloomy thoughts", and "precipices [that] make you recoil in horror".[28] Audley End's smooth lines were pleasing and calming to van Lelyveld, whereas the same garden features were boring to von Pückler-Muskau some thirty years later.

[23] Northumberland Archives (NA), ZMI B33/XXXVII, Travel diary of Sir Charles Monck re Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Derbys., 1825-1826
[24] Hampshire Records Office (HRO), 23M93/70/3/39, Letter from Emma Smith concerning an expedition to Audley End and Cambridge with Charles Smith and Augusta
[25] Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 80 and 107
[26] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 80
[27] Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829 with remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and anecdotes of distinguished public characters* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833), p. 31
[28] ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End* [Saffron Walden], by Bernard Pieter van Lelyveld, 1797: "la marche ondoyante", "La cime des hauts monts ne borne pas ici un horixon", "De sombres forêts… ne noircissent pas ici Le païsage pour l'inspirer des pensées lugubres", "point de précipices qui te faisent reculer d'horreur"

Hesleyside did not fare highly in Louisa Monck's description in 1812 of which she wrote:

> *"I do not admire Heslyside [sic.] any more this time than I did before in winter. It is a melancholy dreary place. The living rooms… have nothing pretty to look upon but the river. As for the rest, extensive view, it is all black moor and an ugly waste flat. The ground all about the house is kept very unneat… there is a small barn close to the house that stands much in the way of improvement."*[29]

During an earlier winter visit to the same property Louisa commented that the surrounding landscape was "fine wild picturesque country", but the gardens had not captured this and remained "bleak" and in an "inconvenient situation".[30] Recognising what aspects of gardens were beautiful or bleak was a tool for visitors to affirm their status as an educated and experienced consumer of gardens.[31] Those tourist accounts that were published would have further influenced how later visitors viewed gardens, what features they looked out for, and how they compared the views they saw with the accounts they had read. Conversations between friends through the exchange of letters contributed to the ongoing discourse about garden design amongst garden visitors that was mediated by published works and received opinion.

The cultural relationship between landscape painting and the principles of garden design were well established by the late-eighteenth century.[32] The picturesque movement hotly debated by theorists such as Humphry Repton, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight focused on the relationship between gardens, nature, and painting. Regardless of which side of the debate a person agreed with, what these writings provided was a framework of how to look at gardens through a painterly lens. Michael Symes explains that the picturesque movement encouraged viewers to judge gardens as if they were a series of paintings of various prospects from around the property.[33] Knowledge of the composition of the paintings of Claude Lorrain or Nicolas Poussin, with clear fore-, middle- and backgrounds, was deeply influential in how visitors looked at gardens in person. Visitors brought this previous knowledge and artistic context into each garden they viewed.

[29] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[30] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[31] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 109
[32] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 6
[33] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 7

As a result, some of the descriptions of landscapes that are found in the primary sources have parallels with how one might describe a painting, particularly with reference to colour and light. During a visit to Caernarfon Castle Lady Braybrooke recorded in her travel diary that the weather was mostly "fine" but there had been two or three showers of rain which "made the lights and shadows beautiful".[34] Such changeable weather would have created a heightened contrast of light and any freshly watered plants would shine with sunlight. The sun was twice referred to for its gilding effect in sources that had a notably romantic tone. The first was from an article in the *Chester Chronicle* describing the celebrations of the majority of the heir to Hawarden Castle attended by Lord and Lady Braybrooke.[35] In this, the author described how "the rays of the setting sun gilded the foliage of the venerable oak and other magnificent trees" and other features of Hawarden's "picturesque" scenery.[36]

The second was from *Sketches of Saffron Walden, and its vicinity* (1845), a walking tour of the town close to Audley End that makes multiple references to the author's childhood experiences of the gardens.[37] Here, the "glorious sun" that they remembered from childhood was "now gilding the hedges, the banks, and the sloping cornfields".[38] The soft, warm colouring created by the late-afternoon sun is today referred to by photographers as "the golden hour" but it was a popular feature of the paintings of French artist Claude Lorrain in the early-seventeenth century [Fig. 4.1].[39] His use of colour was the basis for the Claude glass which was highly popular in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was a small, easily carried, tinted mirror that could be purchased in a range of coloured tints. The Claude Glass was designed to aid artists by framing views into a contained image and distort the natural colours to a more homogenous shade akin to greyscale or sepia.[40] This allowed the painter to copy the reflected image and produce a Claude-like effect in their artwork. The popularity of the Claude glass was tied to the growth of landscape and garden tourism

[34] Essex Records Office (ERO), A8422, Volumes and papers relating to Audley End Estate, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[35] `Celebration of the Event', *Chester Chronicle*, 26 September 1828, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/JE3233324727/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=5edb772d>
[36] `Celebration of the Event'
[37] The use of memory in *Sketches* will be discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter. John Player and John Mallows Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden, and its vicinity* (Saffron Walden: Youngman, 1845)
[38] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 2
[39] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 35
[40] Lars Kiel Bertelsen, `The Claude glass: a modern metaphor between word and image', *Word and Image*, 20 (3) (2004), 182-190, p. 185

in this period as discussed in the previous chapter.[41] Looking at gardens in this way, seemingly counter-productively, required the viewer to turn away from the prospects and view an altered and simplified reflection. Lars Kiel Bertelsen suggests that this object was a means of transporting British tourists to the Italian landscape without the need for international travel.[42] These devices encouraged visitors to seek out the most picturesque or well composed views and as such actively influenced how people looked at gardens.

[Figure 4.1: The gilded colour palette of Claude Lorraine, *A Seaport*, 1644]

The central features of the gardens at Audley End and Belsay Hall belong to two different design periods. Audley End was a product of the fashionable Brownian style created in the 1760s and, although alterations were made over the next century, the style remained recognisably in its mid-eighteenth-century state. Belsay Hall's quarry garden, which formed

[41] Bertelsen, `The Claude glass', p. 185; Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, p. 112
[42] Bertelsen, `The Claude glass', p. 186

the showpiece for the wider property, took its influence from the picturesque movement and the sublime.[43] The different designs actively influence how visitors looked at them in terms of their planes of sight. Visually each garden encourages either wide horizontal views or enclosed vertical lines. Brown's landscapes created expansive prospects that included distant eye-catchers such as Audley End's temples and Lady Portsmouth's column. These far-off markers of possession and the open green spaces between exhibited the landowner's large domain [Fig. 4.2].[44] However, the view of the wider productive agricultural landscape was shielded by a deliberately planted screen of trees which neatly framed the desired prospect. For one visitor to Audley End, Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, the views were "grand and striking" in their extensiveness, though he found them "tiresome… from their uniformity".[45] The visual display of landownership, wealth and power was reinforced by the removal of "eye-sores" such as an old village or fences which were replaced by ha-has to offer uninterrupted views.[46] By the early-nineteenth century, the stylistic focus had come to favour rugged, wild shapes inspired by travel to Europe and British wildernesses such as the Lake District and North Wales.[47] Belsay's high-sided quarry garden, originally sparsely planted to highlight the ruggedness of the rocks was later richly planted with native and exotic plants which emphasised the enclosed views. The winding path meant that visitors could not see far ahead of them, and each turn of a corner revealed a new spectacle. The only open space to be seen was the sky above. The rocky walls, and strategically planted scotch pines at the top of these cliffs, guided the eye vertically and created a feeling of enclosure within the high walls [Fig. 4.3]. Bricked arches high above the paths similarly encouraged viewers to look upwards and admire vertical visual interest. It would be simplistic to suggest a wholesale change over time from horizontal to vertical directional vision in country house gardens but there was a notable shift in the popular fashions and visual cultures from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries.

[43] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 76
[44] Kate Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* (London: I B Taurus, 2016), p. 12
[45] von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, p. 31
[46] Sarah Rutherford, *Capability Brown and his Landscape Gardens* (London: National Trust, 2016), p. 17; Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), p. 103; Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), p. 89
[47] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 73

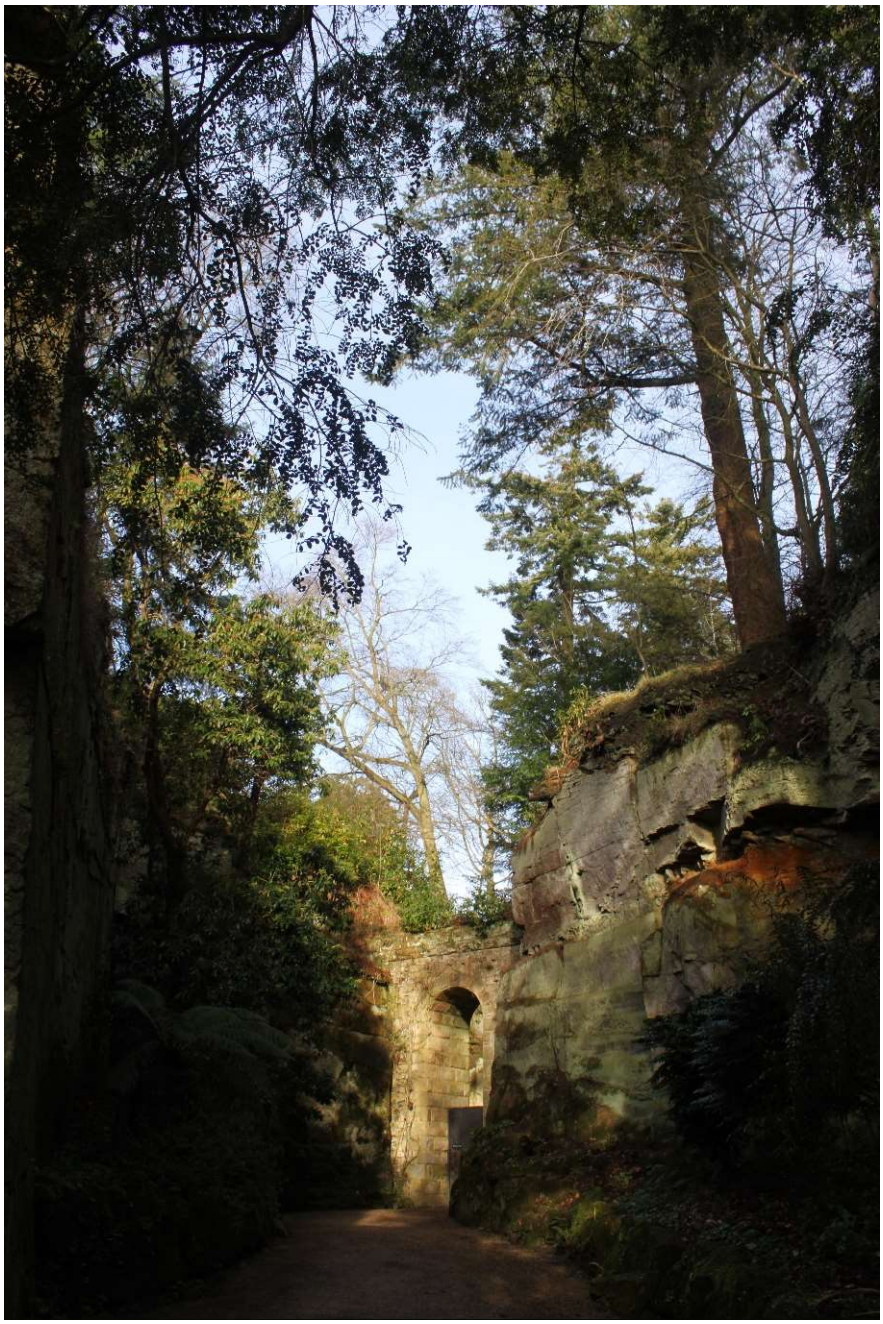
[Figure 4.2: The west lawn of Audley End looking towards Ring Hill. The view encourages the eye to look far and wide. Photograph taken by Helen Brown]

