Gentry Estates and Wellbeing in Northwest England, *c.*1550-1730

N. Atherton

PhD 2023

Gentry Estates and Wellbeing in Northwest England, *c.*1550-1730

Nathan Atherton

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Manchester Metropolitan University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History, Politics, and Philosophy

Manchester Metropolitan University

in collaboration with the National Trust

2023

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgements ii

List of Figures iii

Introduction 1

Overview 1

Historiography 2

Wellbeing 2

Greenspaces 6

The Three Halls 12

Methodology and Structure 15

Sources 18

Overview of the Case Studies and Gentry Gardens 23

Little Moreton Hall and the Moretons 23

Rufford Old Hall and the Hesketh 27

Speke Hall and the Norrises 32

Gentry Gardens 35

Chapter 1: Sensory Wellbeing 41

Introduction 41

Contextualising the Senses 42

Sight 45

Hearing 58

Smell 62

Taste 67

Touch 71

Conclusion 72

Chapter 2: Recreational Wellbeing 74

Introduction 74

Early Modern Exercise and Health 74

Walking 79

Gardening 87

Horse Riding 89

Hunting 92

Hawking 97

Fishing 101

Bowls 106

The Risks of Leisure ... 108
Conclusion ... 108
Chapter 3: Spiritual Wellbeing ... 110
Introduction ... 110
Christianity and Gardens ... 110
Religion and Gardens in Early Modern Literature ... 112
Spirituality in the Estates' Greenspaces ... 120
Symbolism of Flowers ... 120
Speke Hall's Yew Trees ... 125
Gardens as Meditative Spaces ... 129
The Wider Landscape ... 134
Interior Design ... 135
Conclusion ... 145
Chapter 4: Societal Wellbeing ... 147
Introduction ... 147
The Importance of Social Status ... 148
Greenspaces as a Source of Wealth ... 151
Greenspaces as an Expression of Wealth ... 154
Greenspaces as an Expression of Honour ... 163
Conclusion ... 173
Chapter 5: National Trust Engagement ... 175
Introduction ... 175
Summerhouse Activity ... 178
Sensory Map ... 182
Scent Boxes ... 186
Hawking Experience ... 188
Conclusion ... 191
Appendix A: Plants found by Thomas Hesketh (1561-1613), as recorded by Gerard and Parkinson 198
Appendix B: Partial Transcription of Disbursements of John Wiswall on Behalf of Edward Norris of Speke, 28 August 1710, to 6 October 1719 ... 208
Bibliography ... 225
Manuscript and Archival Sources ... 225
Printed Primary Sources ... 226
Secondary Works ... 230
Unpublished Grey Literature ... 248
Websites ... 248

Abstract

This thesis explores how greenspaces were understood to be beneficial for wellbeing in the early modern period, using three gentry estates, Little Moreton Hall (Cheshire), Rufford Old Hall (Lancashire), and Speke Hall (Merseyside), as its primary case studies. All three properties are located in the northwest of England and were previously owned by the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families, respectively, which are now under the ownership of the National Trust. Exploring notions of wellbeing through a wide variety of thematic strands, chapters examine how greenspaces offered sensory, recreational, spiritual, and social experiences which benefitted the gentry. The thesis argues that greenspaces' benefits were multi-layered, providing physical and mental betterment and respite, as well as devotional spaces, and increases to personal and familial reputation.

Building on the developing discourse of historical wellbeing by applying it to greenspaces, the north-western focus of this thesis provides much-needed attention on the landscape usage of the lesser gentry and the region in general, which have been overlooked in previous studies. Using archival material related to the properties in the form of legal documents, account books, letters, and maps alongside contemporary printed horticultural, medical, and other guidebooks reflective of the flourishing of popular print, as well as drawing comparisons with other gentry estates, this thesis provides both a qualitative study of the three estates, and quantitative examination of wider notions of the interplay between greenspaces and wellbeing at other gentry homes and society more widely. This research is in collaboration with the National Trust and considers how the information and findings developed during this project can be used to offer fresh interpretations at the three sites.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to my PhD supervisor, Dr Kathryn Hurlock, for the encouragement, insight, conversations, and patience she has shown me throughout my journey towards completing this thesis. I must also thank Dr Rosamund Oates for her comments and feedback as my secondary supervisor, and to Anna Fielding, whose generosity and knowledge of the three halls of this study greatly informed my writing. I am also thankful to Manchester Metropolitan University for awarding me the scholarship and funding for this project, and to the Postgraduate Arts and Humanities Centre for providing numerous chances to conduct and showcase my research. To the National Trust, I am thankful to my supervisor, Caroline Schofield, for providing me with all the support I needed, and for the help and enthusiasm shown to me by the staff and volunteers at Little Moreton Hall, Rufford Old Hall, and Speke Hall, and for making my first experince collaborating with heritage sector one that was welcoming and worthwhile.

Words will never do justice to the support my parents, Anthony and Sharon, and my Gran, Moira, have shown to me not only during this thesis, but throughout all my life. As much as this research stands as a testament to my determination and knowledge, it is also a reflection of their love and encouragement to follow my passions. A thank you goes out to the rest of my family, friends, and work colleagues, whose interest and belief in my abilities kept me going. Equally important was their abilities to take my mind away from research and allowing me to take breaks from the computer screen, books, and archives – to remember that there is more to life than Rufford Old Hall's missing summerhouse, the dovecotes of the Norris family, or the fishing trips of Philip Moreton, as hard to believe as that may be.

*****

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Grandad, John Wilfred Griffiths (1943-2023). Before anyone else, it was my Grandad who first ignited my interest in history, taking me on countless trips to museums, castles, and country parks as a child. This interest was further reinforced by our frequent walks around our local greenspace, 'The Flash', and beyond, where he would tell me tales of our family history and our hometown, St Helens. He passed away before he could see me complete this thesis, but during its development, he was my keenest supporter and always ready to hear what I had discovered. Thank you.

List of Figures

Figure 1: Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke in relation to the Northwest. 2

Figure 2: Moreton family tree. Owners of Little Moreton in bold. 23

Figure 3: Little Moreton Hall depicted in a 1819 survey of the county by Christopher Greenwood. .. 25

Figure 4: Little Moreton Hall, and its farm to the east, as depicted in an 1898 OS map. The locations of the mounts have been circled by the author (National Library of Scotland). 26

Figure 5: OS map of Little Moreton Hall. Note Cuttleford Farm which had been part of the Moreton estates until the mid-seventeenth century (National Library of Scotland). 26

Figure 6: Hesketh family tree. Owners of Rufford Old Hall in bold. 27

Figure 7: Saxton's Map of Lancashire (1577). 30

Figure 8: Section of 1802 survey of the Leeds and Liverpool canal (Image provided courtesy of Mike Clarke). 30

Figure 9: OS Map of Rufford (1847). 31

Figure 10: Norris family tree. Owners of Speke Hall in bold. 32

Figure 11: Thomas Addison's 1781 map of Speke (National Trust, Speke Hall Archive). 34

Figure 12: Closer detail of the Addison's map, showing detail of the orchard, and a formal garden to the left of it. Note that the eastside of the moat was still wet at this time (National Trust, Speke Hall Archive). 34

Figure 13: The layout of an early modern garden from William Lawson's A New Orchard and Garden, 8th edition (1653), p.10. 38

Figure 14: The cover to Ralph Austen's A Treatise of Fruit-Trees, 2nd edition (1657), at the top the hand of profits shakes the hand of pleasures. 39

Figure 16: Views of the Wirral Peninsular from beyond Speke Hall's Clough woodland. 47

Figure 17: Little Moreton's inner mount (author for scale). 51

Figure 18: Little Moreton's outer mount (author for scale). 52

Figure 20: View from Speke's parlour bay windows, looking westward. 56

Figure 21: View looking out to Little Moreton's knot garden, from the parlour room. 56

Figure 22: View looking out to Little Moreton's front entrance and wider estate, taken from the long gallery. 57

Figure 23: Bay window at Rufford looking northwards, taken from the great hall. 57

Figure 23: Rufford's beech avenue, looking north towards the hall. 80

Figure 24: Inside Little Moreton Hall's long gallery, looking towards the west end. 82

Figure 25: Coloured cover page of John Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris (1629). 117

Figure 26: Sandstone gateway built by Edward I and Margaret Norris, dated 1605. 120

Figure 27: Rose garden with Sir William IV and Eleanor Norris's porch leading to the great parlour, dated 1612. 121

Figure 28: The 'Adam and Eve' yew trees within Speke Hall's courtyard. (Eve is on the left, Adam is on the right). 126

Figure 29: Overhead view of Speke Hall, the yews are seen here surrounded by the property, which itself was partially surrounded by the moat (Source: Google Maps). 127

Figure 30: The surviving elements of Little Moreton Hall's Susanna and the Elders painting, located on the parlour's south and west walls. 136

Figure 31: A section of Susanna and the Elder wall painting at Little Moreton. 137

Figure 32: An Extensive Landscape with Exotic Flowers, Fruit and Vegetables, a Goat and a 'Noli me tangere' in the Garden beyond by Gommaert van der Gracht circa 1630 (Image provided by the National Trust). 140

Figure 33: Closer examination of the painting's Noli me tangere scene, note the early-modern garden layout and Jesus holding a space (Image provided by the National Trust). 141

Figure 34: Detailing of the overmantel in Speke Hall's parlour room, Sir William Norris III is depicted at the top with his wives, Ellen (left) and Anne (right). 143

Figure 35: A section of Speke Hall's oak parlour ceiling stuccowork. 144

Figure 36: A section of the seventeenth-century brick wall at Speke. 157

Figure 37: Thomas Addison's 1781 map of Speke, location of the garden wall circled. (National Trust, Speke Hall Archive). 157

Figure 38: Concept for the public display outlining the summerhouse activity 181

Figure 39: Concept of a blank summerhouse activity sheet 181

Figure 40: Concept of a completed summerhouse activity sheet 182

Figure 41: Sensory Map of Rufford Old Hall 185

Figure 42: Concept of the hawk bath activity display. 190

Introduction

Overview

This thesis examines the greenspaces of the early modern English gentry to assess how these spaces would have benefitted their wellbeing. The thesis argues that the greenspaces surrounding gentry estates would have a positive impact in a variety of ways, improving mental and physical health, but also as spaces which were spiritually rewarding to spend time in, and helped maintain personal and familial reputation at a time when good social standing and image were seen as essential for living a fulfilling life. In approaching wellbeing in this way, the thesis reveals how the benefits of gentry greenspaces would have been a holistic experience, wherein many of the features and activities within these greenspaces provided betterment in many ways, often simultaneously.

The thesis takes a case study approach, using three gentry estates in northwest England: Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire; Rufford Old Hall, Lancashire; and Speke Hall, Merseyside. The properties were historically owned by the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families, respectively, and are today held by the National Trust (Figure 1). This research is part of a Collaborative Doctoral Award in partnership with the National Trust; the three sites were chosen by them as ones in need of further study and attention. More generally, gentry properties like these remain underappreciated in the historiography of both early modern wellbeing and greenspaces, and so the thesis represents a means of addressing this. As part of this collaboration with the National Trust, emphasis will be placed on how the results of this doctoral research can inform their practices.

Features of the three estates' greenspaces, surviving and lost, are examined, as well as the lives of the family members who owned and used them. For greater context, other estates are also considered in order to widen understandings of wellbeing more generally. Contemporary advice literature on matters concerning health, gardens, religion, and recreation, are used to contextualise the greenspaces of the case studies, the language used within these texts provides clear evidence that gentry greenspaces were understood to have qualities that were perceived to be beneficial towards wellbeing. The thesis also demonstrates how consideration of such material is essential at gentry estates such as Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, where little physical or archival evidence remains of the properties' greenspaces, and provides an alternative means for critical engagement.

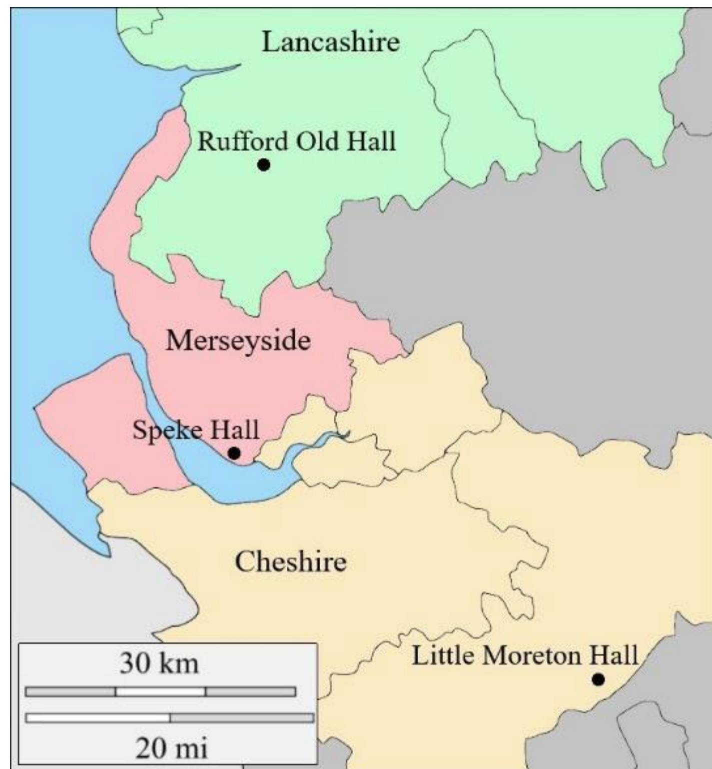

Figure 1: Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke in relation to the Northwest.

Historiography

Wellbeing

The term 'wellbeing' was chosen as this study's focus because it encapsulates many different forms of status, including bodily, mental, and financial. The definition of wellbeing adopted in this study is based on the three definitions provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: 'With reference to a person or community: the state of being healthy, happy, or prosperous; physical, psychological, or moral welfare', 'With reference to a thing: good or safe condition, ability to flourish or prosper', and 'In *plural*. Individual instances of personal welfare.'[1] Wellbeing is not anachronistic when applied to the early modern period as contemporary texts include it. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the oldest known reference to 'wellbeing' in the 1561 translation of Balthesar Castiglione's *Il Cortgiano* [*The Courtier*] (1528), by Sir Thomas Hoby, in discussing 'the profit that the worlde hath by women … not only to oure beeinge, but also to oure well beeinge', the use of the word wellbeing in conjunction with being, showcases that there was a clear understanding at the time it could refer status or condition of a person. Much

[1] 'well-being, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (online, 2014), available at: <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/well-being_n?tab=meaning_and_use&tl=true#14893302> [Accessed 31 October 2023].

later, medical texts also refer to wellbeing, including John Woodall's *Surgeons Mate* in 1639, and Francis Fuller's *Medicina Gymnastica* in 1704.[2]

Woodall (1570-1643), a military surgeon, first published *The Surgeons Mate* in 1617, representing one of the earliest English medical texts on surgery. The book was aimed primarily at naval surgeons, and was revised and expanded in 1639, suggesting that it was widely read.[3] It is in the preface to the revised edition that Woodall used the word wellbeing:

> before man was created, all herbs and plants sprang out of the bowels of the earth, with their infinite varieties of flowers and seeds, with different odours, sapours, colours and forms, endued (no doubt) with many and great vertues, *Solum ex praescientai Dei,* onely of the fore-knowledge of God. Wherefore to attribute so great excellencies, so many waies in use for the health and wel-being of mankind …[4]

Woodall's use of wellbeing is worth reflecting on, not only as it is indicative of an early modern understanding of the term, but because it was used in tandem with the word health – 'health and wel-being' – implying that the latter could mean more than just the status of one's bodily being, which the former suggests. Furthermore, Woodall directly tied wellbeing to plants, a key component of greenspaces. Many aspects which Woodall raised, on the variety of colours, odours, and virtues of plants, as well as drawing a religious connotation in that they were made by God, foreshadow several methods that this thesis takes in exploring early modern wellbeing.

Wellbeing is shaped by many concepts, physical, social, and psychological. This variability is significant as the historical understanding and use of greenspaces were likewise broad, and to adopt this term allows for the consideration of multiple approaches to good health without risk of excluding specific elements. Happiness is also a means of measuring positive wellbeing, and as such, greenspaces will be considered in how they helped the gentry to relax and unwind, spend time with family and friends, or provided a space to participate in favoured pastimes such as gardening, horse riding, or hunting.

The discourse surrounding early modern notions of wellbeing and greenspaces is already well established, predominately focused on garden spaces, as the plants grown within them were used for herbal medicine and food; this theme has remained a consistent source of study over

[2] 'well-being, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (online, 2014).
[3] John H. Appleby, 'Woodall, John (1570-1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28653> [Accessed 6 November 2023].
[4] John Woodall, *The Surgeons Mate, or Military & Domestic Surgery* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1639), Preface.

the years.[5] However, the development of modern schools of thought on topics such as the senses, and concern over nature and the environment in relation to wellbeing, have also been driving factors in shaping its historiography. As studies into cultural understandings of the senses emerged in the 1980s, historical knowledge of gardens became part of these discussions; Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnotts' *The Culture of Smell*, for example, helped emphasise the importance of aromas and smells for health in medieval and early modern society.[6] Mary Dobson focused on the dangers to health that came with the smells of England's natural greenspaces, where the air of marshland areas was understood to be miasmatic, and to have breathed it in was considered detrimental to health.[7] Carole Rawcliffe considered the holistic effects that sensory engagements in the garden had on people, the vivid colours of the gardens having a positive impact on the mind, while their aromas were seen to have spiritual benefits.[8] These themes would later be expanded upon by Theresa Tyers, who focused specifically on lilies, roses, and strawberries, common plants in historic gardens, for her analysis. Tyers's approach, however, like Rawcliffe's, remained garden-centric, reflecting the gap in historical analysis of the benefits of wider greenspaces.[9]

Another key development in modern studies that has been adopted into historical inquiries is the notion of therapeutic landscapes, which was put forward by Gilbert Gesler in 1992. Gesler argued that seeing landscapes for their therapeutic value was a useful analytical framework for understanding how health and wellbeing could be created across a variety of landscapes and environments, and has been applied to urban areas where greenspace is scarce.[10] Clare Hickman has applied the theory of therapeutic landscapes to historical contexts, examining the countryside hospitals of eighteenth and nineteenth century England, noting that many of their designs were reminiscent of country estates. Here, Hickman alluded to the idea that the views

[5] See for example, Teresa McLean, *Medieval English Gardens* (William Collins, 1981; London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989), p. 183; Jerry Stannard 'Alimentary and Medicinal Uses of Plants', in Elisabeth B. MacDougall (ed.), *Medieval Gardens* (Washington, D.C.: Meriden-Stinehour Press, 1986), pp. 69-91; Terrance Scully, 'A Cook's Therapeutic Use of Garden Herbs', in Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (eds.), *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 60-71.

[6] Constance Classen, David Howes, Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 60-66.

[7] Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 10-15.

[8] Carole Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles": Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Garden History*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 3-21.

[9] Theresa Tyers, 'A Delite for the Senses: Three Healing Plants in Medieval Gardens, the Lily, the Rose, and the Woodland Strawberry', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.) *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 56-69.

[10] Wilbert M. Gesler, 'Therapeutic Landscapes: Medical Issues in Light of the New Cultural Geography', *Social Science and Medicine*, 34:7 (1992), pp. 735-746.

of these country estates were potentially beneficial to health, and that many hospitals had similiarly built viewing mounts so that patients could take in the surrounding landscape.[11] Hickman's suggestion of the therapeutic benefits of country estates can be expanded upon further; but up to now remains neglected. The concluding chapter of Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers's *The Medieval and Early Garden in Britain* is a work by Sara Jones on the positive effects which time spent in gardens has on blood pressure; this is a wholly modern study, besides a single mention of how her research may 'offer further insight into how later medieval and early modern gardens may have had a positive, and largely, undocumented impact to date, on the health of their creators, owners, and users', it offers no other thoughts on historic greenspaces. That this work is included in a book otherwise wholly focused on medieval and early modern gardens serves as a critical reminder of how underdeveloped the discourse into historical wellbeing is beyond studies into their plants.[12]

The emotional effect nature can have on people represents another way the discourse of wellbeing and its connection to greenspaces has developed. For example, with growing concerns for the planet due to the risks of climate change, Ashlee Cunsolo Willox has suggested a sense of mourning amongst communities facing the immediate effects of humanity's actions on the planet.[13] Keith Thomas made an early contribution to the application of emotional ecology in a historical context by analysing early modern society's attitude towards nature, recognising the attachment and bond that people could forge between animals such as dogs, hawks and horses.[14] More recently, John Emrys Morgan has applied emotional ecology to suggest that pigeons could be a source of happiness among the early modern gentry, who reaped the most benefits from the animal in the form of food, fertiliser, and gifts. Yet, ownership of pigeons was a source of derision from farmers whose crops were at risk from them.[15] When thinking of gentry greenspaces, pigeons and dovecotes only make up one aspect of their estates, and this approach is well suited for considering other aspects of life at country houses.

---

[11] Clare Hickman, *Therapeutic Landscapes: A History of English Hospital Gardens since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 17, 36.

[12] Sara Jones, 'Report on a Pilot Study of the Garden as a Place of Health and Well-Being', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 156.

[13] Ashlee Cunsolo Willox, 'Climate Change as the Work of Mourning', *Ethics and the Environment*, 17:2 (2012), pp. 137-164; Weronika Kałwak, Vanessa Weihgold, 'The Relationality of Ecological Emotions: An Interdisciplinary Critique of Individual Resilience as Psychology's Response to the Climate Crisis', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13:823620 (2022), p. 2.

[14] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 100-101.

[15] John Emrys Morgan, 'An Emotional Ecology of Pigeons in Early Modern England and America', *Environment and History*, 3 (2022), pp. 435-452.

Keith Thomas's *The Ends of Life* explored contemporary notions of what it meant to have led a well-lived life in the early modern period. Thomas considered military prowess, work, wealth, reputation, personal relationships, and the afterlife, acknowledging that other thematic elements could be explored, such as intellectual pursuits, aesthetic delight, public service, private charity, and physical pleasure.[16] While not intending to focus on wellbeing, throughout this work, it is clear that the desire and need to live a fulfilling life weighed heavily on early modern minds, and was essential for members of the gentry to prove their worth and place in society. The themes raised by Thomas can be developed further by thinking about how gentry greenspaces could help achieve these ideas of fulfilment. For example, intellectual pursuits and personal relationships, could be explored through botany and the use of gardens and hunting grounds for social events.

Historical wellbeing has also been examined through recreational activities, many of which, walking, hunting, and gardening, were conducted in greenspaces. Using early modern diaries, Elaine McKay has emphasized that recreational activities served a wider array of functions than mere pleasure. While she argues that the feelings of happiness which arose from such activities were part of the reasoning behind early modern participation in them, she concludes this was a predominately modern understanding of leisure and recreation.[17] Instead, McKay notes that when diarists recorded their activities, they tended to explain the specifics of why they chose to do them; this was normally to satisfy a particular feeling or to rectify a problem, such as to clear their minds or to refresh themselves.[18] More recently, in work that has focused primarily on sporting leisure, Rebekka von Mallinckrodt and Angela Schattner have suggested that the early modern period remains a neglected area in the historiography of sports. They argue that when sports are discussed, they have largely been foregrounded in their role in courtly society rather than for their health benefits.[19]

Greenspaces

By the term 'greenspace', this thesis refers to spaces with some degree of nature incorporated into them, both natural and designed. The scale of these greenspaces can vary; for example,

[16] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 2.
[17] Elaine McKay, ''For refreshment and preservinge health': The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England', *Historical Research*, 81:211 (2008), p. 54.
[18] McKay, ''For refreshment and preservinge health'', pp. 70-71.
[19] Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Angela Schattner, 'Introduction', in Rebekka von Mallinckrodt and Angela Schattner (eds.), *Sports and Physical Exercise in Early Modern Culture: New Perspectives on the History of Sports and Motion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), pp. 2-3.

this research discusses the relatively small confines of Speke Hall's inner courtyard in which two yew trees stand, but also the Clough, the large woodland beyond the estate's south lawns, as well as artistic depictions of green imagery inside the properties themselves. Greenspace is used rather than the terms 'Designed Landscape' or 'Therapeutic Landscape', despite both having established discourses devoted to them, because of specific constraints in their meanings. Designed landscapes specifically refer to landscapes that have been consciously crafted into gardens and parks, whereas this study includes natural spaces that remained mostly untouched.[20] Furthermore, in garden history, designed landscapes are most connected to designers such as Charles Bridgeman, Capability Brown, Humphrey Repton, and the landscape gardens of the eighteenth century, which had swept away many of the compact formal gardens that this study seeks to examine.[21] Gesler himself admitted that 'landscape' within his own concept of therapeutic landscapes was a loaded term: 'To many, landscape refers, in large part, to the physical environment, perhaps modified by human actions, which is often rural and that has been captured in paintings by well-known artists'.[22] As such, greenspace has been adopted as a term that conjures wider images of nature rather than one specific type.

The historiography of early modern greenspaces in England is less the story of intense scholarly debate about specific points or details, but instead how the field has come to be enriched through new approaches. Despite this, it has often been limited in scope, focusing on elite estates as case studies. The earliest studies on early modern English greenspaces emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, generally as chapters as part of wider histories of the development of English gardening. One of the first, Alicia Amherst's *A History of Gardening in England*, emphasised that key to the development of early Tudor gardens was the relative peace and stability which had followed the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses and the succession of the Tudor lineage to the throne:

> The prolonged peace diminished the necessity of keeping all property within the protecting lines of the moat than there had been within castle walls, even if the garden were not made outside – there was more scope for play of fancy.[23]

[20] Jeannie Sim, 'Explorations in Landscape Design Theory', *Australian Garden History*, 22:4 (2011), p. 19.
[21] Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 11; Oliver H. Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middles Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), p.1
[22] Gesler, 'Therapeutic Landscapes', p. 743.
[23] Alicia Amherst, *A History of Gardening in England*, 2nd ed. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), p. 77.

This idea that the stability granted by the succession of the Tudors has since remained strong in scholars' understanding of why gardens flourished thereafter.[24] Likewise, Amherst's use of estate documents, letters, and contemporary horticultural literature has remained a key approach in later studies. These earliest works focused on the form and planting of these spaces, rather than what they said about the culture that had created them, such as Eleanour Sinclair Rohde's *The Story of the Garden*.[25]

The final decades of the twentieth century saw growth in scholarly attention on early modern greenspaces, and garden history more generally.[26] The first in-depth studies of early modern greenspaces began in the late 1970s, with Roy Strong's *The Renaissance Garden in England*, the first to consider these spaces detached from the narrative of a wider history as earlier works did. Strong emphasised how the gardens of Renaissance Italy slowly influenced the elite English gardens of the late-Tudor and early-Stewart nobility and court, succeeding the emblematic style that had characterised them throughout the majority of the sixteenth century.[27] In 1995, Tom Williamson's *Polite Landscapes*, while focusing on the landscape parks of the eighteenth century, argued that greenspaces were designed to reflect 'politeness', a means for park landowners to differentiate themselves from the rest of English society through the creation of beautiful, sceneic, 'polite' spaces.[28] Following this, Williamson's chapter in Kathrine Barker and Timothy Darvill's *Making English Landscapes* considered man's relation with the animals of their estates, continuing this theme of greenspaces as a form of class distinction through the exclusivity of the food available in the early modern period such as venison.[29] In both these instances, Williamson's work showcased how greenspaces could represent power and exclusivity, important in defining England's upper classes, and an insight into the cultural mindset that went into designing them. Oliver Creighton took a similar approach to Williamson, suggesting that designed landscapes beyond the castle walls of the

[24] For discussions of peace see, Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p. 23; Charles Quest-Riston, *The English Garden: A Social History* (London: Viking, 2001), p. 11; Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), p. 8. The theme of societal peace is widely seen as a core factor in the creation of gardens from cultures all over the world, see for example, Michael Leslie, 'Introduction: A Cultural History of the Medieval Garden? The Social Life of a Subject Form', in Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 11.
[25] Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, *The Story of the Garden*, rev. ed. (London: The Medici Society, 1989), chapters III, IV, V.
[26] Michel Conan, 'Introduction', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), p. 9.
[27] Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p. 22.
[28] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 111.
[29] Tom Williamson, 'Fish, Fur and Feather: Man and Nature in the post-Medieval Landscape', in Kathrine Barker and Timothy Darvill (eds.), *Making English Landscapes* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), p. 93.

medieval elite, just like landscape gardens of the eighteenth century, were spaces to display the prestige and authority of the estate's owners. For Creighton, deer parks and moats were visual means of displaying social status and the appearance of order.[30] Between Creighton's focus on elite medieval landscapes and Williamson's on the elite of the early modern period exists a gap in how the wider greenspaces which lay beyond the gardens of the gentry could similarly be interpreted.

The 1999 Summer edition of *Garden History* focused exclusively on Tudor gardens and represented an important milestone in the study of gentry greenspaces. Judith Roberts's 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period' shifted focus to the marginalised discourse of lesser properties of the early modern gentry and yeomanry. Roberts demonstrated the importance of consulting contemporary advice literature on agriculture and estate management to understand these spaces, as they were intended for a gentry readership. In the general absence of detailed plans and paintings like those that survive for grander estates, Roberts made use of Markham's *The English Husbandman* and Lawson's *A New Orchard and Garden*, alongside her interpretation of the surviving evidence at sites themselves.[31] A key point to be drawn from Robert's work is that while gentry gardens were a mixture of predominantly functional spaces, compared to elite residences, 'the gentry garden is one where design and productivity, pleasure and profit, are combined with no loss of status or dignity'.[32] Many of the pleasures and profits discussed in early modern horticultural literature related to health, and more can be done to emphasise this.

The use of gardening and estate management guidebooks was expanded upon further by Rebecca Bushnell. Less concerned with how these books recommended a garden should be laid out, Bushnell focused on how these texts were a means for the gentry to forge identities, as 'far from being tedious prescriptions, the early English garden books were full of dreams of nature – and men's dreams for themselves'. Bushnell also argued that there was a gradual change between the late Tudor and the late Stuart periods, where the emphasis on profit was diminishing in favour of emphasising a garden's beauty.[33] With Creighton covering elite medieval landscapes, and Williamson focusing predominately on those of the early modern period, works from Roberts and Bushnell similarly established that gentry greenspaces could

[30] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, pp. 2, 79, 213.
[31] Judith Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', *Garden History*, 27:1 (1999), p. 89.
[32] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 101.
[33] Rebecca Bushnell, *Green Desire: Imagining Early Modern English Gardens* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 9, 165.

symbolise their owner's status. However, the lack of surviving archival material relating to gentry gardens has still resulted in them being overlooked in later works on early modern gardens, such as Paula Henderson's *The Tudor House and Garden*.[34] This noticeable gap is reflected in *The Cultural Histories* series published by Bloombury, which favours elite designs and emergent trends in mainland Europe over what would be considered more 'average' gardens.[35]

Since the turn of the millennium, interdisciplinary methodologies have greatly widened the discourse on historic greenspaces. This has not been without challenge. John Dixon Hunt, for example, appreciated that greenspaces were receiving wider scholarly attention and interpretation, but was concerned that scholars had taken a 'colonizinging approach – whether from art history, literature, biohistory, geography, or sociology – [which] tends to treat the garden as an interesting element, but usually a marginal element, of that discipline.'[36] However, Charles Quest-Riston suggested that too much garden history had been made which overly focused on how they looked, their creators, and their developmental changes, proposing that 'what the makers expected from the gardens, and how they and their successors evaluated their investment in gardening and the return it brought them', made for a more interesting line of inquiry.[37] Alexandra Walsham's *The Reformation of the Landscape* represented an important shift in discussions of wider landscapes by emphasising the spiritual role they played for both Protestants and Catholics in early modern England, as spaces which were loaded with spiritual interpretation.[38] Skinner and Tyers's *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain* is emblematic of the multi-disciplinary scope that studies into gardens have taken. For example, in the literary approach taken by Eoin Price, he argues that gardens were seen as spaces which provided metaphorical lessons, suggesting that the gardens that appeared as part of the setting of Shakespeare's *Richard II* provided political meaning.[39] Jill Francis's *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales* represents the most recent attempt to understand gentry gardens. It expands greatly from Roberts's work, again using contemporary

[34] Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 9.
[35] Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); Elizabeth Hyde (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).
[36] John Dixon Hunt, 'Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), p. 78.
[37] Quest-Riston, *The English Garden*, p.1
[38] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain & Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[39] Eoin Price, 'Political Gardens in Early Modern English Drama', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 129.

gardening literature, reiterating that these were spaces of both profit and pleasure, but did not consider how it would have made garden owners feel or how it would have improved their wellbeing.[40] Francis also argued that gentry gardens and the advice manuals that influenced their design were intended to reflect the need to project order and harmony.[41] Despite these innovative approaches, the northwest of England remains an underdeveloped region for the discussion of gardens and wider greenspaces. The early modern gardens of Crosby Hall, Merseyside, have received attention due to the survival of detailed documentary material, with focus given to its design and plantings, rather than how it would aided its owner's health.[42]

Recreational pastimes were the predominant means by which the early gentry interacted with greenspaces, but has been overshadowed by studies focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[43] Marcia Vale's *The Gentleman's Recreation* examined the gentry and courtier pastimes of the late Tudor and early Stewart periods, using contemporary advice and conduct literature to consider a wide range of activities.[44] However, Vale was dismissive of gardening as a pursuit of the early modern gentry, instead only covering what she deemed 'the necessary or inevitable pastimes of the English gentleman', disregarding gardening because grafting was 'too specialist or too frivolous to find a place in the contemporary concept of the comprehensive gentleman.'[45]Alison Sim recognised gardens as a setting for recreational activities in the Tudor period, but failed to acknowledge how the creation and maintenance of the gardens themselves was a pastime in and of itself for their owners.[46] Sim did consider other activities conducted in gentry greenspaces such as hunting. However, these discussions were largely framed by her focus on how they reinforced the prestige of the elite classes.[47]

Peter Burke called for greater attention to the study of leisure and recreation in the early modern period, proposing four avenues of research to better explore these topics for the early modern period. The first was a focus on educational discourse: treatises on training children and guides on how to be the ideal gentleman, in which the playing of sports and the proper conduct of

---

[40] Jill Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales, 1560-1660* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 3.
[41] Jill Francis, 'Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558-*C*.1620', *Garden History* 36 (2008), p. 22.
[42] John Edmondson, Jennifer Lewis, 'A Lancashire Recusant's Garden, Recorded by Nicholas Blundell of Crosby Hall from 1702 to 1727', *Garden History*, 32:1 (2004), pp. 20-34.
[43] Peter Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 146 (1995), pp. 136, 139. For example, the period is only briefly considered by Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 5-14.
[44] Marcia Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations: Accomplishments and Pastimes of the English Gentleman 1580-1630* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1977), p. 2
[45] Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations*, p. v.
[46] Alison Sim, *Pleasure & Pastimes in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 27-31.
[47] Sim, *Pleasure & Pastimes in Tudor England*, pp. 157-159.

which were deemed essential learning in achieving these societal goals. His second suggestion was to study legal and political works, and his third was to view these activities through theological and moralist debates current at the time. The final topic he felt had been overlooked was medical discourse, which focused on the positive benefits to be had from recreational pastimes in relation to the body.[48]

There are clear connections between the historiographies of early modern wellbeing and greenspaces. However, more research is needed that engages with broader understandings of these concepts, which this thesis will rectify. Historic wellbeing in greenspaces has primarily been confined to the medicinal value of plants and sensory experiences of the gardens, while discussions of physical exercise and positive social experiences remain overlooked. These studies have focused on singular aspects of wellbeing; an approach that draws these elements together that truly reflects the holistic experiences of greenspaces is sorely needed. Aristocratic gardens have overshadowed the study of gentry greenspaces, and studies into the wider landscapes, remain even more scarce. Francis and Roberts have demonstrated that through the use of contemporary literature, we can begin to understand the design and use of gentry gardens, whilst Bushnell has argued further that it can also reveal gentry beliefs and ideals. However, these were not the only texts intended for a gentry readership, medical and sporting texts, represent another means of understanding early modern usage of greenspaces. The Northwest remains underdeveloped in studies of wellbeing and greenspaces, and the methodologies and recommendations from historians such Hickman, Thomas, Burke, and Walsham, represent a means of drawing more meaning from the greenspaces of the region's gentry estates.