According to the garden historian, Miles Hadfield, the prospect-driven landscape style relegated the more industrious areas of country house gardens to a lesser status. He wrote that flower, fruit and kitchen gardens were "banished to a walled enclosure discreetly placed out of sight".[48] Over forty years later it is accepted that, although some kitchen gardens were moved to allow for a clear vista, they were not hidden away – rather they were actively sought out and shown off to visitors.[49] Roderick Floud explains that kitchen gardens were important status symbols in which a landowner could grow fashionable produce using the latest technology whilst exhibiting the skills of their gardeners.[50] There are several references to abundant and productive gardens in the primary material as well as a wider

[48] Miles Hadfield, *The History of British Gardening* (London: J Murray, 1979), p. 212; Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 3

[49] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 125-6; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 256-7

[50] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 259



[Figure 4.3: The Quarry Garden at Belsay Hall. High rock walls and tall trees draws the eye upwards and has a narrow plane of sight. Photograph taken by Helen Brown]

interest in the work of garden staff that suggests kitchen gardens were not nuisances but instead were of visual appeal. Louisa Monck frequently sought out the kitchen garden of properties she visited and often commented on the abundance of fruit. At Hesleyside, Northumberland, she wrote first in January 1811 that the garden was “well sheltered and very productive of fruit”, and by August of that year there was “a great show of fruit” of

which the peaches and nectarines were "very fine".[51] Similarly Lady Braybrooke regularly included a trip to view the kitchen garden when she was visiting country houses.[52]

Visible productivity in gardens was welcomed and encouraged which was reflected in the many images of properties that depict gardeners at work. It was not uncommon for paintings of gardens to include gardeners at work alongside leisured visitors. A series of views of Hartwell House painted in the 1730s are a good example of this tradition in which gardeners and labourers are depicted with scythes, rollers, and brushes [Fig. 4.4].[53] In the later eighteenth-century William Tomkins included a reclining shepherd in his view of Audley End from the west [Fig. 4.5]. Thomas Whately remarked in *Observations*: "the kitchen garden should not be far off, for that is never quite destitute of produce, and always an active scene; the appearance of business is alone engaging".[54] Similarly, van Lelyveld was pleased by scenes of "industrious men" in the surrounding landscape whose presence was "animating nature by their own productions".[55] Jemima, Marchioness Grey found "great enjoyment" in watching the mowers and hay-makers at Wrest Park. She wrote in a letter that she sat a "great while under [an] oak to contemplate them" and the work was so engrossing that she did not pay any attention to the book she brought with her.[56] It is clear that productivity, either of the kitchen garden or of the work of gardeners was far from a visual annoyance but was considered to add visual value to a scene of a country house garden.

[51] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[52] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841; ERO, A8422, Volumes and papers relating to Audley End Estate, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[53] Other examples of images include: *Chinese Pavilion in an English Garden*, by Thomas Robins, a series of paintings of Nuneham Courtenay in 1777 by Paul Sandby, and *View of the South (Park) Front of Seaton Delaval Hall* by Arthur Pond in 1745
[54] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 255
[55] ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End*, 1797: "l'espace aggrandi te présente partout l'industrié de l'homme animant la Nature par ses propres productions"
[56] Bedfordshire and Luton Archive Service (BLARS), L30/9a, July 8th 1745, Wrest, From Jemima Marchioness Grey to Lady Mary Gregory

[Figure 4.4: A collection of details from three paintings of the gardens of Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire by Balthasar Nebot (1738) including: *The Topiary Arcades and George II Column*, *The Allees and Arcades behind Hartwell House*, *The Wilderness*.]

[Figure 4.5: Detail of *Prospect of Audley End from the West*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790. The shepherd reclines in the bottom left corner with his dog and watches over his herd.]

The productivity and appearance of a garden changed dramatically through the cycle of seasons. For those living in country houses over extended periods of time or over multiple stays across the year, visual markers such as the blooming of flowers and blossoms or the changing colours of leaves were clear signs of the development of the seasons. Thomas Whately encouraged gardeners to plant trees and "think about the colour they are in full leaf and also when they turn in the autumn, make sure the collections of trees are compatible all year round".[57] Sir Charles Monck kept a record of what was growing in his garden for much of the first half of the nineteenth century and as a result we see cyclical references to many of the same plants.[58] Monck was looking intently at the changes in his garden across the seasons where other landowners would not. He recorded when trees were first in leaf and when flowers first bloomed with the addition of when such flowers had "passed", the ripening and eating of fruit, and general observations on the state of the seasons.[59] There was also an understanding that landscape designs were created with mature trees and shrubs in mind, so the look of gardens was expected to change over time. Trees could, of course, become too big, lose their shape, and get damaged, which was all part of the long natural cycle of growth and decay that was managed by garden staff.

Monck's first wife, Louisa, kept a more general journal at a similar time but she also made occasional references to visual markers of seasonal change. These references were concentrated in the spring months and described the appearance of early flowers such as snow drops and crocuses or the leaves appearing on trees.[60] When an illness prevented her from leaving the house for the month of April in 1812, her key observations when she was able to venture outdoors on 5th May were of how "advanced in vegetation" Belsay's gardens were since she last saw it and that the camphor tree was now in flower.[61] The focus on spring and the post-winter regrowth of a country house garden was similarly the subject of many of Jemima, Marchioness Grey's correspondence. For example, in 1749 she wrote of her home, Wrest Park: "You ask if it is in Beauty? Nothing can surpass it. the Ground cover'd

[57] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 31
[58] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836; Helen Brown and Jon Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country House Garden', in *Daily Lives and Daily Routines in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Gudrun Andersson and Jon Stobart (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 82-101, p. 88
[59] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[60] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[61] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816

with the richest verdure, the Trees the most flourishing… The Honeysuckles blow in such Profusion that the Bushes are one entire Flower, hardly a leaf appears".[62] Both Louisa Monck and Jemima Grey were actively viewing their gardens from a perspective of seasonal change, new growth, and an excitement to see the beauty of their gardens in spring and summer.

Gardens were not only designed to be beautiful or fashionable, many designers and landowners wanted to create a space of novelty and visual interest to produce feelings of surprise and intrigue in its visitors. Batty Langley wrote of the "design of a good garden", that "its parts should be always presenting new objects, which is a continual entertainment to the eye, and raises a pleasure of imagination".[63] In practice this could mean the strategic planting of trees so as to reveal sights to the walker or rider. In *Sketches of Saffron Walden* (1845), the author describes travelling along the Audley End road when "another pleasing view bursts upon the eye".[64] Similarly, the original entrance to the Elysian Garden at Audley End was through a sunken archway whereby the flower garden was isolated from the wider landscape and revealed to the viewer in a prescribed way.[65] Garden buildings, constructed on a relatively small scale, could be built quickly and "hastily" according to Michael Symes, and experiment with novel or surprising architectural styles.[66] Root houses, Turkish tents, sham castles, and hermitages contributed to the visual interest of gardens.

Gardens were also venues for entertainments. This is most actively reflected in the literature on pleasure grounds, particularly Vauxhall Gardens whose reputation for visual oddities and sensory illusions made it a popular entertainment destination for London's elite.[67] The desire to thrill and excite the emotions of visitors at country house gardens was also evident and many held balls and firework displays or introduced exotic animals for visitors to experience.[68] These visual spectacles had other sensory stimuli which undoubtedly

[62] BLARS, L30/9a, May 26th 1749, London, From Jemima Marchioness Grey to Lady Mary Gregory
[63] Langley, *New Principles of Gardening*, p. 193
[64] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 2
[65] Magnus Alexander and others, *Historic Landscape Investigation: Audley End, Essex* (Swindon: Historic England, 2015), p. 78
[66] Symes, *The English Landscape Garden*, p. 1
[67] John E Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. 130; Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 192-193; Peter Denney, `Review Essay: Looking back, groping forward: rethinking sensory history', *Rethinking History*, 15 (4) (2011), 606-616
[68] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 190-213; Christopher Plumb, `Reading menageries: using eighteenth-century print sources to historicise the sensorium of menagerie spectators and their encounters with exotic animals', *European Review of History*, 17 (2) (2010), 265-286

contributed to making them memorable and exciting such as the loud bangs of fireworks or the bustling environment of a ball. Usually reserved for special occasions and large-scale events, fireworks were often used as the finale to a day's celebrations.[69] Lord and Lady Braybrooke attended the majority celebrations of the Marquis of Chandos at Stowe which ended with a "pyrotechnic display" that included over a thousand fireworks.[70] A newspaper reported "bombardments of coloured shells and numerous batteries of Roman candles", "twelve pairs of fireworks consisting of upwards of one thousand rockets, and nearly as many shells of various descriptions" and a grand finale of three hundred rockets.[71] This was clearly a spectacular display and the author wrote that it gave "the greatest possible satisfaction to all parties".[72] Here, sight and sound were closely connected. The loud explosions of fireworks accompanied by their colourful sparks worked together to entertain spectators.

A novelty that could be experienced every day was the exotic birds kept in Audley End's aviary. As noted in the previous chapter this was a popular destination on a tour of the grounds. On one occasion, a male golden pheasant strutted through the enclosure "like the beau of the old school" to impress the hens.[73] This "amusing spectacle" was so ludicrous and comedic that Lord Braybrooke "burst into an immoderate fit of laughter" much to the surprise of his staff.[74] Novelty visuals in a garden were included to excite audiences, produce positive emotional reactions, and create memorable experiences.

Looking at gardens was an active experience. Polite education taught people what to look for in gardens as well as how to view and read those spaces. Garden treatises were often a good starting point for understanding how to look at designed landscapes but publications by tourists similarly contributed to the understanding of taste in gardens. Every visitor took their own knowledge and education into gardens with them, and it affected how they viewed gardens: whether that was through a painterly lens that championed well composed

[69] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 194
[70] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846; `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos', *Morning Post*, 11 September 1844, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3210007748/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=5b2105db>
[71] `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'
[72] `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'
[73] von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, p. 32
[74] von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, p. 32

prospects or with an interest in proportion and geometry. This can be seen in how they in turn wrote about gardens in their personal writings which could be used by friends and family to interpret the gardens they visited. Looking could be taught but it was not universal. Personal interest in plants or in the progress of one's own garden further guided how people interacted with gardens visually. The design itself could physically encourage a viewer to look in a certain way. That could involve taking in the vast open areas around Audley End or following the vertical lines of Belsay Hall's quarry garden from the base of the quarry to the canopy of its tall trees reaching towards the sky. Prescriptive circuit routes as discussed in the previous chapter contributed to how gardens were viewed, and a viewer could choose how strictly they kept to that route.

Sound/Hearing/Listening

Country house gardens were widely celebrated for their relatively quiet atmosphere. It was the lack of sound stimuli that meant gardens were considered retreats where meditation, reading and study, and general quiet contemplation could be achieved.[75] In a garden, one was retreating both from the business of the house and the noise of urban environments. Eighteenth-century towns were lively spaces with a cacophony of sounds produced by carriages, horses, street hawkers, workshops, pubs, pigs, and dogs.[76] Of course the sounds one heard depended on where in a city people found themselves and what time of day it was.[77] During the eighteenth-century, retirement to a country house garden had wide cultural significance for the landed elite who drew on classical motifs to justify a retreat from the "corruptions of court and city".[78] By the mid-nineteenth century many urban areas were made louder with the sounds of industry and in *Sketches of Saffron Walden* (1845) the author wrote that reading a book in Audley End's gardens was a "sweet retreat from the din and turmoil of busy life".[79] But gardens were not completely devoid of sound. The silence of rural areas as a comparison to urban noise is something of a paradox for Peter Coates. His

[75] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 98 and 128; David R Coffin, *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 58
[76] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, pp. 106-130
[77] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 110
[78] Stephen Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 6
[79] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3

work on environmental history and sound states that in the past "silence" was not conditional on an absence of sound.[80] For early colonial settlers the wilderness of North America was "both silent and howling" as the area was devoid of familiar sounds and full of strange ones.[81] There is a sort of silence in the primary sources. Many descriptions of gardens include references to actions or objects that we know to make sound, but the noise is not directly mentioned. Further, people generally do not record sounds that they are accustomed to and mention noises that are out of place or unusual. As a result, there is more reference to man-made sounds in the primary material than there is to the sounds that were present most of the time such as wind rustling the trees or the sound of horses' hooves or the rolling of carriage wheels. This is something to be mindful of when dealing with the absence of references to sound in the source material.

Water was a significant feature of country house gardens throughout the Georgian period and could be engineered and designed for different visual and auditory effects. In *Observations on Modern Gardening*, Thomas Whately goes into great detail about the importance of creating the best sound and volume of water and the effect this had on listeners. A "gently murmuring rill" is the quietest and "leads to meditation", a "brisker current… spreads cheerfulness all around".[82] Too strong a flow, described as a "roar" and with "rage" and "violence", could "alarm" the senses and inspire "terror".[83] There was a general interest among travellers who sought out naturally occurring waterfalls in the wild areas of Britain. Lady Braybrooke described a tour through North Wales in which she visited a "magnificent waterfall" called Rhaeadr Ddu which had been fuelled by a recent "torrent of rain" and the resulting cascade was very beautiful.[84] Although she did not explicitly note the sound it produced, a double waterfall standing at 60 feet tall after heavy rain creates a certain level of noise.[85] The intense sound of a large waterfall contributed to its picturesque experience with the perceived danger, or "terror" as described by Whately, heightening its

[80] Peter A Coates, `The strange stillness of the past: towards an environmental history of sound and noise', *Environmental history*, 10 (4) (2005), 636-665, p. 642
[81] Coates, `The strange stillness of the past' p. 643
[82] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 62
[83] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 62
[84] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[85] National Trust, `Rhaeadr Ddu and Coed Ganllwyd walk', <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/trails/-rhaeadr-ddu-and-coed-ganllwyd-walk> [Accessed 31 May 2022]

sense of sublimity. As such, the picturesque was more than simply a visual experience, but in some instances an auditory one.

At Audley End, the cascade in the Elysian Garden was built in the 1780s and the flow of water over it was diverted from the river Cam. It seems Sir John Griffin Griffin intended his gardens to occupy the quieter end of the water works spectrum described by Whately as the flow was steady and lively but not too forceful. However, some opted to increase the volume for a different effect. At Hafod, mid-Wales, Thomas Johnes enclosed a naturally occurring waterfall in a vertical tunnel which "reverberated with the roar of rushing… water" as part of his picturesque scheme of the 1780s.[86] The noise of water features at both Audley End and Hafod Uchtryd were appropriate for the surrounding aesthetic of the space. A water feature that was too aggressive, or "in excess" as Whately wrote, would not have made sense at Audley End with its smooth Brownian lines and the enclosed nature of the Elysian Garden.[87] In *Sketches of Saffron Walden* the cascade was described as a "musical waterfall" and other streams in the gardens further contributed to the "natural harmony" of the space.[88] Similar to the ways people viewed landscapes through a painterly lens, musicality gave listeners a framework through which to listen in gardens. Here the visual and auditory were closely linked.

"Keynote sounds", as used by Mark Smith and Bruce Smith in their works on the history of sound, are any sounds of nature such as the wind through trees, birdsong, running water or other wildlife.[89] Keynote sounds are one aspect of wider "speech communities" in a soundscape.[90] Soundscape as a term was coined by R Murray Schafer, a Canadian composer and professor of communications studies, in the late-1960s.[91] Unsurprisingly, these keynote sounds are the least mentioned noises in the primary material due to their ubiquitous presence in the gardens. In this absence of explicit references, many sounds can be inferred and anticipated from what is known of garden spaces. Alongside the cuckoo Louisa Monck heard in May 1818 there was a wide selection of bird life in the grounds of Belsay Hall. The

[86] Michael Symes, `Gardens Picturesque and Sublime', *The Picturesque in Late Georgian England: Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium*, (1994), 21-26 and 73, p. 25
[87] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 62
[88] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, pp. 5 and 28
[89] Coates, `The strange stillness of the past' p. 639
[90] Coates, `The strange stillness of the past' p. 639
[91] Coates, `The strange stillness of the past' p. 639

record of vermin killed by the gamekeeper tells us that magpies, crows, owls, and hawks were part of the wildlife of the estate, each with its own distinct bird calls heard throughout the day. Contrastingly, Jemima, Marchioness Grey often recorded birdsong in her letters, particularly the nightingale, which was praised for its musicality, and on one occasion, the pouring rain at Wrest Park was enjoyed by the birds "most melodiously".[92] Much like the waterfalls, birds could be listened to from a musical perspective which echoes how viewers looked at gardens from an artistic perspective. Music was part of a polite education, particularly for girls and women, both as players and listeners. This may explain why women regularly referenced birdsong and other melodious sounds in gardens. The birds in the aviary at Audley End would undoubtedly have created noise but in its remote location atop Ring Hill, they would not have been audible everywhere on the property. Similarly, the sounds of horses in the stables or the livestock beyond the ha-ha would only be heard in their vicinity and as such certain areas of a garden would have more prominent keynote sounds [Fig. 4.6].

The map shown in Figure 4.6 is far from exhaustive, nor does it represent an exact science, and some sounds such as rustling trees or birds chirping could be heard across the site and would have been more intense when next to multiple trees. What this diagram is demonstrating is that sounds have spatial limitations and that some parts of a garden will produce different sounds to others. In contrast to the surprise views and vistas discussed earlier, the sound of animals, water, and gravel drives could be heard even before they were seen. As such there was less sudden surprise and more anticipation to work out where a certain sound was coming from and what was producing it. The profusion of "blue" in the Elysian Garden and on the parterre to the west of the house are due to the inclusion of water features. The cascade and the fountain created a further reaching sound in comparison to the slow-moving river and the pond. The aviary birds would have produced different sounds to the wild native birds across the rest of the estate and some bird calls, such as the peacock's, may have travelled even further. The main roads, gravel drives, kitchen, stables, and kitchen gardens would have heard the sounds of carts, vehicles, and

[92] BLARS, L30/9a, June 7th 1747, Wrest, From Jemima Marchioness Grey to Lady Mary Gregory

[Figure 4.6: A map showing some of the sounds that could be heard in Audley End's Gardens.]

other wheeled objects as well as footsteps. Horses kept in the stables created noise around their stables. These are just some of the background and keynote sounds that were present in gardens during a typical day when there was the most animal and vehicle activity.

Rural life was punctuated through the year by the sound of gunshots. Vermin control was undertaken by farmers and gamekeepers throughout the year using guns and traps, but the shooting season for the elite classes was confined to the autumn and winter months.[93] Shooting was an important leisure activity for wealthy landowners. It was not only an enjoyable pastime that demonstrated the shooters' skills, but a deeply culturally significant act that was tied closely with elite masculinity and allowed a man to display his economic and social status whilst showing his dominance over the locality.[94] Friend of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, Joseph Romilly, recorded numerous days of shooting at Audley End in his diary though he personally did not partake in the "cruel" sport and was often the only man left at the house during shooting parties.[95] He did not state in his accounts that he was disturbed

[93] P B Munsche, `The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660-1830', *Journal of British Studies*, 20 (2) (Spring 1981), 82-105, p. 91; NA, ZMI/S/7, Register of Vermin Killed 1825-46

[94] Amy Freund, `Men and Hunting Guns in eighteenth-century France', in *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Jennifer G Germann and Heidi A Strobel (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 17-34, pp. 18-19

[95] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6818, Diary, 1835-1836

by the sounds of guns whilst playing billiards or shuttlecock, though the noise would have resonated across the neighbourhood.[96] This far reaching sound further emphasised a landowner's control over the local area. In a context of strict game laws and punishments for poaching, the sound of gunfire reminded those in the surrounding villages that only the privileged few had access to shooting and, by extension, enjoyed a powerful status. Other blood-sports utilised horns to communicate with the human and animal participants and the sounds of galloping horses and barking hounds would have been heard.[97]

Beyond the shooting of game, gunfire was used in another way that had similar symbolic effects. At both majority celebrations for Sir Stephen Glynne at Hawarden and the Marquis of Chandos at Stowe, artillery fire from the gardens was a prominent auditory feature.[98] At Hawarden the morning's artillery fire proceeded as follows: at midnight the discharge of a cannon signalled the passing of midnight, at eight o'clock in the morning, twenty-one rounds were discharged from six pounders brought from Chester Castle, and at midday forty-one discharges of artillery were fired.[99] This loud display was steeped in military and noble traditions, even down to the number of rounds fired, and had been used to mark special occasions for centuries.[100] Much like shooting game, this sound would have resonated across the area as a demonstration of the power and control of the landowning family dynasty.

A more accessible sport played in the garden was cricket which often drew large crowds of men and women of varying social status to the lawns of Audley End.[101] The soundscape of a game of cricket had many contributing elements. Gameplay produced sounds of ball hitting bat and communication between players while the wider group of onlookers would have been engaging in general conversation, applause, and perhaps the occasional cheer. A grand cricket match was put on for Charles Neville's twenty-second birthday on 29th August 1845 in which he played for the home side. When he scored 111 runs there was "universal clapping"

[96] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6824, Diary, 1 Jan. 1846-15 July 1847
[97] Eva Marie Heater, `Early Hunting Horn Calls and their Transmission: Some New Discoveries', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 7, 123-141, p. 126
[98] `Celebration of the Event'; `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'
[99] `Celebration of the Event'
[100] Ministry of Defence, `The History of Gun Salutes', 31 January 2022, <https://www.army.mod.uk/news-and-events/news/2022/02/the-history-of-gun-salutes/> [Accessed 1 June 2022]
[101] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849

when it was placed on the scoreboard.[102] A sound that was missing from the game against Linton was music. A newspaper article in the *Essex Standard* stated: "nothing appeared to be wanted but a barge or boat on the river with a band of music, which it is understood not unlikely to be obtained at one of the forthcoming matches."[103] At a game a month later this want was rectified when "the excellent Amateur Band from Walden… had the effect of enlivening the animated scene".[104] The inclusion of music added another level of enjoyment to an already stimulating experience. It is useful to remember that everyone involved in these events would have experienced it slightly differently depending on their position. How sounds were received depended on where an individual or group was located in the space. A soundscape could have multiple overlapping auditory geographies. The players, hearing the applause from a distance would have a greater perception of the sounds of gameplay. They might hear the sounds created by running players, their feet hitting the floor or the rustling of clothing, more acutely than a spectator in a crowd. The audience might hear the players shouting to one another but not be able to make out specific words due to competing conversations around them. Further away, the staff setting up the luncheon, might only hear the occasional applause but little else. All were present at the same event, but their auditory experience differed significantly.