The Three Halls

The earliest works on Little Moreton Hall are largely descriptive, focusing on the general history of the Moreton family and the structure of the hall itself. [49] Historians have focused on specific features of the hall's design, such as its windows, long gallery, and wall paintings.[50]

---

[48] Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', pp. 142-144.

[49] E. Walford, 'Old Moreton Hall', *Once a Week*, 12:301 (1865), pp. 418-420; Robert Head, 'Old Moreton Hall, and its past and present owners', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 47 (1895), pp. 1-12; Henry Taylor, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire: Including on the Ancient Domestic Architecture of the Counties Palatine* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1884), pp. 124-130; Henry Taylor, 'The Plans of Moreton Old Hall', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 11 (1895), pp. 13-20; H. Avray Tipping, 'Little Moreton Hall – I. Cheshire', *Country Life*, 66:1715 (1929), pp. 754-762; H. Avray Tipping, 'Little Moreton Hall – II. Cheshire', *Country Life*, 66:1716 (1929), pp. 798-808.

[50] Walter J. Pearce, 'The Glazed Windows of Moreton Old Hall, Cheshire', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, 8:2 (1940), pp. 68-75; Rosalys Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), p. 51; Clive E. Rouse, 'Elizabethan Wall Paintings at Little

The aspect of the garden that has received the most attention is the knot garden. Although a common feature of early modern gardens, it is not a continuation, nor a recreation of any known design from the site historically. Instead, the knot represents an early example of the National Trust trying to recreate period-accurate designs in gardens, the pattern having been based on a design in Leonard Meager's *The English Gardener* (1670). This recreation has received a degree of scholarship devoted to it as it represents an early attempt at the recreation of a historic garden.[51] Commissioned studies – grey literature – by the National Trust to investigate Little Moreton have mostly focused on aspects of the property itself.[52] An investigation into Little Moreton's wider landscape carried out by the University of Manchester in 2002, emphasised the functional use of the land, for watermills and medieval iron bloomery.[53] More recently, a 2022 survey conducted by Manchester Metropolitan University on the two mounts at the property revealed that they had at one point been terraced in design.[54]

As with Little Moreton, nineteenth and early twentieth-century works on Rufford Old Hall are descriptive histories of the development of the hall and the Hesketh family.[55] Owen Ashmore's investigation of Lancashire estate inventories demonstrated how the habits of families could be derived from room names and items listed within them, noting for Rufford how the function of the lost west wing could be uncovered, and briefly touched on matters relating to greenspace activities, such as hunting, through the items listed.[56] In terms of specific members of the Hesketh family, Thomas Hesketh (1561-1613), a botanist and physician, has received attention for his contributions to finding plants which were recorded in Gerard's *Herbal*, with W. A.

Moreton Hall', in Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *National Trust Studies 1980* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), pp. 112-118; Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 134-137; Hugh Adlington, David Griffith, Tara Hamling, 'Beyond the Page: Quarles's *Emblemes*, Wall-Paintings, and Godly Interiors in Seventeenth-Century York', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78:3 (2015) p. 531.

[51] John Sales, 'The Role of the National Trust in Garden Conservation and Restoration', *Garden History*, 3:4 (1975), pp. 50-61, John Sales, 'Garden Restoration Past and Present', *Garden History*, 23:1 (1995), p. 4; Brett Elliott, 'Historical Revivalism in the Twentieth Century: A Brief Introduction', *Garden History*, 28:1 (2000), p. 22.

[52] See for example, Architectural History Practice, *Little Moreton Hall: Architectural History and Development* (2012).

[53] University of Manchester Archaeological Unit, *Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire: Archaeological Landscape and Building Survey Work on the Estate* (University of Manchester, 2002).

[54] Ben Edwards, *Report: Ground Penetrating Radar and Topographic Survey. Little Moreton Hall, Congleton* (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2022), p. 18.

[55] Taylor, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 77-80; W. G. Procter, 'The Manor of Rufford and the Ancient Family of the Hesketh's', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 23 (1907), pp. 93-118; W. G. Procter, 'Notes on the Hesketh Pedigree', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 62 (1910), pp. 58-66; H. Avray Tipping, 'Rufford Old Hall – I. Lancashire', *Country Life*, 66:1709 (1929), pp. 528-535; H. Avray Tipping, 'Rufford Old Hall – II. Lancashire', *Country Life*, 66:1710 (1929), pp. 570-576.

[56] Owen Ashmore, 'Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry, 1500-1700', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 110 (1958), p. 63.

Abram and M. J. Y. Foley documenting the survival or disappearance of some of these plants in the respective areas in which he found them.[57] Developing on the connection between Hesketh and Gerard, Lisa Hopkins has suggested that William Shakespeare, a close neighbour to Gerard in London, used plants found by Hesketh in his works. [58] Rufford has also received attention for the possibility that Shakespeare had spent time there as part of a theatre troop.[59] The wider landscape surrounding Rufford has also been examined, revealing the Hesketh family's use of the nearby wetland of Martin Mere.[60] The most notable of the works commissioned by the National Trust at Rufford was a geophysics survey conducted in 2003, which suggested a series of circles in the south garden that may have represented a lost formal garden.[61] However, further development of these ideas did not manifest. A 2010 conservation management plan for Rufford noted difficulties in uncovering details about the estate's pre-Victorian form. 'Research has highlighted the paucity of evidence to confirm or assess the existence of remains without the grounds before the nineteenth century' it concluded, but 'a more detailed archaeological survey holds the potential to expose further layers about the history of Rufford ad to be catalyst for exploring solutions to chronological disparity currently exhibited in the setting to the Hall.'[62]

Speke Hall's early literature focuses on describing the design of the property and providing an overview of its owners.[63] Eveline B. Saxton's studies of two inventories for the property, taken in 1624 and 1700, emphasised how the quantity of material goods at the estate reflected the family's slow decline over the seventeenth century. The same inventories were later used in Ashmore's broader study of Lancashire gentry inventories.[64] Susan Nicholson made use of

[57] W. A. Abram, 'Thomas Hesketh of Martholme and Clitheroe', *Palatine Note-Book*, 5 (1885), pp. 7-14; M. J. Y. Foley, 'Some localised early plant records from North-west England: then and now', *Watsonia*, 207 (2009), pp. 355-364.
[58] See for example, Lisa Hopkins, 'Herb Paris, *Romeo and Juliet*, and Thomas Hesketh', *Notes and Queries*, 65:4 (2018), pp. 530-533; Lisa Hopkins, ''Balms and gums and heavy cheers': Shakespeare's poison gardens', in Bill Angus, Lisa Hopkins and Kibrina Davey (eds.), *Poison on the Early Modern English Stage: Plants, Paints and Potions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), pp. 16-17.
[59] E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 31-39.
[60] Audrey Coney, 'Fish, fowl and fen: landscape and economy on seventeenth-century Martin Mere', *Landscape History*, 14:1 (1992), pp. 51-64; Audrey Coney, 'Managing the Fens', in W. G. Hale, and Audrey Coney (eds.), *Martin Mere: Lancashire's Lost Lake* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), pp. 98-124; John Virgoe, 'Thomas Fleetwood and the Draining of Martin Mere', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 152 (2003), pp. 27-49.
[61] John Crossland, *Past below Ground: Archaeological geophysical survey of Rufford Old Hall* (The University of Manchester Field Archaeology Centre Service for Schools and the Community, 2003).
[62] Jessie Buchanan, *Rufford Old Hall Conservation Management Plan* (2010), p. 43.
[63] Taylor, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 114-117; Herbert Winstanley, 'Speke Hall', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 71 (1919), pp. 1-20.
[64] Eveline B. Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 96 (1945), pp. 108-135; Eveline B. Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624',

surviving deeds and maps, identifying field names around the estate from the late fourteenth to the late eighteenth centuries to build up a picture of their use and change over time, as well as documenting the decline of the moat.[65] Of the three properties, Speke has received the most attention in terms of archaeological research.[66] Jennifer Lewis's 1989 archaeological work into Speke's east courtyard discussed the physicality of designs therein such as the dovecotes.[67] Later surveys in 1993 also considered the home farm area of the estate, but these uncovered little information relating to early modern Speke.[68] Recent commissioned literature by the National Trust has consolidated existing knowledge on the estate's landscape, noting the lack of documentation for the form and use of Speke's early gardens. Archaeological surveys have likewise been unable to build a cohesive picture.[69]

Reflecting on the existing studies on the case studies, discussions of their early modern greenspaces are descriptive or slim in the cases of Little Moreton and Speke, or close to non-existent at Rufford. Much of this results from a lack of surviving documentation and the need for further archaeological work. It is also partly attributable to the nature of the research that is considered most useful to the National Trust, as this has tended to omit the theoretical in favour of the straight-historical and practical-focused research, which supports the presentation of sites to the public, and their maintenance and restoration. To further develop what is known of the estates' early modern greenspaces, critical analysis based on other regional examples for comparison and greater exploration of contemporary understandings expressed in the literature of the time is required.

Methodology and Structure

The main aim of this thesis is to consider how the greenspaces of the three case studies provided wellbeing. Using Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke as points of reference throughout each

Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 97 (1946), pp. 107-143; Ashmore, 'Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry, 1500-1700', pp. 59-105.

[65] Susan Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795: evidence from Speke Hall', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 3 (1983 for 1979), pp. 1-31; Susan Nicholson, 'Speke Hall Moat', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 3 (1983 for 1979), pp. 33-39.

[66] See for example, D. A Higgins, 'Speke Hall: Excavations in the West Range, 1981-82', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 8, (1992 for 1988-89), pp. 47-84; P. J. Davey, J. Speakman, 'Speke Hall: Excavations in the Gardeners Compound, 1987', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 8 (1992 for 1988-89), pp. 85-86.

[67] Jennifer Lewis, 'Speke Hall: Archaeology of the East Courtyard, 1989', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 8 (1992 for 1988-89), pp. 89-91.

[68] Jennifer Lewis, 'The Home Farm, Speke Hall: an archaeological survey 1993', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 15 (2015), pp. 51-62.

[69] Ashmead Price, *Speke Hall: Garden Conservation Management Plan* (2018), p. 24; Peter Arrowsmith, *Land at Speke, Merseyside: Desk-based Archaeological Assessment* (2018), pp. 29-31.

chapter allows for different understandings of wellbeing to be applied to them. These approaches concern sensory wellbeing, recreational wellbeing, spiritual wellbeing, and societal wellbeing. At times, these concepts will share a degree of overlap. For example, as a pastime, gardening would have immersed the gentry in positive sensory stimulations, a theme covered in Chapter 1. However, as a recreational activity, it also provided light exercise, covered in Chapter 2. Furthermore, gardening could also be understood as a spiritually-just activity, and as a sign of a member of the gentry ensuring the good upkeep of his estate, covered in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. These overlaps serve to heighten the notion that the multifaceted benefits of greenspaces were numerus and simultaneous, and to address them all by focusing on three case studies helps emphasise the critical role greenspaces played in early modern health.

Archival material relating to the three case studies is used to identify features of the estates' greenspaces, and then compared against contemporary literature to establish an understanding of early modern experiences of wellbeing. This literature provides a means of critically engaging with the greenspaces of gentry properties that are lost to us; if we cannot replicate how these spaces would have looked, we can instead consider how the gentry might have understood and felt about these spaces. This has already been demonstrated to be an effective method of engaging with gentry gardens, with the use of horticultural literature.[70] However, as this thesis looks beyond gardens to the case studies' wider greenspaces, hunting, theological, and medical texts are used to draw further meaning out of the landscape, akin to Burke's calls for greater exploration of leisure activities.[71]

This thesis covers a period from 1550 to 1730, a span of 180 years. The end date is reflective of a period when activity at the three estates by members of the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families began to diminish. The year 1730 serves as the cut-off point because it is reflective of the end of the period before the new frameworks for understanding illness emerged in the mid-eighteenth century, which abandoned humoral theory in the belief that ill heath was instead due to nerves.[72] Despite this timeframe, archival material from before and after will be consulted where appropriate, as they can still provide information on how the estate's greenspaces were used.

---

[70] Bushnell, *Green Desire*; Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period'; Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*.
[71] Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', pp. 142-144.
[72] Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender and Belief in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 7

Chapter 1 explores wellbeing through the sensory experiences of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch found within the greenspaces of the three estates. Early modern health literature is consulted to provide insight into contemporary understanding of the senses, while horticultural guides are also examined as their advice on planting and garden design was often informed by what provided sensory pleasure. The chapter argues that pleasant sensory experiences were not merely 'nice', as they are understood today, but had an active role in providing wellbeing.

Chapter 2 focuses on the mental and physical benefits of using greenspaces as sites for recreation. Surviving letters, inventories, and legal documents are used to reveal the leisurely pastimes of the gentry, and cross-examined against contemporary guidebooks to demonstrate how they affected wellbeing. The benefits of recreational outdoor activities are broad, including physical improvements through exercise, better sleeping habits, and heightened mental awareness. Furthermore, the solitary or social natures of these activities is considered, as the isolation of hobbies like fishing provided moments of solace and peace, whereas bowls provided a chance to meet with friends.

Chapter 3 focuses on spiritual wellbeing, examining how greenspaces could be designed as meditational spaces. Horticultural and religious literature constitutes the majority of the primary evidence examined in this chapter, with the former often describing gardening and its benefits in spiritual terms. The latter includes the language and terminology associated with the former, displaying that society saw God and greenspaces are closely linked. Interior decorations within the halls themselves will be examined, which suggest that artistic depictions of greenspaces provided the families with spiritual and moralistic lessons. The recusancy of the Hesketh and Norris families will be addressed in this chapter, and suggests greenspaces allowed for covert adherence of the families' Catholic beliefs through symbolic plantings, while also considering how the wider landscape allowed for safe passage of priests, and a sense of escapism from their persecutors.

Societal wellbeing, addressed in Chapter 4, examines how greenspaces improved the personal and familial reputation of the three families in early modern society through increasing wealth and honour. The three estates' greenspaces are examined in how they could generate income for the families, which in turn could be used for bold displays of their wealth and honour, demonstrating to broader society that they were worthy of their status and meeting societial expectations.

Chapter 5 draws together the findings from the previous four chapters and suggests ways for the information to be suitably presented and used by the National Trust at the three properties. Focusing predominately on Rufford Old Hall, the chapter first showcases the engagement activities planned for the estate based on sensory exploration of the grounds, and encouraging visitors to think about lost elements of the hall. The chapter then proposes how other thematic strands this thesis has raised can be integrated more broadly at all three properties. Finally, the thesis concludes by reflecting on its findings, highlighting the intersectionality between the chapters' themes, emphasising the holistic benefits of early modern greenspaces, and how this work represents a means of engaging with gentry estates.

Sources

The primary sources consulted in this research are a mixture of materials specific to Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, items relating to other estates and individuals, and contemporary literature in the form of early modern gardening guides and similar publications. The thesis predominately uses material held at the British Library, Chester Record Office, Lancashire Archives, Liverpool Library, Liverpool University, and Speke Hall's archive.

For the Moreton family, the British Library holds most of the relevant material, which is split into their correspondence and papers. The correspondence spans from roughly the early Tudor period to 1765, and is vital for interpreting Little Moreton's history in the seventeenth century. Many of these letters were written and received by different members of the Moreton family, largely to William Moreton III (1574-1654) and his children.[73] Also included are four volumes of miscellaneous papers relating to the family, which largely consist of legal documents. Most important for this thesis are the memoranda books of Philip Moreton (1611-69) which span from 1646 until his death. Philip, the youngest son of William Moreton III, had a legal practice in London but returned to Little Moreton to act as the agent in the running of the estate for his brother, Edward Moreton (1599-1674).[74] These account books provide the first detailed information about what was planted within any of the case studies' gardens. Chester Record Office, whilst holding microfilm copies of the British Library's collections on the Moretons, also holds scattered collections of early modern deeds relating to the Moreton family as part of several different collections, such as those of the Baker-Wilbraham family of Odd Rode.[75]

[73] British Library, Add MSS. 33935-33937.
[74] British Library, Add MSS. 33938-33941; National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall* (Swindon: Butler, Tanner, and Dennis, 1995; repr. 2011), p. 38. Philip Moreton's commonplace book is held at British Library as Add MS. 33941.
[75] See for example, Cheshire Record Office, DBW/M/I/2, DBW/L/A/1.

The Lancashire Archives at Preston holds material relating to the Hesketh and Rufford Old Hall from roughly 1200 to 1930. This is the main source of information this thesis consults for the family, which includes deeds, accounts, wills, and maps. Steward account books exist for Rufford, covering the years between 1722-1724, and 1744-1746, though they contain relatively few details concerning the grounds of the estate.[76] Unfortunately, the Hesketh' correspondence in this period are not part of this collection. The archive also holds a collection relating to the Stanley family, whom the Hesketh were close to during the early modern period, and as such, contains miscellaneous items related to them, including land deeds. The Lancashire Archives also holds probate records containing wills and inventories related to the Hesketh.

Archival information on the Norris family comes largely from the collection of the Norris papers and deeds held at Liverpool Library, which extend from 1468 to 1709. While deeds, rentals, and inventories are included, most useful to this study are the letters written to and from the Norrises from the 1690s and early 1700s, which provide insight into their daily lives and greenspace usage.[77] A detailed account book was kept by John Wiswall, who handled the daily running of the estate under Sir Edward Norris II (1664-1726). Known as the Wiswall Disbursements, spanning between 1710-1719, they provide the first detailed record of how the estates at Speke were planted and maintained.[78] In addition, the University of Liverpool Special Collections & Archives holds a collection of deeds spanning from 1220-1637 which came into the possession of the Fleming family of Rydal Hall as a result of the financial difficulties faced by William Norris IV (*d.*1630). Mortgages and inventories are included, as well as some miscellaneous documents.[79] Speke Hall's archive contains a large paper and photography collection relating to the property, consisting of material from before and after the property's acquisition by the National Trust. Importantly, it holds the earliest known map of the Speke estate, drawn up by Thomas Addison.[80] The survey is part of a wider series of maps by Addison which had been commissioned by Speke's then current owner, Topham Beauclerk (1739-1780), in 1774, though he died the year before its completion.[81] The map provides the earliest views of what Speke Hall's greenspaces looked like and how they were used. The Lancashire

[76] Lancashire Archives, DDHE/54/2-4.
[77] See, Lancashire Archives, WCW/Supra/C98B/16, WCW/Supra/C288/91.
[78] The MSS. of the disbursements held at Speke Hall, with a photostat copy held at Liverpool Record Office which is the version consulted for this research, listed 942.721/3 SPE. From here on it is referenced as Wiswall.
[79] University of Liverpool Special Collections & Archives, SPEC NORRIS.
[80] Thomas Addison, *A Survey with Maps of the Lordship of Speke in the County of Lancaster late the estate of the Honourable Topham Beauclerk, deceased* (1781).
[81] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 7.

Archive also holds probate records for some members of the Norris family, including wills and inventories for family members such as Edward Norris (*d.*1628) and Katherine Norris (*d.*1708).

The types of archival material relating to the three properties are varied and can be used in different ways to help establish and identify specific features or usage of the estates' greenspaces. However, there are limitations to the material. Although Philip Moreton and John Wiswall's account books provide invaluable details about how their estates were run, as Susan Cogan has encountered with similar sources, attempting to understand the exact locations of specific recorded events is difficult, as is uncovering rationale behind specific choices in planting.[82] The same is true for much of the other material; a garden feature might be named in a deed, but the details of its appearance or location remain lost. Another limitation is that the material is not cohesive and does not cover the history of any one site in its entirety, or necessarily allow for direct comparison: at Speke Hall, a stronger sense of the greenspaces towards the end of the seventeenth century can be established due to Wiswall's accounts, and because letters from the period survive, whereas at Little Moreton, the mid seventeenth century – drawing on Philip's account book – is the period when the estate's greenspaces are most clear to historians. Rufford is the most sporadic, with information largely being revealed through various deeds and inventories taken throughtout the early modern period, rather than having insight from a hyper-focused source over a small period of time as the other case studies' account books provide.

Early modern gardening, hunting, and health guides, herbals, and spiritual texts are used to contextualise archival evidence, and provide contemporary understanding and knowledge of how these features and activities were positive for wellbeing. Early modern garden literature from the period prior to the mid eighteenth century focused on plantings that served practical benefits over their aesthetic qualities.[83] However, for this study, this material will be read primarily for the benefits and pleasures that are ascribed to gardens. Ralph Austen's (*c.*1612-1676) *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees* and its companion piece, *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard,* are texts used heavily throughout this study, as the benefits he attributed to gardening cover a variety of themes. Austen believed that 'Men may *honour* God, *greatly profit themselves*, *the Church*, and the *Commonwealth* by their studies and labors in *a Garden of Fruit-trees*',

[82] Susan M. Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England: Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), p. 151.
[83] Michael Leslie, ''Bringing Ingenuity into Fashion': The 'Elysium Britannicum' and the Reformation of Husbandry,' in Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), p. 134.

alluding to the bodily, monetary, spiritual, and societal benefits that came from horticultural pursuits.[84] Writing in the late 1970s, James Turner lamented Austen's relative obscurity amongst historians but has since recieved attention for numerous reasons, as a writer of practical gardening advice, as a promoter of national security and strength, and the religious underpinnings of his writings, making him a popular figure for discussion.[85]

Other notable guides that will be examined include *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris: or, A Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers* (1629), by the apothecary and botanist John Parkinson (*c.*1566-1650), a lengthy work dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, the text is unique as it focuses on the planting of flowers for their appearance than their holistic qualities.[86] The work is important for garden historians as it represents a transition from gardens serving a primarily practical role, to an ornamental one.[87] Gervase Markham's *Maison Rusique, or The Countrey Farme* (1616), includes passages which emphasise the sensory stimulation experienced in gardens, not only from the sweet smelling flowers, but as a result of the sight of 'pearle-like dew' placed on the grass, and the 'musicke' of bees.[88] These texts were not all uniform; John Taverner, author of *Certaine experiments concerning fish and fruite* (1600), was critical of the pleasurable aspects of gentry landscapes, liking it to the decadence of Rome. Taverner believed that fishing ponds should only be kept for the sustenance they provided, while fruit trees were beneficial for the wellbeing of the entire country in providing food for the hungry.[89] Herbals are also consulted for their detailed descriptions of plants. John Gerard's *The Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597), for example, contains information on thousands of plant species, how they are grown, their medicinal properties, and their humoral virtues. Most importantly, Gerard communicated with and visited Thomas Hesketh, the

---

[84] Ralph Austen, *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard, or Garden of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Thomas Robinson, 1657), p. 148.
[85] James G. Turner, 'Ralph Austen, an Oxford Horticulturalist of the Seventeenth Century', *Garden History*, 6:2 (1978), p. 39. On recent discussions on Austen see, Katherine Bootle Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 51:1 (2011), pp. 140-141; Jim Bartos, 'The Spirituall Orchard: God, Garden and Landscape in Seventeenth-Century England Before the Restoration', *Garden History*, 38:2 (2010), pp. 181-183; Liz Bellamy, *The Language of Fruit: Literature and Horticulture in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), p.1.
[86] John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris: or, A Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers* (London: Humphrey Lownes and Robert Young, 1629); Juanita Burnby, 'Parkinson, John (1566/7–1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21372> [Accessed 12 October 2020].
[87] Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, pp. 51, 168.
[88] Gervase Markham*, Maison Rustique, or, The Countrey Farme* (London: John Bill, 1616), p. 234.
[89] John Taverner, *Certaine Experiments concerning Fish and Fruite* (London: William Ponsonby, 1600), pp. 1, 29-30.

botanist, and aids in building a picture of Rufford and their other estates' local flora and their potential benefits.[90]

Along with horticultural literature, other advice book genres from the period reveal the benefits of greenspaces and how contemporaries understood them. *The Gentleman's Recreation*, by Nicholas Cox, discusses the health and social benefits of hunting but also value in spending time in the beauty of nature.[91] Several health books also stress the importance of gardens and nature. William Vaughan (1577-1641), writer of *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health* (1600), included a discussion on the importance of the garden, and how it should be stocked with herbs and flowers where the owner 'may recreate and solace your selfe at times conuenient.'[92] Thomas Cogan's (*c.*1545-1607) *Haven of Health*, first published in 1584, mentioned the importance of good air and exercising the body; the latter he saw as a deficiency in the gentry due to the lack of physical work required from them in their daily lives.[93] These texts are used alongside horticultural books to allow this thesis to consider greenspaces from different perspectives.

[90] For example, Gerard writes of a double white rose which was found at Rufford, presumably one of the many which Thomas Hesketh sent him. John Gerard, *The Herball or, Generall Historie of Plantes*, 1st edition (London: John Norton, 1597), p. 1081.
[91] Nicholas Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, I, 3rd edition (London: Freeman Collins, 1686), p. 2.
[92] William Vaughan, *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health* (London: Richard Bradocke, 1600), p. 44.
[93] Thomas Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 4th edition (London: Roger Ball, 1636), pp. 1-3, 8.

Overview of the Case Studies and Gentry Gardens

Little Moreton Hall and the Moretons

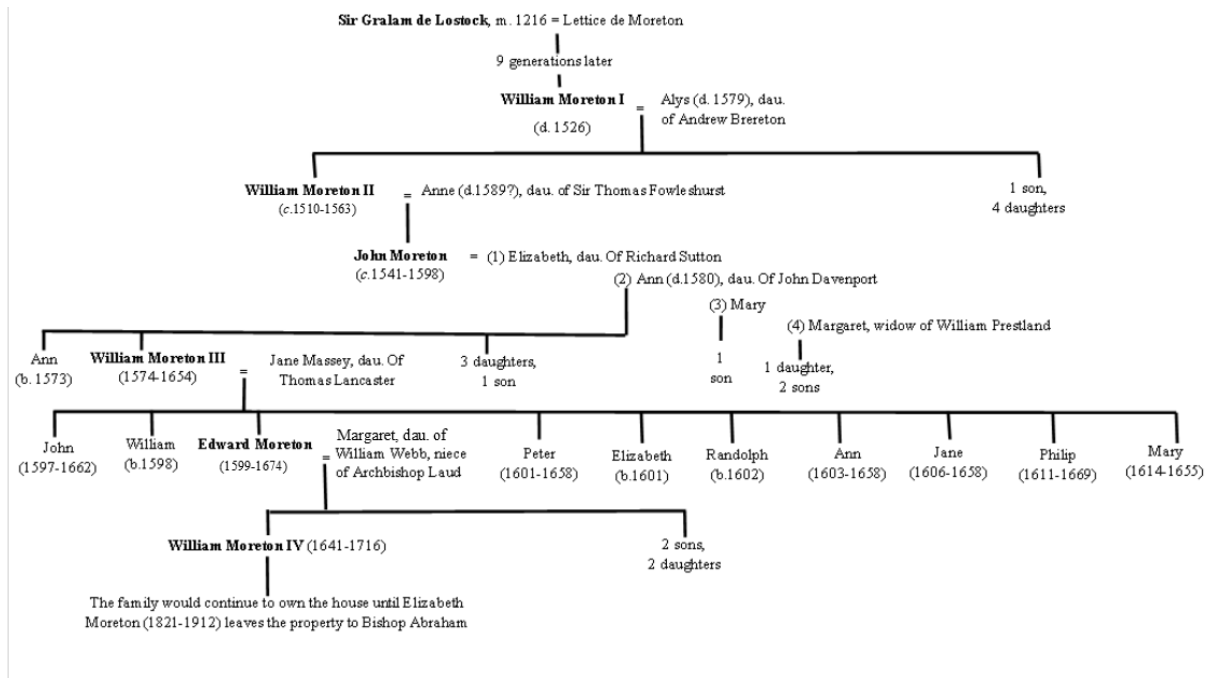

Figure 2: Moreton family tree. Owners of Little Moreton in bold.

Little Moreton Hall is located on the south-east fringe of Cheshire, close to the Staffordshire border. It is a timber-framed house situated on the southeast side of a moated platform. The hall follows a quadrangular shape, and is accessed by crossing a stone bridge across the moat leading to the inner courtyard. The west side of this square courtyard is partially open, allowing access to the rest of the platform: the orchard on the west side, an inner mount to the northwest, a knot garden on the northernmost side, and, following the side of the moat east, against the hall's east side, a small garden area to the southeast which provides views of the bridge.

The lands on which the estate sits were granted to Sir Gralam de Lostock through his marriage to Lettiece de Moreton, who had become the manor's heiress for lack of male siblings. They married in 1216, and Gralam's heirs would take on the Moreton name.[94] William Moreton I (*d.*1526) constructed the earliest parts of the house at it stands today, having built the east range and great hall. William I's son, William Moreton II (*c.*1510-63), and later his grandson, John Moreton (*c.*1541-98), would add to the construction of the house, including a continuation of the east wing and creation of the south wing. The final major additions were the kitchen and brew house on the house's south-west side, built by John's son, William Moreton III (1574-

[94] Head, 'Old Moreton Hall, and its past and present owners', p. 2.

1654).[95] While less is known about the family prior to the seventeenth century, the building of Little Moreton was representative of the wealth the family had accumulated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, having doubled the size of their estate through the purchase of additional land.[96] Regarding religion, the family had transitioned to Protestantism during the Reformation, and surviving evidence such as a parlour room wall painting is indicative of the family's faith during this period.[97]

Clearer details of the estate and family are known to us from William III's ownership of the hall. The wealth acquired in the previous century, and through his marriage to the wealthy heiress Jane, daughter of Thomas Lancaster, and widow of Richard Massey, was used to support his immediate and extended family.[98] The family's exact involvement in the Civil War is uncertain, though they clearly held Royalist sympathies; William III had been imprisoned and released shortly thereafter at the start of the conflict (his son Edward, had married Margaret Webb, niece of William Laud). The estate was confiscated by Parliamentarian forces and proved a heavy drain on the estate's goods and finances, which the family never fully recovered from. Parts of their estate had to be sold off and mortgaged.[99] William III died in September 1654, leaving debts of roughly £3000 to £4000. Edward Moreton became head of the estate, though he spent little time there, acting as a private chaplain at Sefton Hall. During this period, his brother Philip managed the daily running of the estate.[100] By the 1700s, Little Moreton Hall saw less use by the Moretons, letting the house and farmlands to tenants while the heads of the family spent more time away pursuing their careers in London.[101] The Moreton line ended with the death of Elizabeth Moreton (1821-1912), and the estate would eventually be given to the National Trust in 1938.[102]

Early modern maps of Cheshire reveal no noteworthy features of the estate; only in the nineteenth century did detailed maps of Little Moreton emerge (Figure 3), revealing the square moat surrounding the estate.[103] In surveying the moats of the lesser gentry in Cheshire, David Wilson found squares to be the most common form they took, though scant documentary evidence means we must speculate as to their purpose, whether they served as platforms for

---

[95] National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, pp. 28-30.
[96] University of Manchester Archaeological Unit, *Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire*, no pagination.
[97] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, pp. 134-137
[98] National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, pp. 32-34.
[99] National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, pp. 37-38.
[100] National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, p. 38.
[101] National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, p. 40.
[102] University of Manchester Archaeological Unit, *Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire*, no pagination.
[103] Harold Whitaker, *A Descriptive list of the Printed Maps of Cheshire* (Manchester: Chethams Society, 1943).

buildings, or as gardens.[104] Ordinance Survey (OS) maps provide detailed depictions of the hall and the surrounding landscape, including the two mounts, the only true surviving features of Little Moreton's early modern gardens (Figure 4, Figure 5).

Figure 3: Little Moreton Hall depicted in a 1819 survey of the county by Christopher Greenwood.

[104] David Wilson, 'The Medieval Moated Sites of Cheshire', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 84 (1987), pp. 143, 146, 148-149.

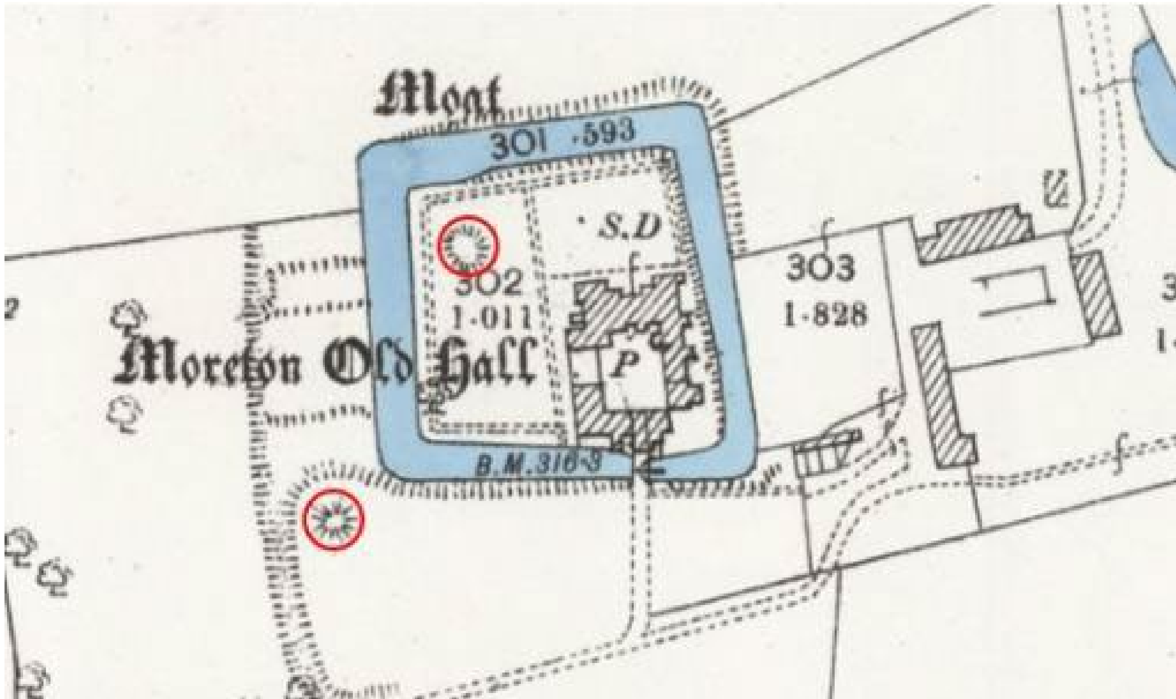

Figure 4: Little Moreton Hall, and its farm to the east, as depicted in an 1898 OS map. The locations of the mounts have been circled by the author (National Library of Scotland).

Figure 5: OS map of Little Moreton Hall. Note Cuttleford Farm which had been part of the Moreton estates until the mid-seventeenth century (National Library of Scotland).

Rufford Old Hall and the Hesketh

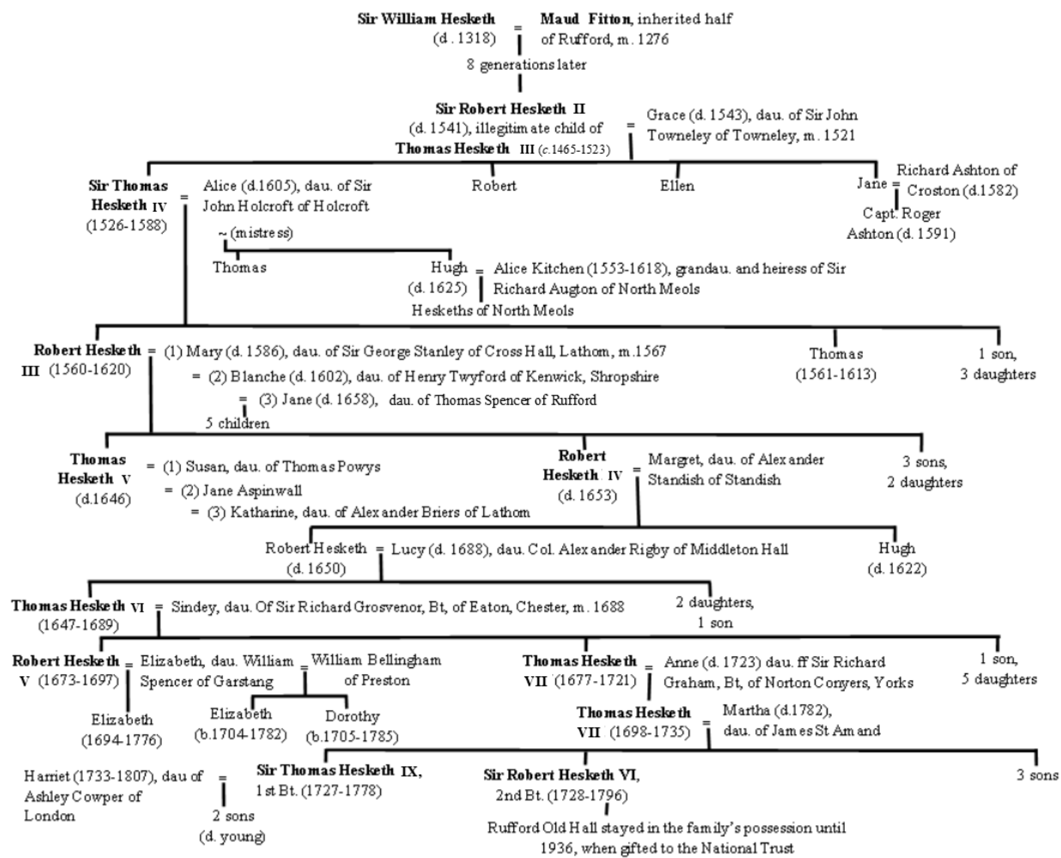

Figure 6: Hesketh family tree. Owners of Rufford Old Hall in bold.