The use of music in gardens, either in the background of other activities to create a certain atmosphere or as the specific subject of interest, was widespread in this period.[105] Unsurprisingly, large celebrations utilised music both in the foreground and background of proceedings. At the majority celebrations at Hawarden Castle, "an excellent band" played the national anthem, Rule Britannia and other "national airs".[106] In the evening they were employed at the ball at which there was dancing for several hours.[107] In both examples, music is at the forefront of the scene, but from a distance a different atmosphere was created. The author of the newspaper report described the sounds of the continuing celebrations: "every valley and every hill echoed and re-echoed with the sounds of the

[102] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[103] `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 01 July 1842, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3208595650/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=0dd83bea>
[104] `Cricket', *Essex Standard*, 26 August 1842, British Library Newspapers Online <https://link-gale-com.mmu.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/R3213818875/BNCN?u=mmucal5&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=dd2afdeb>
[105] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 29 and 122
[106] `Celebration of the Event'
[107] `Celebration of the Event'

bugles, the soft thrilling notes of the music, and the shouts of the people".[108] Here, the distant sounds of people enjoying themselves overlapped contributing to "the beauty of the scene".[109]

Music was not only heard at organised events: most instruments, apart from pianos, could be played outside to accompany more mundane activities. In 1787, Miss Clayton, relative of the family, wrote in a letter to a friend that she had spent time drinking tea in the Elysian Garden at Audley End accompanied by two French horns.[110] According to WFH Blandford, French horns, particularly played as duets, were a prominent feature of open-air recreation activity in the eighteenth century.[111] Indeed Jemima, Marchioness Grey enjoyed fine evenings listening to French horns in her gardens at Wrest Park in the 1760s and 1770s.[112] It is not clear what pieces were played though it is probable that they were performed by hired musicians or members of the household staff. Kate Feluś includes references to instruments being stored in garden buildings thus suggesting they were played with an element of spontaneity when the building was being used.[113]

Negative responses to auditory stimuli are less commonly mentioned in the primary material though this does not mean that every sound was conducive to the enjoyment of the gardens. Some sounds could have been an impediment to this or a distraction. The main example of an event that was considered a nuisance was the country fair that was held in the gardens of Audley End until 1832 when it was removed to an area of common land.[114] Country fairs were primarily commercial events which invited people of all classes to come

[108] `Celebration of the Event'
[109] `Celebration of the Event'
[110] Emilia Clayton, `Miss Clayton to Miss Port, Audley End, June 17th, 1787', in *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville. Mrs. Delany, with interesting reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte*, ed. by RH Lady Llanover, pp. 442-445, p. 442
[111] WFH Blandford, `Studies on the Horn. No. 1: the French horn in England', *The Musical Times*, 63 (954) (1922), 544-547, p. 544
[112] BLARS, L30/9a, July 11th 1769, Wrest, From Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot; BLARS, L30/11/123/26 Aug 2nd 1774, Mary Jemima Robinson, Lady Grantham to Amabel, Countess de Grey from Wrest
[113] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, p. 122
[114] Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End. To which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden in the county of Essex* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1836), p. 160; Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, pp. 2-3; ERO, D/B 2/BRL6/94, Letters to and from Lord Braybrooke relating to the annual fair held at Audley End

together.[115] They were spaces to buy and sell horses, cattle, food products, crafts, or other general merchandise. They were also opportunities for entertainment and recreation for the local community.[116] In a letter to the mayor, Lord Braybrooke explained that the country fair was "to me individually a production of much inconvenience, as to amount to a positive nuisance".[117] He did not, however, specify exactly why it was such an inconvenience to him. In terms of potentially annoying sensory stimuli, it could have been an eyesore that took away from his usually pristine views, or the smell of livestock and food vendors that offended him. It could have been the busy nature of the fair with people jostling around each other or it simply getting in his way. The nuisance would also have included the increased noise generated by a combination of the previously mentioned annoyances. Livestock, horses and carts, and vendors loudly selling their wares were considered nuisances even in urban environments.[118] It may have been that Lord Braybrooke simply did not want to share his space with a lower class of people, and perhaps the extra noise generated by them socialising contributed to his desire to have the fair moved. Gardens were enjoyed, in part, due to their lack of auditory stimulus and their role as a respite from urban nuisances. The fair invited a comparatively urban environment into the garden space and Lord Braybrooke did not want this. In his letter to the mayor, he talked of his anxiety for the last seven years to communicate his displeasure.[119]

The fair, set up by a royal charter of King Stephen (d. 1154), had a traditional precedent to be held on specific dates in a specific location. As a result, Lord Braybrooke needed, and indeed included various loopholes to have the fair removed. These were mostly related to the specific dates and inconsistencies with later charters. He also wrote that he was concerned for the welfare of the owners of booths who, according to him, took issue with the lack of shelter provided in wet weather and a "want of accommodation" at Audley End. Whether or not these concerns for the merchants were Lord Braybrooke's true priority, the sheer number of reasons he gives, and his research into several royal charters, shows just how important it was for him to have this event removed from his property. It was a nuisance to

[115] Robert W Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 20
[116] Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society*, p. 20
[117] ERO, D/B 2/BRL6/94, Letters relating to the annual fair at Audley End
[118] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, pp. 106-107
[119] ERO, D/B 2/BRL6/94, Letters relating to the annual fair at Audley End

him that was likely intensified by a broad range of sensory stimuli. Specifically, sensory stimuli that he did not choose to invite into his proximity.

Gardens were rich auditory spaces that included natural and man-made sounds, welcome and unwelcome. Listeners could hear different sounds depending on where they were in the garden, and some were more foregrounded than others. The more natural sounds that were expected and experienced most of the time were rarely recorded in letters and diaries though we can infer many of these sound producers through an examination of wider garden contexts. Unusual sounds stood out among the rest and were noted more frequently by people in gardens. Some sounds, such as the babbling of water or birdsong may have been associated with musicality though this appears to have been a trope of literature such as *Sketches of Saffron Walden* rather than private diaries and letters. Sounds were experienced personally and individually by the listener, often alongside other senses, particularly sight; the combination of pleasant sounds with other sensory stimuli created positive garden experiences.

Touch/Feeling

Gardens were tactile places with a range of textures that could be touched with the hands, felt underfoot, and sensed with the face and body. Even without a consideration of the various material objects used in garden activities such as sports equipment or teacups, there was still a vast array of flowers, fruit, tree trunks, buildings, and bridges to be touched, inspected, and picked. Joseph Romilly went out one afternoon with company to gather fir cones and on another occasion, he met one of the Braybrooke daughters and her governess who had gone out to gather violets.[120] In *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, the authors reminisce about their childhood memories of struggling "to fill the little lap" with daisies and buttercups they had picked.[121] Adrian Tinniswood explains that in the late-eighteenth century, country house tourists were known to touch objects within the house, and some extreme examples of theft, vandalism and breakages were of concern to landowners.[122] It is highly likely, therefore, that this tactile relationship with a country house extended into the

[120] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6817, Diary, 1834
[121] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 1
[122] Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, pp. 91-92

gardens. Peter Denney is in no doubt that visitors to Vauxhall touched paintings and statues despite a clear move towards creating a contemplative visual space.[123]

Gardening in one's own garden was a unique way of interacting with the space. Sir Charles was a "hands-on" garden owner in that he was heavily involved in its planning but also spent time in his gardens pruning, planting, and harvesting. His horticultural diary contains many references to him gathering fruit, inspecting plants, and experimenting with new gardening techniques.[124] Gardens were a great interest to him and physically contributing to the space and its maintenance was a source of enjoyment. In his book *Green Retreats* (2013), Stephen Bending shows that Georgian women who had retired to their country estates either gladly or by force, sometimes took to gardening to improve their mood. Lady Mary Coke took to her own gardens to distract from her "social misery", working late in the evening and could go through three pairs of stockings in a day.[125] As discussed in the previous chapter, participating in gardens in this hands-on way was an entertaining activity for some garden owners.

Moving around a garden could be made more comfortable and enjoyable depending on the texture underfoot. The Elysian Garden at Audley End was described on three occasions as having soft grass. *Sketches of Saffron Walden* described it as having a "soft sod", literally meaning soft turf and van Lelyveld and Prince Pückler-Muskau both describe the grass at Audley End as velvety which could reference both the feel and the visible texture of the ground.[126] Paths around country house gardens could be composed of different materials, notably gravel, grass, and occasionally sand. Joseph Spence, gardener and writer, chose to include sand walks in his gardens for its quickness of drying. He wrote that these walks allowed him to go outside without getting wet only ninety minutes after a shower of rain, "for the sand dries soon and is much easier hoed and kept clean than gravel".[127] Gravel and sand were included to aid with drainage but would not have been the same cushioned experience of walking on grass. At Audley End, the gravel paths could not get a visitor to every part of the garden and walking over grass was necessary in places. Prince Pückler-

[123] Denney, `Review Essay: Looking back, groping forward', p. 603
[124] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[125] Bending, *Green Retreats*, pp. 173 and 191
[126] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 28; ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End*, 1797: "Passons sur cette herbe veloutée"; von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, p. 31
[127] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 109

Muskau appeared disappointed that the temples and aviary were "only" accessible over turf.[128] He wrote "the English ladies are not so afraid of setting their feet on wet grass as ours are".[129] This is not the only example of a male visitor being concerned for the footwear of ladies due to the conditions underfoot. On an excursion to the Railway works near Audley End, the wet, chalky conditions "made most unladylike walking and accordingly our only lady could not keep her clogs on", and he carried her shoes with "much satisfaction".[130] The thick soles of the lady's clogs would certainly have made walking over hard gravel more comfortable though were not entirely secure to her feet.

As discussed throughout the previous chapter, the experience of being out of doors changed dramatically dependent on the weather and temperature, although individuals could dress appropriately to create a more comfortable bodily experience. Louisa Monck regularly recorded weather conditions in her diary between 1811 and 1816. She usually wrote short statements such as "fine day" or "snowy day with a north east wind".[131] The trope of recording the weather in diaries was not new but gained in popularity in the eighteenth century when Enlightenment thinking, and the scientific method encouraged observation and data collection for the educated elite.[132] The language Lady Monck used to describe some of the more extreme weather conditions she reported give a sense of how she experienced the day through bodily sensations. She recorded four "oppressive" hot days, and similarly, Joseph Romilly experienced a "broiling" hot day in August 1847.[133] For extremes in cold, Romilly simply described it as "intense" or broadened the description to include "snowy" or remarked upon the wind, both of which suggest a contribution to the feeling of cold.[134] The various forms of rain similarly allude to how it might feel to be stuck in it. At Audley End, Romilly described:

"Rattling shower"

"Pelting rain"

[128] von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, pp. 31-32
[129] von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, p. 32
[130] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[131] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[132] George C D Adamson, `Private Diaries as Information Sources in Climate Research', *WIREs Clim Change*, 6 (2015), 599-611, p. 603
[133] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849
[134] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850

"Smart rain"

"Small mizzling rain"

"Today the weather was most stormy, wind inviolent gusts, heavy downpours of rain, thunder and lightning"[135]

If the weather was already poor a person might avoid going out of doors completely, but a sudden change of weather could create an unpleasant bodily experience. Objects and clothing were used to mediate the effects of the weather by protecting the body from rain and cold or allowing for the body to cool in warm weather. An umbrella, for example could be used to keep the rain off the body or shade the walker from the sun, though these only came into general use from the last decades of the eighteenth century.[136] However, an umbrella was not always enough to stay dry. In February 1850, Romilly walked out and got caught in some heavy rain but despite using his umbrella he got "very wet (about the legs)".[137]

Garden buildings were useful places of shelter. Thomas Whately suggested in the 1770s that garden buildings were "probably … first introduced to gardens merely for convenience, to afford refuge from a sudden shower, and shelter against the wind" but had developed into "pompous" art objects in which the interiors had been "neglected" for use.[138] He argued against the desire to "make a lavish display to a visitor" while ignoring the "owner's enjoyment" and ability to use the space. The aviary at Audley End was designed to accommodate visitors with a tea room and probably a kitchen; the chimney stacks above these rooms suggest that fires were lit to heat the building for the comfort of visitors as well as the birds.[139] Although the primary function of conservatories and hot houses were not for the shelter of people, heated glass buildings were ideal places to visit on colder days as did Lady Braybrooke in January 1839 when it snowed at Woburn Abbey.[140] Over the course of the eighteenth century, the importance of thermal comfort within the home increased and

[135] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6827, Diary, 30 Aug. 1850-20 July 1851; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add.6831, Diary, 31 May 1853-8 Nov. 1853
[136] John E Crowley, `Homely Pleasures: The Pursuit of Comfort in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Book of Touch* ed. by Constance Classen (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 82-91, p. 85
[137] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850
[138] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, pp. 116-117
[139] Michael Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 6 (1996), 102-119, p. 112
[140] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841

more measures were taken to heighten the temperature indoors.[141] At Audley End, active efforts were taken by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke in the early nineteenth century to heat the mansion house comfortably.[142] It is not surprising that people would seek out similar comfort when visiting a garden. Keeping cool on hot days was also possible in certain areas of the garden. Stone garden buildings, particularly if they were themselves in the shade of trees, would stay comfortably cool inside. According to Whately, even the mere sight of a grotto or cave inspired coolness in the body.[143] Jemima, Marchioness Grey occasionally wrote her letters from the root house in her garden which was "a cooler place than [her] own room".[144] Joseph Romilly enjoyed retiring to the temples at Audley End to read. One "lovely day" he set out to "the temple" with a book after luncheon and did not return until dressing time.[145] Undoubtedly, the temple was quieter than the house, but it would also have been less busy and stuffy. Similarly, the cold bath at Audley End was designed to shock the nervous system of the bather through extreme changes in body temperature. As mentioned in the previous chapter, swimming and bathing were enjoyable activities in the summer to cool and refresh the body.

Using the garden for sports, walking, and gardening itself could result in injury and pain. There are a number of references to accidents leading to painful physical experiences in the primary material as mentioned in the previous chapter. Lady Braybrooke slipped, pulled down her walking companion and suffered a badly sprained ankle in 1841.[146] Four years later her head was hurt in a pony carriage that was travelling too fast around a corner.[147] Joseph Romilly recorded an injury during "a grand cricket match at Audley End" in which a Mr Morgan from the visiting side was "severely hurt by two balls striking his knee".[148] On one occasion two men "tumbled together into the sunken fence" due to a thick fog despite both being sober.[149] Within these descriptions there is no explanation of the feeling of pain

[141] Olivier Jandot, `The invention of thermal comfort in eighteenth-century France', in *The Comforts of Home in Western Europe, 1700-1900*, ed. by Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury, 2020)
[142] Hannah Chavasse, 'Material culture and the Country House: Fashion, Comfort and Lineage' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Northampton, 2015), p. 126
[143] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, p. 247
[144] BLARS, L30/9a, August 18th 1761, Wrest, From Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot
[145] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6827, Diary, 30 Aug. 1850-20 July 1851
[146] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1836-1841
[147] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[148] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[149] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke from Aunt Netty (Louisa Blackett?) and other friends, 1846-1865

though it is implied that some amount of pain was experienced. Sir Charles Monck, in his detailed horticultural diary, explained an injury he suffered in such great detail that it makes for uncomfortable reading. Importantly, he also described the sensations he experienced during the healing process:

> *"January 21st 1822: In pruning an orange tree I made a slip with the knife and sliced off the end of the [left] forefinger. The slice was thin. It was nearly all covered with nail… blood flowed freely at first. Whilst I attended to the blood the piece sliced off laid on the ground. It had fallen to lie with the nail side underneath; so the raw surface was not dirtied. After the blood was a little staunched… I procured some thread licked the blood from the end of my finger and from the raw surface of the slice & then placed the slice on the finger as nearly as I could in its proper position and [applied] a small piece of adhesive plaster & then tied it round the finger with thread pretty tight covered it with linen rag and a finger stall. It gave me very little pain; but throbbed. At the end of 56 hours it became painful: so I opened it out & found the piece adhering… & my finger much strangulated by the tightness of the ligature so much as to cause extravasation of blood on each side… it all felt like a limb asleep… The pain & numbness subsided gradually. The next day I washed my finger in hot water… & found the piece was united."*[150]

This account, written with the same disinterested tone as his other garden records for planting or managing pests, was not a poetic reproduction of suffering. It was a useful description of how he dealt with the situation perhaps so that he might replicate his methods (maybe with some improvements) if required in the future. Pain throughout history has been the subject of scholarly interest for many decades. Constance Classen states that academics seek out narratives of pain since studies of pleasure "are dry and lifeless" compared to "vividly evocative" descriptions of pain.[151] Pain was a common part of life and the injuries shown here were caused by relatively mundane activities. Kate Feluś briefly mentions the existence of a risk of injury in gardens in the context of boating and she describes instances of ladies falling overboard and being soaked, and a death due to a capsized vessel.[152] Generally, gardens seem to have been safe for the leisured garden user, though painful accidents were not unknown. It is possible that working in the garden as a

[150] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[151] Constance Classen, `Pain', in *The Book of Touch* ed. by Constance Classen (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 109-113, p. 109
[152] Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, pp. 71-72

member of staff was more likely to result in injury as shown by the knife incident at Belsay Hall.

Occasionally, country house gardens were transformed from their usual relative calm of staff and a few tourists into bustling, crowded spaces. As we have seen already in this chapter, gardens were opened to a wider public on special occasions such as majority celebrations, country fairs and cricket matches. Country house gardens were characteristically large spaces so depending on whether the crowds were spread out throughout the gardens or condensed into a smaller area the individuals would have had very different bodily and spatial experiences. When in attendance of the celebrations of the young Marquis of Chandos, Lady Braybrooke reported a dinner laid on for 2,400 local villagers "in two enormous tents".[153] Later that evening, she wrote that there were "more than 20,000… spectators in the courtyard" to view the fireworks.[154] Although the courtyard at Stowe is sizeable, it is undeniable that this was a large crowd forced into close proximity to each other. They would have been bumping into each other, squeezing past people to move, and the bodies together would have generated a significant amount of heat. Lady Braybrooke and the rest of the wealthy attendees watched the display from the comfort of the colonnade which is raised above ground level.[155] They would have had far more space to move around, though the elites were not unused to the crowded conditions experienced by those in the courtyard particularly at balls and assemblies held in London and Bath.

Scent/Smelling

Explicit references to smells and scents in the primary material are relatively rare and William Tullet explains that this general omission is commonplace for letters and diaries in his history of smell in the eighteenth century.[156] Generally, when smelling is included, it was usually because it was a scent that was out of the ordinary or not expected in that context. Travellers, particularly on international journeys, were often fascinated by anything unusual such as architecture or local dress, and alongside this there were references to smells that

[153] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846; `The "Majority" of the Marquis of Chandos'
[154] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[155] ERO, A8422, Box 8, Journal 1842-1846
[156] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 10

were particularly strong and different to their home.[157] Some letter writers, such as Jemima, Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park, did reference the perfume of flowers in her gardens regularly, but references to smell in the material for this project's case studies are far less frequent. This apparent lack of data poses an interesting methodological issue. There were certain objects known to produce smells that garden owners and visitors would have interacted with, though their everyday and mundane nature meant they went unrecorded. Emily Cockayne's book *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England, 1600-1770* (2007) considers the unpleasant sensory stimuli of English towns and cities and explains that she is "not presenting a rounded view of urban life".[158] More importantly she recognises the biases in her material stating that "people are most vocal when they are moaning about things that have disgusted or annoyed them".[159] Further, some individuals were more sensitive to negative stimuli than others which might lead to exaggerated accounts of nuisances.[160] The limited number of references to smells in the primary material suggests that the smells people did encounter were in their proper place and not so strong or disruptive to merit recording in letters or diaries. They were there, but simply not noteworthy.

Writing about smells could be vague, often a brief mention of the general pleasantness of the space. In *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, when walking through the blossoming lime trees, the authors wrote: "How sweet is the air! How rich with natural perfume!".[161] When describing the old Elysian Gardens, they are glad that some features have remained the same over the decades. They are pleased that "nature, unassisted, still revels with soft and pleasant airs, among the trees".[162] Similarly, van Lelyveld remarks on "the fragrant glades of Audley" in his tour of the grounds in 1797.[163] These descriptions do not give the reader any real grasp of what these scents actually smelled like but do offer a sense of the positive emotional reaction that the smells caused. This may have been due to a lack of specific scent

[157] Jill Steward and Alexander Cowan, `Introduction', in *City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, ed. by Alexander Cowan and Joll Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1-24, p. 4
[158] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 1
[159] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 1
[160] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 2
[161] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 2
[162] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[163] ERO, D/DBy Z77, *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley End*, 1797: "les bosquets odoriférants d'Audley"

vocabulary available, or simply that they did not feel they needed to describe a scent that they or their readers had experienced before.

Conveying smells with language is difficult. This process relies heavily on metaphor and unlike colours, odours "cannot be named" in any meaningful way.[164] During the eighteenth century there was a need for an improved olfactory language, which would be useful for merchants selling their wares across multiple cultures.[165] In the mid-eighteenth century Carl Linnaeus attempted to classify the scents of flowers by the effect they had on the human body though he admitted it was difficult due to the subjectivity of smelling.[166] Ambrosial (musk) smells were restorative, fragrant (jasmine) exciting, spicy (cinnamon) stimulating, noisome (opium) stupefying, and nauseous (tobacco) corrosive.[167] Linnaeus' framework was a rethinking of the previous Galenic approach taken by Sir John Floyer, who had attempted to classify smells at the end of the seventeenth century in terms of the humours.[168] Country house gardens, with their "soft and pleasant airs" were directly contrasted with the highly stimulating and often unpleasant smells of urban areas. In 1787, Miss Clayton wrote about her enjoyment of leaving the town for Audley End stating: "I never felt the pleasures of the country so thoroughly as I did this year, coming out of that fusty London."[169] There was wide discussion of the healthiness of leaving the city and breathing country, and sea, air.[170] The marketing of "fresh air", an intangible concept, built the seaside resort towns of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[171] The vagueness of the language used in *Sketches* might not be useful in terms of building a representation of the actual smells, but it does draw on recognisable tropes in literary culture that allowed a reader to picture the scene as clean and open and generally idyllic.

Flowers were important visual and olfactory elements to both Audley End and Belsay Hall's gardens. Some eighteenth-century garden treatises wrote about scents particularly with

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[164] Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synott, *Aroma: The cultural history of smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 3
[165] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 22-23
[166] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 95
[167] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 95
[168] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p.92
[169] Clayton, `Miss Clayton to Miss Port, Audley End, June 17th, 1787', p. 444
[170] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 63
[171] John Beckerson and John K Walton, `Selling Air: Marketing the Intangible at British Resorts', in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. by John K Walton (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 55-70

reference to flowering shrubs. Batty Langley, for example wrote about the "delightful odour" of the mezereum or the jasmine and honeysuckle whose "most pleasant (I may say heavenly) fragrant odours… perfume the air, even into its distant atmosphere".[172] Thomas Whately highlighted a variety of scented shrubs in his *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770) which would add sensory depth to a scene particularly woodbine, jasmine, sweet-brier, viburnum, and euonymus, which "replenish the air with their perfumes, and every gale is full of fragrancy".[173] Further, climbing plants such as honeysuckle could be trained around trees and through shrubberies to provide a scented understorey to open groves as was recommended by Philip Miller in *The Gardeners Dictionary* (1731).[174] At Belsay Hall, there are records of all of these plants except the sweet-brier before 1852; they were likely planted by Sir Charles Monck, and his successor also planted a variety of fragrant rhododendrons and azaleas in the second half of the nineteenth century.[175]

Plants have their specific blooming period in the year, so Batty Langley offered readers a guide to plants that would produce smells in their garden for eight months of the year:

> *"In* January*, the several kinds of Polyanthos.*
>
> *In* February*, the Polyanthos, Hyacinths and Violets*
>
> *In* March*, the Polyanthos, Hyacinths, Stock July-Flowers, and Violets, Roses, if against a south wall*
>
> *In* April*, the Hyacinths, Stock July-Flowers, Wall-Flowers, Auriculas, Junquils, Roses, white Narcissus, and Narcissus Polyanthos*
>
> *In* May*, the Wall-Flowers, white Narcissus, Lillies, and double flower'd Rocket, Roses*
>
> *In* June*, the sweet William, Lillies, Primrose Tree, Pinks, Roses, and Carnations*
>
> *In* July*, the Sweet William, Pinks, Carnations, and Tube-rose, and lastly*
>
> *In* August*, the Pink, and July-Flowers, commonly called Carnations"*[176]

Thus, the fragrance of flowers could be, and indeed was encouraged, to be prolonged for as long as possible. Similarly, collecting herbs and flowers to be made into potpourri, as in a

[172] Langley, *New Principles of Gardening*, p. 172
[173] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, pp. 87, 179, and 228
[174] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 34
[175] NA, ZMI/53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836; NA, ZMI/S/36, Small volume of tree measurements and registers of trees and shrubs at Belsay, 1852
[176] Langley, *New Principles of Gardening*, p. 184

recipe book in Belsay Hall's archive, was another way to prolong desirable garden scents within the house.[177] As Audley End's design was firmly in the landscape style, one might suppose that flowers were not a prominent feature of the property. In *Aroma* (1994) the authors suggest a deodorising of country house gardens from the fragrant walled renaissance gardens and formal plantings of the previous century.[178] However Mark Laird's detailed work *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden* (1999) debunks this perception.[179] Audley End had many flowers in its gardens even before the introduction of the parterre in the 1830s, which was in the nineteenth-century bedding style. In William Tomkins' painting *Audley End from the South-West* [Fig. 4.7], Laird is able to detect the "fragrant white blooms of *Robinia pseudoacacia*" as well as a bed of bright flowers and roses surrounding the base of the cedar of Lebanon.[180] Flower gardens were incorporated into the design proposal for Audley End by Lancelot Brown whose gardens often distinguished between the floral pleasure ground and the wider landscape parks. Both Audley End and Belsay Hall incorporated pleasant smelling flowers in their designs which added another level of sensational interest for those moving around them.