The Hesketh family built Rufford Old Hall; unlike the other two properties which saw little exterior change after the early seventeenth century, the hall underwent significant structural change well into the nineteenth century. Access to the hall can be gained by taking a southern walk, the entrance of which is next to St Mary's church. The walk passes through the estate's Victorian-era gardens. The other entrance is accessed from a drive northwest of the hall which leads to a parking area surrounded by the estate's woodland. From this car park two different paths can be taken, one leading into the estate yard, which is surrounded by the east wing of the hall and the former stable and coachman's lodging, which now serves as the entrance point for visitors. The other way is to walk along the drive pathway, which leads towards the three-storey brick wing, flanked to its right by the black and white Tudor great hall. The entire length of the property runs parallel with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal along its east side.

The Hesketh family are believed to have originated from the village of Hesketh, roughly 5 miles north of Rufford. The first Hesketh to have owned land in Rufford was William de Hesketh *(d.*1318), apparently a 'landless man'. William's marriage to Maud Fitton in 1276, daughter and heiress to Richard Fitton, Lord of Rufford and Great Harwood, secured him land

in Rufford, Great Harwood and Tottleworth. William and Maud's son John would consolidate the rest of these estates, and become the subsequent Lord, like his maternal grandfather.[105] Successive generations of Hesketh owned Rufford, but when a succession crisis emerged following the death of Thomas Hesketh III (*c.*1465-1523) without legitimate issue, his manors passed to his son Sir Robert Hesketh II (*d.*1541), who subsequently faced claimant disputes against rival heirs.[106] Having emerged victorious in the claim's dispute, Robert II sought to legitimise his claim to the Hesketh estates by building a new hall at Rufford, from which the great hall now only survives, using the considerable sums his father had left him.[107] He was knighted around 1534, possibly for his diplomatic services.[108] The hall originally took the form of a H-shaped plan, with the centre housing the great hall, the west wing housing the family rooms, and the east the servants' quarters and work areas.[109]

Robert II's son Thomas Hesketh IV (1526-1588) inherited the estate at fourteen years old, and was knighted in the coronation of Queen Mary in 1553. Thomas IV made further additions to the family's fortunes by purchasing further land in Tarleton, Hesketh, Becconsall, Much Hoole, Croston and Mawdelsey. He fought at the Siege of Leith, Scotland, in 1560, served as High Sherriff for the county in 1562-1563, and commenced new building works at the family's other properties Martholme and Holmeswood Hall.[110] At this point in the Hesketh' history they mingled with Lancashire's powerful elite families, such as the Earls of Derby at Knowsley, a pattern which would extend into the next generation, with Robert Hesketh III's (1560-1620) marriage at the age of seven to Mary Stanley, daughter of Lord Derby.[111]

Despite the family's success in this period, as with many other Lancashire families, their adherence to Catholicism resulted in Thomas IV being imprisoned in 1584. Possibly influenced by his father's experiences, Robert III conformed, at least outwardly, and his heirs, Thomas V (*d.*1646) and Robert IV (*d.*1653) played no role in the civil war of the seventeenth century, though the latter was threatened with sequestration in the 1550s. Robert IV's son, also called Robert (*d.*1650), predeceased him, resulting in his grandson Thomas VI (1647-89) inheriting the estate young. His stepfather, John Molyneux of Teversal (1623-91), supervised the building

[105] William Farrer, J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, XI (London: Archibald Constable and co., 1911), p. 120-121.
[106] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall* (Hampshire: The National Trust, 1991), pp. 49-50; Farrer, Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, XI, p. 122.
[107] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, pp. 49-50.
[108] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 52.
[109] Farrer, Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, XI, p. 123.
[110] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 52.
[111] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, pp. 53, 55.

of a brick-built redevelopment of the property's east wing.[112] Thomas VI's children were brought up as Protestants, ending the family's adherence to Catholicism. His son, Robert V (1673-97), died young, and his wife remained at Rufford, remarrying to William Bellingham of Preston.[113] The Hesketh's' use of Rufford Old Hall in this period diminished subsequent to them renting it out, and by 1760, the nearby Rufford New Hall had supplanted it as their primary residence.[114] Further additions were made in the 1820s by Sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh (1777-1842), while the west wing is believed to have burned down sometime in the eighteenth century.[115] The hall was given to the National Trust in 1936 by Thomas Fermor-Hesketh.[116]

Early county maps reveal little of Rufford Old Hall's form but provide details of its surroundings. Christopher Saxton's 1577 map of Lancashire (Figure 7) shows how close the property was to the nearby wetland, Martin Mere, before it was drained. It also shows 'the Lodge', the Hesketh's' deer park at Holmeswood. An 1802 survey of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal (Figure 8) reveals how the estate's lands were used at the time, with a cherry orchard close to the hall, and the southernmost and the southeast area beyond the canal referred to as 'Park Fields'. Dovecote meadow is suggested to have encompassed the northwest field and stretched across where the estate's woodland is today. An OS map of the area (Figure 9) from 1847 suggests some form of alleys south west of the hall, indicating that this was a more ornate part of the garden in this period.

[112] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, pp. 56-57.
[113] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 58.
[114] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, pp. 59-61.
[115] Farrer, Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, XI, p. 123; National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, pp. 57, 68.
[116] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 69.

Figure 7: Saxton's Map of Lancashire (1577).

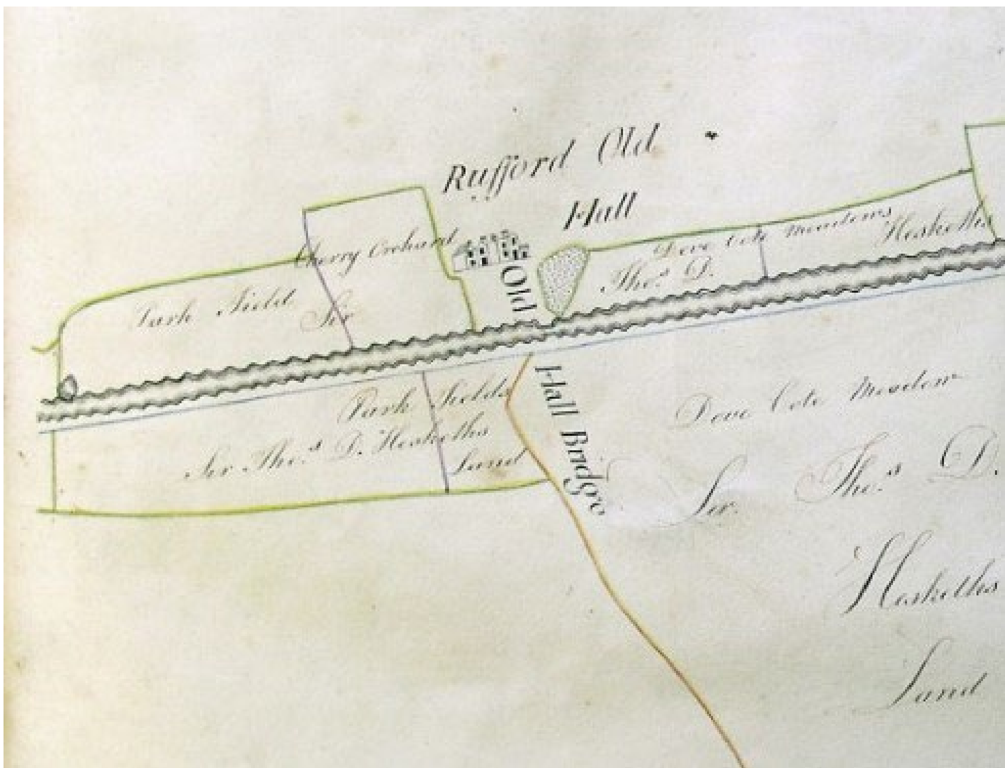

Figure 8: Section of 1802 survey of the Leeds and Liverpool canal (Image provided courtesy of Mike Clarke).

Figure 9: OS Map of Rufford (1847).

Speke Hall and the Norrises

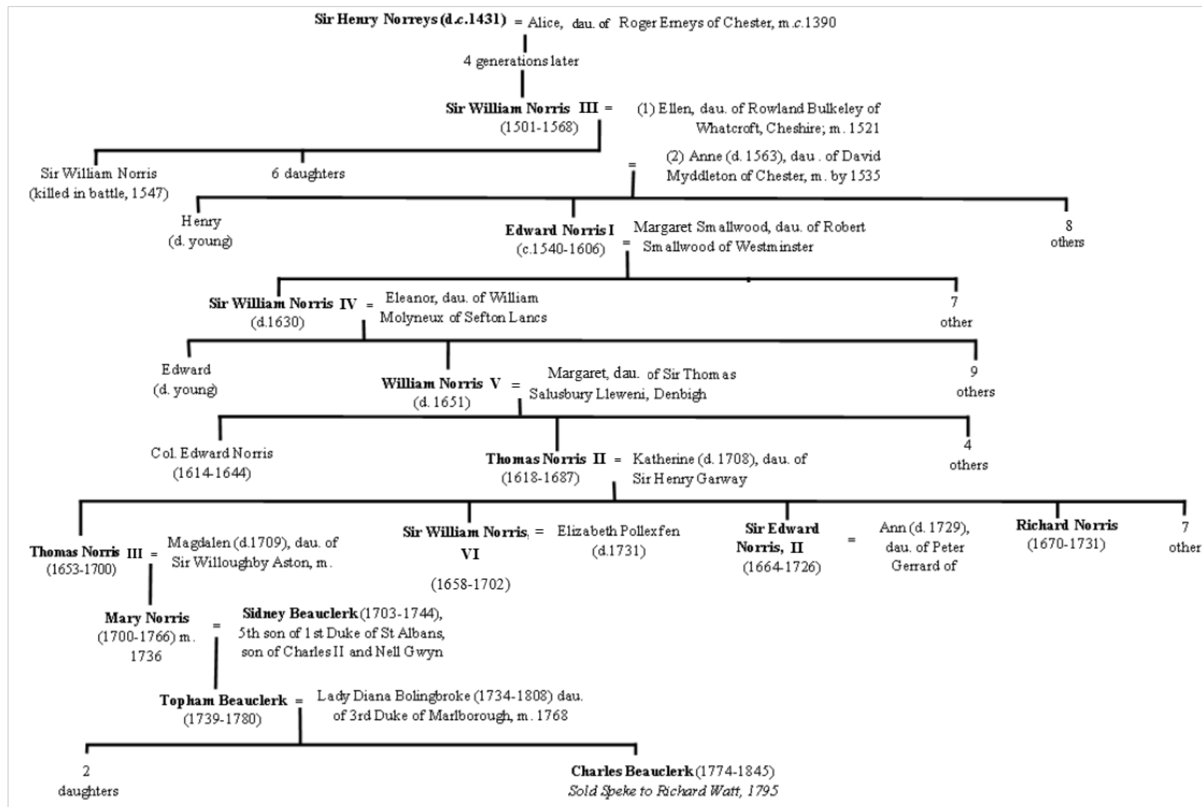

Figure 10: Norris family tree. Owners of Speke Hall in bold.

Speke Hall lies on the northern banks of the River Mersey and is roughly 7 miles away from Liverpool. It is quadrangular in form, with an inner courtyard at its centre. Like Little Moreton, the site had previously been surrounded by a wet moat, with access to the building from a northern and eastern bridge. The moat is believed to have existed from the medieval period, encompassing the hall on its east, north and western sides; by 1869, it had been drained and landscaped.[117] The house can be entered from either the north, after crossing a stone bridge over a dry moat, leading straight under the north wing and into a central courtyard. From this courtyard, a southern passage allows for access into the estate's southern gardens and historic woodland known as the Clough, which dates back to the medieval period. The property can also be entered from the east, over another bridge across the dry moat, leading to an open courtyard that had once been a work area for staff. Compared to Rufford or Little Moreton, it is the largest of the three properties.

The Norris family first acquired land at Speke in 1314 under John le Norreys and his wife Nichola, through an exchange with the Erneys family; he would subsequently be granted the

[117] Nicholson, 'Speke Hall Moat', p. 38.

manor of Speke for life in 1332, as would his sons and grandsons after him. Around the 1390s, Henry le Norryes' (*d.*1431) marriage to Alice Erneys resulted in the family fully acquiring the lordship of Speke.[118] Four generations after this, Sir William Norris III (1501-68) began building the present hall. Archaeological surveys and dendrochronological sampling suggests the south range was built between 1530-32 and the west range in 1544-46.[119] William III was a captain in the Eight Years War against Scotland, sacking Edinburgh in 1544, and fighting again at the Battle of Pinkie near Musselbrugh in 1547.[120] In 1554, William III represented Liverpool in Parliament, and increased the family's wealth by purchasing Garston in 1563.[121] Two years later, he was accused of recusancy, a problem which would only increase and define the later years of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century for the family.[122] William III's son, Edward Norris I (*c.*1540-1606), built the north range in 1598, and although dating for the east range is unknown, he extended the east wing northwards enclosing the central courtyard.[123] Edward I built a gateway leading into the southern garden, whilst his son William IV, built a porch which connected the parlour to the current rose garden in 1612, suggesting the possibility of the area being a formal garden at the time.

These expansions to Speke would have been expensive projects, and by 1617, William IV had sold the lease of the property and, in 1625, acquired a mortgage. These financial troubles were heightened by fines for his recusancy, having to pay double taxes as a result.[124] His son William Norris V (*d.*1651), was likewise Catholic. William V's son, Edward (1614-44), had been a royalist commander in the Civil War but predeceased his father, and his second son and heir Thomas Norris II (1618-87), faced further financial troubles for supporting the Crown. Unsurprisingly, the estate was confiscated for a period by Parliament.[125] Four of Thomas II's sons would act as head of the estate; all were Protestant, and each served as MPs for Liverpool. None of the brothers produced a surviving male heir, the estate passed to Thomas II's granddaughter Mary Norris (1700-66), whose marriage to Sidney Beauclerk (1703-1744) ended the Norris' ownership of the hall.[126] Speke Hall was given to the National Trust in 1943.

[118] William Farrer, J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, III (London: Archibald Constable and co., 1907), pp. 132-133.
[119] Alexandra Muir, 'Speke Hall', *Archaeological Journal*, 169:1 (2012), p. 29.
[120] National Trust, *Speke Hall* (Swindon: Pureprint Group, 2017), p. 5.
[121] National Trust, *Speke Hall*, p. 5.
[122] Jennifer Lewis, Anthony Tibbles, 'Speke Hall – a study of the structural history of the house', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 15 (2015), p. 43.
[123] Muir, 'Speke Hall', p. 29; National Trust, *Speke Hall*, p. 5.
[124] National Trust, *Speke Hall,* p. 9; Lewis, Tibbles, 'Speke Hall', p. 44.
[125] Lewis, Tibbles, 'Speke Hall', p. 44.
[126] National Trust, *Speke Hall*, pp. 9-11.

The first detailed map of Speke is the 1781 Addison survey (Figure 11, Figure 12), which provides a clear sense of the estates greenspace. The southern garden seems to have had formal pathways forming an ‘X’ shape, with an orchard to the right of it. At this point, the east side of the moat still contained water.

Figure 11: Thomas Addison’s 1781 map of Speke (National Trust, Speke Hall Archive).

Figure 12: Closer detail of the Addison’s map, showing detail of the orchard, and a formal garden to the left of it. Note that the eastside of the moat was still wet at this time (National Trust, Speke Hall Archive).

Gentry Gardens

As there is no clear sense of what the early modern gardens and orchards of the three properties looked like, it is worth establishing the common shape and use they took more generally. Early modern gentry gardens were largely a continuation of those of the medieval period, and even by the end of the seventeenth century, had changed very little.[127] Surviving formal gardens are rare today, having largely been altered or obliterated by the popularity of the landscape gardens and parks of the eighteenth century.[128] Much of their design influence originated from medieval monastic gardens, which first began as simple turfed spaces divided by paths which acted as meditative spaces. These developed into well-stocked kitchen gardens and herbers to provision monastic infirmaries, and to help the wider society beyond monastic walls.[129] There had also been a greater need for defence in the medieval period, and so gardens had been small confined spaces relegated behind fortifications, which carried through into the sixteenth century with the continuation of compartmentalised gardens. Despite this compartmentalised design, gardens had also spread out, particularly in elite settings, as castles gave way to moated brick buildings that allowed for more space.[130]

Gentry gardens of the medieval and early modern periods tended to include herbers, orchards, and the more universal kitchen gardens to grow food.[131] Herbers first saw development in England from the twelfth century onwards. These were small gardens enclosed by walls, trellis or hedges, containing herbaceous plants which held medicinal value and strong scents, which were placed close to the bedrooms of the heads of the estates to provide pleasant aromas for their chambers.[132] Plants that would grow in these herbers included anise, coriander, fennel, hyssop, and savoury, but also vegetables such as carrots and spinach; the latter two today would be more appropriate for a kitchen garden, but in the early modern period, all herbaceous (flowering) plants were considered herbs.[133] The enclosed nature of these gardens provided

---

[127] Roy Strong, 'The Renaissance Garden in England Reconsidered: A Survey of Two Decades of Research on the Period 1485–1645', *Garden History*, 27:1 (1999), p. 3.
[128] Linden Groves, *Historic Parks & Gardens of Cheshire* (Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing, 2004), p. 7.
[129] Laura L. Howes, 'Uses and Reception', in Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 82-83; Margaret Willes, *The Making of the English Garden* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 45.
[130] Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 31; Christine Coch, 'The Woman in the Garden: (En)gendering Pleasure in Late Elizabethan Poetry', *English Literary Renaissance*, 39:1 (2009), p. 107.
[131] Francis *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, p. 59; Stannard, 'Alimentary and Medicinal Uses of Plants', p. 75.
[132] Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, p. 59; Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), p. 16.
[133] Stannard, 'Alimentary and Medicinal Uses of Plants', p. 76; Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, pp. 74-75.

both its plants and users shelter from harsh weather, be it too much sun or wind. It also provided privacy and protection, and prevented the estate's livestock or nuisance animals from entering and eating plants.[134]

An emphasis on geometry and symmetry were key aspects of sixteenth and seventeenth-century garden design. The compartmentalisation of these spaces reflected order and harmony, and landscape redesigning was an attempt to create organisation from the perceived chaos of nature.[135] Gardens tended to be compartmentalised into a series of square plots, which contained rows of beds for planting around 6ft wide, allowing for their easy maintenance from the paths between them.[136] Plots were separated using alleys and borders, the latter normally created through the use of fruit bushes such as raspberry, gooseberry, or barberry.[137] Early modern gardens could also include more ornate features in the form of topiary and knots.[138]

Other common features included arbours, fountains, fishponds, and mounts, artificially constructed hills used to view the geometric patterns of the gardens. These mounts could be shaped to conform with the orderly spaces they were situated within.[139] Buildings could also be placed in these greenspaces; banqueting houses, for example, were usually placed far away from the main house, and functioned as a means of dining outside.[140] Orchards, like gardens, were walled, sometimes using brick, a relatively new and expensive material in the early modern period. Bricks were often chosen because their heat-retaining quality aided crop production, whilst also being a display of wealth.[141] Orchards were often further away from the house than other elements of the garden, yet were still seen as ornamental. Tom Williamson described them as 'beautiful places of peculiarly gentle, leisurely production, clearly distinguished from wider arenas of bitter agrarian toil.'[142] Fruit growing had been popular at

[134] Emily Cock, 'In Dock, Out Nettle: Negotiating Health Risks in the Early Modern Garden', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 71.
[135] Williamson, *Polite* Landscapes, p. 19; David Jacques, 'The Compartiment System in Tudor England', *Garden History*, 27:1 (1999), p. 36; Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 2.
[136] Jacques, 'The Compartiment System in Tudor England', pp. 32-33.
[137] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 99
[138] Jacques, 'The Compartiment System in Tudor England', p. 36; Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, pp. 40-42; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 19.
[139] Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, pp. 94, 127.
[140] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 19; Quest-Riston, *The English Garden*, p. 21.
[141] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 99.
[142] Tom Williamson, 'English orchards in history: production, aesthetics and myth', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 40:3-4 (2020), pp. 202, 205

all levels of society, however the ability of the gentry to grow rarer and harder to cultivate stock made orchards a fashionable status symbol.[143]

Gardening writer and Yorkshire clergyman, William Lawson (*c.*1554-1635), in his book *A New Orchard and Garden* – first published in 1618 – included an illustration of an idealised garden and its features that encapsulated the general form these spaces were expected to take (Figure 13). The illustration depicted a garden and orchard with a geometric layout of six individual square plots divided by alleys, with water from a moat at the top end, and either a moat or river at the bottom defining the boundaries of the space. Mounts were included with some form of banqueting or summerhouse adorning them. Lawson's own experiences of plantings in the Northeast may serve as a reflection of what could be successfully grown in the greenspaces of the Northwest, as he explained how apples, cherries, hazelnuts, plums, damsons and bullace grew fine in the region's orchards, whilst for garden flowers, roses, cowslips, primroses and violets were common.[144]

[143] Quest-Riston, *The English Garden*, p. 37.
[144] William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th edition (London: W. Wilson, 1653), pp. 3, 54.

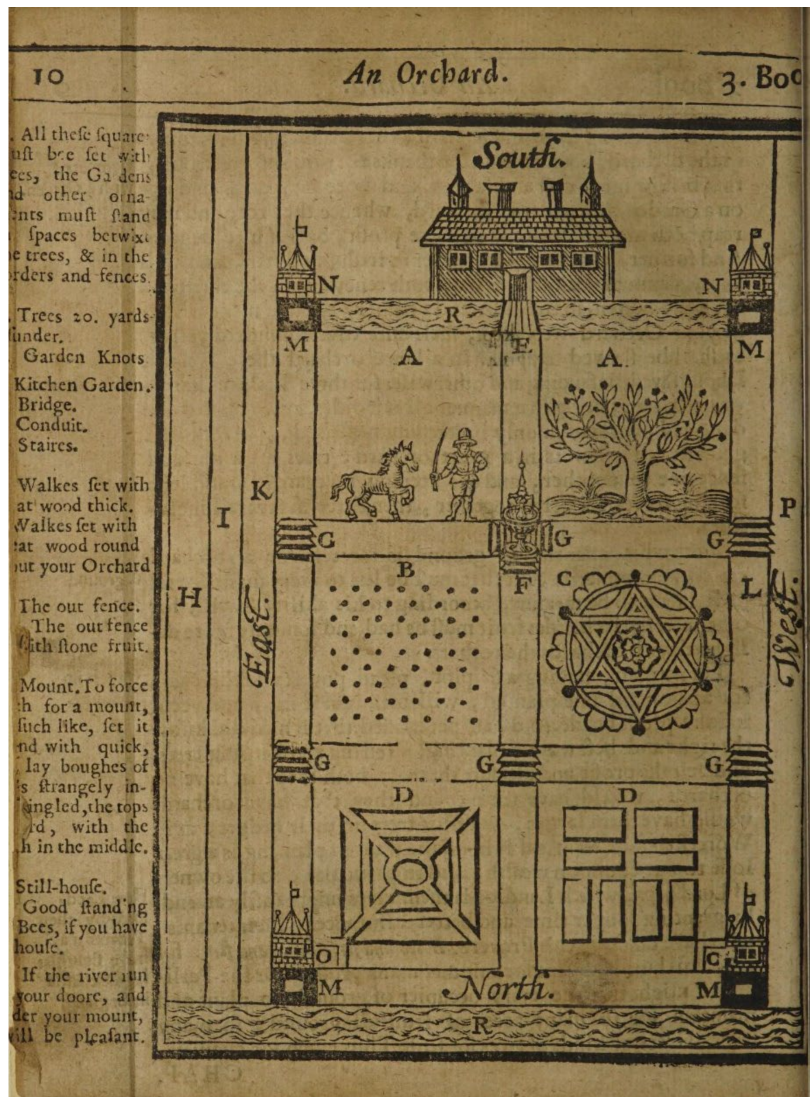

Figure 13: The layout of an early modern garden from William Lawson's A New Orchard and Garden, 8th edition (1653), p.10.

Vital to understanding the gentry gardens at the three case studies is that they would have been an intentional mixture of functionality and aesthetical design, a combination of profitability and pleasure in their form and use.[145] Thomas Hyll (*c.*1528-1574), writer of some of the first English gardening books, outlined the dual nature of gardens. Referring to gardens in *The Profitable Arte of Garening*, Hyll argued 'we then receive by it two special commodities: The first is profit, which riseth through the encrease of herbes and floures: the other is, pleasure, very delectable through the delight of walkyng in the same'.[146] In Hyll's subsequent work, *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, the duality of gardens was emphasised again through the two

[145] John H. Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1981), pp. 2, 142; Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 7; Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 100; Jane Whitaker, *Gardens for Gloriana: Wealth, Splendour and Design in the Elizabethan Garden* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 163.
[146] Thomas Hyll, *The Profitable Arte of Gardening* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1579), p. 1.

‘commodities’ they provided, ‘utilite and delight’.[147] Almost a century later, the cover of Ralph Austen’s *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees* (Figure 15), featured a well-ordered garden, and above this, two hands meeting together, titled ‘Profits’ and ‘Pleasures’, a testament to how long-lasting these notions were to the design of gentry gardens of the period.

Figure 14: The cover to Ralph Austen’s A Treatise of Fruit-Trees, 2nd edition (1657), at the top the hand of profits shakes the hand of pleasures.

The duality of gentry estates went beyond the context of gardens and was reflected in the overall designs of their properties, and was evident at residences in northwest England. Writing in his diary of his travels through Lancashire in 1702, the Yorkshire antiquarian and non-conformist, Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), recorded the estates he visited or would pass by in the county. On 2 September 1702, he wrote how he had passed ‘through Dunkenhalgh, which

[147] Thomas Hyll, *The Gardener’s Labyrinth* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577), p. 4.

has nothing remarkable but the hall of Mr. Walmesley, which seems considerable, but like most seats of the gentry in these parts, has so many out-buildings before it, as spoils the prospect.'[148] Here, Thoresby was critical of the many outbuildings found on Lancashire estates in that they hampered the beauty of the surroundings of the houses. However, their practical necessity outweighed the visual beauty of the surrounding estate. This emphasis on practicality may have been reflective of the relative wealth of the Lancashire gentry; B. G. Blackwood noted that they had been poorer in comparison to their north-eastern counterparts in Yorkshire.[149] As such, the vernacular style of Lancashire estates like Dunkenhalgh may have been a representation of middling wealth of the gentry in the county and the need to use their grounds as a means of production.

There is also a sense that properties in the Northwest may have been slow to adopt the latest trends. Thomas Fuller's posthumous *History of the Worthies of England* (1662) included an account of Sir Ranulph Crewe's construction of Crewe Hall, Cheshire, in 1615, stating that in doing so he had 'brought the Model of excellent Building into these remorter parts, yea, brought *London* into *Cheshire,* in the Loftiness, Sightliness and Pleasantness of their Stuctures'.[150] From Fuller's account, he depicts the Northwest's geographical remoteness as a reason for its slower adoption of architectural trends, which may also serve as a reflection of its gardens too, especially in comparison to London which was a hub for gardening due to the knowledge and riches of its citizens, as well as supplying plants through its strong nursery culture to rest of the country.[151]

The gardens of the gentry in the early modern period, and those of Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, would have reflected their social positions. They contained plots and orchards used for the cultivation of food and herbs, showcasing how the gentry class, despite being in a position of wealth and power which surpassed others in their local area, still needed to use their land for practical purposes. Yet, enjoyment was still to be had within them and of them, with plots being planted in formal, well-ordered layouts aesthetically pleasing to the eye, and were spaces intended to be relaxed in with the use of banqueting houses and mounts.

[148] Thoresby must be referring to the late Bartholomew Walmesley of Dunkenhalgh Hall, who had recently died. By the time of this visit, Walmesley's infant son Francis (1696-1711), had inherited the estate. Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S. Author of the Topography of Leeds*, I, edited by Joseph Hunter (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 436.
[149] B. G. Blackwood, 'The Economic State of the Lancashire Gentry on the Eve of the Civil War', *Northern History*, 12:1, (1976), pp. 59, 82-83.
[150] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: Thomas Williams, 1662), p. 178.
[151] Quest-Riston, *The English Garden*, p. 25.

Chapter 1: Sensory Wellbeing

Introduction

This chapter argues that the sensory experiences found within early modern greenspaces were an essential aspect of providing wellbeing at gentry properties, by providing pleasurable, and therefore beneficial, sensations. Early modern notions of the five senses held a closer affinity with contemporary medicinal practices than today – where engagement with the senses is a fringe, therapeutic topic rather than a key part of Western medicine. Modern recognition of gardens as spaces which can stimulate all five senses is also comparatively limited, with Michael Charlesworth suggesting that the visual aspect of the garden has overridden the role and enjoyment of other sensory experiences found within them.[152] The same can be said of scholarly research into the senses. Until the 1980s, historical research placed more emphasis on the cultural significance of sight than the other four senses; since then, there have been considerable attempts to address this neglect.[153] This chapter contributes towards this discourse by focusing attention to all five senses, and in doing so, demonstrating that a deeper understanding of the role greenspaces played in wellbeing can be achieved.

The chapter begins by discussing how early modern society understood the senses, tracing this back to antiquity and Christian thought. Following this, the five senses are explored with a section devoted to each, corresponding to the generally held perception of the importance of each sense, descending from sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. Contemporary literature is used throughout to identify why pleasurable and pleasant sensory experiences were seen as beneficial and how this can be applied to the thesis's three case studies. Sight is considered through the benefits of viewing the scenery in both the garden and broader landscape, focusing on specific aspects found within them, such as colour, and the appeal of well-maintained gardens and lawns. For hearing, the sounds of wildlife in greenspaces – birdsong and the humming of bees – and the potential of gardens as a setting for listening to music, are argued to be a positive for wellbeing. In discussing smells, attention is given to both foul and positive odours that would have been encountered at the three properties' greenspaces and how pleasant scents would have mitigated the unpleasant, potentially harmful ones. The benefits of taste are primarily explored through the sweet-tasting fruits grown at three estates, and how this was

---

[152] Michael Charlesworth (ed.), *The English Garden: Literary Sources & Documents, Volume I: Chronological Overview: 1550-1730* (Roberts Bridge: Helm Information, 1993), p. 6.

[153] Classen, Howes, Synnott, *Aroma*, p. 5; Jonathan Reinarz, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 2014), p. 3.

seen to alleviate melancholy thoughts. Touch is considered through the cooling effects of spending time in greenspaces and the role certain fruits and recipes could also have on cooling the body. The chapter also demonstrates that greenspaces could provide sensory experiences inside gentry properties, such as through the use of windows for both visual and olfactory pleasure.

Contextualising the Senses

Much of early modern society's understanding of the five senses, and which of these senses were superior and inferior, came from two main sources: the philosophers of antiquity, and Christianity. The general ranking of the senses held that sight came first, followed by hearing, smell, taste, and, lastly, touch. This understanding can be traced back to Plato's dialogue, *Timeaus* (*c.*360 BC.), and Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (*c.*350 BC.), both of which emphasised the superiority of sight.[154] In this extract taken from Plato's *Timeaus*, he explained his reasoning in prioritising sight above the other four senses:

> Sight, then, as I hold, is the cause of our chiefest blessing, inasmuch as no word of our present discourse of the universe could have been uttered, had we never seen stars, sun nor sky …. For ourselves, let us say that the cause and purpose of vision is this: God invented it and bestowed it on us that we might perceive the orbits of understanding in the heavens and apply them to the revolutions of our own thought that are akin to them …. The same is to be said once more of voice and hearing; they have been granted by the gods to this same purpose and end. For speech has been appointed for this very purpose and contributes most of all to it (*Timeaus*, 46a-46d).[155]

Plato placed the most value on sight for its ability to allow us to notice the complexities of the universe; hearing was ranked second as it allowed for the dissemination of this knowledge that had first been obtained through the former sense to be relayed to others.[156] Likewise, in *Metaphysics*, Aristotle attributed the acquisition of knowledge to sight:

> By nature, all men long to know. An indication is their delight in the senses. For these, quite apart from their utility, are intrinsically delightful, and that through the eyes more than the others. For it is not only with a view to action but also when we have no intention to do anything that we choose, so to speak, sight rather than all the other. And the reason for this is that sight is the sense that

[154] Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 9.

[155] Plato, *Timeaus and Critias*, trans. A. E. Taylor (1929; repr. London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 45-46.

[156] For further discussions on Plato's understanding of the senses, see, Luc Brisson, 'Plato's Theory of Sense Perception in the *Timeaus*: How it Works and What it Means', *Proceedings of the Boston Area Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy*, 13 (1999), pp. 147-176.

> especially produces cognition in us and reveals many distinguishing features of things (*The Metaphysics*, I, 980a).[157]

For Aristotle, vision and hearing were vital components to the ethical and intellectual intricacies of what it meant to be human, partly explaining why they have been favoured ever since. In contrast, pleasures involving taste and touch – that is, food and sex – were lesser because they were traits which humans shared with animals.[158] Additional works by Aristotle, such as *De Anima* (*c.*350), expanded on these theories, emphasising the basal necessity of taste and touch to all organisms.[159] Aristotle argued that taste and touch were lesser because they relied on contact, the tongue had to touch food to work, while the hand had to actively come into contact with an object to determine its texture. The proximity required for these senses to work made them unreliable compared to sight and hearing.[160] The further from the head – 'the presumed seat of reason', as Parkhurst Ferguson described it – that a sense operated, the more it was discredited. While taste does begin at the head, that the journey of eaten food goes lower down the body through digestion, diminished its ranking amongst the senses.[161]

These ideas remained influential in the medieval period, albeit entwined with Christian teachings. The concept of the seven deadly sins, for example, would condemn taste and touch further, with their associations with gluttony and lust.[162] Constance Classen has proposed that another reason for touch's placement as the lowest sense was its lack of transferability to Heaven. Classen notes how the other senses are represented in Heaven, be it light, divine fragrance, or the sound of music, whereas touch is not. Furthermore, there are the connotations that the Forbidden Fruit within the Garden of Eden had to be plucked, an action of touch, which commenced the First Sin, stigmatising the sense further.[163] However, for the poet Richard Brathwait (1588-1673), the First Sin was more synonymous with the sense of taste, suggesting that some Biblical interpretations also relegated taste to the bottom of the hierarchy:

> This Sence makes mee weeppe ere I speake of her; sith hence came our greefe, hence our misrie: when I represent her before my eyes, my eyes become blinded

[157] Aristotle, *The Metaphysics*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin Books, 1998; repr. 2004), p. 4.
[158] Carla Mazzio, 'The Senses Divided Organs, Objects, and Media in Early Modern England', in David Howes (ed.), *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p. 87.
[159] Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. C. D. C. Reeve (Cambrdige: Hackett Publishing, 2017), p. 64; see also Aristotle, *On Sense and the Sensible*, trans. J. I. Beare (online) available at: <https://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/sense.html> [Accessed 12 October 2023].
[160] Vikoria von Hoffmann, 'Learning (to) Taste: Food, Aesthetics, and Education in Early Modern France', *The Senses and Society*, 14:2 (2019), p. 133.
[161] Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 'The Senses of Taste', *The American Historical Review*, 116:2 (2011), p. 374.
[162] Hoffmann, 'Learning (to) Taste', p. 133.
[163] Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), p. 26.