[Figure 4.7: *Audley End from the South-West*, by William Tomkins, c. 1780-1790]

[177] NA, ZMI/B51/2, Book of cookery recipes, and household hints, 1832
[178] Classen, Howes and Synnott, *Aroma*, p. 66
[179] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*
[180] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, captions for plates 46-66, plate 46

Depending on the visitor's position within a country house garden, the olfactory stimuli would have been different. Flower gardens would likely have been the most pleasantly fragrant areas. Mark Laird explains that, when walking through a historic flower garden, the scent of flowers would be mingled with the wider scent of cut-grass and walkers might disturb "sun-filled basil" with their coats as they walked past or if they tended the plants with their hands.[181] Kitchen gardens would have had a mixture of herb and flower scents alongside the smells of fruits and vegetables. The kitchen garden and the space beyond the ha-ha would have had a distinctly agricultural smell due to the presence of livestock, proximity to stables, dung, and pesticides such as tobacco smoke. Some trees throughout the garden blossomed with fragrant flowers in the spring.

Moving around a garden was an olfactory journey as well as a visual one as visitors experienced the changing smell-scape of the property. This meant that individuals had some freedom of choice over which sensory stimuli to stay around and which to move away from. Working with "rotten cow dung" whilst tending his strawberries was a choice made by Sir Charles Monck that others would not have endured.[182] Some activities and interests required dealing with scents that others may have found unpleasant. The scent profile of the gardens was not fixed, many factors could change what was smelled from the time of year to the weather such as spring flowers and autumn leaves. The usual smell-scape of a garden could be transformed by increased human activity such as smoke from chimneys or bonfires, the smell of cooking from the kitchens, the holding of celebrations, or a country fair. Artillery fire and fireworks produced the smell of burning gunpowder and other chemicals. The roasting of an ox, dancing in temporary ballrooms, great feasts of food, and the gingerbread and cheese stalls remembered at the Audley End fair, all created new smelling environments that were not usually a part of the gardens' "natural" smell-scape.[183]

Annual growing cycles meant the same kinds of smells produced by plants could be expected at the same time each year. Fruit trees blossomed, flowers bloomed, and freshly mown hay was often the subject of "poetic celebration".[184] Perhaps this was linked to the anticipation of new growth in the spring and warmer weather of the summer months.

[181] Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 237
[182] NA, ZMI/53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[183] `Celebration of the Event'; Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[184] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 65

Horace Walpole described the scent of "new-cut hay" in his garden as tempering the "balmy gales with simple freshness".[185] Beyond the growing of plants, other seasonal smells were experienced in gardens. One particular scent, most commonly associated with the warmer months of the year is the smell that comes when it rains after a period of dry weather, something we might describe today as "petrichor". Sir Charles Monck recorded this in his travel diary to Edinburgh in 1831 and it is one of very few specific scents mentioned across the primary material for this project. Whilst walking through the gardens at Hawthornden Castle a recent shower of rain, "had been just enough to pester the vegetation, lay the dust and cause a charming perfume in the air so that our walk really was both beautiful in point of scenery and most enjoyable".[186] Walpole too described this phenomenon in a letter around seventy years earlier writing that, "a violent shower in the morning laid the dust, brightened the green, refreshed the roses, pinks, orange-flowers, and the blossoms with which the acacias are covered."[187] Sir Charles wrote that as a result of this olfactory experience, his walk was made more enjoyable. Mowing hay and rain after a dry spell were scents of the summer months when most landowning families resided in their country houses or travelled to other properties. The scents were reminiscent of warm days enjoyed out of doors.

Taste/Eating and Drinking

A large proportion of the fresh fruit, vegetables, meat, and dairy products consumed in a country house was produced locally on the estate. Kitchen gardens with their high walls, glass houses, mushroom houses and hand glasses worked by extremely skilled gardeners were able to produce numerous different fruit, vegetables, salads, and herbs to be prepared for eating in the kitchens. The kitchen garden itself was something to be shown off to guests as a marker of the wealth of the owner and the skill of his staff.[188] The ability to produce your own food was a marker of status as they did not rely so heavily on urban food markets where potentially "inferior" produce had questionable ripeness or freshness, though no

[185] Quoted in Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 164
[186] NA, ZMI/B33/XXXVIII, Diary of a visit to Edinburgh, including sketch of Pentland, 20-29 June 1831
[187] Quoted in Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, p. 164
[188] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, pp. 256-257

country house was entirely self-sufficient.[189] Further, as discussed in previous chapters, growing food out of season using a glass house or hot wall was an important mark of status and planting multiple varieties such as early or late peas extended the harvest period and ensured the kitchen was well stocked throughout the year. At Audley End, Thomas Challis worked with over fifty different edible plants in 1796 and the "apples" he worked with undoubtedly existed in multiple varieties.[190] Living in a country house offered the opportunity of a varied and fresh diet and many families had their home-grown produce sent to London when they were in residence there.[191] For gardeners, those who lived on site could have their diet supplemented by excess fresh vegetables and Thomas Challis recorded several recipes for home-made wines made from common fruits and root vegetables.[192] It was possible to taste the food products before they had been processed and sent to the table as prepared meals. One day, on arriving at Audley End and finding Lady Braybrooke not at home, Joseph Romilly walked with his travel companion around the gardens and hot houses. In the kitchen gardens they stopped in the apple chamber to eat apples and pears.[193] Sir Charles Monck regularly gathered fruit from his gardens himself.[194] He occasionally inferred their taste by commenting on their ripeness such as in August 1831 he gathered a "perfectly ripe" apricot.[195] Rather than describe what something tasted like, he was recording how closely that piece of fruit met his expectations and that it tasted correct and pleasant.

The lack of explicit mentions of the taste of foods produced in the garden may suggest that, for the most part, they were an acceptable standard. One of the few positive reviews came from Sir Charles Monck when he described the sweet China oranges at Belsay Hall as "well flavoured".[196] There were more references to disappointments when the food was either not to an individual's taste or if the crop had been damaged and as such was not in its usual abundance. Louisa Monck lamented the poor weather she had experienced in the summer

[189] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, pp. 93 and 95
[190] English Heritage (EH), Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[191] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke, 1846-1865; Brown and Stobart, `The Rhythms and Routines of the English Country House Garden', p. 91; Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden*, p. 266
[192] EH, Inventory Number 88298111, Thomas Challis Notebook, 1792-1845
[193] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6826, Diary, 6 June 1849-29 Aug. 1850
[194] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[195] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836
[196] NA, ZMI/B53/1, Diary with special references to horticultural practices, 1815-1836

of 1816 during which none of her flowers had bloomed well and the fruit was "particularly backward and very tasteless".[197] Similar disappointments were included in letters. In June 1847 a friend of Isabella Cooke, Sir Charles Monck's sister, wrote to her explaining that the young potatoes were "very small" and "the black currants and apples are entirely destroyed in our garden by blight".[198] In another letter Isabella demonstrated a light-hearted jealousy of her niece who had been "regaling on ripe strawberries 'twice a day'" while at Belsay she and Sir Charles were having "winter fires".[199] When seasonal produce had a limited consumption time it is understandable that people would be frustrated when the crop tasted sub-standard or was virtually non-existent. German Prince von Pückler-Muskau did not enjoy the taste of the venison offered to him at Audley End. He wrote that the animals who grazed in view of the house were "like a herd of tame cattle, and do not answer at all to our idea of game. The flesh … has a totally different flavour from [those] which roam free in our woods".[200] It is plausible that Audley End's "tame" deer did not taste as rich or gamey as the German deer that had more freedom to roam, though von Pückler-Muskau may also have been inclined, as an overseas traveller, to criticize the English style in favour of the taste he was familiar with at home.

Taking refreshments in the garden could range in scale from a simple pot of tea to formally organised feasts. Similarly, these eating and drinking events were on a sliding scale of spontaneity and expense. Miss Port, as we have already seen, drank tea in the Elysian Garden "when the weather has been fine", suggesting the decision to take this kind of refreshment could be made at short notice.[201] It might only take minutes to organise and be served drinks out of doors. Some garden buildings such as the aviary at Audley End had their own tea-making provisions due to its being a significant distance from the mansion house and a staff member could make tea there rather than transporting it from the main kitchen.[202] A recurring event at Audley End was the "grand cricket match" at which luncheons for eighty to ninety people were prepared. These meals would have taken longer to organise, but a few could be held over the course of a summer. It is not clear what was

[197] NA, ZMI/B52/2, Lady Monck's Journal, 1811-1816
[198] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke, 1846-1865
[199] NA, ZMI/B33/IX, Letters to Isabella Cooke, 1846-1865
[200] von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France*, p. 31
[201] Clayton, `Miss Clayton to Miss Port, Audley End'
[202] Sutherill, `The Garden Buildings at Audley End', p. 110

served at these luncheons, though Joseph Romilly wrote that they "looked very pretty" and "went off capitally".[203] The largest-scale refreshments referenced in the primary material were at the majority celebrations that Lord and Lady Braybrooke attended. Eating and drinking in the gardens and grounds were a central feature of these events and as such a tasting experience was had by many that attended. At Hawarden Castle, "The Dinner" was held at three in the afternoon in a temporary building erected in the garden.[204] The newspaper report stated that "the tables literally groaned with the weight of the feast" on which every "substantial" and "delicacy graced it".[205] After this dinner, the procession of local people went to view the cutting up of the ox that was roasted for around twelve hours in the park. An estimated ten thousand people were in attendance and the roasted meat was distributed to as many people as possible alongside "*cwrw da*" or "good beer".[206] In the evening the guests of the ball were offered supper of "game, with wine, tarts, jellies, etc." at around eleven o'clock.[207] Tasting, through eating and drinking occurred widely in a garden from the more day-to-day tea drinking to a once-in-a-generation event such as the majority celebrations of an heir.