> with weeping, remembring my grandame Eve, how soone she was induced to taste that shee ought not. Hence I do imagine (imagination is the end of man) how pure I had bin, if this one Sence had not corrupted my pristine innocencie: apples are suspicious to me, being the first that depraved me.[164]

As evident in Brathwait's disdain of taste, in the Renaissance this hierarchy of the five senses which had first been established in antiquity, remained. Sight was believed to be the most important of the five senses, for its role in determining wellbeing and location, but also in intellectual terms in that it provided an accurate access and understanding of objects, while also managing to do this at a further distance, and at a faster speed compared to the other senses.[165]

René Descartes (1596-1650), one of the seventeenth century's most influential philosophers, argued that our sensory perceptions of objects could lead to misrepresentations of the world. In his *The Principles of Philosophy* (1644), Descartes argued that sensory understanding of the world could result in making false assumptions about the true nature of the objects that surrounded us:

> for example, we perceived a certain colour, we thought that we saw something which existed outside of us and which clearly resembled the idea of colour which we then experienced in ourselves, and from the habit of judging in this way we seemed to see this so clearly and distinctly as to be convinced that it is certain and indubitable.[166]

Despite this ambivalence towards the senses as a form of knowledge or understanding the world, Cartesian philosophers still understood the senses through a hierarchy. Smell, for example, was situated middle in this sensory hierarchy, lacking the reliability of hearing and sight but being more sensitive than taste or touch.[167] While rejecting the importance of the senses in the role they played in the acquisition of knowledge, Cartesian thought, reflective of the rest of early modern culture, recognised some senses as better than others.

Regarding wellbeing, the five senses were understood to have positive and negative effects on the body and mind through evoking specific passions. Negative passions, such as anger or sorrow, were seen as harmful and could lead to illness; whereas positive passions, such as feelings of joy, were seen to ward off ill health and were actively pursued through sensory

[164] Richard Brathwait, *Essaies vpon the Five Senses* (London: Richard Whittaker 1620), p. 45.
[165] Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, p. 10.
[166] René Descartes, *Principles of Philosophy*, in *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, trans. Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 247.
[167] Jonathan Reinaerz, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (University of Illinois, 2014), p. 12.

experiences.[168] The Catholic priest, Thomas Wright (1561-1624), within his book *The Passions of the Minde in General*, made a direct link between the positive and negative stirrings of the passions with sensory experiences. Wright claimed that 'our senses were joint-friendes in such sort with passions, that whatsoever delighted sense, pleased the passions; and whatsoever was hurtfull to the one, was an enemy to the other', making a clear connection to the role that sensory experiences had on contemporary notions of health.[169] Garden writers too knew of the pains of negative sensory stimulation, within the 1652 edition of Thomas Hyll's *The Gardeners Labyrinth* it is stated that 'The life of man in this world is but thraldom, when the Sences are not pleased', suggesting that interacting with the five senses was an essential part of living a fulfilling life.[170] Whether a lower or higher sense, gardens and orchards were spaces which emitted positive sensory stimuli. William Lawson argued that orchards made for the best of all worldly pleasures precisely because of this:

> For whereas every other pleasure commonly fills some one of our senses, and that onely, with delight, this makes all our senses swim in pleasure, and that with this infinite variety, joyned with no lese commodity… What can your eye desire to see, your ears to heare, your mouth to tast, or your nose to smell, that is not to be had in an Orchard, with abundance of variety? What more delightsome then an infinite variety of sweet smelling flowers? decking with sundry colours, the green mantle of the earth, the universal mother of us all, so by them bespotted, so dyed, that all the world cannot sample them, and wherein it is more fit to admire the dyer, then imitate his workmanship, colouring not onely the earth, but decking the aire, and sweetning every breath and spirit.[171]

Within this quote Lawson managed to encapsulate the wealth of sensory value to be found in the gardens. What makes attitudes like this vital for this study is that they were directly tied to understandings of positive wellbeing.

Sight

Sight was a sense that affected the very construction and orientation of gentry properties, as the surrounding views that the wider landscape provided was considered an important factor in choosing where to live. This connection between the visual beauty of the landscapes surrounding gentry homes and wellbeing was made explicit by the physician Andrew Boorde

[168] Hannah Newton, 'Inside the Sickchamber in Early Modern England: The Experience of Illness through Six Objects', *English Historical Review*, 136:580 (2021), pp. 538-539; Rachel Winchcombe, 'Comfort Eating: Food, Drink and Emotional Health in Early Modern England', *English Historical Review*, 138:590-591 (2023), p. 77.

[169] Thomas Wright, *Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: Walter Burre, 1604), p. 9.

[170] Thomas Hyll, *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London: Jane Bell, 1652), p. 61.

[171] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., pp. 53-54.

(*c.*1490-1549), within his dietary text the *Compendyous Regyment or Dyetary of Helth* (1542). Boorde titled the first chapter of this work: 'The first chapter doth show where a man should situate or set his mansion place or house for the health of his body'; it is rare to see health literature give such a priority building design, making the text stand out as a result.[172] On the location of where a house should be situated, Boorde writes that the landowner:

> must have a forecast in his mind that the prospect to and fro the place be pleasant, fair, and good to the eye, to behold the woods, the waters, the fields, the vales, the hills and the plain ground. And that everything be decent and fair to the eye, not only within the precinct of the place appointed to build a mansion or a house to see the commodities about it, but also it may be placable to the eyes of all men… For the commodious building of a place doth not only satisfy the mind of the inhabitor but also it doth comfort and rejoiceth a man's heart to see it.[173]

Boorde reveals a historical understanding of the benefits of a pleasant location regarding wellbeing, in that seeing such scenery evoked positive mental and emotional responses. The word 'comfort' at this time was predominately used as a noun which meant support against troublesome circumstances be it moral, emotional, spiritual, or political. Those without this comfort were understood to be feeling melancholic or sorrowful.[174] The landscapes surrounding Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke included views of natural features that Boorde commended for providing comfort, and could have stirred similar feelings amongst the three families.

To the east of Little Moreton, the southernmost tip of the Pennines can be seen; at Rufford, looking east beyond the current canal provides views of vast fields and hills in the distance, whereas noticeable features of Speke Hall's immediate landscape include the woodlands known as Oglet Wood, and the Clough, and more further, expansive views of the River Mersey, and the Wirral Peninsular beyond it (Figure 16). There is no hard evidence that the three properties were sited and oriented with the specific intention of taking in these exact views, but given that consideration was usually given to this, it is a highly likely scenario. Moreover, Sara L. French has convincingly argued that the elite of Elizabethan England saw the natural world

[172] Andrew Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment or Dyetary of Helth*, in Joan Fitzpartick (ed.), *Three Sixteenth-Century Dietaries* (Manchester: Manchster University Press, 2017), p. 161.
[173] Boorde, *Dyetary of Helth*, pp. 162-163.
[174] John E. Crowley, 'The Sensibility of Comfort', *American Historical Review*, 104:3 (1999), p. 751.

around them as a space which could be manipulated to suit them, a resource that should reflect their hopes and aspirations and their understanding of the world, including a sensory one.[175]

Figure 15: Views of the Wirral Peninsular from beyond Speke Hall's Clough woodland.

Large grass-covered areas have long been perceived as having therapeutic benefits for their well-maintained neat look and green colouration. At Speke, John Wiswall, the estate's steward in the early eighteenth century, provided evidence that the gardens included turfed elements in the form of 'Squares' in numerous entries in his account book. On 1 May 1711, Wiswall paid Edward Webster 2s for four days work spent 'mowing Squares & digging in gardens', while on 31 October 1718, he paid Katherine Tyrer 1s 8d for five days work 'weeding in the Gardens and the quickwood & gathering Grass of the Squares and Gardens', the first time the term 'grass' is specifically mentioned in the accounts.[176] In the early modern period, the colour of grass was understood to be beneficial, Ralph Austen's *A Treatise of Fruit Trees*, explained how the colour green was helpful for eyesight, and that it could provide actual physical healing.[177] This understanding of the sensory benefit of green grass had earlier examples, such as in the monastic garden traditions of the medieval period. Hugh of Fouilloy (*d.*1172), speaking of the

---

[175] Sara L. French, 'Re-Placing Gender in Elizabethan Gardens', in Merry Wiesner-Hanks (ed.), *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 157-175.
[176] Wiswall, ff. 9, 119.
[177] Ralph Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd edition (Oxford: 1657), p. 34.

grass lawns found within the cloisters of monastic houses, believed it 'refreshes encloistered eyes and their desire to study returns. It is truly the nature of the colour green that it nourishes the eyes and preserves their vision.'[178] Discussing the colour green itself, William of Auvergne (1180/90–1249), a theologian and philosopher who would become the Bishop of Paris, believed the colour was pleasing because it 'lies between the white which dilates the eye, and the black which contracts it'.[179] In these accounts, the colour green, and subsequently grass, was understood to have therapeutic value. As Carole Rawcliffe has stated, the colour was also believed to fight the deterioration of eyesight that came with ageing through revitalising the crystalline humour of the eye, perhaps explaining why so many monks chose to study in gardens.[180]

Colour was not the only reason viewing grass was beneficial, as there was also pleasure to be found in the high maintenance of cut lawns, especially when compared to the wild, unkempt fields and woodlands beyond garden walls. The Dominican, Albertus Magnus (*c.*1200-80) wrote how nothing 'refreshes the sight so much as fine short grass.'[181] Into the early modern period, this attitude remained. In his essay 'Of Gardens', Francis Bacon (1561-1626) believed that 'nothing is more pleasant to the eye than grass kept finely shorn', similar to the claims of Albertus.[182] At Speke, the grass squares of the estate's gardens may have provided the Norrises with a therapeutic visual stimuli, but a stimulation that also reminded them of their own position in the world. Bacon's attitude was, after all, a reflection of his scientific interest and belief that man should impose his will on the natural world.[183]

Woodland areas also provide an abundance of green. Gervase Markham believed that the planting of woodland held many benefits, for the wildlife it helped encourage, but also that the 'diversity of greenenesse' that came with wooded areas helped 'recreateth the sight'.[184] The colour green also had two other benefits for health, it created 'salubrious air' (according to Vitruvius's *De architectura*), and eased melancholy.[185] Speke has numerous wooded areas,

[178] Quoted from Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden*, p. 36.
[179] Quoted from John Gage, *Color and Meaning: Art, Science, and Symbolism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), p. 71.
[180] Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles"', p. 11.
[181] Quoted from Christopher Thacker, *The History of Gardens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 84.
[182] Francis Bacon, *Of Gardens* in *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral* (London: Hanna Barret, 1625), p. 56.
[183] Peter Marshall, *Nature's Web: Rethinking Our Place on Earth* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 258.
[184] Gervase Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 657.
[185] See the discussion in Katherine M. Bentz, 'Gardens, Air, and the Healing Power of Green in Early Modern Rome', in Jennifer Cochran Anderson and Douglas N. Dow (eds.), *Visualizing the Past in Italian Renaissance Art: Essays in Honour of Brian A. Curran* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 235-267.

Clough woodland to the south of the property, was first mentioned in 1314. Today the Clough is mainly comprised of beech and oak, having been felled numerous times through the centuries for timber, though its proximity to the southern garden may have meant it was used as a woodland walk area.[186] How wooded the immediate lands surrounding early modern Rufford remains unknown, however, the Hesketh's' nearby hunting lodge, Holmeswood, would have been a greenspace where the benefits of trees could be experienced.

While green may be the colour most prevalent in gardens, the fruits, flowers, and herbs held within them provided an eclectic spectrum of other colours which were praised in the early modern period, just as they are today. Hyll claimed walking along the alleys and walks of an orchard or garden and observing these sights improved wellbeing:

> [Alleys and walks] serve to good purposes, the one is, that the owner may diligently view the prosperity of his herbs and flowers, the other for the delight and comfort of the wearied mind, which he may by himself or fellowship of his friends conceive, in the delectable sights and fragrant smells of the flowers, by walking up and down, and about the Garden in them, which for the pleasant sights and refreshing of dull spirits, with the sharpening of memory.[187]

Markham argued that the variety of colours found within the garden was essential to providing visual pleasure, as it was only through a combination of each that they could be truly appreciated, and compared the experience to observing the beauty of a woman. He demonstrated that even alleys, which could be interpreted as serving a purely functional role in a garden, would have been pleasurable to look at due to the contrast of its gravel against the grass squares it would have run parallel against:

> the mixture of colours, is the onely delight of the eye above all other: for beauty being the onely object in which [the eye] joyeth, that beautie is nothing but an excellent mixture, or consent of colours, as in the composition of a delicate woman the grace of her cheeke is the mixture of redde and white, the wonder of her eye blacke and white, and the beauty of her hand blewe and white, any of which is not sayd to be beautifull if it consist of single or simple colours: and so in these walkes, or Alleyes all greene, nor the all yealow cannot be sayd to be most beautifull, but the greene and yealow, (that is to say, the untroade grasse, and the well knit gravell) being equally mixt, give the eye both luster and delight beyonde all comparison.[188]

[186] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 20; Ashmead Price, *Speke Hall*, p. 18, 46,
[187] Hyll, *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, p. 24.
[188] Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman: The First Part* (London: John Browne, 1613), p. 117.

Garden architecture provided a space to observe these positive visual stimuli. The Shropshire nurseryman, John Rea (*d.*1681), in his work *Flora: seu, De Florum Cultura* (1665) recommended building a summerhouse next to flower gardens, specifically octagonal in shape, allowing those sitting in it to 'behold the beauties of the Flowers'.[189] A lease dated 27 January 1724, records that a summerhouse stood at the upper end of the garden at Rufford Old Hall. This may have provided a viewing point to take in the sight of the estate's flower beds, a view that subsequently refreshed the senses as discussed above.[190] Similarly, in a letter written to her son in 1703, Katherine Norris of Speke Hall mentioned a banqueting house on the estate. This could have been used to observe the beauty of the estate's gardens and orchards or to survey the orderly landscape over which the Norris family had imposed their control.[191] Rea suggested that summerhouses should be painted with landscapes; whether this meant to make the structure blend with its surroundings, or immerse its occupants inside, is unknown.[192] This highlights the need to be mindful that manmade ornamentation in the garden would have been painted, adding further emphasis to the value gentry placed on vibrancy.[193]

The fruits grown at the three estates would have also been a positive sight; Austen wrote of how in the summer months, 'the sight of the abundance of fruit… delights the eyes with their varied colours'.[194] The commonplace book of Philip Moreton records entries of plum, apricots, and dwarf apple fruit trees, making for a blend of purple, terracotta, and red colours in the garden which varied depending on whether the trees were in bloom or in fruit, or whether the leaves had taken on their autumnal colours.[195] Austen recommended using garden mounts as a means of better taking in these sights:

> Will it not cause Admiration to stand upon a Mount in the midst of a faire large Orchard in the spring time, and to behold round about a multitude of severall sorts of Fruit-trees, full of beautiful Blossoms, different shapes and colours, ravishing the sence with their sweet Odours, and within a while turned into faire and goodly fruits of diverse Colours and Kinds.[196]

Little Moreton Hall has two mounts, one built up in the north-west corner of the moated garden (Figure 17) and the other beyond the moat, to the southwest (Figure 18), and could have

[189] John Rea, *Flora: seu De Florum Cultura* (London: Thomas Clarke, 1665), p. 9.
[190] Lancashire Archives, DDHE/105/1.
[191] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 2/306.
[192] Rea, *Flora*, p. 9.
[193] Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, p. 221.
[194] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 27.
[195] Add MS. 33941, ff. 65, 120.
[196] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 29.

therefore been used in a way similar to Austen's suggestion. While the location of where the flowering trees and plants would have been at Little Moreton is unknown, today, there are a few dwarf apple trees growing in the west garden, which are in perfect view from the inner mount, thereby playing with the ideas suggested by Austen.

Figure 16: Little Moreton's inner mount (author for scale).

Figure 17: Little Moreton's outer mount (author for scale).

Mounts are an important feature of gardens when considering the senses because, while they were decorative features in their own right and thus had an impact through the gaze, scaling a mount to secure a particular view allowed people to enjoy the visual beauty of gardens and wider greenspaces. Mounts had been features of gardens since the Middle Ages, though their use for observing a garden or park, Oliver Creighton argues, was a specifically post-medieval development.[197] Coming in a variety of shapes, from conical, round, ziggurat, and pyramidal, Lawson recommended that they have plum, cherry and damson planted on them.[198] With recent archaeological work on Little Moreton's mounts indicating they were once terraced, it is possible this acted as a means of growing fruits on the structures which might suggest that the Moretons were aware of Lawson's advice.[199]

May Woods has argued that the popularity of mounts declined in the mid seventeenth century.[200] However, that mounts were still discussed in the agriculturalist John Worlidge's (*d.* 1693) *Systema Horti-Culturae, or The Art of Gardening*, first published in 1677, suggests that while they may have grown out of favour amongst the elite; for the gentry, mounts still proved

[197] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 190.
[198] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 54.
[199] Edwards, *Report: Ground Penetrating Radar and Topographic Survey*, p. 18.
[200] May Woods, *Visions of Arcadia: European Gardens from Renaissance to Rococo* (London: Aurum, 1996), pp. 76-77.

fashionable in Restoration England.[201] Their existence at Little Moreton Hall is thus specific to the social context of the estate and demonstrates that in some cases the ways that gardens and greenspaces supported wellbeing may have lagged behind developments in more high-status gardens.

Robert Burton (1577-1640), writer of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), a guide to understanding the causes, symptoms, and possible solutions to melancholy, recommended a sceneic view to help combat melancholy. He wrote about venturing up a hill in Oldbury, Warwickshire, where he was born, and taking in the sights as having a positive effect on his health.[202] The garden mounts at Little Moreton could have achieved the same effect, raising a person up to give them a particular view that could be curative in some way. Standing atop the outer mount at Little Moreton and looking east, for example, provides an excellent view of Mow Cop, a 335-metre hill which may have inspired similar, melancholy-combating effects which Burton felt. Other mounts constructed in Cheshire estates likewise used the elevated vantage point to emphasise not only the inward views of the gardens but also the wider views of the surrounding countryside. At Gawsworth Hall, two mounts provided views of a large hill called the Cloud, whilst at Peel Hall, a lost mount offered views of Beeston Crag and the Welsh hills.[203]

The use of mounts for wellbeing continued after the Tudor and Stuart periods.[204] Examining the mental asylums of the Victorian period, Clare Hickman refers to the 1843 plans of Brislington House, an asylum in Bristol, which includes a snail mount. The mount would have allowed those interned at the asylum to view the surrounding landscape without risk of escape. This was seen as an attempt to make their confinment more homely, and thus have a positive mental effect on the asylum's patients.[205] That features of gardens were being incorporated into asylums with the hopes of bringing mental soothing indicates there must have already existed an understanding that these elements, such as mounts, aided in this way while they had been in their original contexts such as at Little Moreton. Joan Lane speaking of voluntary hospitals of

---

[201] John Worlidge, *Systema Horticulturae, or, The Art of Gardening*, 3rd edition (London: Tho. Dring, 1688), p. 36.
[202] Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1621), p. 337.
[203] Richard C. Turner, *Gawsworth Hall Gardens: A History and Guide to the Great Elizabethan Garden at Gawsworth, Cheshire* (Macclesfield & Vale Royal Groundwork Trust, 1990), p. 15; Sharon M. Varey, 'Keys to the Past: Unlocking the Secrets of the Landscape at Peel', in Sharon M. Varey (ed.), *Landscapes Past and Present: Cheshire and Beyond* (Chester: Chester University Press, 2016), p. 139.
[204] Woods, *Visions of Arcadia*, pp. 76-77.
[205] Hickman, *Therapeutic Landscapes*, pp. 39, 76; Clare Hickman, 'The Picturesque at Brislington House, Bristol: The Role of Landscape in Relation to the Treatment of Mental Illness in the Early Nineteenth-Century Asylum', *Garden History*, 33:1 (2005), p. 48.

the eighteenth century, notes the similarity that these buildings had with the respective gentry country houses of the period, perhaps implying that there is something inherently mentally beneficial regarding the lifestyles of the upper classes.[206]

Visual appreciation of greenspaces could also be experienced from within the halls themselves through the use of windows, the designs of which had grown larger in the Tudor period, allowing for better views of gardens.[207] This was an important leisure activity, as emphasised by Daniel Jütte who reminds us that 'Until only a few decades ago, one of the most popular leisure activities in Europe was simply looking out the window'.[208] The ability to enjoy a clear view, a right drawing on Roman precedent, was also recognised by the Court of King's Bench in early seventeenth-century London. In that case, the judge concluded that it was 'a great commendation of a house if it has a long and large prospect'.[209] To be able to view the gardens, whether indoors or outside, was seen by Markham as a reward for a gentleman to be able to see the fruits of his labours:

> It is a commendable and seemely thing to behold out at a window manie acres of ground well tilled and husbanded, whether it be Medow, a Plot for planting of Willowes, or arable Ground as we have stood upon heretofore: but yet it is much more to behold faire and comely Proportions, handsome and pleasant Arbors, and, as it were, Closets, deligthfull borders of Lavender, Rosemarie, Boxe, and other such like.[210]

Leonard Meager suggested that a 'garden of delight' should be made in a place where it is visible from the chief rooms of a property.[211] Similarly, Rea believed that these types of gardens should be situated on the south side of the house, visible from the windows, and that flower gardens, in particular, should be put next to the wall of a house.[212]All three properties align with the suggestions recommended by these guides; at Speke, both the great hall and parlour rooms contain windows which would have allowed the Norrises to reap the visual benefits of the estate's greenspaces (Figures 19, 20). Likewise, the windows in the parlour at Little Moreton look out northwards into the gardens (Figure 21), whereas the views from the third-floor long gallery (Figure 22) provide excellent views to the south and southwest of the

[206] Joan Lane, *A Social History of Medicine: Health, Healing and Disease in England 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 83.
[207] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 169; Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 213.
[208] Daniel Jütte, 'Window Gazes and World Views: A Chapter in the Cultural History of Vision', *Critical Inquiry* 42:3 (2016), p. 612.
[209] Jütte, 'Window Gazes and World Views', p. 623.
[210] Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 234.
[211] Leonard Meager, *The English Gardener* (London: M. Wotton and G. Conyers, 1688), p. 113.
[212] Rea, *Flora*, pp. 2, 3.

estate. The inclusion of a bay window in Rufford's great hall possibly suggests that there may have been an early modern garden to the north at some point (Figure 23), while the lost west wing at the property had also contained a gallery like at Little Moreton, which presumably provided viewing pleasure for the Hesketh.[213] The room at Rufford with possibly the greatest view of the garden is the Drawing Room. The current room was built between 1820-5 for Sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, by John Foster Jr., a Liverpool architect.[214] Before Foster's alterations, it is likely the room had been two separate ones, similar to the ante room and dining room on the ground floor directly below it.[215] Whatever its original size, or what the function of the room was, the window at its far end provides a clear view of the garden that is almost in line with the path that leads down to St Mary's Church, and would have provided healthy sights for those who looked outwards.

Figure 19: View of Speke Hall's south gardens from the great hall.

[213] Lancashire Archives, WCW/Supra/OS/17/2.
[214] Clare Hartwell, Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Lancashire: North* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 587.
[215] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 28.

Figure 18: View from Speke's parlour bay windows, looking westward.

.

Figure 19: View looking out to Little Moreton's knot garden, from the parlour room.

Figure 20: View looking out to Little Moreton's front entrance and wider estate, taken from the long gallery.

Figure 21: Bay window at Rufford looking northwards, taken from the great hall.

While early modern authors praised visual engagement in gardens, the sense of sight could also prove to be a potential threat to health. Writing about decoration in early-modern households,

Tara Hamling notes the risk that came with vision. With the emphasis that contemporaries placed on religion in early-modern culture – in that, it was all-encompassing – this naturally influenced contemporary understandings of the senses, in which sight could potentially lead to the sins of covetousness, lust, greed, vanity, and idolatry, dependant on where the gaze fell.[216] Furthermore, Anthony Nixon in his *Dignitie of Man*, claimed the eyes to be 'the windows of the body', allowing man the knowledge of God by seeing and contemplating his works, but acknowledged the risk of seeing profane and dishonest things, which could in turn damage the soul.[217] Taking religious applications to the sense of sight into account, gardens could represent a space which contrasted against these fears of lust or greed, instead offering the chance to gaze at flowers, wildlife, and other natural elements as a way to examine God's works, providing a spiritually healthy place for the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families.

Hearing

The auditory landscape of greenspaces is often dominated by birdsong, something actively encouraged and appreciated in the early modern period as another sensory experience which would have evoked positive passions. Markham writes of the 'ravishing musicke' of an infinite number of 'pretie small birds', which continued day and night amongst the hedges and trees of a garden.[218] The appeal of birds was also a reason behind Markham's recommendation of planting woodland walks, providing a habitat for them 'whereby their songs become joyfull and delightsome to the eare, and so there is a pleasure and great contentment to the eare even to them in the house if it be neere unto'.[219] Markham demonstrates how, like the visual enjoyment of greenspaces could be appreciated through windows, auditory pleasure could likewise provide benefits on those within the house as well. In thinking of the three properties, the orchards and woodlands around the estates, and the courtyard yew trees at Speke or the fir walk at Rufford would have provided a suitable habitat to encourage birds. Lawson similarly praised birds, specifically nightingales, calling their sounds 'delightsome' both day and night, and for providing a form of pest control in dealing with caterpillars, while of the wren, he believed to have a 'distinct whistle, (like a sweet Recorder) to cheare your spirits.'[220] Austen suggested that the sound of songs birds was more pleasant in the garden due to concurrent

[216] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 265.
[217] Anthony Nixon, *The Dignitie of Man, Both in the Perfections of His Soule and Bodie* (Oxford: John Barnes, 1616), pp. 15, 16.
[218] Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 234.
[219] Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 657.
[220] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 56.

pleasures which surrounded them, suggesting that early modern society understood benefits of greenspaces as a holistic experience.[221]

Notable varieties of birds which are found at Rufford Old Hall today include grey partridge, skylark, and yellow hammer, while visiting winter birds include curlew, lapwing, shelduck, and pink-footed geese.[222] Ornithological writers such as Francis Willughby (1635-72), and Eleazar Albin (*d.*1742) , mention in their notes on how to keep skylarks, how best to keep them if intending on having them as songbirds.[223] Willughby included yellow hammers as one of the songbirds people may wish to keep when he discussed the general keeping of singing birds, as the favoured birds for caging were those with bright colours and a nice song, demonstrating an emphasis of their sensory value.[224] The presence of curlew, a coastal bird, at Rufford may have been more common in the early modern period when Martin Mere was considerably larger. Willughby mentioned that in the north of England, lapwing were known as 'tewit' because of the cry they make - and recommended keeping them in gardens, 'Birds are wont to be kept in Gardens in the Summer time, in which they do good service in gathering up and clearing the ground of Worms and other Insects'.[225] This was a popular practice, as an injured lapwing was a good antidote to slugs which would otherwise decimate plants.[226] Willughby's notes on the lapwing make for the possibility that the Hesketh – a northern family – called this bird the 'tewit' and that they employed the bird as a sort of avian groundskeeper, eating any pests which might have damaged the garden. They must have existed in considerable numbers, as the 1839 tithe map of Rufford alludes to the species' presence in the area with five parcels of land including 'Tewit' in their names, one 'Tewit hey moss', and four others called 'Tewit hey', suggesting the bird would have been a familiar visual and audio sight for the Hesketh, whose call may have brought them feelings of comfort.[227]

Modern studies have expanded on the benefits of birdsong to wellbeing further, as demonstrated in a 2013 study by Ratcliffe, Gatersleben, and Sowden. Out of various natural sounds including, water, non-avian animals, and the elements, the sound of birds was the most

[221] Austen*, A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 33.
[222] Buchanan, *Rufford Old Hall Conservation Management Plan*, p. 43.
[223] Francis Willughby, *The Ornithology of Francis Willughby of Middleton in the County of Warwick* (London: John Martin, 1678), p. 204; Eleazar Albin, *A Natural History of Birds* (London: 1731), p. 39.
[224] Willughby, *The Ornithology*, p. 200; Michael Shrubb, *Feasting, Fowling, and Feathers: A History of the Exploitation of Wild Birds* (London: T. & A.D. Poyser, 2013), p. 174.
[225] Willughby, *The Ornithology,* pp. 307, 308.
[226] Shrubb, *Feasting, Fowling, and Feathers,* p. 117.
[227] Lancashire Archives, DRB/1/170.

commonly identified sound connected to attention restoration and stress recovery.[228] One participant in the study found bird songs symbolic of an environment away from his daily life indoors.[229] Reflecting on this with audible experience of the woodland areas, there could be a notion of being transported to another place away from daily life. The woodland areas at Speke reinforce these ideas, to be able to leave the house and be immediately transported to a land wilder, deliberately planted to be less formal or structured in design than the surrounding area, to feel free of the burdens of everyday life. These ideas of a wilderness to have birds in the garden are also supported by an investigation into the pleasures of birdwatching in modern gardens by Cammack, Convery, and Price, who suggested that enjoyment came from the unpredictability of what sorts of birds would appear in the garden.[230]

Much like birds, bees were also admired in the garden. Markham claimed that the sound of bees was like 'melodious music' which filled the air with 'a most acceptable, sweet, and pleasant harmonie'.[231] Bees were also noted by Lawson, who wrote that their appearance and gentle hum made for a 'pleasant noyse and sight'. These sounds, along with birdsong, Lawson believed helped 'to refresh the gentle, generous, and noble mind.[232] A poem by Thomas Dinsdale, *The Modern Art of Breeding Bees* (1740), claimed:

'Tis pleasant to observe in the pure Air,
How thick they fly with thoughtful busy Care;
In crossing Lines seem mutually to play,
But lose no Moment of the shining Day [233]

At Speke, on 17 June 1711, Wiswall recorded spending 3d on purchasing a hive to contain bees that had gathered at the hall.[234] Beyond this reference, the varied flora grown in the gardens and orchards of the other two estates may have encouraged bees also, and the visual and audible pleasures that come with them. The sound of trees also had a positive impact on people; Austen claimed that the sound of leaves swaying in the breeze made for another pleasurable auditory aspect of gardens, 'sometimes (as it were) with a kind of singing or whistling noise, which will

[228] Eleanor Ratcliffe, Birgitta Gatersleben, Paul T. Sowden, 'Bird Sounds and their Contributions to Perceived Attention Restoration and Stress Recovery', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 36 (2013) pp. 221, 224.
[229] Ratcliffe, Gatersleben, Sowden, 'Bird Sounds and their Contributions to Perceived Attention Restoration and Stress Recovery', p. 226.
[230] Paul J. Cammack, Ian Convery, Heather Prince 'Gardens and Birdwatching: Recreation, Environmental Management and Human-Nature Interaction in an Everyday Location', *Area*, 43:3 (2011), p. 317.
[231] Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 234.
[232] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 56.
[233] Joshua Dinsdale, *The Modern Art of Breeding Bees, a Poem* (London: Joseph Davidson, 1740), p. 8.
[234] Wiswall, f. 11.

easily induce a sweet and pleasant sleep in the sommer time (if a man be dispos'd)'.[235] As simple as the sound of rustling leaves is, it helped create an ambience that would help people sleep, reinforcing the sentiment that early modern society viewed gardens as relaxing spaces.

Man-made sounds also had a role to play in health in early modern gardens, as music helped to revive the spirits of those weary from study, but also those suffering with melancholy.[236] Burton, in his advice against melancholy, believed in the healing effects of music and provided varied examples to support this, explaining how music and singing had the ability to stimulate labourers to continue working, to steady troops before battle, to help nurses calm children down, and that it was the 'soveraigne remedy against Despaire and Melancholy, and will drive away the Divell himselfe.'[237] Burton argued that:

> nothing more can please our eares then Musicke, or pacifie our minds, faire houses, pictures, Orchards, Gardens, Fields, a faire Hawke, a faire horse is most acceptable unto us us: whatsoever pleaseth our eyes and eares, we call beutiful and faire, Pleasure belongeth to the rest of the Senses, but Grace and Beautie to these two alone.[238]

Rufford had an extensive collection of musical instruments which would have given the estate a unique soundscape. David George's research into drama in Lancashire included an examination of instruments, which found that Rufford, under Robert Hesketh III, had one of the largest collections in Lancashire.[239] An inventory taken after Robert III's death included his musical possessions including viols, a pair of virginals, wind instruments, flute, violin, pipe and tabor, cornet, sackbut, and oboe. Also mentioned was an entire chest devoted to music books, which may imply that a varied amount of music was played at the hall.[240] George notes that the variety of string and wind instruments in Hesketh's inventory is similar to one of the first musical ensemble groupings known as the English Consort, which may suggest that he maintained musicians to play them; his father Sir Thomas Hesketh IV was known to keep minstrels and players, so may have therefore done the same.[241] It is possible that the instruments held at Rufford may have been played outside, and would have further enhanced the positive sensory experience that was found within greenspaces.

---

[235] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 33.
[236] Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 4th ed., p. 21.
[237] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 373.
[238] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 500.
[239] David George, (ed.), *Lancashire: Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. l
[240] George, *Lancashire: Records of Early English Drama*, p. 153; WCW/Supra/OS/17/2, f. 7.
[241] George, *Lancashire: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. 349, 376.

Smell

In discussing the benefits that pleasant smells had on wellbeing, an understanding of harmful smells must foreground this, as good odours were often used to counteract negative ones experienced at gentry estates. The third chapter of Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth* covered the importance of maintaining good air at a gentleman's estate and what constituted the opposite. Boorde warned his readers that:

> evil and corrupt airs, doth infect the blood, and doth engender many corrupt humours, and doth putrefy the brain, and doth corrupt the heart, and therefore it doth breed many diseases and infirmities through the which man's life is shortened. [242]

In describing the sorts of locations suitable for the construction of a house, Boorde also listed places to be avoided, such as near marshes or close to standing waters, which would have brought about negative passions. The main prospect of the house was best to avoid the south, as southerly winds were held to be the worst and helped create 'evil vapours'. For moated properties, Boorde advised that a fresh spring should flow into the moat, as well as it being regularly dredged to prevent mud and weeds causing the stagnation of the moat's water, and the development of miasmatic air.[243] Drawing on the theories of Galen (*d.* 210), who attributed the spread of disease to poor air quality, William Bullein (*c.*1515-1576), a former rector turned physician and writer of *The Government of Health*, first published in 1558, believed that standing water pools, marshes, places where hemp and flax were rotten, places of high occupation density, and dead carrion caused corrupt air which could affect the blood more so than the consumption of rotten food.[244] The first chapter of William Vaughan's *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health,* was devoted to air, and pointed out the dangers in the air near marshes, mines, and forges, as miasmatic air was considered to be key contributor to disease.[245] That the topic of air constituted Vaughan's first chapter emphasises the importance of this problem in the period. Markham also highlighted the issue of stagnant water, with concerns regarding moats being a potential focus of this.[246] This must have been a particular fear for those living in moated houses, having their home essentially surrounded by potentially

[242] Boorde, *Dyetary of Helth*, p.163.
[243] Boorde, *Dyetary of Helth*, pp. 163-165.
[244] Jacques Jouanna, 'Air, Miasma and Contagion in the Time of Hippocrates and the Survival of Miasmas in Post-Hippocratic Medicine (Rufus of Ephesus, Galen and Palladius)', in Jacques Jouanna, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 136; William Bullein, *The Government of Health*, (London: Valentine Sims, 1595), p. 30.
[245] Anne n, 'An Example of Health Education in the Early 17th Century: *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health* by William Vaughan', *Health Education Research*, 20:6 (2005), p. 658.
[246] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 100.

dangerous air. This understanding of how the senses functioned also reflected religious beliefs, as foul smells were understood as not just unpleasant but spiritually dangerous, the connotations of smells such as pitch and sulphur, for example, were that of Purgatory and Hell.[247]

The emphasis writers placed on the dangers of stagnant water, be it from marshlands, pools, or moats, is pertinent to the properties of this study. Speke Hall was once surrounded by a half moat, while Little Moreton Hall is still surrounded by a moat which runs right next to two sides of the building. Little Moreton also had the home farm directly adjacent to the east, and from there, smells could have been emitted into the air, or waste from it could have contaminated the moat. There was also the additional issue of human waste, as the garderobe at Little Moreton, built off the main bed chamber, dropped directly into the moat just to the west of the bridge entering the hall. During periods of limited rainfall, the flush through of the moat would have been slower, causing particularly foul smells.

Rufford Old Hall, while not moated, was built on land less than ten metres below sea level, with deep drainage ditches found throughout the estate's grounds suggesting that flooding might have been an issue.[248] This is supported by an Act of Parliament in 1692, which allowed for Martin Mere to be drained, prior to this, the marshland could have been a source of the aforementioned ill vapours which authors so frequently warned of, and could have plagued the Rufford area. Indeed, the realisation of early-modern medical practitioners that there were high death rates in low-lying, marshy areas, where issues such as malaria were rife, led them to advise that areas of high ground tended to be healthier.[249] It is to be expected that the gentry would have wanted their gardens to smell nice, but at Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, a pleasantly fumigated estate might have been understood as a necessity.

Pleasant smells were seen as good for health, and so fragrant plants played a prominent role in wellbeing. Aromatherapy was a key tool for physicians, thus the garden acted as the first port of call for those who felt sick or lethargic.[250] Hyll believed that clear temperate air was beneficial not just for the garden, but to the walkers within it, and that it allowed those who were recovering from sickness to regain strength.[251] For Austen, fresh, wholesome air could

[247] Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles"', p. 7.
[248] Buchanan, *Rufford Old Hall Conservation Management Plan*, p. 38.
[249] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 191.
[250] Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles"', p.10.
[251] Hyll, *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, pp. 9-10; Hyll, *The Profitable Art of Gardening*, p. 1.

be found in the arbours, seats, and walks of the orchards in the summer months, adding that the smells of blossoming fruit trees helped preserve health in the spring and summer.[252] Austen believed that the sense of smell worked best in the garden, compared to other senses like taste; because inhaling the sweet air of the gardens worked immediately on the body's spirits, compared to ingesting food and drink produced from the orchards, which would take longer to have an effect.[253] Similarly, Leonard Mascall, author of the *Booke of the Arte and Maner How to Plante and Graffe All Sorts of Trees* (1575), claimed 'What greater pleasure can there be, than to smell the sweete odour of herbes, trees, and fruites, and to beholde the goodly colour of the same', again, we see that there is a pleasurable odour to be found in various aspects of the garden, but that they are also multisensory in the bright colours they bloom.[254]

All three properties of this study had orchards which may have been used in the ways suggested by Austen, as a location at gentry estates to take in sweet-smelling, healthy air. Little Moreton's orchard lay directly south of the inner mount by a few metres. Speke's orchard was to the south-east of the property, and below that, another orchard called the 'Lower Orchard', both close to the Clough woodland and southern garden, suggesting that they may have been part of the Norris family's walks through the grounds. Three fields, named Little Alder Plumb Field, Great Alder Plumb Field, and Great Plumb Field, all located next to each other at the northern end of the property's demesne, indicate Speke once having a large plum orchard. They are presumably referred to in 1468 when there is mention of two 'plombe fylds', which we can assume was the Great Plumb field, and a unified Little and Great Alder Plumb Fields.[255] At Rufford Old Hall, a map from 1736 shows that the land adjacent to the Hall along the south-west side was used as a cherry orchard.[256] Orchard trees did not just give off a sweet aroma; they also helped to fight off any unhealthy air from the surrounding area. *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees* (1678), by Moses Cook, recommended planting trees because they could catch mildew in their leaves, but also because they screened the air from harmful elements. Cook advised that this was particularly useful for land near moors and fens, where open land meant less protection from the elements, and suggested putting seats underneath them where they would be most protected.[257] Rufford's proximity to Martin Mere

[252] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., pp. 23, 35-6.
[253] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 36.
[254] Leonard Mascall, *A Booke of the Arte and Maner How to Plante and Graffe All Sorts of Trees* (London: John Wight, 1575), Dedication.
[255] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 10.
[256] Lancashire Archives, DDHE/122/2.
[257] Moses Cook, *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees* (London: Peter Parker, 1679), p. iv.

in the early modern period may have resulted in the Hesketh taking the advice suggested by Cook into practice.

Francis Bacon held olfactory pleasures in high regard, claiming that 'nothing is more fit for delight than to know what be the flowers and plants do best perfume the air.'[258] Of the plants Bacon deemed best for their smell, violets – in particular the white double violet – was the best, followed by musk rose, dying strawberry leaves, pinks, and gillyflowers.[259] Generally, the more fragrant an aroma, the more powerful it was believed to be, and so violets were prescribed to treat headaches, fevers, and skin diseases.[260] Contrary to their medicinal uses, roses in their natural state in the garden did not impress Bacon, believing them to be 'fast flowers', that there was little aroma gained from them even in the morning dew.[261] It is here that Bacon reveals something of the ideal time to spend in garden, claiming that morning dew amplified the sweet aromas in the air, this could suggest that a morning walk might have been the normal for the gentry, perhaps as a means of feeling refreshed. Markham recommend cutting garden plants when they had partially grown; doing so neatened them, prevented them from seeding, and helped them emit a stronger smell than what they would have given off from their first stalk.[262] Some plants needed more encouragement to release their smell than simply cutting them, Bacon recommended scattering plants such as mint, wild thyme, and burnet, across the alleys of the walks in the garden so that they could be crushed underfoot as people walked, releasing their fragrances.[263] That so much thought was given by authors on how best to draw out and experience the smells of the garden demonstrates the value placed on the sense.

Despite Bacon's dismissal of the olfactory benefits of roses, they proved to be key flowers in early modern gardens. The current rose garden at Speke Hall was a Victorian addition, however, the site of this garden itself, situated on the west side of the south lawn, is believed to have been created much earlier as Sir William Norris IV and his wife Eleanor commissioned a sandstone porch dated 1612 that leads out of the house into this space.[264] To say rose gardens were important in an early modern context is to again understand that gardens of that period were intended for both practical and pleasurable usage. Roses were used for numerous reasons, be it as rosewater or oil for medicinal uses, while rose-scented sugar and the actual flower were

[258] Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 55.
[259] Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 56.
[260] Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles"', pp. 9-10.
[261] Bacon, *Of Gardens*, pp. 55-56.
[262] Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p.162.
[263] Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 56.
[264] National Trust, *Speke Hall*, p. 53.

used in food recipes.[265] For Lawson, roses, as well as woodbine and angelica distilled in water, were 'both profitable and wondrous pleasant, and comfortable', and reiterates the theme that pleasant sensory experiences were directly tied to profitable benefits to health.[266] Placing roses and violets in windows planters was believed to create an air which combated feelings of melancholy.[267] Many of these examples take roses out of the garden to be used in other contexts, highlighting that the practicability of early modern gardens meant their usefulness often made them transferable to other parts of the gentry estate.

Indeed, many ways to help better fragrance the home, be it nosegays, or floral waters, first came from the garden.[268] These methods, along with aromatic fires and fumigation, scented candles, and perfumed clothes and bedding, all contributed to keeping the home hygienic, and providing a positive sensory experience.[269] For melancholic aliments, one solution was to have a light meal of white meats, followed by a warm bath – after which a concoction of fragrant flowers was to be poured over the head.[270] The relation of the garden to windows was also important, Bacon wrote how setting wall flowers under a parlour or lower chamber window allowed for their smells to enter the property.[271] The flowers within the gardens closest to the windows of the three case studies, would have transcended the bounds of the greenspaces and provided olfactory wellbeing through ventilating the air with sweet aromas.

The importance horticulturalists placed on aromas for health was a continuation of medieval tradition. As Teresa McLean has stated, for the medieval English, sweet-smelling herbs were 'a summer enchantment', believing it a favourite pastime of medieval ladies to show off the fragrances of their herb gardens to visitors.[272] The walled garden, more frequently attributed to the medieval period, allowed for the aromatic smells of the herbs and flowers within it to be intensified due to the enclosed nature of the space.[273] By the eighteenth century, the sweeping scenery of the landscape garden would subdue most aspects of sensory engagement bar the visual. These developments, however, can be seen slowly emerging within the time period of

[265] Tyers, 'A Delite for the Senses', p. 66.
[266] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 52.
[267] Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles"', p. 10.
[268] Classen, Howes, Synnott, *Aroma*, p. 65; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 224.
[269] Richard Palmer, 'In Bad Odour: Smells and its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century', in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 66.
[270] Tyers, 'A Delite for the Senses', p. 66.
[271] Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 56.
[272] McLean, *Medieval English Gardens*, p. 183.
[273] Classen, Howes, Synnott, *Aroma*, p. 65.

this project, with writers such as John Parkinson prioritising the planting of flowers like daffodils, lilies, and tulips, not for their scent, but because of their beauty.[274]

Taste

The taste of pleasurable food and drink in the early modern period was understood to have beneficial role on the body in evoking positive passions such as joy and happiness. Examinations of taste in this way have remained undeveloped, as discussions on early modern understandings of the benefits of food and drink by academics has largely focused on their humoral properties than as a sensory experience.[275] However, recent studies by Newton and Winchcombe argue that certain tastes could provide benefits, with the soul reacting positively to pleasant tasting food and drink, and in particular to those which were sweet.[276]

In understanding that sweet tasting food and drinks could stir positive passions in early modern bodies, the fruits grown within the orchards at Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, would have aided in the promotion of wellbeing. Due to the scarcity of archival evidence concerning the three estates gardens and orchards, the fruits discussed below represent only a small portion of the varieties of fruits which would have been grown at each of them. At Little Moreton, Philip Moreton recorded on 4 July 1657 that apricots needed to be 'inoculated' onto white plum trees, presumably meaning grafting the fruit onto a hardier tree. On 16 July 1658 he makes reference to at least four plum trees in the garden; 10 June 1661, a bergamot pear tree located close to the little parlour, and on 18 January 1664, Philip set in a nursery next to an old kennel (the location of which is unknown), twenty-six slips of dwarf apples.[277] At Speke, Wiswall makes reference to strawberries in 1710, cherries in 1713, 1715, and 1716; and paying the estates gardener, Ralph Bratherton, 6s to purchase a peach tree from Liverpool on 11 February 1716.[278] That the naming of the three plumb fields at Speke Hall remained the same in 1781, as they had done in their first recorded mentioning 1468, may indicate that the fruit remained the consistent part of the Norris family's diet.[279] Based on maps of Rufford, it can be assumed

---

[274] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 8.
[275] Paul S. Lloyd, 'Dietary Advice and Fruit-Eating in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 67:4 (2012), p. 570; Scully, 'A Cook's Therapeutic Use of Garden Herbs', pp. 60-7,
[276] Newton, 'Inside the Sickchamber in Early Modern England', p. 537; Winchcombe, 'Comfort Eating', p. 81
[277] Add MS. 33941, ff. 65, 74, 101, 120.
[278] Wiswall, ff. 4, 43, 74, 82, 88.
[279] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 10.

cherry trees were present given the mapping of a cherry orchard to the south-west of the property.[280]

Contemporary health literature and herbals were largely critical of the role fruit provided towards wellbeing, due to their negative humoral qualities. However, in reading this material, it is clear that the gentry still sought these sensory experiences, likely because of how the fruits' tastes made them feel. The taste of the strawberries grown at Speke, for example, would have been a positive experience. Gerard recommended the juice of strawberries to be mixed with water, which was 'good against the passions of the heart, reuiuing the spirits, and making the heart the heart merry'.[281] This was similarly expressed by Parkinson, as well as the physician, astrologer, and botanist, Nicholas Culpeper (1616-54), within his book, *The English Physitian* (1652), demonstrating the role sweet tasting foods played in promoting positive feelings of mirth or merriment. [282]

Parkinson warned that the moist and waterish qualities of peaches could cause surfeits to those who consumed them, and that caution had be taken when eating them, yet acknowledged that were 'much and often well accepted with all the Gentry of the Kingdome.'[283] The popularity of the fruit amongst the gentry, as evident from the Norris family, may indicate that the dangers of the fruit were risked – or mitigated through cooking or preserving them – because the experience of tasting them and the enjoyment this brought outweighed the possible negatives. Lawson, as a gardener experienced with the climate of northern England, argued that 'we meddle not with Apricocks nor Peaches nor scarcely with Quinces, which will not like in our cold parts'.[284] That properties like Little Moreton and Speke tried to grow them nonetheless, again suggests serious strives were made to be able to experiences their tastes.[285] Parkinson claimed that of the white plum varieties of trees, the white pescod plum was 'a reasonable good rellished plumme, but somewhat waterish', the white wheat plum 'a waterish fulsome plum', while the white damson plum – in comparison to the great damson or damask plum – was not as favoured. However, it was the white date plum that Parkinson was the harshest towards, bluntly and simply, stating: '[it] is no very good plum.'[286] It could be due to the underwhelming

[280] DDHE/122/2.
[281] John Gerard, *The Herball, or, Generall Historie of Plantes*, 2nd edition (London: Adam Islip, Joice Norton, and Richard Whitakers, 1633), p. 998.
[282] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 528; Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian: or An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation* (London: Peter Cole, 1652), p. 223.
[283] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 582.
[284] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 3.
[285] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 3.
[286] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, pp. 575-576, 578.

traits ascribed to white plums that apricots were grafted onto them at Little Moreton, to make up for the poor fruits which naturally grew on them, and to experience sweeter tasting fruits. Other plums were seen as beneficial to the early modern taste palette, with cherry plums and almond plums being described by Gerard as having a pleasant taste, and would have therefore stirred positive passions within the body.[287]

The taste of sweet apples likewise had a positive effect on the passions, Culpeper recommended them for their anti-melancholy, pro-mirth, benefits. He noted that the sweeter apple varieties in particular, such as the pippin, and pearmain, 'helped dissolve Melancholly humours, and to procure Mirth', and that, 'the Distilled Water of good and sound Apples is of good use to procure Mirth, and expel Melancholly'.[288] Horticultural writers likewise recognised the benefits of the taste of pippin and pearmain apple juice, Parkinson claimed they were 'of very good vse in Melnacholicke diseases, helping to procure mirth, and to expel heuinesse', similarly, Gerard wrote that 'juice of Apples which be sweet and of a middle taste', specifically aided in tempering melancholy.[289] For Parkinson, the sensory experience provided by rarer apples was something to be celebrated at the gentry dinner table, 'best sorts of Apples serve at the last course for the table, in mens houses of account, where if they grow any rare or excellent fruit, it is then set forth to be seene and tasted', showcasing the value that early modern society had for unique sensory experiences, and the happiness and excitement this would have brought.[290]

Of the dwarf apple varieties that were grown at Little Moreton, Parkinson claimed they had a 'bitterish sweet taste' which was 'nothing pleasant' and 'not to be commended'.[291] However, as with Philip Moreton's grafting of apricots onto the bland-tasting white plum trees, the dwarf apple trees may have used for the grafting and cultivation of sweeter varieties which would have brought about a better emotional response. Indeed, Parkinson claims, 'being a dwarfe Tree, whatsoever fruit shall bee grafted on it, will keepe the graft low like vnto itselfe, and yet beare fruit reasonable well. And this is a pretty way to haue Pippins, Pomewaters, or any other sort of Apples'.[292] An alternative way to improve duller fruits was to make them taste sweeter, he recommend more common apple varieties to be '[baked], either for the Masters Table, or the meynes sustenance, either in pyes or pans, or else stewed in dishes with Rosewaters and

[287] Gerard, *The Herball*, 2nd ed., p. 1498.
[288] Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, p. 5.
[289] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 587; Gerard, *The Herball*, 2nd ed., p. 1460.
[290] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 588.
[291] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, pp. 586, 588.
[292] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 587.

Sugar, and Cinamon or Ginger cast vpon.'[293] Winchcombe argues that sugar was commonly use to correct the tastes of certain foods and enhance flavour, and many sweetened items were given to friends and family as gifts as a medically beneficial gift.[294] In this regard, the wellbeing which specific tastes provide at three estates could have also been exported more broadly still.

Like other sensory experiences relating to greenspaces, fruits grown within the garden could also be experienced within gentry homes. Many of the fruit could be boiled, roasted, or combined with other ingredients, and presumably taken from the kitchen, to be eaten in the great halls of the three properties. Preserving fruits would have also allowed for the intake for sweet foods all throughout the year, rather than just consuming them when first ripe, allowing for pleasant, and thus beneficial, taste experiences all year round, and potentially during critical period were health was at risk. At times of emotional turmoil, such as mourning, or as with the case of the three properties, instances of religious persecution, or sequestration, could cause intense feelings sorrow and fear. These feelings could lead to the development of illness and disease, and so to be able to experience the taste of pleasant foods acted as a means of mitigation and prevention.[295]

While the taste of fruits had a positive impact on wellbeing, those that were the most pleasurable were often the most detrimental to health. It was understood that fruits could be potentially dangerous through overindulgence, both damaging spiritual health through giving into the sin of gluttony, and because they caused an imbalance of the four humours.[296] Boorde, for example, warned that pears increased body weight, brought about waterish blood, and caused wind.[297] However, eating fruit should be seen against the other consumption practices of individuals. Raw fruit could be bad dependant on the quantity consumed, but this was contrasted by the variety of other meats, spices and wines which formed the early-modern diet which counteracted this.[298] That fruits were a key part of early modern diets despite their negative reputation within dietaries, can partially be attributed to the value that was placed on their taste and the positive experiences associated with this.

[293] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 588.
[294] Winchcombe, 'Comfort Eating', p. 81.
[295] Weisser, *Ill Composed*, p. 81; Winchcombe, 'Comfort Eating', pp. 88-89.
[296] Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 82; Viktoria von Hoffmann, *From Gluttony to Enlightenment: The World of Taste in Early Modern Europe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), pp. 39-40, 70.
[297] Boorde, *Dyetary of Helth*, p. 193.
[298] Lloyd, 'Dietary Advice and Fruit-Eating in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', p. 585.

Touch

Touch, as other historians have noted, has proven difficult to discuss, partly because it is hard to represent. Eyes, ears, nose, and the tongue act as the symbols of how their corresponding senses are understood, whereas touch does not have a specific body part devoted to it.[299] However, this thesis will explore sensation of touch through feelings of warmth and coolness, and physical pain – sensory experiences best categorised as ones of touch.

For Austen, the primary way the sense of touch was stimulated in the garden was through the shade of trees in the summertime and the cool air found in its walks, seats and arbours, believing it to be good for health.[300] As discussed earlier, a shady spot, combined with the gentle rustling of leaves overhead, provided the perfect conditions for sleeping within the garden.[301] The woodland areas of the Speke estate, such as the Clough, would have provided the Norris family with a suitable retreat in the summer months, in which the coolness provided by the shade of the treetops would prevent overheating. In the medieval period, shade was important to ladies of the upper classes as a pale complexion was prized. Sylvia Landsberg has made note of natural umbrellas used against the sun, such as trees or a herber, but manmade structures too were used, including pergolas and loggias.[302] It may be possible then the summerhouse at Rufford may have been used to provide shade while in the garden. The mounts at Little Moreton perhaps served a similar purpose, though we know little about them specifically, we know that other mounts were at times adorned with shelters on top. The mount at nearby Dunham Massey had a small gabled brick building atop it, and could have been used to enjoy the garden while remaining shaded.[303] The coolness of the air against the skin, and the shade provided by garden architecture and trees would have been a positive experience for wellbeing at the three estates, in that it would have cooled the gentry, and made greenspaces more comfortable to relax in.

The fruits grown within the orchards at the halls can also be understood through the sense of touch, in that they cooled the body. Of the fruits discussed, strawberries were praised for their cooling traits, being able to quench thirst, and take away the redness and heat on a face.[304] One recipe including strawberries is mentioned for its cooling quality, by adding the fruit to wine,

[299] Mazzio, 'The Senses Divided Organs, Objects, and Media in Early Modern England', pp. 87, 88.
[300] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 34.
[301] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 33.
[302] Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden*, p. 49.
[303] Pete Smith, 'The Sundial Garden and House-Plan Mount: Two Gardens at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, by Robert (*c*.1535-1614) and John (-1634) Smythson', *Garden History*, 31:1 (2003), pp. 16-17.
[304] Gerard, *The Herball*, 2nd ed., p. 999.

cream or milk as a drink, which Parkinson claimed was enjoyed by all in the hot summer seasons.[305] However, Lawson described the drink as being more connected to the women of a household, as he included the recipe in the third part of his book *A New Orchard, and Garden*, titled 'The Country House-Wives Garden', with the subheading: 'published with secrets very necessary for every Houswife'. Lawson writes, 'the use is, they will coole my Housewife well, if they put in Wine or Creame with Sugar', suggesting it a drink favoured by the women of gentry houses.[306] Through examining the accounts of early modern households, Paul S. Lloyd has showcased the purchase of strawberries, milk and cream in at the properties he investigated, indicating that consumption patterns were guided by these sorts of recommendations in herbals and health guides.[307] Fruits and vegetables, due to their cooling nature, could also be used to treat burns and other swellings. The juice of crab apples applied to wet cloths, or the bruised leaves of a green lettuce helped deal with freshly received burns.[308] Within the context of the three households, burns on the skin may have been more common amongst the servants of the house, be it during cooking, or the lighting of candles.

Items grown within the garden could also be used to change the texture of skin. The water from strawberries was believed to clear skin and make it smooth, while apples cut in pieces and distilled with camphere and buttermilk were said to take away the scarring caused by smallpox. There was also pomatum, an ointment made from apples which reduced chapped lips, hands and faces.[309] Rotten apples were used to treat bloodshot and bruised eyes 'from any stroke or fall', and when distilled, could remove spots and freckles.[310] That contemporary books included treatments for issues like dry skin or spots, suggests that there was some anxiety around them as there is today, and to have them treated would have provided wellbeing to the sufferer.

Conclusion

Experiencing the five senses within greenspaces was a crucial part of maintaining good health in the early modern period. Greenspaces immersed the sensory organs in a way that produced positive passions and cheered the body's spirits that no other environment in the early modern period could. Contemporary literature not only acknowledged that pleasant sensory stimulation

[305] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 528.
[306] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 83.
[307] Lloyd, 'Dietary Advice and Fruit-Eating in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', p. 578.
[308] Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, p. 5; Rembert Dodoens, *New Herball, or, Historie of Plants* (London: Ninian Newton, 1586), p. 660.
[309] Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, p. 223; Gerard, *The Herball*, p. 1460; Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 586.
[310] Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, p. 5.

was healthy, but that greenspaces were settings in which this was to be had in abundance. The positive language used in these texts, using words such as ‘refreshing’ and ‘delightsome’, to describe sensory experiences was not just descriptive but an core part of why greenspaces were beneficial to wellbeing.[311] The individual aspects that made up gentry greenspaces, trees, fruits, wildlife, all offered some form of sensory benefit, which allows for a richer interpretation of Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke. By tying the often-scarce archival material or landscape features known about the three properties in regards to how they might have looked, sounded, smelled, tasted or felt, in turn allows for discussions of wellbeing at the properties because early modern period placed so much weight on the health role of such experiences.

The chapter has demonstrated that certain elements of greenspaces often offered multiple benefits. Fruits, with their varied colours were a benefit to sight, but also held value because of their taste; flowers were likewise pleasant to look at, but their scents were also understood to be rewarding to smell. These different aspects of gardens also acted symbiotically, flowers would attract bees, while trees would encourage birds; mounts could provide a vantage point to take in surrounding greenspaces. The sensory benefits which greenspaces provided were also vital because they could be experienced indoors too. Sweet tasting fruits would go to kitchens, to be served at the great halls, whilst flowers and sweet-smelling herbs would be taken from the gardens, and placed in pots, or burned in fireplaces. Greenspaces didn’t just improve indoor spaces, they counteracted negative sensory experiences, sweet flowers could counteract the foul, harmful smells of the natural landscape such as stagnant waters surrounding Rufford, or to mitigate the smell of human waste produced within the halls.

[311] Hyll, *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, p. 24; Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 657.

Chapter 2: Recreational Wellbeing

Introduction

The pursuit of recreational and leisure activities amongst the gentry was their primary form of interaction with greenspaces and would have been positive for their wellbeing. Just as specific features of greenspaces could have various sensory benefits, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, it is argued here that gentry pastimes provided physical, mental, and emotional benefits. These benefits were attested to in contemporary medical, horticultural and sporting treatises and are used in this chapter to strengthen our understanding of the known recreational activities carried out at Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, which are identified through examination of inventories, legal documents, surviving landscape features, and letters, as well as diaries and account books from other gentry families in the Northwest. Modern studies are also discussed to see how these pastimes affect us today.

The chapter first establishes how exercise, a key benefit of participating in recreational activities, was understood to improve the body based on early modern medical theory of the humours and non-naturals. The concerns of contemporary health literature are also raised here, of how the potentially sedentary lifestyle of the gentry could be a detriment to their health, making recreational activities an essential part of their health regime. The rest of the chapter focuses on key pastimes which characterised the gentry's use of greenspaces, walking, gardening, horse riding, hunting, hawking, fishing, and bowls. The chapter briefly considers the dangers that came with certain recreational activities too, either due to their physical demand or their association with sinful activities like gambling and drinking.

Early Modern Exercise and Health

Recreational activities in greenspaces took several forms, from the physically demanding to the calm and relaxing. As such, early modern conceptions of what constituted exercise and how that could benefit health must be established. The term 'exercise' itself, in the context of bodily, mental, or spiritual improvement, was used as early as the mid-fourteenth century.[312] It was used in the early modern period as it is today, as a means of practising mental and bodily

[312] Richard Rolle, *The English Prose Treaties of Richard Rolle*, edited by C. E. McIlroy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 14.

activities which could be explicitly done with the intention of improving a person's wellbeing.[313]

Early modern understanding of health and the body were based on humoral physiology, that four bodily fluids, or humours, blood, phlegm, choler (yellow bile), and melancholy (black bile), dictated one's wellbeing. As with early modern understanding of the five senses, people drew their knowledge of humoral theory from Antiquity as it was first conceptualised by Hippocratic writers. In an age before more scientific approaches to medicine, the four humours provided a means of understanding and rationalising health and illness.[314] These humours were defined by their elemental qualities, blood being hot and moist; phlegm: cold and moist; choler: hot and dry; and melancholy: cold and dry.[315] The humours, or more precisely their impact, were also used to categorise peoples' personalities, meaning they could be sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or have a melancholic disposition dependant on which humour their body was more inclined towards. To be sanguine was to be passionate, phlegmatic to be listless, the choleric were disagreeable, while those with a melancholic temperament were thought to be depressive.[316] In theory, a person should have had a properly balanced mixture of these humours, but in reality, people tended to have what was interpreted as a humoral imbalance. Too much of a humoral imbalance was believed to bring about illness and diseases.[317]

The humoral system was internal to the body, but it was believed that external factors influenced it, both positively and negatively. These external influences were the non-naturals, and they provided a means for early modern society to adjust and regulate the humours, and thus maintain good health. There were understood to be six non-naturals, aspects of daily life that were seen as important to health: the intake of healthy air; eating the correct food, proper exercise and rest; regular sleep that was neither too short nor too long; purges of bodily matter through the bowels, bloodletting, and sweating; and the avoidance of negative or strong emotions. These provided early modern society with a means of preventative health care that could be understood by the population through these manageable segments.[318] The humoral

[313] Angela Schattner, 'Theologies of Sport: Protestant Ideas on Bodily Exercise, Sports Practice and Christian Lifestyle in the Declaration of Sports Controversy in Seventeenth-Century England', *Archive for Reformation History*, 105:1 (2014), p. 287.
[314] Lois N. Magner, *A History of Medicine* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1992), p. 72,
[315] Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, p. 5.
[316] Weisser, *Ill Composed*, pp. 20-21.
[317] Joan Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Three Sixteenth-Century Dietaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 4-6.
[318] Weisser, *Ill Composed*, p. 21; L. Hill Curth, 'Lessons from the Past: Preventive Medicine in Early Modern England', *Medical Humanities*, 29 (2003), pp. 17-19.

theory model has faded out of modern medical practice, yet the non-naturals have had a lasting legacy on how to lead a healthy life: the dangers of breathing in polluted air, the effects of overworking the body, physically, and the effects of sleep deprivation, the importance of eating specific foods, the use of diuretics to purge bodily waste, all developed from historical observation of the non-naturals.[319]

Health literature emphasised the importance of keeping the body active. William Bullein wrote *The Government of Health*, while under the patronage of the politician Sir Thomas Hilton (*c.*1500-1559), acting as his personal physician at his home in Durham.[320] Bullein's work is structured as a dialogue between two men; John, a patient, and Humphrey, a physician, the latter answering the former's health-related questions, which included songs and moments of entertainment. This dialogue format which Bullein's text took, as R. W. Maslen has pointed out, was 'thoroughly conventional…The sometimes obtuse questioner and the patient instructor are stock characters in Tudor scholarly dialogues'. Bullein's presentational style would have been an attempt to disseminate his knowledge in an accessible and understandable manner, possibly intending it for a literate audience, perhaps influenced by his patronage under Hilton of a gentry appetite for such works, rather than just for those who belonged to the medical profession.[321]

The character of John within Bullein's work suggests that the intended readership was the gentry class, such as the Moretons, Hesketh, and Norrises. In the book, the patient, John, is a man of at least some wealth, as he has multiple servants who would carry out the daily tasks required for the smooth running of a gentry household. As a result of having servants in his employ, the absence of physical activity required of John put his wellbeing at risk:

> [John:] I have found verie much disquietness in my body, when my servants and labouring familie, have found case, and yet wee are partakers of one aire.
>
> [Humphrey:] The cause why thy labouring servants in the fielde at plough, pastures or woode, have such good health, is exercise labour, and they disquietness commeth, partly of idleness, and lack of travell, which moderately

[319] Hill Curth, 'Lessons from the past: Preventive medicine in early modern England', pp. 19-20.
[320] Controversy surrounds Bullein's role as Sir Thomas Hilton's physician, as he was accused of killing his patron through poison and subsequently marrying his widow, Agnes. The accusations levied at Bullein, were made by Thomas's brother William, though no trial was ever brought about, Catherine Cole Mambretti, 'William Bullein and the "Lively Fashions" in Tudor Medical Literature', *Clio Medica*, 9:4 (1974), pp. 285-286.
[321] R. W. Maslen, 'The Healing Dialogues of Doctor Bullein', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 38:1 (2008), p. 121; Irma Taavitsainen, 'Authority and Instruction in Two-Sixteenth-Century Medical Dialogues', in Matti Peikola, Janne Skaffari, and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (eds.), *Instructional Writing in English: Studies in honour of Risto Hiltunen* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2009), p. 123.

> used, is a thing most sovereign to nature … and this is the cause why hawkers, shooters, hunters, and plowmen, gardeners, &c. have so good digestion and strength of bodie.[322]

Through Humphrey's responses, Bullein claimed that the professions that produce healthy bodies were intrinsically tied to greenspaces: hunters, farmers, and gardeners. Yet while these were paid professions for England's lesser classes, for the gentry, acts like hawking and gardening, could be participated in as recreational pastimes that would have provided them with positive wellbeing.

Similar sentiments were shared by Thomas Cogan, author of *The Haven of Health*. An Oxford-educated physician, Cogan practised in Manchester for a time, and acted as the chief master at the Manchester grammar school at the time of publication.[323] Cogan believed that exercise strengthened and hardened the body, while the heat generated from it aided in the digestion of food and cleansed the body's pores. Cogan's ideal setting for exercise was an open space with good air, which would have prevented the likelihood of corrupted air entering the body while the pores were open.[324] Like Bullein, Cogan suggested that husbandmen and craftsmen lived longer than their social superiors due to the exercise involved in their work:

> For these as they are labours, so are they exercises and make a good state of liking of the body, as Galen declareth, and is found true by common experience in England. For Husbandmen and Craftesmen, Labourers more healthfull than learned men for the more part doe live longer and in better health, than Gentlemen and learned men, and such as live in bodily rest.[325]

Not as generalised a text as Bullein's *Government of Health*, Cogan's work was written with an audience of medical students in mind. As a result, he included quotes from various texts that his readership would have been familiar with from their studies, including Cicero, Ovid, the Bible, and university medical disputations, far more than were present in Bullein's work.[326] The second edition of the *Government of Health*, published in 1589, had many of the book's Latin passages translated into English, possibly indicating the growth of a popular audience reading the book which he had not originally anticipated.[327] While the circulation of Cogan's

---

[322] William Bullein, *The Government of Health*, pp. 31-32.
[323] Anon., revised by Rachel E. Davies, 'Cogan, Thomas (*c.* 1545-1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5812> [Accessed 16 November 2023].
[324] Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 4th ed., pp. 1-2, 8.
[325] Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 4th ed., p. 3.
[326] Jennifer Richards, 'Useful Books: Reading Vernacular Regimens in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73:2 (2012), p. 259
[327] Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, p. 39.

book meant it would have been available for purchase by the gentry and their physicians, that he was based in Lancashire meant his knowledge and medical beliefs could be disseminated to the county's gentry through hands-on practice and personal advice. For example, between 1591 and 1593, he was the family physician to Sir Richard Shuttleworth at Smithills Hall. Within the family's account books, records of payments are made to Cogan in April 1592, noted down as 'Mr. Cogan of Manchester for his advicesse for my brother', in which he was paid 6s 8d, while the following month the same payment was made again for to 'Mr. Cogan for fissike for Sir Rychard Shuttleworthe knyghte'.[328] The Shuttleworths were a family acquainted with the Hesketh, and it is not inconceivable that, through familial and social networks, Cogan may have known them.

Beyond the benefits exercise had for strengthening the body, it was also beneficial for the mind. Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* argued that idleness was a principal cause of melancholy. To combat the affliction, Burton believed exercise helped sweat out excrements and other 'bad vapours' which caused melancholy, specifically believing that it was best to be carried out before dinner, supper, or on an empty stomach.[329] Like Bullein and Cogan, Burton saw inactivity as a catalyst for poor health. His views were very popular as the text went through several editions over the following half-century. Samuel Johnson, the famous diarist, claimed that it was 'the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise'.[330]

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Francis Fuller (1670-1706), author of the *Medicina Gymnastica: or, A Treatise Concerning the Power of Exercise* (1705), expressed frustration at society's failure to recognise taking exercise as a requirement for health:

> As for the Exercise of the Body, which is the Subject of this ensuing Discourse, if People would not think so superficially of it, if they would but abstract the Benefit got by it, from the Means by which it is got, they would set a great Value upon it; if some of the Advantages accruing from Exercise, were to be procur'd

[328] Anon., 'Thomas Cogan, the Student's Physician', *The Palatine Note-book*, 3 (1883), p. 80; John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthrope Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithils and Gawthorpe from September 1582 to October 1621*, I, *Remains Historical and Literary Connection with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society*, XXXV (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1856), pp. 72-73.
[329] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, pp. 6, 338.
[330] Peter Martin, *Samuel Johnson: A Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 132.

> by any one Medicine, nothing in the World would be in more Esteem, than that Medicine would be.[331]

Fuller did not live to see the true success of his book, dying the year after its initial publication. However, it went on to have eight reprints and a German translation in 1750, suggesting that Fuller's methods for exercise (which included greenspace-related activities like horse riding) were recognised and that his advice was heeded.[332] While idleness was a state that medical writers would readily ascribe to the gentry, this does not mean that they would not do anything about it. Many of their favourite pastimes such as hunting and tennis required a great deal of physical exertion.[333] King James I (1566-1625), a lover of many sports - in particular hunting - commended it as a means of subverting idleness, which he believed to be 'the mother of all vice', and that it provided a means of training young men to develop leadership skills.[334] As fashions for sporting activity and exercise, just as for clothing, architecture, or anything of interest to the elite, filtered down from the royal court, the king's declaration would have had an impact on the interests and practices of his courtiers and the wider nobility and gentry of England.