Senses and Memory in *Sketches of Saffron Walden* (1845)

Sketches of Saffron Walden, and its Vicinity by John Player and John Mallows Youngman, has already been referenced widely in this chapter for its descriptive journey around Audley End's gardens. The text was written by Player and the illustrations created by Youngman. Player, according to the preface of the printed edition, had spent "some of his earliest years" in the area which he later affectionately described for his readers.[208] The book, originally written as separate articles, covers several other villages in the area and for the purposes of this chapter and this section the analysis will limit its focus to the descriptions relevant to Audley End and the Braybrooke family. There are references in the text to the author's specific memories of the property, mostly from when he was a child. Joanne Begiato

[203] CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6825, Diary, 16 July 1847-6 June 1849; CUL, GBR/0012/MS Add. 6823, Diary, 1844-1845
[204] `Celebration of the Event'
[205] `Celebration of the Event'
[206] `Celebration of the Event'
[207] `Celebration of the Event'
[208] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. "preface"

explains that memoirists of the later Georgian period, up to the 1820s, wrote about their childhoods with a marked sensory tone.[209] She further explains that childhood memories are most vividly recalled if they were of emotionally heightened experiences and that these emotions were materialised and linked with objects.[210] This short case-study has been influenced by Begiato's work on the senses, memory, and the country house in which she discusses the materiality of memories and their connection to the house, gardens, and objects.[211]

By simply passing by and viewing the property, many memories were conjured for the author of *Sketches*. These young, formative years were bound in memory with the sensory aspects of past events. This is reflected in some of the anecdotes included in *Sketches*. One of which was a highly visual description of the funeral day of Sir John Griffin Griffin in 1797. The author "well remember[ed]" the funeral as a "red-letter day", a "holiday" and a "gay day".[212] Player remembered the decorations, the hearse and procession, and the busy atmosphere and dancing.[213] This description was part of a short history of Audley End included at the point in the walk where the author reached the Lion Gate, the main entrance to the house. During the writing process of this memorable event, the author was further reminded of Sir John's life and his contributions to the poor.[214] The content of *Sketches* refers mostly to the senses of sight and touch though others can be inferred in places. This section explores the visual, the physicality within the text and the importance of movement in producing memories, the materiality of memorials, and the multi-sensorial memories of the country fair and the emotive response to this memory.

For Player, familiar sights around the grounds of Audley End conjured up memories of his time spent in the area as a boy. Dianne Harris and D Fairchild Ruggles explain that, because vision and memory are so closely connected, looking at landscapes that one has already encountered causes the vision to shift "rapidly, even imperceptibly, between specific

[209] Begiato, `Selfhood and "Nostalgia"', p. 229
[210] Begiato, `Selfhood and "Nostalgia"', p. 231
[211] Begiato, `Selfhood and "Nostalgia"'
[212] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 27
[213] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 27
[214] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 27

moments and places, present and past experiences".[215] The narrative of *Sketches* regularly jumps from a description of the views to an anecdote about the past or a vague remembrance of childhood existence. Player included frequent comparisons of the situation he was experiencing in 1845 with what he remembered from his time as a child. The view of the house from the London Road, with its lawns and wide river, had stayed the same and reminded him of times he had spent inside the house as a guest of the family.[216] Player stated in the text that he "could dwell" on the happy memories of experiencing the hospitality of the Braybrookes with "grateful pleasure" but did not as "this would prematurely shorten our mornings ramble".[217] The inclusion of this particular memory went some way to consolidating the author's credentials as a knowledgeable local but also gave him an opportunity to flatter the family, many of whom were subscribers to the work. Many of the flowers were the same. The "sweet flowers of infancy" were a recognisable sight, and perhaps scent, of the park, and the author was reminded of a time when he had enjoyed picking those flowers and the image of springtime.[218] The Elysian Gardens had, by the mid-nineteenth century, been "broken up" but Player recalled how "pleasant" they were in their "earlier days" and focused on features that remained unchanged.[219] The stream and basic layout of the grass was still there, and nature was still creating a pleasing atmosphere for visitors. One sight that had changed but was considered more of an upgrade by the author was the renovation of the stable block. Player described the improved structure as "like an old friend with a very clean face".[220] It was still recognisable as the old well-loved building, but the renovations had improved its superficial appearance. The sight of change reminded him of its older state.

Viewing gardens, as discussed in the previous chapter, was dependent on a certain amount of movement of the body from turning the head to take in a panorama or physically traversing the space in order to experience multiple views. In *Sketches* movement and physicality in the text produced memories for the author. As Player moved around the

[215] Dianne Harris and D Fairchild Ruggles, `Landscape and Vision', in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. by Dianne Harris and D Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), pp. 5-30, pp. 12-13
[216] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 4
[217] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 4
[218] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 1
[219] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[220] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 28

property, along the "walks and hills", he remembered "the enrapturing pleasure with which we traced them in the buoyant days of boyhood".[221] He was re-tracing the steps of his childhood self and this act in turn created an emotional response in which the sun was seen to gild the surroundings and he observed the sights "with an intensity of feeling which cannot be expressed".[222] Walking in this way, mirroring his childhood routes, was a powerfully affective experience. When crossing a bridge out of the park, the water "bubbles up as it did in our younger life" and he was reminded of how the "pure effusions were so grateful to the rambling boy".[223] It is unclear whether the stream was drunk from or perhaps they splashed water over their faces in hot weather, but this was a memory of a sensation conjured by another example of re-tracing steps and movements of childhood.

Within the gardens of Audley End there are a number of physical memorials to people or events of the past. The tradition of including commemorative monuments in gardens dates back to the early eighteenth century at Castle Howard.[224] At Audley End, the Countess of Portsmouth, who effectively saved the house by demolishing sections that were in disrepair and consolidating the remaining building in the early-eighteenth century, was memorialised by a column in the park. An urn, designed by Sir John Griffin Griffin's second wife Katherine, reminded Player of how accomplished a lady Katherine was.[225] The Temple of Concord and the Temple of Victory were built to commemorate the recovery of King George III from a bout of illness and the victory of England during the Seven Years' War, respectively. Both feature in *Sketches* as visual eye-catchers and physical repositories of memory. The Temple of Victory, built in the 1770s, was placed on the site of an "ancient hunting-tower" from which previous generations of landowners could observe the hunt.[226] For Player, this was a place "for stirring associations" for this bygone era as well as the conflict it directly memorialised.[227] The form of the circular temple with its columns and domed roof were designed to inspire images of classical scenes. John Dixon Hunt argues that landscape architects replicated the temples seen in paintings depicting pastoral Italy and the

[221] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 2
[222] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 2
[223] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[224] Coffin, *The English Garden*, p. 151
[225] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 24
[226] Griffin, *The History of Audley End*, p. 136
[227] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 28

subsequent garden buildings were bearers of meaning for this idyllic past.[228] The urn and the Temple of Victory were both physical objects that became tangible repositories of memory for visitors such as Player.

As noted earlier, events of heightened emotions were more likely to be remembered and remembered in detail. The country fair at Audley End was one such event described in *Sketches* with a significant amount of detail. The August fair, held at Audley End until Lord Braybrooke requested it to be removed was attended by the author some fifty years before he wrote *Sketches*. Player's description evoked all the senses. There was a show, cheese stalls, gingerbread dealers, people opened their homes to serve beer and ham, they blew wooden trumpets and wore "holiday clothes".[229] The overall emotional memory was of people in good humour and "light-hearted innocent jollity".[230] The author directly compares this scene of idyllic rural life to the paintings of Scottish artist Sir David Wilkie whose paintings, such as *Pitlessie Fair* (1804) [Fig. 4.8], were celebrated for their romantic depiction of rural entertainment. *Pitlessie Fair* was described by Benjamin Haydon as having "beautiful grouping" and the faces "full of expression".[231] Wilkie himself said he had captured more "subject and more entertainment" in this work than any of his next three paintings.[232] This memory of entertainment and joy of local people led Player to a feeling of melancholy. Following the description of the fair, he wrote: "But it is now gone by as a feature of the last century, and soon will be forgotten, as those who witnessed it die off, and bury its remembrance with the other trifles that are passed".[233] The country fair was remembered as a fun and stimulating experience, but the act of remembering was potentially upsetting. As Begiato explains, the sadness and grief felt for a time gone by, was occasionally a feature of memoirists' writing at this time, and indeed was experienced by people in any period.[234]

[228] John Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens* (London: Reaktion, 2004), p. 79
[229] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[230] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[231] John W Mollet, *Sir David Wilkie* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1881), p. 13
[232] Mollet, *Sir David Wilkie*, p. 12
[233] Player and Youngman, *Sketches of Saffron Walden*, p. 3
[234] Begiato, `Selfhood and "Nostalgia"', p. 241

[Figure 4.8: *Pitlessie Fair* by Sir David Wilkie, 1804]

Senses and sensing in the garden could produce strong memories for people, especially those who enjoyed them as children like Player. *Sketches of Saffron Walden* shows that returning to a garden space could conjure a range of memories, both positive and negative, through the things they saw and felt. Retracing their steps, viewing memorable landmarks, and generally analysing how the space had changed over time were part of this process.

Conclusion

Being in a garden was a highly sensorially stimulating experience. Primarily, garden visitors focused on the visual elements of a garden and this sense was the most commonly recorded in the surviving primary material. As gardens were art objects that were designed to be aesthetically pleasing, this is unsurprising. Looking was guided by their education, previous experience of gardens, received information about properties, and comparisons to their own gardens. Further, the look of gardens was widely written about and published by design theorists and as a result the general tourist had access to a set vocabulary with which to think about and write about gardens. Viewers were taught through their polite education to look at gardens in a certain way. A painterly lens encouraged viewers to find well-composed

views, analyse proportion and scale, and generally be able to discern a visually pleasing garden. To a lesser extent, the same education of arts taught listeners to understand the musicality of the garden space through its singing birds or trickling waterfalls. For sight and sound, there was a distinction between the sense and its active use. The other senses, although described less frequently in the primary material, remained central to an individual's experience and interaction with a garden. The lack of certain sensory stimuli and responses to them in the letters and diaries of garden visitors reflect the "correctness" of the spaces as people were more likely to notice and report the unfamiliar.

Sensory experience in gardens was highly individual and momentary. It relied on the person that was sensing but also the garden changed from day to day and across the year with seasonal sights, sounds, smells, bodily sensations, and tastes. Just as Benjamin Heller's argument was applicable to garden use, so too is it applicable to the senses and gardens.[235] The number of people in a particular area of the garden would transform an individual's experience in that space. Gardens were dynamic spaces in which different stimuli were noticed by different people on different days. Similarly, an individual could choose, to a certain extent, how much sensory stimulation they wanted. Some walked to an isolated garden building to read in peace and quiet, some joined in with the hustle and bustle of crowded events, some inspected the flowers in the flower garden and enjoyed their scent, and some went out to admire the views.

This chapter has introduced the great variety of bodily experiences that could occur in a garden. It further repopulates gardens with human beings who saw, heard, smelled, touched, and tasted in gardens throughout the year. This type of analysis adds depth and texture to people's experience of historic gardens and reminds us of the complexities of garden experience. Multiple senses were stimulated at the same time, in succession, or one could dominate the rest depending on where in the garden someone was. This chapter has also highlighted the spatiality of sensory experience and various stimuli was often seasonal in line with the growing cycles of plants.

[235] Benjamin Heller, `Leisure and the use of domestic space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal* 53 (3) (2010), 623-645, p. 628

There is scope to produce a more intersectional study of gardens and the senses. In this chapter the focus has been on the sensory experiences of wealthy visitors that inhabited the space who would have had a very different experience to those who were employed there. They undoubtedly had a more tactile relationship with the gardens and were expected to work out of doors all year. Similarly, there may be different gendered receptions of the same stimuli especially in activities such as sports which often excluded women from actively participating.

This kind of historiographical research can have interesting applications for heritage sites. A summer 2023 garden campaign run by English Heritage encouraged visitors to engage with gardens with their senses. “Ministry of Works”-style signs were placed in gardens suggesting visitors take off their shoes and walk on the grass or smell the flowers. To support this campaign, I presented my work on sensory history in an episode of The English Heritage Podcast. An English Heritage Colleague, Louise Crawley, covered an introduction to sensory history as a methodology and I provided specific case study examples and analysis. Due to logistical reasons, the episode focused on Audley End only and the episode was recorded on site in order to capture the keynote sounds of the space.

Sensory history is a novel and unique approach to historic gardens and this exploratory chapter has demonstrated that primary material can be rich with information about sensory experiences in gardens. This chapter opens up new possibilities for garden historians to look again at traditional sources such as letters and diaries for new perspectives on country house gardens. The consumption of gardens was done in multiple ways from the different activities available to an individual’s bodily experiences. Through this analysis of the consumption of gardens as spaces of recreation and leisure, people are afforded greater agency and individuality.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to shift the current view of country house gardens as art objects towards understanding them as sites of consumption, and spaces of work, enjoyment, and entertainment. The practical considerations of creation and consumption of gardens is an area that has received limited historical analysis. Traditionally, country house gardens have been approached from a design and aesthetic perspective which only tells part of the story of these landscapes. This thesis has demonstrated that garden history can be reinvigorated by applying to historic gardens methodologies drawn from country house history and the history of consumption. It has reintegrated gardens into the broader social and economic histories of the houses they surrounded and repopulated them with the staff and leisured visitors who experienced gardens. Moreover, the thesis has shown that this new kind of garden history is not only a viable method of analysis but highly fruitful in rethinking the spaces of the country house garden.