Walking

Walking was a principal recreation in the early modern period and was understood by contemporaries as beneficial for wellbeing. A survey of the surviving early modern features at the three case studies suggests that walking in greenspaces was a recreation undertaken by the Moretons, Hesketh and Norrises. One early modern feature of Rufford Old Hall's gardens that supports this assertion is the southern avenue (Figure 23) which leads from the property to St Mary's Church in the nearby village. In leases written in 1724 and 1779, the avenue is referred to as the 'firr walk', while the 1744-1746 estate accounts record that on 24 November 1746, a payment of 6d was made for 'opening firr walk fflat', possibly referring to the cutting and maintaining of it.[335] Compared to the complex web of walks at elite residences, gentry estates would often only have a singular avenue leading towards the house, and Rufford typifies this

[331] Francis Fuller, *Medicina Gymnastica: or, A Treatise Concerning the Power of Exercise*, 2nd edition (London: Robert Knaplock, 1705), pp. xii-xiii.
[332] Sabine Arnaud, *On Hysteria: The Invention of a Medical Category between 1670 and 1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 96.
[333] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p. 83.
[334] Heasim Sul, 'The King's Book of Sports: The Nature of Leisure in Early Modern England', *The International Journal of the History of Sports*, 16:4 (2000), p. 172.
[335] Lancashire Archives, DDHE/54/4, DDHE/105/1, DDHE/105/33.

sort of design.[336] The firs were replaced sometime in the 1820s by beech trees, but the avenue remains one of the earliest known features of Rufford's gardens.[337] That it was referred to as a walk in 1724 suggests walking was undertaken in the gardens by Elizabeth Bellingham (née Spencer), whose first marriage to Robert Hesketh V (1673-97), resulted in Rufford becoming her dower house, continuing to live there after her second marriage to William Bellingham (*c.*1660-1718) in 1703.[338] The fir walk was also in keeping with similar designs of the period. Nicholas Blundell (1669-1737) of Crosby Hall, recorded in his diary in November 1721 that he had opened up a new avenue in his garden's gravel walk, which was planted at its sides with hornbeam and fir trees.[339]

Figure 22: Rufford's beech avenue, looking north towards the hall.

[336] Tom Williamson, 'Estate Management and Landscape Design', in Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (eds.), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), p. 23.
[337] National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 41.
[338] After Robert's death, his brother Thomas Hesketh (1677-1721) became the head of the family, though he lived at Ribbleton Hall, close to Preston. The National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall*, pp. 58-59.
[339] Nicholas Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, III, edited by Frank Tyrer and J. J. Bagley (Record Society of Lancashire & Cheshire, 1972), p. 60.

Likewise, at Little Moreton, the survival of the two artificially-constructed mounts suggests that the gardens were spaces in which the family would walk recreationally and could also experience different styles of movement through the elevated angle of the mounts. Little Moreton's architecture itself suggests that walking was a recreational pastime of the family, as the addition of the third-floor long gallery running along the property's south range suggests a desire for an indoor space for walking and other exercise (Figure 24). The specific completion date of Little Moreton's long gallery is uncertain, and dendrochronology reports have proved inconclusive with some rings dated to 1568, and others from the seventeenth century. It is now believed that the long gallery was built as a later addition to the south range, replacing what had once been just roof space. Construction of the long gallery before the 1560s is unlikely, as other examples in the northwest suggest it is a later sixteenth century addition; the long galleries at Bramall Hall (1575, now lost), Stoneyhurst (1590s) and at Gawthorpe Hall (*c.*1605) all suggest that long galleries were fashionable at that time, rather than in earlier decades. This makes it possible that the creation of the long gallery was by John Moreton, or William Moreton III.[340] Long galleries served as places for exercise and recreation when poor weather prevented outdoor activities, suggesting that the Moreton family used their surrounding greenspaces recreationally.[341] Further evidence of the long gallery being used for exercise comes from the discovery of a tennis ball found behind a section of the wooden panelling in the room in 1977, dated between the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, matching the believed construction of the room, later another five balls were discovered, further emphasising the Moreton families recreational use of the room.[342]

Lena Cowen Orlin has studied some of the more important examples of long galleries that were specifically used for walking. The gallery at Burton Constable Hall (Yorkshire) was designed so that walking the entire length and back of the gallery twenty-four times would constitute precisely a mile's distance.[343] Tara Hamling believes that the long gallery was the ideal setting for walking in the house, allowing for brief but daily walks not just due to its length but also because it was the most interesting room to walk in as they were built with multiple windows, allowing for views of the outside world, usually the garden.[344] The views from the long gallery at Little Moreton do not allow for the best views of the gardens within the moat. The north

[340] Architectural History Practice, *Little Moreton Hall*, pp. 30-31.
[341] Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', p. 51.
[342] Correspondence between National Trust and the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum.
[343] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 234.
[344] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 175.

wing of the property blocks views of the northern garden, nor does it present a view of the eastern side of the garden. However, the windows on the south side of the long gallery provide a good view of the large field and woodland to the south of the property, and all sides give views of the distant landscape.

Figure 23: Inside Little Moreton Hall's long gallery, looking towards the west end.

Other examples of walking at estate greenspaces in the Northwest may reflect the walking habits of the three families. Nicholas Blundell made multiple references to walking in his gardens with friends in his diurnal, revealing how it could be a social experience. On 14 October 1712, he walked with Mr Robert Molineux, in his gardens; while on 25 March 1722, he recorded that 'Mr Aldred was here I walked with him into the Gardens', and smoaked a pipe with him.[345] This was not just a practice at Blundell's household, as he and his family's visits to friends and wider family also involved walking in gardens and estates. On 6 October 1713, Blundell noted that 'Before dinner Cozen Scarisbrick & I walked into his Plantasions', whilst he recorded that his wife, Frances, had walked in the gardens of his sister, Elizabeth Middleton's estate at Stockeld, Yorkshire, on 20 July 1714.[346] Walking was not just done

[345] Nicholas Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, II, edited by Frank Tyrer and J. J. Bagley (Record Society of Lancashire & Cheshire, 1970), p. 37; Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, p. 71.
[346] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, II, pp. 77, 103.

within estates, but to get to and from them if the distance was not too far. Blundell records numerous trips to the village of Lydiate, roughly three miles away from his home. On 3 June 1708, 'My Wife and I walked to Lidiat, coming back we called to see James Lidiats Wife, we lost our way in ye Medowes coming home and was directed right by John Lunt.'[347] This did not deter the Blundell's from future walks to Lydiate. On July 18th 1714, his wife, daughter Mary, and brother Joseph walked to Lydiate again, though this time they took a coach back to the house, perhaps to avoid getting lost again. Frances made the walk to and from Lydiate on 15th May 1723.[348] The diary of another member of the Lancashire gentry from this period, Thomas Tyldesley (1657-1715) of Myerscough Lodge and Fox Hall, recorded that on 25 March 1712, he went to see the gardens at Ashton Hall, suggesting walking around an estate's gardens was part of the experience when visiting other families.[349]

By the end of the sixteenth century, walking was well-regarded by physicians, as Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey describe it, as 'the safest and most laudable physical activity, since it neither involved sweating or overheating.'[350] Writing about the benefits of walking, Richard Mulcaster (1531/2-1611), a schoolmaster and author of *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, gave the activity lengthy praise as a form of exercise:

> Among those exercises which be used abroade, what one deserveth to be set before walking, in the order and place of traine? what one have they more neede to know, which minde, the preservation & continuaunce of health? what one is there, which is more practised of all men, and at all times, then walking is? I dare saye that there is none, whether young or olde, whether man or woman, but accounteth it not onely the most excellent exercise, but almost alone worthy to beare the name of an exercise. When the weather suffereth, how emptie are the townes and streates, how full be the fieldes and medowes, of all kindes of folke? which by flocking so abroad, protest themselves to be favourers of that they do, and delite in for their health.[351]

Here, Mulcaster argued that walking was an exercise for everyone, of any age, or sex. He also notes that towns would clear of people in fortunate weather as they headed for greenspaces,

---

347 Nicholas Blundell, *Blundell's Diary: Comprising Selections from the Diary of Nicholas Blundell, Esq., from 1702 to 1728*, edited by T. Ellison Gibson (Liverpool: Gilbert G. Walmsley, 1895), p. 61.
348 Blundell, *Blundell's Diary*, pp. 127, 195.
349 Thomas Tyldesley, *The Tyldesley Diary: Personal Records of Thomas Tyldesley (Grandson of Sir Thomas Tydesley, the Royalist) During the Years 1712-13-14*, edited by Joseph Gillow and Anthony Hewitson (Preston: A. Hewitson, 1873), p. 15.
350 Sandra Cavallo, Tessa Storey, 'Healthy, 'Decorous' and Pleasant Exercise: Competing Models and the Practices of the Italian Nobility (Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)', in Rebekka von Mallinckrodt and Angela Schattner (eds.), *Sports and Physical Exercise in Early Modern Culture: New Perspectives on the History of Sports and Motion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), p. 175.
351 Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children* (London: Thomas Chare, 1581), p. 81.

suggesting that exercise was something enjoyed by every class. That walking was an activity for all meant it was easily accessible to gentlewomen to prevent them from developing illness through idleness, as Elizabeth Bellingham may have done with the fir walk at Rufford in the early eighteenth century.[352] Mulcaster listed the benefits that the various types of walking could have. He believed moderate walking was good for the head, eyes, throat and chest, and hip pain, while faster walking warmed the body, easing those of a choleric disposition. Slower walking, by contrast, was better for the weak and the old.[353] The time of day when the activity occurred was also an essential aspect of walking. A morning walk loosened the stomach, woke the body up, increased its heat, and brought about appetite. An evening walk prepared the walker for sleep, getting rid of an inflated body, and aided digestion after a meal.[354] Other writers were more specific in their discussions of when walking could be most beneficial, explaining not just the best time of day for walking for particular conditions, but also the best month. Matthew Stevenson's (*d.*1684) *The Twelve Moneths, or A Pleasant and Profitable Discourse of Every Action, Whether of Labour or Recreation, Proper to each Particular Moneth* (1661), provided a catalogue of activities expected of husbandmen through the year, and noted that for May they should 'rise early in the morning, for May does not love any sluggards, Let such as be in health, and able, walk into the Fields, and eat and drink betimes; for it is good and wholsome.'[355]

At Little Moreton, the experience of walking up and down its two mounts would have been understood to provide positive physical wellbeing for the Moreton family. On the topic of walking up or down heightened elevations, Mulcaster claimed it to be the 'enemy to feeble thighes, bycause they both move the legges and support the whole weight of the bodie above. The change and varietie of the motion causeth that kind of walking to be best liked, which is sometime uphill, sometime downhill.'[356] Other writers likewise noted the benefits of walking on inclines. The physician George Cheyne (1672-1743) wrote in his 1724 health book, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, that this type of walking activity helped to fortify the lungs.[357] Bullein went one step further and recommended walking up true, genuine hills as exercise, something which might not have been possible for the frail, aged, or sick members of the

[352] Cavallo, Storey, 'Healthy, 'Decorous' and Pleasant Exercise', p. 176.
[353] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 83.
[354] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, pp. 88-89.
[355] Matthew Stevenson, *The Twelve Moneths, or A Pleasant and Profitable Discourse of Every Action, Whether of Labour or Recreation, Proper to each Particular Moneth* (London: Thomas Jenner, 1661), pp. 23-24.
[356] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 85.
[357] George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724), p. 107.

Moreton family. The mounts may have thus acted as a means of more intensive exercise without having to venture too far from the property.[358]

Mulcaster's work is also valuable because he emphasised that greenspaces made for the ideal setting for a walk:

> Walking in an open place, and cheifly greene, is much better and more wholesome, then under any covert. First of all for the eyes, bycause a fine and subtile ayre comming from the greene to the bodie, which is more penetrable bycause of stirring, scoureth awaye all grosse humours from the eyes, and so leaveth the sight sine and cleare. Further, bycause the bodie in walking waxeth hoat, the aire sucketh humours out of it, & disperseth what soever is in it more then it can well beare. … It is better walking in the shade then in the sunne as it is naught for the headache to walke either in the cold or in the heat … The best walking in shadowes simply is under myrtle and baye trees, or among quicke and sweet smelling herbes, as wilde basell, penyroyall, thyme, and mynt, which if they be wild and of their owne growing be better to wholesome the soile, then any that be set by hande: but if the better cannot be, the meaner must serve. Againe in this kinde of walke the faire and cleare aire lighteneth, scoureth, fineth, procureth good breathing, and easie moving. Darke and cloudie aire heauyeth, scoureth not by breath, and stuffeth the head.[359]

It is evident from Mulcaster's book that gentry gardens would have been a logical setting to walk in due to the aromas experienced. However, emphasis on the importance of walking in the shaded areas of a garden, both as protection from the sun or to provide shelter in the cold (presumably, meaning buffering from cold winds), meant that Rufford's fir walk would have been a suitable place to exercise the legs all year round. Mulcaster was dismissive of walking in galleries because the air was not as fresh 'and therefore stuffeth the bodie', yet conceded that those built on higher floors 'where neither any vapour from the ground can come: and the ayre that commeth is pure and cleare', were preferable to those lower down in a building's elevation, lending further credence to the idea that Little Moreton's gallery served as an indoor walking area when the weather was poor.[360]

Other writers praised walking for the mental benefits it brought. Burton argued that walking was a means of relieving melancholy, making reference to the philosopher Aretaeus of Cappadocia (*c.*2nd century): 'But the most pleasing of all outward pastimes is that of *Areteus,*

[358] Bullein, *The Government of Health*, p. 86.
[359] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 87.
[360] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 86.

deambulatio per amaena loca', translated meaning 'a walk through pleasant places'.[361] Burton further elaborated on the pleasures of walking:

> To walke amongst Orchards, Gardens, Bowers, & Arbors, arteficiall Wildernesses, and greene thickets, Arches, Groves, Pooles, Fishponds, betwixt wood and water in a faire Meddowe, by river side, to disport in some plesant plaine, or runne up a steepe hill, or sit in a shady seat, must needs bee a delectable recreation.[362]

The scholar James Duport (1606-79) wrote a list of rules for his pupils while he was a tutor at Trinity College, Cambridge, between 1635 and 1664.[363] In these rules he recommended that they take walks into fields alone, as it 'put good thoughts into you, & make you retire into your self and commune with your own heart.'[364] Mulcaster had also briefly considered the solitary benefits of walking, 'If ye walke in a medow, it is without all contradiction most for pleasure, bycause nothing there anoyeth'.[365] Clearly, beyond the physical benefits of exercising the body, walking would have offered the walker a sense of peace and escapism. It might also suggest that walking in greenspaces closer to the home might be noisier or more open to interruption by other people. Collectively, the extracts from the authors discussed above, of Mulcaster, Stevenson, Burton, Duport, all promote the benefits of walking in spaces beyond the garden, walking in fields, meadows, woods and hills, besides fishponds and rivers, and as such they are an important reminder that the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norrises were not confined to the gentile surroundings of the hall or gardens, but no doubt walked the various parcels of land that they owned. Indeed, the surviving estate maps show fields in the vicinity of Rufford and Speke which would have been both easily accessible and remote enough for such use.

Recent studies have shown that walking in greenspaces positively affects wellbeing in terms of physical and mental health.[366] The praise authors like Mulcaster gave to walking as an exercise for all ages has been echoed in modern studies for the physical and mental benefits of leisurely walking for the elderly, as a means of combating sedentary lifestyles, which can lead

[361] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 342.
[362] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 343.
[363] C. D. Preston, P. H. Oswald, 'James Duport's Rules for His Tutorial Pupils: A Comparison of Two Surviving Manuscripts', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 14:4 (2011), p. 317.
[364] Preston, Oswald, 'James Duport's Rules for His Tutorial Pupils: A Comparison of Two Surviving Manuscripts', p. 339.
[365] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 85.
[366] Jenny Roe, Peter Aspinall, 'The Restorative Benefits of Walking in Urban and Rural Settings in Adults with Good and Poor Mental Health', *Health & Place*, 17 (2011), p. 113.

to poor mental wellbeing in the form of isolation, depression, and anxiety, and recommend walking with family friends, and their elderly peers as a route to better wellbeing.[367]

Gardening

Gardening was a recreational pastime that had positive effects on gentry wellbeing, both physically and emotionally, providing the opportunity for light exercise and the stirring of positive feelings through active involvement in the garden. During Philip Moreton's stewardship of Little Moreton, he took an active role in gardening at the estate. On 4 May 1658, Philip recorded that he had 'set 10 large beanes'; on 16 June that year, he 'set 29 Colly flower plants in the garden'; and set up dwarf apples on 18 January 1664.[368] Evidence at other estates in the northwest shows that gentry families pursued gardening as a pastime. On 10 May 1712, Thomas Tyldesley recorded that he had spent 'All day att Fox hall, busy in [his] garden'.[369] Nicholas Blundell was an avid gardener, and his diary makes countless references to his ongoing garden work at Crosby Hall; on 23 February 1713 he recorded setting 'some Roots of Renunculas in the Flower Knot', whilst on 22 April 1721 he grafted 'three sorts of Apples on the Hodg-podg Tree'.[370] Jill Francis, in discussing a painting of Thomas Wentworth (*d.*1587) depicting him sitting in a chair grafting, comments that 'While grafting could just about be described as manual labour, it is hardly as arduous as digging and muck-spreading'.[371] However, even in its moderateness as an activity, gentle gardening would have still been beneficial, particularly to the elderly or sedentary, and would have prevented them from developing ill health through an inactive lifestyle.[372] This was evident from horticultural literature. John Rea, in reflecting on his life before writing his *Flora*, stated:

> Fourty years are now completed, since first I began to be a Planter, and to dedicate more time than I could well have spared for diversion, to that lovely recreation … now in my Old age (wearied and weaned from other delights) find my self more happy in this retired solitude, than in all bustles and busie imployments of my passed days …[373]

[367] Areum Han, Junhyoung Kim, Jaehyun Kim, 'A Study of Leisure Walking Intensity Levels on Mental Health and Health Perception of Older Adults', *Gerontology and Geriatric Medicine*, 7:2333721421999316 (online, 2021), available at: <10.1177/2333721421999316> [Accessed 29 November 2023].
[368] Add MS 33941, ff. 74, 120.
[369] Tyldesley, *The Tyldesley Diary*, p. 26.
[370] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, II, p. 52, Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, p. 42.
[371] Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, p. 144.
[372] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 238.
[373] Rea, *Flora*, To the reader, i.

Rea remarked that the other, presumably more physically demanding, recreations of his younger years had left him wearied, yet gardening remained a pastime he could still undertake. By referring to it as an activity conducted in his solitude implied that the peaceful nature of gardening matched well with retirement. That Philip Moreton was still gardening in 1664, by then in his early fifties, emphasised the role gardening played as a suitable exercise in later years. Similarly, Ralph Austen suggested that gardening was good for physical health because while it exercised the body, it was not extreme or overly demanding:

> An Orchard garden of Fruit-trees (and Imployments about the same) is profitable to the body, first in respect of health: secondly in respect to long life. … Now health is preserved: first, by moderate and seasonable exercise, in the Orchard, the labour that preserves health must not be too violent … to bring the body to a temperate and gentle heat, not to immoderate sweating.[374]

Austen also considered how gardening was beneficial for mental wellbeing, and suggested that it was a recreation that stirred positive spirits – or emotions – another facet of the six non-naturals understood to regulate health. For Austen, gardening evoked positive feelings of hope, joy, and admiration. On feelings of hope specifically, Austen claimed:

> Hope is sowen with the seeds of his Fruits, and springs up with them, and so from yeare to yeare his Hope growes and increaseth with his Fruit-trees. He laies before him, and considers what great Profits and Pleasures others receive from Orchards and Gardens of Fruit-trees, which are as fuell, or food to nourish and feed Hope, and hold it strength and vigor; and when he begins to receive Profits and Pleasure from his Fruit-trees, these refresh Hope, and make it grow from strength to strength with his Fruit-trees: and thus from yeare to yeare Hope is continued and increased, and all this while the spirits are refreshed, as Hope is refreshed, and are kept thereby vigorous and strong, and in a pleased temper and condition, and being the Master workmen in the body, or first, wheele they worke upon all the parts of the body, for Prolongation of life.[375]

Hope was a positive sensation felt by the early modern gardener, brought about through waiting for orchards to provide fruits. These emotions were a cyclical experience that would be renewed each year as the wait for gardens and orchards to bloom would commence once again. Tied to the emotion of hope was the feeling of joy which came from receiving this bounty:

> Joy is a cleare shining, beautiful affection, and rises some degrees higher then Hope … And in this imployment of Planting Fruit-trees there are many grounds and occasions of rejoicing: The Joy of the Husbandman is not a flash and so

---

[374] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 22.
[375] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., pp. 25-26.

> away, but is a setled and habituall joy, and is renewed from time to time … joy is kept fresh and vigorous, which also keeps the spirits cheerful and lively … Joy is continually renewed from yeare to yeare, yea, in divers seasons of the yeare, there are fresh and new joyes.[376]

Austen suggested that joy would be found in the garden and orchard all through the year, through the small milestones in the stages of a plant's life cycle. Seeing young plants first spring from the soil and eventually develop buds and blossoms, and being able to harvest them nearer the end of the year, and then to experience the joy in consuming them, all meant positive effects on a gentry gardener such as Philip, and compliments the sensory benefits of sight, smell, and taste addressed in Chapter 1.[377] For members of the gentry who gardened, it could be a source of positive wellbeing all year round, which Austen called 'a succession of joyes, one following on the neck of another, whereby the spirits are still kept in cheerfull temper and condition, and so work powerfully on the grosser parts of the body, conducing to long life.'[378] Through Austen's writing, a glimpse is seen into the early modern mind of why gardening was a positive mental recreation.

Both the exercise that gardening offers and the positive emotional feelings associated with it have been recognised by multiple studies. Soga, Gaston, and Yimari produced a collective study, reflecting on twenty-two case studies produced since 2001 that had investigated the role gardening had on health which was overwhelmingly positive, exposure to nature having restorative abilities, whilst the physical act of gardening could improve both physical and mental health. Reductions were found in feelings of depression, whilst improved feelings of satisfaction with life were also notable. In community garden projects, the social nature of the setting improved wellbeing, whilst for the elderly, it was an effective means of ensuring they achieved daily exercise goals.[379]

Horse Riding

Riding horses for leisure, travel, or hunting was a key aspect of gentry recreational life. At Rufford in 1697, fifteen horses were kept, some presumably ridden by members of the Hesketh family.[380] At Speke, an appraisal of goods belonging to Edward Norris (son of Sir William Norris IV) following his death in 1628 recorded that he had owned two horses, together with

[376] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 26.
[377] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 26.
[378] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 27.
[379] Masashi Soga, Kevin J. Gaston, Yuichi Yamaura, 'Gardening is Beneficial for Health: A Meta-Analysis', *Preventive Medicine Reports*, 5 (2017), p. 97.
[380] Lancashire Archives, WCW/Supra/C268H/40.

the appropriate items needed to ride them.[381] In 1700, seventeen horses were listed for the Speke household, including specific reference to a horse belonging to 'Madam Norris,' possibly referring to Magdalen (*d.*1709), the wife of Thomas Norris III (1653-1700), or his mother, Katherine.[382] At Little Moreton, areas of land around the estate listed in 1636 known as 'Horse Close' and 'Horse Meddowe', indicate the presence of horses on the estate and the use of pastureland where they could graze, as does the reference to a stable and mount yard, likely relating to the home farm east of the property, where the family would have mounted their horses.[383]

The horses ridden by the three families would have provided them with a means of exercise, as emphasised by contemporary health literature. Cheyne saw riding as the best of all exercises, 'the most Healthy, and the least laborious, and expensive of Spirits, of any; shaking the whole Machine [meaning body], and promoting universal Perspiration and Secreation of all the Fluids'.[384] Fuller and Mulcaster similarly praised riding for its ability to exalt bodily fluids.[385] Part of the appeal of horse riding for Cheyne was that it required minimal effort from the rider compared to other exercises. Once atop the horse, the animal's movement naturally made its rider's body move too, adjusting to the movement of their mount. Fuller likewise argued this, suggesting horsing riding to be 'a kind of mixt Exercise, partly Active and partly Passive; the lower parts of the Body, being in some measure employ'd while the upper parts are almost wholly Remiss or Relax'd', as an exercise for the gentry, that it was less onerous as other fitness commitments may be a reason as to why it was so popular.[386]

Cheyne also ties the active to England's gentry and elite by recommending that 'Those who have Time in their own Hands' like the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norrises, 'ought to have stated Seasons for Riding or Walking in a good Air … Three Hours for Riding… the one half before the great Meal, and the other before going to Bed, is the least that can be dispensed with'.[387] Cheyne also recommended riding for those with weak nerves and digestion, and those with headaches to ride 'in the clearest and driest Air' to alleviate their troubles.[388]

---

[381] Liverpool Record Offfice, 920 NOR 1/396.
[382] Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', pp. 120, 133.
[383] Add MS. 33941, f. 77, f. 151.
[384] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, pp. 94-95.
[385] Fuller, *Medicina Gymnastica*, 2nd ed., p. 77; Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 96.
[386] Fuller, *Medicina* Gymnastica, 2nd ed., pp. 161-162.
[387] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, pp. 98-99.
[388] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, p. 97.

Consideration of the emotional bond a rider might have developed with their horse is complex. Thomas de Gray's *The Compleat Horseman and Expert Ferrier* (1639), discussed the practical aspects of horsemanship, and acknowledged the affection that horses could give to their owners:

> for his pastimes and recreations, no creature to be compared to this: neither is there any creature created by the great Creator of all things, which doth perfectly understand and connive with the nature and minde of man, or that beareth a more inly love to a man, as doth this poore creature the Horse … with great alacrity and cheerrefulnesse (so long as his vital spirits last) to give comfort and content to him that feedeth and cherisheth him … [389]

Such affections, as de Gray suggested, were partially forged through the owner showing care to the horse through feeding and grooming. Robert Howlett, author of *The School of Recreation* (1701), advised that for young colts, the owners should be in regular contact with the horse to tame it: 'After you have kept him at home some time, and made him so Familiar with you, as to suffer Combing, Currying, Handling, and Stroaking any part'.[390] Yet historians have noted the disregard given to horses once they had outlived their usefulness due to age or having been broken down through years of service. Further upkeep of horses would be a financial drain, and many would discard them or have them slaughtered with their meat used for feeding the estates hounds.[391]

Horse riding today is far more greatly appreciated for its role in mental health than in physical health; for both amateur and professional horse riders, it has been seen as a recreation positive for their wellbeing, making them feel relaxed, which is suggested to be conditioned by the formation of a relationship with the animal.[392] A 2021 study by Schwarzmüller-Erber et al. found that horse riders had overall positive feelings of wellbeing, and that riding led to longer durations of improved mood compared to non-riders.[393] Horse riding has also been seen to improve the overall confidence of new riders, probably as a result of attempting a new experience.[394] The degree to which this last point was of relevance to the gentry of the three

[389] Thomas de Gray, *The Compleat Horseman and Expert Ferrier* (London: Nicholas Vavasor, 1639), p. 1.
[390] Robert Howlett, *The School of Recreation: or, a Guide to the Most Ingenious of Exercises* (London: H. Rhodes, 1701), p. 16.
[391] Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), pp. 32-33.
[392] Ewa Malchrowicz-Mośko, Darousz Wieliński, Katarzyna Adamczewska, 'Perceived Benefits for Mental and Physical Health and Barriers to Horseback Riding Participation. The Analysis among Professional and Amateur Athletes', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17:3736 (2020), pp. 11-14.
[393] Gabriele Schwarzmüller-Erber, et al., 'Recreational Horseback Riding and Its Association with Physical, Mental, and Social Wellbeing and Perceived Health', *Anthrozoös*, 34:5 (2021), p. 696.
[394] Hannah Burgon, 'Case Studies of Adults Receiving Horse-Riding Therapy', *Anthrozoös*, 16:3 (2003), p. 273.

properties, educated to ride from a very young age, was probably only very limited. However, it could be a potential avenue for contemporary engagement with wellbeing at National Trust sites that has hitherto been overlooked.

Hunting

Hunting was a pastime synonymous with the gentry and aristocracy of the early modern period. Sir Thomas Hesketh IV renovated Holmeswood Hall, roughly three miles east of Rufford Old Hall, for use as the family's hunting lodge.[395] Today, the property survives as a crenellated tower house, measuring 25 ft by 23 ft. The specific date of its original construction is unknown, though a stone is set in the east wall of the property with Thomas Hesketh IV's initials and the date 1568.[396] A land deed dated 14 February 1649 describes Holmeswood as 'impalied Holmeswood Park', which refers to the estate being surrounded by fencing to contain the estate's deer and to deter would-be poachers.[397] 'Holmes Park' is one of the impaled parks depicted on John Speed's 1610 map of Lancashire.[398] An unidentified map, now presumed to be lost, was referred to by local historian W. T. Bulpit, which provided details of the lodge being an enclosed ground, reinforcing its usage as a deer park: 'The old maps hung in the hall of Southport Free Library show [Holmeswood] with a large park enclosed in a fence. Here the lord could hunt in his woods and fish on the mere.'[399] Another undated map of Holmeswood shows an area of land to the west of Holmeswood Hall, called 'Hunter's Plantation'.[400] Based on this name, it is likely that this area was once a former hunting ground, which was being used for planting trees or crops by the time of the second map.

Evidence for the hunting habits of the Hesketh is scant, though we are better informed on the habits of their friends, the Stanley earls of Derby, through their household book kept by their steward William Ffarrington between 1586 to 1590. In September 1589, Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby (1531-93), hunted at Lathom, going on a Tuesday and returning on the Saturday. The following March, Lord Strange went to hunt on a Monday and returned the following day, yet on Wednesday of that same week, he went again, returning on Saturday.[401] When hunting

[395] W. T. Bulpit, *Notes on Southport and District* (Southport: Visiter, 1908), pp. 171-172.
[396] Coney, 'Managing the Fens', pp. 110-1.
[397] Lancashire Archives, DDK/1743.
[398] John Speed, *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas* (London: Pavilion, 1988), pp. 110-111.
[399] Bulpit, *Notes on Southport and District*, p. 171.
[400] Lancshire Archives, DDHE/122/42. Very little information is known about this map, though based on its condition it is likely from the late 1800s, or early 1900s.
[401] William Ffarington, *The Derby Household Books ... by W. Ffarington. The Stanley Papers*, II, *Remains Historical and Literary Connection with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society*, edited by F. R. Raines, XXXI (Manchester: 1853), pp. 65, 67, 76.

was recorded, it was at least a two-day affair, and so some form of lodging would have been required for the hunters for food and sleep, most likely a hunting lodge. Though the Hesketh are not specifically mentioned as being involved in these trips, the families' interconnectedness may suggest that they could have attended as guests or enjoyed similar pastimes. It is plausible then that Holmeswood Hall could have been used to sustain multiple-day hunting trips. In addition, areas of land around Rufford are named in a 1648 lease and have titles suggestive of animals and hunting. The areas identified as the 'Connyree' and the 'digg bathe' suggest rabbits (coneys) and ducks in the area which the Hesketh's may have also hunted, both popular for pursuit by the gentry class.[402]

At Speke Hall, birds were likely part of the Norris family's hunting game. Listed in the inventory of goods taken after the death of Edward Norris in 1628 was 'one birding peece & a crosbowe & boults', valued at 20s.[403] The 'birding peece', also known as a fowling piece, would have been used by Edward to hunt birds around the estate's greenspaces. Writers of hunting guides, such as Gervase Markham, and Nicholas Cox, stated that the best fowling pieces were those with a barrel between 5 ½ or 6 ft in length, as these could carry the best shot and had the longest range, ideal given that fowl were prone to flying away before a hunter could get to a suitable position.[404] The use of firearms in hunting and shooting in Europe was first seen in Germany in the late fifteenth century and came into use in England in the sixteenth century. The use of firearms was not wholly embraced, however, as their detractors believed that the smell and noise of the weapons would cause game to flee from hunting grounds. Even some among the royalty, who would have the money to pursue newer technologies, were not swayed. Both Queen Elizabeth I, and Queen Anne (King James I's consort) favoured the crossbow, while King James I himself disliked the use of firearms in the hunt. Despite this, by the late seventeenth century, firearms had achieved widespread popularity in England for hunting.[405]

However, the presence of a crossbow among the Norrises' possessions suggests that they may have been used by women in the household, emulating the choices made by Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne. If that is the case, it is possible that the choice of hunting weapon was a gendered one, the quiet and discrete crossbow being favoured over noisy firearms. The latter

[402] DDHE/37/12.
[403] 920 NOR 1/396.
[404] Gervase Markham, *Hungers Prevention: or, The Whole Art of Fowling by Water and Land* (London: Anne Helme and Thomas Langley, 1621), p. 43; Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation,* II, 3rd ed., p. 113.
[405] Lois G. Schwoerer, *Gun Culture in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press 2016), pp. 111-112.

were also heavier and arguably had a greater potential to cause injury to the user. Evidence from elsewhere in England suggests that crossbows and other bows were the favoured weapons of women and children. In July 1605, Sir Francis Leake wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury to tell him that their respective wives and children had been out hunting for deer using bows and arrows.[406]

The estate at Speke Hall would have been the ideal ground for various types of waterfowl, not just because of its close proximity to the River Mersey, but because of the large number of ponds used for stocking fish on the estate. In a list compiled by Thomas Norris III, he recorded the numbers of fish stocked in the pits and ponds of the estate between 1685 and 1696, and referred to over twenty-five different bodies of water.[407] This meant that there was no shortage of suitable habitats providing waterfowl as targets. Other gentry estates on the Mersey likewise hunted waterfowl; four miles east of Speke, in the village of Hale, Cheshire, a duck decoy had been built by the Ireland Blackburne family, with its earliest recorded use in 1730.[408]

An area of land to the west of Speke Hall was first recorded as 'Conyngry fylde' in 1468. Susan Nicholson notes that by 1714 it was called Coney Tree Wood, indicating this area was now heavily covered with trees, though in a document regarding the mortgaging of the Hall in 1625, the name 'Coningrie Wood' is also used, suggesting the land became wooded at a much earlier date.[409] These naming conventions suggest the likelihood that rabbits were another animal hunted on the estate. Moreover, in 1699, fines were issued to four people for coursing within the estate, suggesting the Norrises' land was well stocked with rabbits, making them a target for would-be poachers.[410]

Hunting was clearly perceived as a leisure pastime, but it also had an impact on mental and physical health. Mulcaster recommended hunting for both the exercise it offered to body and the pleasure it brought to the mind:

> For hunting hath always carried a great credit, both for exercising the bodie, and deliting the mynde, as it semes to be verie natural, because it seeketh to maister,

[406] Peter Edwards, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish First Earl of Devonshire (1551-1626) and his Horses* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), p. 208.
[407] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 2/537.
[408] Richard Pollard, Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 191.
[409] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', pp. 11, 22; SPEC NORRIS 276.
[410] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 19.

and to take beastes, and byrdes, which are naurally appointed for made use, and therefore though they be taken and killing, there is no wrong done them.[411]

Mulcaster claimed that hunting was one of the most beneficial exercises for the body because it consisted of many different activities – walking, running, leaping, shouting, hallowing (a term used specifically for shouting to dogs during the hunt), and riding. He also praised it because the large setting needed for the hunt provided the space for a variety of exercises: 'what may they not do, having the whole country for roome, and the whole day for time, to do in what they list?'[412] Participating in hunting held a variety of health benefits, which Mulcaster explained:

> To warme the bodie very well, to disperse superfluites, to abate flesh, to lessen overflowing moysture, to make one sleepe soundly, to digest meat, & raw humors, to quicken both the sight and the hearing, to keepe of old age, and finally to make the body most healthfull, and the health most lasting.[413]

While hunting was an activity that could be undertaken either on horse or foot, and with or without dogs or birds, he believed that:

> of all Hunting that is still best, wherein we exercise our selves & our owne bodies most, not our hauks or howndes, because exercise be means to make men healthfull, and other things be meanes to bring that meane about.[414]

Cox also wrote that hunting provided good physical exercise which 'preserveth Health, and increaseth Strength and Activity', but equally, that it 'neither remits the Minde to Sloth nor Softness, nor (if used with moderation) hardens it to inhumanity; but rather inclines men to good Acquaintance, and generous Society.' For Cox, it '[cleared] up the Spirit, when it is heavy, dull, and over-cast with gloomy Cares', suggesting he had an appreciation of how outdoor exercise could lift an individual's mood, thus improving mental health.[415] It was not just in the heat of the hunt itself that Cox found health benefits, but in the preparations that came before it:

> to take up a timly habit of quitting ones Bed early, and loving to sit well and safe upon a Horse. What innocent and natural delights are they, when he seeth the day breaking forth thoses Blushes and Roses which Poets and Writers of Romances onely paint, but the Huntsman truly courts? When he heareth the chirping of small Birds pearching upon their dewy Boughs? When he draws in the fragrancy and coolness of the Air? How jolly is his Spirit, when he suffers

---

[411] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 98.
[412] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, p. 98.
[413] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, pp. 98-99
[414] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, pp. 99-100.
[415] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, I, 3rd ed., pp. 1-2.

> it to be imported with the noise of Bugle-Horns, and the baying of Hounds, which leap up and play round about him. [416]

Thus hunting – which required waking up early – gave the hunter access to a world of beauty, seldom seen by the rest of society soundly asleep, a viewpoint that the Moretons, Hesketh, and Norrises, could have appreciated if they were early-rising hunters. Thomas Tyldesley occasionally hunted in such a manner, recording on 11 June 1713 how he 'went to beed at seven, in ordr to hunt fox, at Ellal Milles', so that he could rise early.[417]

The beauty of nature was addressed by Gerard Langbaine (1656-92) in his guide *The Hunter, A Discourse of Horsemanship* (1685). Langbaine, better known as a dramatic biographer, extolled the benefits that a horse provided to its master during the hunt.[418]

> Hunting-Horse, which is a principal Instrument of that Excellent Recreation … of this noble Creature, to whom all that are Followers of Hunting are oblig'd: since it is by his Strength and Vigour that we gratifie at ease our Eyes and Ears with all the Pleasures that Hunting affords; and without whose Assistance, a great part of us could enjoy it a little more than in Imagination … In times of Peace he is equally Useful, not only for Pleasure, but also for Necessity, and Profit. How diverting to the Eyes, is a Beautiful Horse after a Pack of Dogs? and with how much ease to our Bodies, and delight to our Minds, are we carried vp to them; with so much Vigour and Pride to be discern'd in his Countenance, as if he emulated the Hounds in their Speed, and was desirous to excell them, in his Obedience to their common Lord … [419]

Each aspect of the hunt could contribute towards the betterment of health, as Alessandro Arcangeli has highlighted: 'from exposure to the extreme temperatures of the open air to horse-riding; from physical and mental effort to the strategic skills involved in the hunt… Even the barking and howling of hounds is recorded as an exercise for the huntsman's hearing, while following the animal keeps his sight in good form.'[420] Hunting thus improved mental and physical health in several ways. The relationship between hunter and horse, the benefits of rising early and being out in the fresh air, and the general improvement brought on through exercise were all wrapped up in this quintessential gentry pastime.

---

[416] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, I, 3rd ed., p. 2.
[417] Tyldesley, *The Tyldesley Diary*, p. 94.
[418] Paulina Kewes, 'Langbaine, Gerard (1656–1692)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16007> [Accessed 23 November 2023].
[419] Gerard Langbaine, *The Hunter, A Discourse of Horsemanship* (Oxford: Nicolas Cox, 1685), pp. 1-2.
[420] Alessandro Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425–1675* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 22.

Hawking

The elite of England regularly used hawks as a hunting aid, and as a sign of fashion and status; at Speke Hall, the Norris family engaged in this practice in the early 1600s. The 1624 inventory of Speke lists an item in the bread loft as 'a basen to bath hawkes in' and was valued at 16d.[421] Nothing else in the bread loft (which included practical items such as tubs and pewter dishes) nor other items in the inventory related to hawking. This perhaps indicates that items such as hoods or bells for the hawk were the property of individual members of the family and thus were not listed. The hawk bath was likely to have been used three days a week in hot weather to wash the hawks that the Norrises owned, and once a week in the winter months.[422] This was in part to ensure that the hawk stayed clean and healthy, but also so that it would stay loyal to its owner, Howlett advised that:

> before Luring (or any flight) it is required to Bath your Hawk in some quiet and still shallow Brook, or for want of that in large Basson, shallow Tub, or the like, lest being at Liberty, you lose your Hawk (whose Nature requires such Bathing) and make him range …[423]

Robin Oggins states that cranes, herons, and ducks all constituted the main prey of falcons and hawks alike; these were likely the prey hunted at Speke Hall, given its closeness to the Mersey and the various ponds around the estate. Indeed, for hawking, streams and brooks were the ideal locations as they were the favoured spots of their prey.[424] Hunting at the ponds in Speke was probably preferred, as though the nearby Mersey was a source for game; where the river passes Speke, it is at its widest, so it may have proved tricky to recover both prey and hawk if they ventured too far out.

Evidence has yet to be uncovered as to whether hawking was practiced at Rufford and Little Moreton, though other examples of hawking from the early modern period do survive that indicates its popularity. The Derby Household Books record Lord Strange taking his hawks out to hunt in October 1589 and March 1590.[425] Likewise, the Shuttleworths purchased hawking equipment (two goshawk hoods and four sparrow hawk hoods) in August 1612, and a goshawk in August 1618.[426] With the purchase of multiple hoods, the Shuttleworths likely owned several

---

[421] Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 135.
[422] Teresa McLean, *The English at Play in the Middle Ages* (Windsor Forest: Kensal Press, 1983), p. 56.
[423] Howlett, *The School of Recreation*, p. 91
[424] Robin S. Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 16, 17.
[425] Ffarington, *The Derby Household Books*, pp. 67, 76.
[426] Harland, *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthrope Hall*, I, pp. 201, 231.

birds of prey as part of their recreational leisure activities and to put game on the table for food. More generally, hawking was a popular recreational activity throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, evident from paintings depicting gentlemen carrying falcons. It was also a pastime favoured by royalty, as Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, and James I also flew them.[427]

The benefits of hawking to health were well known in England by the sixteenth century. On 21 September 1472, John Paston, of the Pastons of Norfolk, sent a letter to his older brother, also called John, in which he asked to send him a goshawk:

> now thinke of me good Lord, for if I have not a Hawk, I shall wax fat for default of labour, and dead for default company by my truth. No more but I pray God send you all your desires, and me my mewed Goss Hawk in haste …[428]

Within this letter, Paston alluded to both the physical benefits of keeping a hawk, in that its maintenance and use in sport would keep him well occupied physically, but also mentally, in that it would provide him company. The connection forged between a bird and its owner was an emotive one, and for a member of the gentry to keep a hawk would have been a source of positive wellbeing. That they were included in paintings suggests their owners viewed them affectionately; both Thomas and Sim have noted this bond. Hawks were often kept in their master's bed chamber in the Middle Ages, both out of affection and for the bird to grow accustomed to its owner to make it easier to handle.[429] There was a mental reward to be found in hawking in that it allowed man to form a link with the natural world. Teaching a hawk to react and heed the hawker required both time and patience. If the owner of the hawk did not have these qualities, they required money to hire someone to do this on their behalf. However, this resulted in a weaker bond, which had implications both for their ability to control the bird and its potential to exert a beneficial influence on the owner's health. Moreover, if the end result was to forge a bond with an animal that, unlike dogs or cattle, was still to an extent, semi-wild, outsourcing training would have denied some of the pleasure of owning a hawk.[430]

To develop such a loving bond with a hawk was the ideal, but it came with the inevitable grief of either losing the bird through death or its escape. In a letter written by Sir Edward Norris,

---

[427] Richard Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 157 (1997), p. 41.

[428] John Fenn (ed.), *Original Letters, Written during the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. And Richard III.* II (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788), p. 111.

[429] Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', p. 41; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, pp. 100-101; Sim, *Pleasure & Pastimes in Tudor England*, p. 159

[430] Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', pp. 46, 47, Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks*, pp. 110-111.

governor of Ostend (of the Berkshire Norrises, distant relations of the Speke Norrises) to Sir Dudley Carlton, in July 1600, he despaired about the loss of one of his hawks:

> I am in great melancholy, having lost my best hawk; but these perturbations are not like those at Court. I may get my hawk again, or for 40s. buy a new one; but if you courtiers lose, there is no recovery.[431]

Norris clearly expressed sadness at the situation. That it was his 'best hawk' perhaps suggests the ability to develop feelings of favouritism for animals, be it in their ability to hunt, or because of the bond between them, or if it had been a prized breed of greater value in comparison to his others. As with the emotional bond with horses, however, there was still a grounding of these emotions: beyond the hope of the bird's return, Sir Edward knew it could be replaced.

As with letters, literature also revealed the emotive nature of owning hawks. Catherine Bates has demonstrated that the connection between a bird and its owner can be seen in the emotive language used in George Turberville's *The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking*, first published in 1575. In this text, Turberville 'frequently resorts to the language of love and courtesy in order to describe this relation in its ideal form'.[432] In Turberville's case, this could be a reflection of his background and literary style, as he was a poet and translator so a source text could have influenced his choice of works. However, the use of emotionally charged language is also found in later texts which discuss hawking; Howlett emphasised the importance that its owner had to display clear affection if they were to successfully hunt with a hawk:

> continually carrying him upon your Fist, familiarly stroak him with a Wing of some dead Fowl, or the like, and play with him; Accustom to gaze, and looking in his Face with a Loving, Smiling, Gentle Countenance; and that will make him acquainted and familiar with Men … let him likewise know your Voice well; so that being well acquainted with Voice and Lure, the Hearing of the of the one, or sight of the other, make shim Obedient …[433]

For the Norrises, hawking at the Speke estate would have been an emotive experience, one which could only develop successfully through the proper attention and care needed in forging a positive connection to the bird. Once this bond had been established, it was understood that hawking would bring benefits. Turberville elucidated his thoughts on this aspect of hawking in a poem inserted at the start of his text, which extols some of the benefits of hawking in action:

---

[431] Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1598-1601* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869), p. 458.

[432] Catherine Bates, 'George Turberville and the Painful Art of Falconry', *English Literary Renaissance*, 41:3 (2011), p. 413.

[433] Howlett, *The School of Recreation*, p. 91

I Deeme that noman doubts, but games & all our cheife delights,

Were first devisde to daunt the dumps of pensive pained sprights.

To cleare the clowds of drowping cares, & mists of mournfull mind,

And banish bale that heavie harts in cheereless chains did bind.

And more that to further health, by moving too and fro,

That in our lumpish lustlesse limes, no dire disease might grow:

Which otherwise (set sport aside, and sweet delightfull glee)

In idle bodies breeds of force, as we by proofe do see,

Not much unlike the standing lakes, in durtie dampish grounds,

Where water hath no power to passe, most noisome filth abounds.

If games were thus found out at first, for mind and bodies ease,

Aswell to quite that one of griefes asth'other of disease [434]

In this extract from the poem, Turberville includes the varied benefits of hawking, in that it brought pleasure, and served as a cure for dampened spirits, and prevented the body developing ailments from an idle lifestyle. Thinking of hawking in this way provides a means of considering the brief allusion made to hawking at Speke, in a deeper way.

While owning birds of prey and the pleasures of using them for hunting are well attested in early modern sources, modern studies into the relationship between people and raptors have been barely developed, despite the growing research into pet therapy. Admittedly, this is understandable given that they are not commonly owned today, and there are specialist requirements and licences for the owning and handling of these species. However, birds of prey have seen some use in animal-assisted activity programmes. A 2015 study by Sandra Holt et al. included bringing rehabilitating raptors to nursing homes; it was notable as a particular highlight for the sample group (the study used a variety of different animals for days), which the authors of the study attributed to the comparative rarity of these birds up close.[435] These feelings of amazement may have been less intense in the early modern period when the ownership of such animals was more commonplace. In their discussion of bird ownership, a study by Anne-Kathrin Burmeister et al. in 2020 considered how bird owners viewed their relationship with their pets, and found that there was a considerable degree of

[434] George Turberville, *The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1611), p. iii.
[435] Sandra Holt, et al., 'Animal Assisted Activity with Older Adult Retirement Facility Residents: The PAWSitive Visits Program', *Activities, Adaptation & Aging*, 39:4 (2020), p. 273.

anthropomorphising the animal as a sort of partner. This was an observation akin to that expressed in early modern hawking guides, as was the importance of ownership to wellbeing, which came from the structuring of the owner's day that came from looking after the animal.[436]

Fishing

Fishing and the fishponds at country estates were viewed similarly to gardening and gardens, in that they were an activity and environment that combined profit and pleasure.[437] At Rufford Old Hall, any fishing would have been done at Martin Mere, as the estate lay on its north-eastern edge. Audrey Coney, who has published the most intensive studies into the mere and its relation to the landowners surrounding it, has identified two general types of fisherman on the mere, 'the professional who used specialised equipment; and the casual angler with his rod, line and little hand-nets, who was regarded as fishing for pleasure … the Hesketh of Rufford and their tenants seem mostly, though not totally, to fall into the latter classification.'[438] Whether fishing for commercial profit or for recreation, the Hesketh seemed to have had a troubled relationship with the waters. The Rufford and Holmeswood banks of the mere would have been shallow, marshy lands, whereas fish preferred areas of deep water and reed beds such as the waters bordering Burscough and Scarisbrick. As a result of this, the Hesketh make frequent appearances in legal cases regarding the mere, as their men trespassed on other estates in search of more suitable fishing locations. This included an incident involving Sir Thomas Hesketh IV's fishermen on 15 March 1558, who entered an area of land belonging to Henry Bannister, the lord of Holmes, and attacked his fishermen.[439] If the Hesketh did fish recreationally, their catch could have included pike, perch, roach, bream, and eels.[440] Furthermore, the cousins of the Hesketh of Rufford, the Hesketh of North Meols, used their portion of the mere on its western side recreationally. The head of the North Meols branch of the family during the seventeenth century, Robert Hesketh (1617-75), would give part of his catch to the servants who assisted him.[441]

[436] Anne-Kathrin Burmeister, et al., 'Development and Application of the Owner-Bird Relationship Scale (OBRS) to Assess the Relation of Humans to Their Pet Birds', *Frontiers in Veterinary Science*, 7:575221 (2020), pp. 9-10, 13.
[437] Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations*, p. 52.
[438] Coney, 'Managing the Fens', p. 105.
[439] Coney, 'Fish, fowl and fen', p. 57; Coney, 'Managing the Fens', pp. 103-104.
[440] Coney, 'Managing the Fens', p. 105.
[441] Coney, 'Managing the Fens', pp. 107-108. The Hesketh of North Meols began with Hugh Hesketh's (*d.*1625) marriage to Alice Kitchen (1553-1618). Hugh was an illegitimate son of Sir Thomas Hesketh IV from a mistress. The Robert Hesketh mentioned here was Hugh's son.

Fishing has already been referred to at Speke Hall in relation to the large number of ponds which were well stocked with fish. From the period between 1685 and 1696, large numbers of fish were deposited into the various bodies of water around the estate, sometimes only a few, such as fifteen couples of tench into the 'lower pitt in the nearer 3 crofts' in 1693, whereas in the same year 'the furthest side of the moate' was stocked with 190 couples of perch. Only three species are mentioned in this stock list, the aforementioned tench and perch, as well as carp.[442] The inclusion of carp reflects the popularity of stocking the fish throughout the country, as by the end of the sixteenth century, it had become the most popular freshwater fish kept in England.[443]

The Norrises also used the Mersey for recreational fishing. In a letter written to Richard Norris (1670-1731) dated 8 January 1698, Thomas Patten (1662-1733) of Warrington wrote how one of Richard's brothers was once able to take three or four salmon out of the Mersey near Speke when fishing. However, as a result of commercial overfishing at the time, he had 'of late hath taken very few, or none, of which he hath complained to me; and he imputes this loss to the destruction of the fry, and hath often threatened to prosecute your fishermen'.[444] Though it is unknown which brother fished for salmon, it was a frequent practice for him, other potential fish which he could have caught include eel, flounder, cod, sole, plaice, lamprey, perch, carp, roach, bream, rudd, gudgeon, and pike.[445]

At Little Moreton, there is evidence that Philip Moreton also fished based on his account book. On 2 February 1656, Philip paid 5d 'for 3 pike hookes for my owne use', along with 66 yards of 'pike line for my use' at 10d. Seven days later, on 9 February, he paid 2d for an additional pike hook. Buying this additional hook so closely afterwards might have been the result of a line snapping. The following month, on 22 March, he paid 2d again – though this time for two hooks. On all three of these occasions, there is a record of paying someone to go Congleton market, the nearest town to the hall, 4 miles north-east of the property, each time paying him 1d for doing so.[446]

That Philip purchased line and hooks specifically designed for pike makes his intended catch clear. Presumably, the pike hooks were double or triple-hooked as they are today, and this is

---

[442] 920 NOR 2/537.
[443] Christopher K. Currie, 'The Early History of the Carp and Its Economic Significance in England', *The Agricultural History Review*, 39:2 (1991), p. 103.
[444] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 1/37.
[445] K. W. Wilson, B. J. D'Arcy, S. Taylor, 'The Return of Fish to the Mersey Estuary', *Journal of Fish Biology*, 33: Supplement A (1988), p. 237.
[446] Add MS 33941, ff. 39, 41.

how they were depicted in fishing guides of the time.[447] Fishing guides also note that frogs were a favourite bait for pikes; this is fitting for possible evidence of the wildlife surrounded Little Moreton Hall.[448] On 6 March 1649, a parcel of land close to the hall called the 'Frogge poole' was sold to Thomas Cartwright of 'the Hall of Lee', by Philip's father and brother, suggesting that the lands surrounding Little Moreton would have provided the ideal bait for Philip's fishing endeavours.[449]

With surviving material providing evidence of bream, carp, perch, pike, tench, and salmon, the addition of the details that fishing guides provide helps to understand when in the year and how the fishermen from the three families might have fished. For carp and tench, early fishing was recommended, from sunrise till around eight o'clock and from four o'clock in the afternoon till night. For tench in particular, the mornings and evenings of June, July and August were best, or at night in any still parts of a river. The best time to catch pike was in clear waters after what Cox oxymoronically describes as a 'gentle gale' in the summer and autumn months, though they would take bait all day in winter, whereas at the beginning and end of spring would be most responsive in the morning and late evening. Perch took bait when the weather was cool and overcast, but in particular, from eight till ten o'clock in the morning and from three till six o'clock in the afternoon. Salmon were best caught after three o'clock in the afternoon in the months between May and August.[450] From Cox's recommendations, we gain a sense of when the anglers at the three estates may have fished, and Philip Moreton's choice to catch pike in the last month of winter aligns with this.

For Robert Burton, fishing, whether a successful trip or not, provided another means of easing melancholy:

> wholesome walke to the brooke side, pleasant shade, by the sweet silver streams, he heares melodious harmony of birds, he sees the swannes, herons, duckes, waterhens, cootes &c. and many other fowle with their brood, which he thinketh better then the noyse of hounds, or blast of hornes, and all the sport that they can make …[451]

Burton's praise of the visual and auditory pleasures that came with travelling and waiting at a fishing spot is strikingly similar to Cox's belief that waking up early for the hunt was itself

[447] Leonard Mascall, *A Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line* (London: 1590; rpr. London: 1884), pp. 22-23.
[448] Mascall, *A Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line*, pp. 11-12. Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, IV, 3rd ed., p. 49.
[449] DBW/L/A/1.
[450] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, IV, 3rd e., pp. 25, 49, 50, 56, 60.
[451] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 342.

pleasurable due to the sights this provided. The people of early modern England understood that being in nature, particularly in quiet, serene spaces, regardless of the reason for being there, was beneficial to health and was time well spent.

Izaak Walton's (1593-1683) fishing treatise, *The Complete Angler* (1653), is perhaps the most famous early modern book on the subject and has gone through hundreds of editions. Part of the book's enduring popularity is not just its advice but the virtues Walton attributed to angling. Walton supported the Crown in the 1640s during the Civil Wars, and thus, commentators have seen the publication *The Complete Angler* during the Commonwealth as symbolic of the author's need to seek peace and solitude in what would have been a turbulent time for monarchists. Like Bullein's *The Government of Health*, written in the style of a conversation, *The Complete Angler* is a dialogue between men who practised different recreations: Piscator (fisherman) and Viator (traveller). The second edition, published in 1655, changed Viator to Venator (hunter) and included a third character: Auceps (falconer).[452] Within the context of when *The Complete Angler* was written, and its author's beliefs, the work provides an insight of how fishing might have been seen as a mental respite during a time of civil war.

Piscator, or rather Walton, discusses the numerous virtues and benefits to be found in fishing. As with hunting or hawking treatises, he notes its long lineage, going as far back as biblical times, as Adam's son Seth taught his own sons how to fish, and also makes note of the mention of fish-hooks in the Book of Job.[453] He notes that four of the twelve apostles, Peter, Andrew, James, and John, were fishermen, and part of the reason for them being appointed was that 'the hearts of such men by nature were fitted for contemplation and quietness; men of mild, and sweet, and peaceable spirits, as indeed most anglers are'.[454] Here, Walton justifies fishing as a recreation based on Christianity; a connectedness to God was to be always sought after, and to emulate four of the apostles was to, in turn, be favoured by God.

Walton provides a more contemporaneous example of the benefits of fishing on wellbeing by referring to the life of Alexander Nowell (*c.*1516/17-1602), who had served as the dean of St Pauls. Walton claims that Nowell lived to the age of 95, and while this was incorrect, as he actually died aged 85, this was still an achievement in the period. Walton attributed part of Nowell's longevity to his fishing habits, which kept his senses attuned, not losing his eyesight

[452] Jessica Martin, 'Walton, Izaak (1593-1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2013), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28653> [Accessed 19 December 2021].
[453] Izaak Walton, Charles Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, 5th edition (1676, repr. London: 1859), pp. 28-29.
[454] Walton, Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, 5th edition, p. 37.

or hearing, nor his memory or thinking abilities.[455] Aside from Nowell, Walton also cited the opinion of Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), diplomat, author, and Provost of Eton College, who had been his friend and fishing companion. Walton claimed that Wotton thought angling was 'an employment for his idle time, which was then not idly spent … after tedious study, a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diverter of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness' and that it 'begat habits of peace and patience in those that professed and practised it.'[456] Fishing then, was understood be beneficial to wellbeing as it was a chance to rest from work, and to restore positive feelings, whilst also an opportunity to develop positive traits such as patience. The honing of patience was particularly required for catching fish like carp, as Cox attested to, 'He that intends to Angle for a Carp, must arm himself with a world of Patience, by reason of the extraordinary subtlety and policy of that Fish'.[457] However, the development of patience went beyond fishing, and would have been seen as a virtuous trait in all parts of life.

Walton also included a poem by the poet John Chalkhill (*c.*1595-1642) in *The Complete Angler*, below being the first part of the work:

O the gallant fisher's life,

It is the best of any!

'Tis full of pleasure, void of strife,

And 'tis beloved by many:

Other joys Are but toys;

Only this Lawful is;

For our skill

Breeds no ill.

But content and pleasure.[458]

From the poem, part of the pleasure in fishing comes from the supposed harmlessness of the act, that it is 'void of strife', and that it 'Breeds no ill', sentiments similar to Burton's praise in that it allowed for peace. Unlike the other forms of recreation discussed so far, fishing offered different benefits in the forms of patience and enjoyment of quietness, and was often justified

[455] Walton, Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, 5th edition, pp. 40-41.
[456] Walton, Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, 5th edition, p. 41.
[457] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, IV, 3rd ed., p. 36.
[458] Walton, Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, 5th ed., p. 191.

in contrast to other activities which the gentry could partake in which might have stirred anger, fights, or monetary loss. Regarding the halls, for a family member like Philip Moreton, who was in charge of looking after the Little Moreton Hall in a period of financial decline, his fishing trips to catch pike may have served as a mental respite from his familial duties. Vale similarly provides an example of Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who, despite his high position in society (or perhaps because of it), found peace and recreation in fishing.[459] These notions of fishing being a recreation which promoted relaxation, have been found recently by Pablo Pita et al. in monitoring the stress levels of fishermen, finding that levels of stress were reduced as a result of their hobby.[460]

Bowls

The three estates' greenspaces were not all-encompassing in terms of recreational activities. In some instances, such as when members of the Norris family wished to play lawn bowls, they would need to travel further afield. On 25 June 1703, Thomas Johnson (1664-1729) wrote to Richard Norris (the same Richard in Thomas Patten's letter) from Liverpool, mentioning that the latter's brother, likely Edward Norris II, had joined him for two days during which they played bowls. Thomas told him how they had:

> bold very hard both the dayes and not leess the latter day when we beat Topping Bowlers we wished hartily for you, you would have been well pleased to have seen Cousin Maudesly drible out his 14 to 12 and often his 2 and 6 to [illegible] – those that winne may laugh but not always so with me.[461]

It is clear from Thomas's letter that Richard must have played bowls too. In a later letter to Richard sent by his brother Edward II, dated 1 August 1704, he recalled spending the week with their friend Sir Thomas Aston (1666-1725), having planned to spend that afternoon bowling in Liverpool, but rain prevented this from happening.[462] The location of the bowling green may have been at Mount Pleasant, as one is known to have existed there historically; at the time, the area was part of the suburbs of Liverpool but is now deep within the city centre. There was also a public house there as early as 1753 called the Old Bowling Green, perhaps signifying it as the property that housed the green, or its former site.[463] From these letters it is

---

[459] Marcia Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations*, p. 53.
[460] Pablo Pita, et al., 'Recreational Fishing, Health and Well-being: Findings from a cross-sectional Survey', *Ecosystems and People*, 18:1 (2022), pp. 534-537.
[461] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 1/250.
[462] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 1/273.
[463] Edward Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, II (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1870), pp. 307, 377.

clear that bowls would have been a chance for the Norrises to catch up with friends and family, and experience the benefits that came with socialising.

Bowling was a popular activity amongst both the rich and poor. Alleys were built at some royal estates, for example at Whitehall, where it was commissioned by Henry VIII.[464] Not all gentry families could afford to build and maintain bowling greens, and thus, in the sixteenth century, semi-public bowling greens emerged. By the seventeenth century, licences to own bowling greens were found amongst merchants, yeomen, and tavern and inn owners – which was likely the case with the Mount Pleasant bowling green.[465]

Sim, whilst emphasising how the sport was popular, was sceptical of how likely it kept early modern bodies fit, however, contemporary literature disproves this.[466] Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth* includes the importance of exercise, mentioning that 'for a great man necessary it is for to pass his time with bowls in an alley.'[467] Beyond his work focusing on the management of gentry estates, Gervase Markham also wrote *The Country Contentments: Or, The Husbandmans Recreations*, noting that despite bowling's negative reputation for the drinking, gambling, and fighting associated with it, admitted that 'exercised with moderation, is even of Physitions themselves held exceeding wholesome, and hath beene prescribed for a recreation to great Persons'.[468] Of these 'great Persons' who enjoyed it, Charles I said to his bowling companion Richard Shute that bowls was a good distraction from the duties of the crown; likewise, lower down in society, for the Norrises, it may have been a chance for them to get away from their daily burdens and worries.[469] Heasim Sul has found frequent recommendations by physicians to play bowls in spa towns, visited by the weak and infirm in hopes of recovering through the spas' special waters. Bowls was recommended because it required gentle, though precise, movement of various parts of the body, and was considered an exercise perfect for those in recovery. Another benefit, as alluded to in both Thomas Johnson and Edward Norris II's letters, is that bowls was a bonding exercise which could be carried out

[464] Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations*, p. 108.
[465] Angela Schattner, ''For the Recreation of Gentlemen and Other Fit Persons of the Better Sort': Tennis Courts and Bowling Greens as Early Leisure Venues in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century London and Bath', *Sport in History*, 34:2 (2014), pp. 202-203.
[466] Sim, *Pleasure & Pastimes in Tudor England*, p. 165.
[467] Boorde, *Dyetary of Helth*, p. 166.
[468] Gervase Markham, *The Country Contentments: Or, The Husbandmans Recreations*, 4th edition (London: John Harison, 1631), p. 57.
[469] James Williams, 'Sport and the Elite in Early Modern England', *Sport in History*, 28:3 (2008), p. 394.

amongst friends, or as Sul notes in spa town bowling alleys, the chance to form new ones – it was therefore mentally rewarding also.[470]

The Risks of Leisure

Exercise and leisure activities were broadly beneficial, but they had to be approached with an element of caution. Too much exercise was seen as dangerous as it could lead to fatigue, weakening the spirits rather than reinvigorating them. Furthermore, the excess heat generated from too much exercise was believed to dry up the inner humidity of the body, which was seen as a principal cause of ageing.[471]

Moral and spiritual caution was also to be taken. To enjoy these pastimes too much could become sinful, and moderation was advised. Vale provides the example of Henry Percy (1564-1632), ninth Earl of Northumberland, who amassed debts of £17,000, which included hounds, horses, cards, apparel, mistresses, and most relevantly for this chapter, hawks.[472] Similarly, bowling and tennis were viewed with disdain by authorities and moralists, as bowling and tennis courts could be scenes of drunkenness, fighting, and gambling.[473] Cox, for all the praise he gave of hunting in his guide on the matter, also stressed the importance of moderation:

> there is especial need to hold a strict Rein over our affections, that this Pleasure, which is allowable in its season, may not intrench upon other Domestical affairs. There is great danger lest we be transported with this Pastime, and so our selves grow Wild, haunting the woods till we resemble the Beasts which are Citizens of them; and by continual conversation with Dogs, become altogether addicted to Slaughter and Carnage, which is wholly dishonourable, being a servile employment.[474]

Here, we see the fear that too much hunting, while seen as a noble pastime befitting a gentleman, if carried out too much, was believed to revert man into a state of being no better than the animals they hunted.

Conclusion

The recreational activities that members of the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families pursued would have had many positive effects on their wellbeing; these benefits can be identified using contemporary understandings found within health, gardening, and sporting books. As stated

[470] Heasim Sul, 'The Tubs of Pleasure: Tudor-Stuart Spas', *The International Journal of the History of Sports*, 16:1 (1999), pp. 148-158.
[471] Cavallo, Storey, 'Healthy, 'Decorous' and Pleasant Exercise', p. 167.
[472] Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations*, pp. 3-4.
[473] Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations*, p. 109.
[474] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, p. 3.

initially, idleness was a state which was attributed to the gentry due to their labour-free lifestyles, and so, in part, the pastimes discussed here would have been a way of mitigating any ill health which may have arisen from this. However, beyond physical improvements to health, the chapter has also demonstrated that there was a clear understanding of the mental benefits these activities brought. Authors like Nicholas Cox, Ralph Austen, and Izaak Walton often listed a broad range of benefits regarding their chosen topics.

The most physically demanding of pastimes, the likes of hunting, improved physical health through strengthening the body, whilst sweating allowed for the purge of ill vapours and waste material. In contrast to hunting, walking and gardening provided a lighter form of exercise that would have been ideal for gentlewomen or retired men of gentry estates. Pursuing recreational pastimes could also instil good habits; hunting encouraged the gentry to rise early and be tired enough to sleep at the end of the day, whilst fishing taught the importance of patience. The keeping of horses and hawks allowed the gentry to develop a close co-existence with nature, forging positive relationships with the animals they owned. Many of these activities could be enjoyed in the company of friends, and regardless of a successful hunt, or bowling match, good company would revitalise the spirits. The benefits of these recreations were often boosted by their greenspace setting; hunting and fishing allowed the gentry to observe the beauty of the surrounding landscape, whilst walking outdoors was seen as more beneficial than walking inside or in developed areas because of the access to fresh air.

Chapter 3: Spiritual Wellbeing

Introduction

This chapter investigates how early modern greenspaces supported the spiritual wellbeing of the gentry families of Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke, arguing that they were settings that provided contemporaries with the opportunity to contemplate and reinforce their religious convictions. The chapter begins by examining the role that gardens played in Christianity more broadly, predominately through the Garden of Eden, and how theologians understood gardens and gardening as spiritually fulfilling. Early modern literature from authors previously addressed, such as Ralph Austen and William Lawson, are discussed, demonstrating how garden writers understood their trade as having spiritual benefits. Both Protestant and Catholic texts are considered, with the latter emphasising the importance of subtle, symbolic worship within gardens, at a time when Catholics, under threat of persecution, would have needed to redeveloped their ideas of spiritual support through new means.

After establishing these ideas, the rest of the chapter looks at the three case studies and how spiritual meanings may have been drawn from their greenspaces. Informed by contemporary literature and the practices of other gentry families, consideration is first given to the religious symbolism of the flowers that may have been planted at the estates, with emphasis on Speke Hall's formal garden. Additionally, Speke's yew trees are suggested to have provided the Norrises comfort as a symbol of their conviction to Catholicism. The role greenspaces played as an ideal setting for mediation is also considered, drawing from countless examples of members of the gentry. Beyond gardens, the wider landscape of rivers and woodlands are also touched on, used by Catholic families to continue devotional practices through covertly transporting texts and priests. Lastly, interior architecture and paintings within the three halls themselves is examined, demonstrating how representations of greenspaces within the halls served as important spiritual lessons, or reminders of their faith for the families of gentry households.

Christianity and Gardens

Gardens have always had a strong connection to religion, not just in Christianity, but in all of the world's major religions Paradise is depicted as a garden.[475] The word Paradise itself is Greek and originated from an older Persian word meaning 'an enclosed park or garden', further

[475] Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 204.

solidifying the connection societies have built between the two words.[476] Gardens as a setting are particularly important in Christianity, as the Garden of Eden was where the first man and woman, Adam and Eve, came into being. After creating the Garden of Eden, God tasked Adam to 'work it and take care of it', resulting in gardening being understood as a means of feeling closer to God.[477] As Tom Turner has argued, gardens represented one of the 'purest and most divine activities open to man, it was also a way of recreating the paradise which man had once shared with God'.[478] Eden also represented God's sole attempt to make such a space on earth and, as Andrew Cunningham states, it meant that arguably all subsequent attempts to create gardens have been an emulation of 'that half-remembered half imagined Paradise, and to remove God's curse from the ground.'[479] In the early modern period, there was also a very particular effort to address the belief that the Garden of Eden had contained every plant imaginable, but that since the Fall they had been out of reach to man. This effort involved the creation of the botanical gardens of the Renaissance period, which, with the discovery of the New World, made attempts at recapturing Eden and cataloguing all flora seem possible.[480]

One of the most compelling theological arguments for the role of the garden in Christendom came from St Augustine of Hippo (345-430), in his *De Genesi ad litteram* (*c.*393-4), or *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, who deemed gardening as *exhilaratio voluntatis*, the exhilaration of the will. Participation in gardening was a joyful celebration of God's creativity, and thus beneficial towards wellbeing.[481] Other notable theologians similarly sanctified human labour, such as St Basil (330-79), Gregory of Nazianzus (329-90), St Ambrose (339-97), and the Venerable Bede (*c.*673-735).[482] Despite this spiritual understanding of gardening, gardens were remarkably devoid of the usual religious iconography (such as the Cross), and outwardly appearances may have seemed more pagan than Christian, with statues devoted to myths and antiquity, on display.[483] Instead, Christian symbolism lay in the natural surroundings of

---

[476] Andrew Cunningham, 'The Culture of Gardens', in N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary (eds.) *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 39.
[477] Genesis 2:15 (New International Version).
[478] Tom Turner, *English Garden Design: History and Styles since 1650* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1986), p. 9.
[479] Cunningham, 'The Culture of Gardens', p. 38.
[480] Luke Morgan, 'Early Modern Edens: The Landscape and Language of Paradise', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 27:2 (2007), pp. 142, 144.
[481] Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1979), p. 37; George Ovitt, Jr., 'The Cultural Context of Western Technology: Early Christian Attitudes toward Manual Labor', *Technology and Culture*, 27:3 (1986), p. 488.
[482] Ovitt, Jr., 'The Cultural Context of Western Technology', p. 487.
[483] Paula Henderson, 'Clinging to the Past: Medievalism in the English 'Renaissance' Garden', *Renaissance Studies*, 25:1 (2011), p. 63; Bartos, 'The Spirituall Orchard', p. 191.

greenspaces – trees, flowers, fruits, water – which stood as evidence of God's creation. This focus on the natural did, however, have a very specific point, as Luke Morgan states:

> an insufficiently acknowledged objective of Renaissance landscape design was to reveal the divine, that is to say, inherent geometrical order of the natural world … God's Creation, is, indeed must be, inherently rational and constructed on geometrical principles. Landscape design of the period thus sought to *reveal*, not impose, nature's concealed order.[484]

Morgan's reference to 'geometrical order' no doubt relates to the popular knot gardens of the time, but also alludes to neatly arranged plantings, enclosure within walls and flowerbeds, and the maintenance of tidy gardens. Thus, the very act of creating gardens was a means of trying to understand the workings of God.