The project was informed by three core research questions set out in the introduction: What were the practicalities involved in the creation and maintenance of country house gardens? How were gardens integrated into the consumption networks of the country house and wider consumer and social networks? And finally, how did people interact with and participate in garden spaces both as members of garden staff and as owners and leisured visitors?

These questions were answered through analysis presented in four chapters. The first two chapters covered aspects of production and the final two focused on the consumption of gardens by their owners and visitors. The first chapter examined the systems of spending and supply that built and maintained garden spaces across a number of increasingly wide networks of commodities, knowledge, and labour. Gardens were at the centre of a nexus of local, regional, national, and international networks of trade, expertise, knowledge exchange, and labour inputs. Rather than independent designed art objects, this chapter demonstrated how country house gardens were created and continuously maintained within the context of these overlapping networks. Building on the approaches used for the creation of the country house by Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, the garden has been reassessed as a more dynamic changeable space than their corresponding mansion houses. Creating

gardens was done every day, season, and year rather than in episodic building campaigns.[1] Similarly the work on consumption history and the country house by Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery was developed to encompass the many economic inputs into gardens beyond the work of garden staff to include craftsmen such as bricklayers, glaziers, and blacksmiths who were also employed at the mansion house.[2] The analysis of gardens in this way has reinstated them as complex sites of production and consumption. The chapter further analysed the routes that people, objects, and knowledge entered the garden spaces from the local community, regional and national suppliers, and from overseas. The work of Roderick Floud offered insights into the general economics of gardens since the seventeenth century and this chapter applied many of his research questions to the specific contexts of the two case studies.[3] The use of case studies in this thesis has produced a much deeper analysis than Floud's broad approach. These designed landscapes required organisation, co-ordination and communication between staff and suppliers, and day-to-day mundane activity to keep the gardens looking their best whilst functioning effectively for the landowner's needs. This chapter challenges the narratives of existing garden research that gardens were created and updated infrequently solely by "great men" designers and landowners.

The second question looked more closely at the different communities that worked together to create gardens and highlighted the life and career of Thomas Challis whose diary was a crucial source for the project. Highlighting the work done by the teams of garden staff, those working in the commercial plant trade, and within commercial design firms has given greater agency to working people than is usually afforded to them in traditional garden histories. This chapter repopulated the garden space with the teams of people employed to create and maintain it. Building on the analysis of the first chapter that assessed how much money was paid to these groups, the lived experiences of people who worked in country house gardens were foregrounded. Discussion of domestic staff in country houses is well established in the existing literature and has become an integral part of country house interpretation by heritage institutions. The analysis demonstrated the value and possibilities

[1] Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000)
[2] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
[3] Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019)

of extending the interest in working people out of doors and into the wider garden industry. Further, the chapter reimagined garden businesses, particularly nurseries and design firms, as reliant on the labour and contributions of working people rather than being focusing entirely on the owner of the business. The diary of Thomas Challis provided unique access to the lived experience of a working gardener in the late-eighteenth century. His record of work completed in Audley End's kitchen garden not only built a picture of the range, intensity, and seasonality of garden work, but also offered a glimpse into the life lived by an ordinary gardener. More generally, this chapter contributed to the diversification of voices in garden history. It moved away from the traditional great-man narratives and further aligns with the trajectory of heritage interpretation that is favouring the experiences of more ordinary people over the connoisseurship of stand-out landowners and designers.

Following the discussion of gardens as sites of production and consumption, the third chapter reframed gardens as spaces to be consumed by the people that used and experienced them. It analysed the gardens as tourist destinations and areas to be enjoyed through various activities. As with chapter two, the garden was repopulated, this time with garden owners and leisured visitors. In order to assess how gardens were used it was necessary to first establish who was entering and using gardens. The work of Adrian Tinniswood on country house visiting was particularly influential for guiding this analysis.[4] This chapter developed Tinniswood's work further by considering how much access certain visitors were offered when they entered gardens and how their relationship to the property changed their participation in the space. Building on the work of Mark Girouard on the use of country houses and the lived experiences of those who used them, the analysis demonstrated that gardens can be re-established as places of enjoyment, learning, socialising, movement, and rest.[5] Different areas of the garden were used for different activities and certain paths facilitated different forms of movement creating a diverse space that offered a variety of opportunities to those who visited. Kate Feluś' *Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (2016) introduced many of these garden activities as well as noting that

[4] Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)
[5] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978)

certain activities were usually performed at specific times in the day.[6] The analysis of Audley End and Belsay Hall gardens demonstrated that the ability to partake in these activities was dependent on the seasons and the weather had an effect on the experiences of garden visitors. The importance of the temporality and spatiality of gardens was thus an important conclusion to be drawn from this chapter. People spent a variable amount of time in the gardens depending on the activity, distance travelled through the space, and the weather conditions. Moving through the garden could be done at different speeds and heights and the general routes through gardens could be adhered to or subverted.

Finally, the fourth chapter explored in greater depth how the experiences outlined in chapter three were embodied and how people recorded their sensory experiences of being out of doors in gardens. It applied a sensory methodology which has only recently been adopted by historians of consumption and retail and thus broadened the field of garden history to encompass new ways of reading traditional sources and analysing outdoor spaces. Using gardens and moving through designed landscapes was an embodied experience that stimulated all the senses. Sensory stimuli had seasonal and spatial parameters. They could be sensed sequentially or at the same time. This chapter showed that there were a great number of combinations and momentary experiences that would not necessarily be the same for different people or on different days. By examining how the garden was sensed and how people recorded their sensory experiences, the analysis offered here begins to recover some idea of how the garden was actually experienced and enjoyed and links back to the variety of uses of gardens outlined in chapter three. Memory was a powerful emotional response to sensing in gardens and connected the space to the person. The focus on the individual, embodiment, and their own unique sensory experiences further repopulates gardens with real people. People entered gardens with their own unique experiences of education, memories of other gardens they or their peers had visited, and which books they had read. They interacted with spaces in their own ways, and we see gardens as spaces full of life, texture, and depth. A sensory approach offers a more nuanced and rich sense of how people consumed gardens.

[6] Kate Feluś, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful objects and agreeable retreats* (London: I B Tauris, 2016)

To reach these new conclusions, this thesis has introduced a new approach to primary source material both by studying sources unusual to existing garden histories and by reinterrogating traditional sources for new information. Where design-based garden histories look at plans, maps, illustrations, and personal writings to establish how gardens looked at a particular time, this thesis introduced a range of different primary source material. In the first two chapters that focused on the creation aspects of gardens, economic sources were prioritised to evaluate the spending, staffing, and supply of gardens. The account books, receipted bills, wage lists, and catalogues are rich resources for understanding the functioning of gardens. For the third and fourth chapters, letters, journals, and travel diaries were read in new ways to build up a picture of how gardens were experienced and sensed across the designed landscape. Unique sources such as Thomas Challis' gardener's diary and *Mes Souvenirs d'Audley* added new voices and further depth to the primary material.

The novel approaches and original use of primary sources in this study have the potential to be applied to gardens across the country and across history. This methodology can be used to rethink even the most widely studied gardens for new perspectives and diverse voices and experiences. It is assumed that the design shift from the formal to landscape styles meant that gardens became cheaper to manage as complicated planting designs were replaced by great swathes of open lawn; but was this really the case? What were the precise economics involved? Similarly, it would be interesting to see how the experience of working gardeners and other members of the commercial gardening community changed over time due to stylistic shifts. Where this study focused on two case studies, further research could choose any number of case studies or indeed conduct a broader national study that covers a range of geographies to contribute to this re-evaluation of historic landscapes. Many country houses have extensive archives of economic accounts and personal writings and the scope to mine these archives for this new kind of study is vast. A larger sample size would provide an opportunity for the conclusions of this thesis to be tested and further nuanced. Similarly, being able to trace patterns across a longer chronological period by utilising the full range of accounts may have identified some interesting temporal patterns that were not possible to elucidate from the sample of data used in this study. Further, a comparative methodology

could be implemented perhaps for neighbouring estates, or between gardens designed by the same person.

It may be possible for certain properties to delineate garden experience and sensory experience by gender. Gendered consumption habits have been widely studied but what role did they play in the outdoor space? This thesis has explored the access granted to different visitors based on their status and relationship with the property but there are questions to be asked of how the gender of a visitor changed their experience of a space. Were men and women expected to perform the same activities or were some off-limits? How did their differences in education effect how they looked at and sensed garden? Was there a significant variation in how women and men wrote about their experiences in gardens? Were there significant differences in priorities or uses of gardens owned by women as opposed to male owners? New diaries and correspondence collections will introduce a range of experiences of garden use and sensory experience. Similarly, women's contribution to garden building and maintenance could be developed further for both working class women and wealthy garden owners.

The restrictions put on this thesis due to the Covid-19 pandemic meant it had limited access to archival material. There were more economic sources in the archives that could have been considered with more time in the archives. This would have contributed to a longer quantitative analysis of spending on gardens. Similarly, Belsay Hall's "Cash Book no. 3" is currently missing in Northumberland Archives which has left a three-year gap in the dataset. At Essex Records Office, there are general estate accounts that cover the period from January 1765 to December 1804 and the years that this thesis utilised were rich with information. With a lot more time the whole collection could be explored. Due to the Covid-19 restrictions, the focus of data collection was limited to the main records offices for the estate accounts with some exploration into other archives such as Hampshire Records Office and Hammersmith and Fulham Records Office. Going to other archives may have introduced new voices and experiences of the gardens.

The collaborative nature of this project has allowed parts of the research to inform ongoing interpretation projects at English Heritage. This type of practical and person-centred approach to gardens can produce conclusions that can be easily translated into public history formats. Many of today's garden visitors have their own gardens that they care for

and tend throughout the year. Highlighting the practicalities and everydayness of historic garden creation will resonate with those that have experienced the highs and lows of gardening. Whilst they are unlikely to be gardening on the same scale as a country house garden, they will feel connected to historic gardeners who got their hands dirty and saw plants thrive and fail across the seasons and years. The human connection, particularly through Thomas Challis' diary, is a highly valuable direction for heritage organisations. Further, using gardens as spaces of leisure and recreation is central to the modern visitor experience. They follow in the footsteps of historic owners and visitors when they move around the space, interact with games provided, and admire the views. Of course, a modern experience is not an exact re-enactment of history though there remains a strong sense of connection to the past through movement and the senses.

Rather than finding new ways to talk about design and aesthetics, this study has shown that there is clear and exciting potential to rethink country house gardens from a more practical, socio-economic, experience-led perspective. Greater nuance in garden analysis is gained by focusing on case studies using the methodologies of this thesis. Here, gardens are reimagined as dynamic spaces inhabited by many different people, experiencing ongoing maintenance work, and changeable with the seasons. The importance of gardens as spaces of everyday work and mundane activities further contributes to the literature of country houses and histories of consumption. Similarly, the sensory approach taken in the final chapter introduces a new, yet widespread, way that historic actors consumed gardens. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of the garden as part of a wider country estate that included the house and as such contributing to the scholarship of both gardens and country houses. The gardens were practically managed in line with spending to other areas of the estate such as the house or stables and craftsmen worked across both indoor and outdoor areas. Owners and visitors flowed between house and garden throughout the day for various activities and the lived experience of residing in a country house cannot be separated from its garden. Rethinking country house gardens as sites of creation and consumption can be applied to any garden in the country and indeed across different time periods. Thus, the methodology utilised in this project has the capacity to reinvigorate the fields of garden and country house history and histories of consumption.

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