A second influence on early modern gardens associated with religion and faith was the legacy of medieval monastic gardens. Members of religious communities, both male and female, were some of the first to cultivate fruit trees and kitchen gardens, whilst also growing herbs to treat sickness and care for their own ill and infirm, as well as those outside their community.[485] Members of Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries, for example, all tended gardens that needed to be maintained as both an emulation of the Garden of Eden and to provide a space to reflect on humanity's fallen state.[486]

Religion and Gardens in Early Modern Literature

Early modern gardening manuals – key to understanding the use and form of the greenspaces of the three case studies – included religious discussions on various aspects of horticulture and estate management, informing their gentry readership of the spiritual benefits and parallels which could be drawn from these activities. The works of Ralph Austen are particularly noteworthy in this regard because he believed horticulture could make model Christians. Austen, a nurseryman hailing from a yeoman family in Leek, Staffordshire, was a promoter of Francis Bacon's scientific method, not accepting other gardening authors' recommendations until he had tested them himself. He settled in Oxford around 1646, by which time he was a devout Puritan seeking social change,

---

[484] Luke Morgan, 'Design', in Elizabeth Hyde (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 19.
[485] Peregrin Horden, 'Sickness and Healing', in Bernice M. Kaczynski (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 403-417.
[486] Willes, *The Making of the English Garden*, p. 45; John Prest, *The Garden of Eden: The Botanic Garden and the Re-Creation of Paradise* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 21; Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles"', p. 6.

believing horticulture to be the key to bringing about Heaven on earth. During his time in Oxford, Austen wrote the horticultural guide *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, best summarised by James Turner as a 'revolutionary manifesto and a spiritual autobiography as it is a technical handbook' due to the insertion of his strong Puritanical beliefs into the text.[487]

The early pages of Austen's *Treatise* list eight divine arguments and four humane arguments as to the value of planting.[488] The first divine argument is taken from Genesis 2.15, that tending to the Garden of Eden was Adam's first role, which leads Austen to declare, much in line with St Augustine, that gardening 'as it is ancient, so it is honourable'.[489] Austen cites his second argument from Genesis 1.29, that while humanity was in perfect condition in the Garden, Adam received his first sustenance through the fruits of the trees which surrounded him. Austen places spiritual importance on fruits because, just as gardening was Adam's first role, Eden's orchards provided him his first meal.[490]Austen's other religious arguments for gardens referred to additional biblical figures. He mentioned that Abraham planted an orchard in Beersheba, that Solomon also planted many, and that the 'Mirror of Chastity' – Susanna – walked in her husband's garden daily. Perhaps most importantly, taken from John 18.2, Austen notes that Christ himself walked in a garden with his disciples.[491] While Austen argued that it was spiritually rewarding to toil like Adam in the garden, here he praised gardens because biblical figures used them for recreational purposes, and were thus beneficial to spend time in. Austen's fifth and sixth religious arguments refer to how, when God was displeased, he took away the ability to grow plants, while when he was pleased, he granted this ability, again citing examples from the Bible.[492]

The Spirituall Use of an Orchard, or Garden of Fruit-Trees, part of the same treatise, reiterated Austen's belief in gardens as a spiritual wellspring. The second edition of the book, published in 1657, provided one hundred religious 'observations' of how gardening was comparable to the religiosity of man. The sixth observation compared God's presence to man, with that of the sun for trees, claiming God to be the 'efficient cause of motion,

[487] For a more detailed exploration of the life of Austen, see, James G. Turner, 'Austen, Ralph (*c.* 1612–1676)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/905> [Accessed 24 September 2020].
[488] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., pp. 12-37.
[489] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 12.
[490] Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd ed., p. 12.
[491] Austen, *Treatise of Fruit Trees*, 2nd ed., pp. 13-14.
[492] Austen, *Treatise of Fruit Trees*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17.

and growth in all spiritual fruit-trees', and that without God's light there was no spiritual growth, just as trees do not grow in winter for lack of sunlight, taking this from Psalm 84:11, 'The Lord is a Sun unto his people', God's presence provided 'motion and growth, budding, blossoming, and bearing fruit'.[493] With this observation, Austen directly linked faith in God as an essential component to living a successful, fulfilling life in the early modern period, a view likely shared by all three families of this study, irrespective of their different denominations.

The popularity of Austen's work meant that the second edition saw a dramatic expansion of the second part of the book from 41 pages to 208, going from twenty religious observations to a hundred. This resulted in *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard* surpassing the length of the second edition of *A Treatise of Fruit Trees*, which had only grown from 97 to 140 pages, despite it being previously the larger, and core, part of the work.[494] From this we can infer that Austen was not alone in his Puritan beliefs, and his audience must have agreed that the analogies he drew from gardening corresponded with the teachings of God, who he so often compared to a husbandryman.[495] However, by the time of the Restoration in 1660, such radical writing was discouraged. This evident in the third edition of the work in 1665. The third edition sees the *Spirituall Use of an Orchard* omitted from *A Treatise of Fruit Trees*, and the work's earlier dedication to Samual Hartlib (*c.*1600-62), who was both a promoter of Commonwealth and deceased by that point, was instead replaced by an address to Robert Boyle, who was involved with the Royal Society which was instead a promoter of the Restoration Settlement.[496] Within this small timeframe we see how the intensions of horticultural writers could be affected by political change, which again emphasises the importance of understanding these factors when considering the choices made in garden designs.

Other horticultural writers incorporated religious ideas into their gardening guides. The gardener and clergyman William Lawson's *A New Orchard and Garden* was the first text to define the roles of the owner of the garden, the professional gardener, and the labourers who built and tended it. This was a development from Lawson's literary predecessors, such as Thomas Hyll and Gervase Markham, who were vague on the specific tasks and

---

[493] Austen, *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard*, 2nd ed., pp. 13-17.
[494] Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975), p. 508.
[495] Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s', pp. 140-141.
[496] Bellamy, *The Language of Fruit*, p. 49.

roles expected of those who worked on an estate's greenspaces.[497] The main text of *A New Orchard and Garden* opens by outlining what traits a gardener should have:

> Whosoever disereth and indevoureth to have a pleasant and profitable Orchard, must (if he be able) provide himselfe of a religious, honest, skillful in that faculty, and therewithal painfull. By religious, I mean (because many think religion but a fashion or custome to goe to Church) maintaining, and cherishing things religious: as Schooles of learning, Churches, Tythes, Church goods and rights, and above all things, Gods word, and the preachers thereof, so much as he is able, practising prayers, comfortable conference, mutuall instruction to edifie, alms, and other works of charity, and all out good conscience.[498]

This passage provides an insight into the qualities expected of the early modern gardener. When hiring a gardener today, the first thing that we might consider is their skills in the trade, but for Lawson this is listed third. Instead, Lawson's first determinant was a gardener's faith, followed by their honesty; this demonstrates the importance of cultural factors such as religion when thinking of early modern greenspaces. In the early modern household, its head was expected to maintain a pious atmosphere in their house and family, the notion of 'family' extending to the servants and apprentices of the household.[499] By hiring a gardener, the head of the household allowed someone to enter not just the physical grounds of the house, but also their spiritual circle, explaining why it was important to ensure that this new member was a good Christian, so as not to disrupt the family's spiritual wellbeing.

Lawson, like Austen, identified a commonality between the conditions of plants and man. In the second chapter of his book, titled 'Of the right dressing of Trees', Lawson compares the pruning of trees with the need for man to keep in spiritual check, to stay in line with religious teachings: 'Man himself left to himselfe, growes from his heavenly and spirituall generation, and becometh beastly, yea devilish to his own kind, unless he be regenerate.'[500] Once again, gardens and spirituality serve here as allegories for each other, this time, as Liz Bellamy has pointed out, for spiritual rejuvenation.[501] Such observations are no doubt expected from a clergyman like Lawson, but it shows that gardens were not detached from the rest of everyday life, and could serve as important lessons for life beyond greenspaces. The popular reception of this work is hard to determine, though that it reached over eight

---

[497] Jennifer Munroe 'Gender, Class, and the Art of Gardening', *Prose Studies*, 28:2 (2006), p. 201.
[498] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 1.
[499] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 93.
[500] Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th ed., p. 31.
[501] Bellamy, *The Language of Fruit*, p. 51.

editions, suggesting it may have been even more popular than Austen's work, and it that informed and reflected contemporary thought towards spirituality and greenspaces.

The first section of John Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole* is devoted to organising the pleasure garden and what plants should be placed therein. This discussion dominates the book, covering 459 pages in a work 612 pages long. The sections of the kitchen garden and orchards are meagre in comparison, at 69 and 77 pages, respectively. These page lengths reveal the importance that Parkinson placed on the pleasure of the garden and its contents, his being one of the first texts of the period to swap this emphasis. Having a garden that did not primarily cater to health or the kitchen may have been viewed as an idolatrous luxury.[502] However, Parkinson argued that because God had given these plants to Adam in pleasant forms, they should not be shunned, 'God planted a Garden for [Adam] to live in … which he stored with the best and choysest Herbes and Fruits the earth could produce, that he might have not onely for necesitie whereon to feed, but for pleasure also'.[503] Because the gardens had always been intended to bring pleasure and not just sustenance, enjoyment of them needed no justification.[504] In this regard, gardens had spiritual value because they demonstrated the beauty of God's creation.

The book's front cover (Figure 25) also alludes to the Garden of Eden. While the title can be translated to *Paradise in the sun, Paradise on Earth*, Jim Bartos suggests the book's title is a pun, *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris* or Park-in-Sun's terrestrial paradise.[505] This reinforces the aforementioned sense of nostalgia, or longing to reclaim Eden, that garden designers sought to encourage, which gave garden owners the chance to have a piece of land alluding to a time before the First Sin, or at the very least an attempt to emulate a time when humanity was in closer contact with God. The frontispiece also includes Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden surrounded by a variety of different and geographically varied plants. All of the imagery on the frontispiece is being surveyed from above by the Tetragrammaton – God himself – as the Sun providing light to the Garden.

[502] Taverner, *Certaine Experiments concerning Fish and Fruite*, p. 1.
[503] Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, Epistle.
[504] Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, p. 50.
[505] Bartos, 'The Spirituall Orchard', p. 180.

LETTICE MORRIS

PARADISI IN SOLE
Paradisus Terrestris.
or
A Garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers which our English ayre will permitt to be noursed vp:
with
A Kitchen garden of all manner of herbes, rootes, & fruites, for meate or sause vsed with vs,
and
An Orchard of all sorte of fruitbearing Trees and shrubbes fit for our Land
together
With the right orderinge planting & preserving of them and their uses & vertues
Collected by John Parkinson
Apothecary of London
1629

Figure 24: Coloured cover page of John Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris (1629).

Catholic-authored gardening treatises remain scarce compared to Protestant examples. However, Susan Cogan's recent examination of Hugh Hall (*c.*1520s-90s)'s *A Priestes Discourse of Gardeninge applied to a Spirituall Understanding*, revealed the author's belief, as a Catholic priest and gardener, that gardening provided the opportunity for spiritual reflection.[506] Included in the text are sketches of gardening tools which Hall would have used as part of his employment as a gardener, which he inscribes with religious meaning; a waterpot which released water to 'teach the ignorant' and 'correct the synner', as well as garden beds,

[506] Susan M. Cogan, 'Gardens, Religion and Clerical By-Employments: the dual careers of Hugh Hall, Priest-gardener of the West Midlands', *British Catholic History*, 36:1 (2022), p. 54.

divided into virtuous compartments such as love and fidelity.[507] For Hall, gardening was a spiritually charged activity, reflecting wider-contemporary understandings that gardening drew people closer to God.[508]

Another Catholic text that considered the spiritual importance of greenspaces was *A Short Rule of Good Life*, written by Jesuit priest Robert Southwell (1561-95) for Anne Howard, the Countess of Arundel, sometime after 1589. Southwell acted as the Countess's private chaplain and confessor, the book was likely intended to provide spiritual comfort, as her husband, Philip Howard, had been impeached due to his recusancy.[509] With traditional forms of Catholic worship and iconography now banned, *A Short Rule* offered its readers ways of interpreting the domestic spaces of their households as places for devotion that Protestants would not detect.[510] In a section titled 'Another exercise in the devotion to Saints', Southwell suggested the inclusion of chairs in the home which would not be sat on by members of the household or guests, instead being understood as seats belonging to specific saints, acting as a shrine symbolic of their presence in the family's life.[511] Southwell writes that such practices had a positive effect on his spiritual wellbeing:

> to keep my minde continually attentive in goodness … having in every roome settled several Saints, and in minde consercrated the same unto them, and decked it with such furniture as it fitte for such an inhabitant, the same house will bee to me in a maner a Paradise … to helpe my memory, and to avoid confusion[512]

For Southwell, Catholic families would have to develop new conceptualisations of devotion through the immediacy of their homes. As part of this strategy for inconspicuous faith, Southwell briefly considered the use of gentry greenspaces too, 'the wallkes, gardens, and orchards about the house may I doe the same: and so make my walkes as it were short pilgrimages to visit such saints as are patrones of the place I go unto.'[513] Southwell demonstrates how Catholic families such as the Hesketh and Norrises could use their gardens as sites for spiritual contemplation without arousing suspicion. Everyday activities in the garden, such as walking, would become activities that not only provided the gentry exercise or

[507] Willes, *The Making of the English Garden*, p. 46.
[508] Cogan, 'Gardens, Religion and Clerical By-Employments', p. 36.
[509] Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Southwell, Robert (1561-1595)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26064> [Accessed 26 November 2023].
[510] McClain, 'Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine', p. 384.
[511] McClain, 'Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine', pp. 384-385.
[512] Robert Southwell, *A Short Rule of Good Life* (St Omer: John Heigham, 1622), pp. 162-163.
[513] Southwell, *A Short Rule of Good Life*, p. 165.

sensory benefits of their surroundings, but a safe space to consider their faith. The conspicuousness of such practices provided other forms of wellbeing, bodily, mental, and financial, in that they preserved Catholics from the threat of punishment by authorities.

The Catholic emblem book, *Partheneia Scara, or the Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes* by the Jesuit priest Henry Hawkins (1577-1646), first published in 1633, is recognised as one of the most important English emblem books of the seventeenth century.[514] Hawkins had come from a family with strong Catholic convictions, with his sisters, nephews and nieces taking up orders on the continent, whilst his older brother, Thomas, harboured priests within his home.[515] Hawkins's book presented a means for Catholic families to draw spiritual comfort from the features of their gardens, and more generally, seventeenth-century notions of *mundus sybolicus* or *liber naturae*.[516] On the act of drawing spiritual meaning from gardens, Hawkins suggested that they must 'not to be rashly lookt upon, or perfunctoriously to be slighted over' but instead to be examined 'at first thereon with a light regard, then to reflect upon it with a better heed, to find some gentle mysteries or conceipt upon it, to some use or other; and then liking it better, to review the same againe, and so to make a Survey thereupon to the same use.'[517] For Hawkings, gardens were spaces which Catholics should spend time in and return to at various points to further develop conceptualisations of their faith. Likely the cyclical nature of gardens and orchards as settings of decay and regrowth throughout the seasons aided in this need to dwell and reformulate one's understandings.

Based on contemporary literature, spiritual and gardening texts drew heavily from one another, indicating how tied greenspaces were to religion in the early modern period. Such books were intended for the families of this study, and whilst Catholic texts specifically focus on the need for covert devotion, the spiritual lessons Protestant authors such as Lawson and Austen found within greenspaces; ideas that gardening was a spiritual just exercise, and one that would allow people to revert to a prelapsarian state for a short while, would have been something appreciated by all.

---

[514] Beverly Seaton, 'Towards a Historical Semiotics of Literary Flower Personification', *Poetics Today*, 10:4 (1989), p. 689; Wolfgang Lottes, 'Henry Hawkins and the *Partheneia Sacra*', *The Review of English Studies*, 26:102, (1975) p. 144.
[515] Lottes, 'Henry Hawkins and the *Partheneia Sacra*', p. 145.
[516] Heinrich F. Plett, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), p. 238
[517] Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra or The Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes* (Rouen: John Cousturier, 1633), pp. 2-3.

Spirituality in the Estates' Greenspaces

Symbolism of Flowers

Flowers were one of the most symbolic aspects of the early modern garden, often planted with their religious connotations in mind. While it is unknown what flowers were planted at Speke Hall, Sir William Norris IV commissioned a new garden at his home in the 1620s, with its placement next to the parlour room suggesting that this would have been the most ornate part of the estate's greenspace, and the most likely to contain flowers. This garden was likely a continuation of the external developments of the estate that were commenced by his parents, Edward I and Margaret Norris, with their construction of a sandstone gateway at the property's south entrance in 1605 (Figure 26). William IV himself, with his wife Eleanor, added to this in 1612 by building a porch connecting the great parlour to what is now the rose garden (Figure 27).[518]

Figure 25: Sandstone gateway built by Edward I and Margaret Norris, dated 1605.

[518] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 7; National Trust, *Speke Hall*, p. 51.

Figure 26: Rose garden with Sir William IV and Eleanor Norris's porch leading to the great parlour, dated 1612.

William IV's mother, Margaret, could have been the driving force behind spiritually-informed changes at Speke in the early seventeenth century. Her father, Robert Smallwood (*d.*1559), was a wealthy ale brewer who twice served as a Member of Parliament in Westminster in 1545 and 1553. He also acted as churchwarden for St Margaret's Church at Westminster between 1540-42.[519] During the Protestant reign of Edward VI, St Margaret's was stripped of its overtly Catholic elements and church goods were sold off to its parochial members; this included Robert Smallwood, who purchased the stones from a cross and altar from the church in 1550. J. F. Merrit argues that this purchase was made in order to preserve these items like relics. Four years later, during the reign of Mary I, the Marian Restoration meant that those items were moved from Smallwood's house and restored to the church.[520] The actions of Margaret's father in preserving Catholic church goods for their eventual restoration may have provided her with an early lesson on the importance of keeping and maintaining Catholic spaces, as well as how easily they could be swept away by Protestant ideology. The gardens at Speke Hall may have served as a more enduring and safer means for Margaret to express her faith.

[519] J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.48.
[520] Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 48.

The 1620s was also a decade in which William Norris IV's Catholic faith was being very confidently proclaimed; he was identified as a recusant by Parliament in 1626, and accused of funding and arming the Spanish cause in Flanders.[521] Three years later, on 5 May 1629, William IV attacked a local Protestant firebrand, Edward Moore, with his sword. The incident had been the result of Moore probing Childwall's churchwardens regarding Norris's attendance at his parish church, and was brought before the Court of the Star Chamber. Subsequently, Norris was fined £1000, an eventually reduced to £250.[522] Later that year he was part of a group of some 1400-1500 Catholics who made a pilgrimage to St Winefred's Well, Holywell, Wales, for the saint's feast day on 3 November 1629.[523] William's mother and father, similarly suffered for their beliefs, having been prosecuted for recusancy in 1592-3.[524] These actions all suggest that William IV was a devout Catholic and was actively engaged in supporting and promoting his faith; the planting scheme of his gardens could have likewise symbolised this. Indeed, the architecture of Speke Hall already reflected the family's Catholic faith with the presence of priest and spy holes.

Roses would have been a likely planting choice at the three properties. Roses were ubiquitous and often used in the most pleasurable areas of a garden, as well as being laden with symbolism. As popular as they were for their aesthetic qualities, their symbolic meaning to Catholics is well documented, and medieval artistic depictions of the Virgin Mary frequently depicted her in an enclosed rose garden, the *hortus conclusus*.[525] As Prest notes, the rose was 'a flower among thorns [that] stood for the providential miracle of Mary's having sprung from and grown among the Jews, who rejected Jesus.'[526] One of the earliest comparisons made between Mary and roses came from the poet Sedulius (*c.*1400s), who compared Mary to the rose, a flower

[521] John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments*, I (London: George Thomason, 1659), p. 398 (misprinted as p. 396); Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 109.
[522] R. G. Dottie, 'John Crosse of Liverpool and Recusancy in Early Seventeenth-Century Lancashire', *Recusant History* 20:1 (1990), p. 35.
[523] Karen L. Nelson '"To informe thee alright": Translating Du Perron for English Religious Debates', in Heather Wolfe (ed.) *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 150.
[524] Roy G. Dottie, 'The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600: A Reappraisal', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 132 (1982), p. 7.
[525] Patricia Skinner, Theresa Tyers, 'Introduction: The Garden at the Intersection of Pleasure, Contemplation, and Cure', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 8; Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 'The Virgin in the Hortus conclusus: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul', *Medieval Feminist Forum: Journal of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship*, 50:1 (2014), p. 21.
[526] Prest, *The Garden of Eden*, p. 23.

that 'emerges from sharp thorns'.[527] The symbolism associated with the rose could be read as emblematic of the situation of the Catholics of Speke and Rufford. The halls' inhabitants (the rose), living in a society (the thorns) which sought to persecute them as a result of their confessional choices. Red roses symbolised the Passion, their colour representative of Jesus's blood, heart and wounds, which also symbolised the Eucharist.[528] As well as the rose, the lily was representative of the Virgin Mary's virtues, the white flowers symbolic of her purity, and was included in artistic depictions of the Annunciation and the Assumption.[529] The perceived health benefits of sweet-smelling flowers have been discussed in Chapter 1, but their fragrance held spiritual connotations too, as Heaven was believed to be sweetly fragranced.[530] As such the pleasant aromas of flowers permeating in the garden may have served as reminders of faith.

The gardens of Sir Thomas Tresham (*c.*1543-1605) at Lyvden New Beild, Northamptonshire, are a good comparative example of greenspaces being crafted as an expression of Catholicism, and allow for speculation of how Rufford and Speke's unknown plantings may have been chosen to reflect and support religious devotion. Tresham's garden stood as a testament to his strong Catholic beliefs despite years of punishment; between 1581 and 1593, Tresham faced near continuous imprisonment for recusant behaviour and for sheltering the noted Jesuit, Edmund Campion (1540-81). Under the terms of Elizabeth I's Penal Laws, Tresham was also fined a total of £8,000 for recusancy. Constant punishment for adherence to the Catholic faith saw Tresham focus on private aspirations, specifically in architecture, where his recusancy could more freely be expressed, culminating in the gardens and lodge at Lyveden, which are understood to be symbolic of the Passion and the Blessed Virgin Mary.[531] It is conceivable that the Catholic Norrises and Hesketh did something similar, using their greenspaces to reflect their devotion.

Tresham's faith was seen within his gardens' plantings and design. The most defining feature of Tresham's gardens was the moated orchard, roughly 140-metre square area, with mounts in each corner. In the centre were ten circular borders with paths in between, speculated to have

[527] Sedulius, *Paschale carmen*, II, 28. *Sedullius, the Paschal Song and Hymns*, trans. Carl P. E. Springer (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013).
[528] Yoshikawa, 'The Virgin in the Hortus conclusus', pp. 23-24.
[529] Cunningham, 'The Culture of gardens', p. 39; Prest, *The Garden of Eden*, p. 23; Skinner, Tyers, 'Introduction', p. 8.
[530] Clifford Davidson, 'Heaven's Fragrance', in Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The Iconography of Heaven* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), p. 110.
[531] Andrew Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden', *Garden History*, 36:1 (2008), p. 115.

formed a labyrinth.[532] The moat canals had willow trees planted at their sides, which were associated with the Passion due to their characteristic drooping, mournful, 'weeping' appearance. Additionally, the plantings within the circles of the labyrinth included raspberries, another plant symbolic of the Passion, while white roses were associated with the Virgin Mary.[533] The symbolic readings of Tresham's garden can be taken further, if we are to interpret the labyrinth in such a fashion, it is possible that the mount represented some form of clarity or realisation. On a physical level, mounts are an elevated position, acting as a literal representation of the 'elevation' of the mind and soul after navigating the labyrinth laden with plants representing Christ's suffering for man. To reach the mount, one had to overcome the tribulations of the scene below, and it is worth speculating if Tresham had this in mind as a representation of him overcoming his own struggles in the past and his present situation on a spiritual and mental level. However, the Passion was important for Protestant denominations too, and Little Moreton's mounts may have also been sites for contemplation, viewing some grand symbolic layout of the plants below in the garden, or to simply admire God's creations.

The gardens at Lyvden New Beild and the possibilities of similar planting and designs representative of Catholic suffering at Rufford and Speke share parallels with the modern concept of defiant gardens. For Kenneth Helphand, who examined gardens created in twentieth-century warzones and internment camps, '[Defiant gardens are] created in extreme or difficult environmental, social, political, economic, or cultural conditions. These gardens represent an adaptation to challenging circumstances, but they can also be viewed from other dimensions as sites of assertion and affirmation'.[534] Helphand argues that defiant gardens represent the desired condition of those who crafted and used these spaces, a want for peace and normality. These gardens also gave agency to their creators, to 'domesticate and humanize dehumanised situations' in times of suffering. That plants could grow and sustain people in turbulent times provided them with increased resolve, and could evoke the past or a desired future, the hope or memory of better times.[535]

Certainly, there are clear differences between the gardens of this study and those examined by Helphand. However, this does not dismiss the sometimes dire situations the Hesketh and Norris families faced, be that imprisonment, fines, or the possibility of execution, and the concept of

[532] Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham', pp. 123-124.
[533] Whitaker*, Gardens for Gloriana*, pp. 45-46.
[534] Kenneth I. Helphand, *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2006), p. 1.
[535] Helphand, *Defiant Gardens*, pp. 211-216.

defiant gardens helps shape our understanding of how the spiritual interpretations found in early modern gardens may have brought mental comfort by providing some sense of normality and control. Indeed, at Rufford, in 1581 and 1584, Sir Thomas Hesketh IV was imprisoned by Sir Edmund Trafford as a disaffected papist. He was released in 1584 after an appeal, claiming that while he was not recusant, he had failed to oversee his family's beliefs – a common tactic to shift accusations of nonconformity away from the key public figures of gentry households.[536] The Hesketh's' extended family suffered more severe punishments, Roger Ashton, the son of the Sir Thomas Hesketh IV's sister Jane, was executed at Tyburn in the June of 1591, allegedly for gaining a dispensation from Rome allowing him to marry his second cousin, and for harbouring Catholic missionaries.[537] Furthermore, Richard Hesketh of Aughton (1553-93) was executed on 29 November 1593 at St Albans, for his role in what is now referred to as the Hesketh Plot, a Roman Catholic plan to encourage Ferdinando Stanley, the fifth Earl of Derby, to lead a revolt against Elizabeth I and claim the throne for himself.[538]

For early modern Catholics, gardens and other green spaces would have represented normality when the world beyond their estates had condemned them. This sense of normality that came with the involvement in gardening may have been a particular reason why Thomas Hesketh, the son Sir Thomas Hesketh IV and the persistent recusant Alice Hesketh (*d.*1605), became a botanist. As Lisa Hopkins has suggested, botany and recusancy might go hand in hand, perhaps due to it being an interest where both it and one's faith could be expressed freely at home.[539]

Speke Hall's Yew Trees

Speke Hall's inner courtyard contains two large yew trees, known locally as Adam and Eve (Figure 28); fittingly, due to the dioecious nature of yews, they are male and female, respectively. Previous reports dated the yews to be 500 years old, though a more recent estimate, based on the tree ring counts of pruned branches, puts Adam at 1000 years old, potentially a Saxon planting by the site's original inhabitants, and Eve at 400 years old, placing it firmly as a late-Tudor or early-Stuart sapling.[540] The earliest known reference to the trees is from 6 June 1712, when it was recorded that Ezekiel Mason was paid for placing a frame

[536] Alison Findlay, Richard Dutton, 'Introduction', in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (eds.), *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 6.
[537] Procter, 'The Manor of Rufford and the Ancient Family of the Hesketh's', p. 104.
[538] For more information regarding Richard Hesketh, and the Hesketh Plot, see David Brinson, 'Hesketh, Richard (1553-1593)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13126> [Accessed 14 December 2020].
[539] Hopkins, 'Herb Paris, *Romeo and Juliet*, and Thomas Hesketh', p. 532.
[540] Muir, 'Speke Hall', p. 31.

around the two trees.[541] The need for a frame is perhaps indicative of the trees' antiquity even at that point, the frame perhaps needed to support one or other of the trees in some way.

Figure 27: The 'Adam and Eve' yew trees within Speke Hall's courtyard. (Eve is on the left, Adam is on the right).

Nineteenth-century texts refer to the yews, though not by their Biblical namesakes.[542] This may suggest that they were named more recently, perhaps after Speke Hall came into the National Trust's care. There are also depictions of Adam and Eve within the hall itself: a stained glass roundel showing the Temptation in the great hall, and a Belgian-made oak and walnut side cabinet, with its three cupboard doors depicting Adam and Eve in different scenes. However, the former, while being a late-sixteenth-century work, only arrived at Speke in the mid-1800s, and the same is true of the side cabinet's arrival, both having believed to have been purchased by the owner of Speke Hall at the time, Richard Watt V (1835-65).[543] If the trees were known as Adam and Eve in the early modern period, given their placement – nestled firmly in the

[541] Wiswall, f. 27.
[542] See, Leo H. Grindon, *Lancashire: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892), pp. 309-11; Taylor, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 114-115.
[543] 'The Temptation: Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with the Angel Gabriel', *National Trust Collections*, available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1197369> [Accessed 26 September 2023]; 'side cabinet', *National Trust Collections*, available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1196487> [Accessed 26 September 2023].

literal centre of Speke Hall – this makes them rich for religious interpretation, and how their spiritual connotations might have brought the Norris family comfort.

Most depictions of the biblical Adam and Eve, as seen in the hall's stained glass roundel and side cabinet, and the cover of Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole*, have the duo placed within the garden of Eden. However, Speke Hall's yew rendition of the first man and woman are not surrounded by a paradisiacal woodland or garden, but are instead encompassed by wings of the hall, a man-made creation of the Norris family (Figure 29). As gardens offered the chance for early modern landowners to try and create their own visualisation of paradise, a time before the Fall, it could be argued that the yews were the first man and woman and the centre of the estate, and that the house and surrounding greenspaces were the Norrises' very own Eden. This interpretation, taking into account the family's Catholicism, amplifies the idea that the entirety of Speke Hall was considered a little haven, as beyond the Norrises' property was a society which sought to subdue their beliefs. That the property would have also been surrounded by a moat would have again emphasised this notion of a sealed away haven for the Norris family.

Figure 28: Overhead view of Speke Hall, the yews are seen here surrounded by the property, which itself was partially surrounded by the moat (Source: Google Maps).

Yews in the British Isles are normally associated with church grounds, with the earliest known church yews believed to be connected with Britain's first saints, serving as symbols of immortality likely because they are evergreens. In the medieval period, due to the scarcity of

palm leaves in northern Europe, the yew acted as a substitute in religious ritual, with Palm Sunday being referred to as Yew Sunday, while in the Tudor period, it was common to tie sprigs of yew to coffins. Not only did they make for frequent features in churchyards, but there was also a strong desire to be buried under yews. Robert Bevan-Jones has suggested that this desire may have been linked to the immortal symbolism the trees carry, and that to be buried beneath them ensured immortality of the soul.[544]

As with the paradisiacal illusions that come with the yews' identity as Adam and Eve, the trees' symbolic connection to immortality could also be understood as directly connected to the struggles of Catholics during and after the Reformation. Coupled with the suggestion that the yews represented a paradise at the heart of Speke away from the outside world, this connection with immortality can be taken as a sign that the property represented a bastion of Catholic belief. As Sir William Norris IV was a devout Catholic who took risks for his faith, in doing so, he may have seen the yews not just as a symbol of the immortality of the soul, or Christianity, but of the resistance of Catholicism against all attempts to subdue it.

Contemporary interpretation of the meaning and symbolism of yew trees also suggests that the decision to plant the second tree at Speke (the smaller Eve), and to make both trees the focus of the central courtyard, was religiously motivated. In 1665, Alan Carr, self-described as 'an Ancient Minister and Friend of Peace', published *A Peaceable Moderator*, likely written in response to the growth of emergent religious groups during the Civil War and Interregnum; he attempted to clear any misunderstandings or accusations these sects levied against the Book of Common Prayer and the practices of the Church of England. Discussing the longstanding tradition of planting yew trees within church grounds, Carr believed they were done so to serve as a theological lesson. He regarded the yew as 'a fit Emblem of a Christian, a fit Picture, Patern and Resemblance for a Christian to Observe, when he looketh up on it.'[545] Subsequently, he described the religious symbolism that could be found in a variety of the tree's features. That the yew has little rind or bark was a lesson in the importance of avoiding outward formality, something shunned since the Reformation. The firmness of the tree's timber – despite it being a softwood – was reflective of the importance of 'Soundness and sincerity' desired in a

[544] Robert Bevan-Jones, *The Ancient Yew: A History of Taxus Baccata*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2017), pp. 40-1; Tony Hall, *The Immortal Yew* (Kew: Kew Publishing, 2018), pp. 20, 38.
[545] Alan Carr, *A Peaceable Moderator, or, Some Plain Considerations to give Satisfaction to such as stand Dis-affected to our Book of Common Prayer Established by Authority* (London: William Crooke, 1665), p. 59.

Christian, whereas the yew's large, winding branches acted as a reminder to carry out many good deeds.[546] For Carr, the yew's status as an evergreen indicated:

> it is always green and prospering to declare unto us That a Christian should always thrive and grow in Grace. Yea, Green in Winter and in the Hardest weather; To shew that a Christian is best in Affliction, Adversity and Persecution.[547]

That the yew represented some form of resistance or strength in the face of adversity is particularly pertinent to Speke Hall's yews, given the family's suffering for their faith. Furthermore, at the courtyard's south range is a large bay window which is part of the great hall, indicating that the yews were intended to be gazed upon even when not necessarily sitting in the courtyard itself. The themes of resilience found in Speke's greenspaces were also reflective of the wider practice of other Catholic estates being seen as small bastions of the true religion. Elsewhere in Lancashire, William Blundell (1560-1638) of Little Crosby established an alternate burial ground for local Catholics on his lands in 1611 after they had been refused churchyard burials within the parish of Sefton, demonstrating another way recusant families could use their greenspaces for spiritual purposes.[548] Phebe Jensen highlights the poetry copied into a seventeenth century Catholic commonplace book from Warwickshire, which further emphasises the idea that 'recusants at times saw themselves as island of true Englishness, reduced to the tiny territories of their households' and that the early modern Catholic estate could itself be seen as a newly sacred site that had replaced the desecrated saint's shrines, monasteries, and abbeys'.[549] For Catholic families like the Hesketh and Norrises, understanding their estates in such a manner and reinforcing this through their spiritually influenced planting choices and interpretations, may have brought them a sense of wellbeing and comfort.

Gardens as Meditative Spaces

In addition to the potential for symbolic planting, greenspaces also provided an area to meditate and contemplate spiritual texts. In order to meditate, a peaceful atmosphere would be required, and so gardens provided an ideal setting; this may have been especially the case in the context

---

[546] Carr, *A Peaceable Moderator*, p. 59.
[547] Carr, *A Peaceable Moderator*, p. 59.
[548] Peter Davidson, et al., 'The Harkirk graveyard and William Blundell 'the Recusant' (1560-1638): a reconsideration', *British Catholic History*, 34:1 (2018), pp. 30, 33; Phebe Jensen, 'Religious Identity and the English Landscape: William Blundell and the Harkirk Coins', in Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (eds.), *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), p. 60.
[549] Jensen, 'Religious Identity and the English Landscape', pp. 59, 61.

of gentry estates, where the presence of so many family and staff members under one roof may have made the indoors ill-fitting for this purpose.[550] Evidence of the designed landscapes at the three properties being used in such a way has yet to be uncovered. However, the abundance of accounts from contemporary diaries, and the habits of noted figures from the period make it a possibility. In 1605, to commemorate Corpus Christi Day and the octave, the Jesuit priest Henry Garnet (1555-1606) and twenty-five Catholics made a procession in the garden of a private home.[551] Meditation may have been a practice undertaken by the more religious women of these properties, thinking in particular of those whose recusancy was strong, such as the aforementioned Alice Hesketh, or Margaret Norris. As illustrated by Famke Molekamp, meditating and reflecting on religious treaties was practiced by many women of the period: 'Early modern women can frequently be observed practising active reading of the scriptures, which, like monastic reading of the later middle ages, has the goal of seeking the Holy Spirit through a textually inspired contemplative state of mind.'[552] Adopting such practices outdoors, already established as settings rich with spiritual meaning, would have made this a more spiritually immersive experience.

The use of greenspaces in this way was not confined to Catholics. Outdoor spiritual contemplation was known to have been practised by a Protestant neighbour of the Norrises, Katherine Brettergh (1579-1601). Katherine (née Bruen) had come from a notable Puritan family in Bruen Stapleford, Cheshire. Her elder brother was the famed radical John Bruen (1560-1625), who, upon becoming the head of the family after his father died in 1587, imposed a strict Puritan code on the household, which likely informed the young Katherine's religious conviction. Around 1599, Katherine married William Brettergh (1572-1609).[553] The Brettergh family resided at Brettergh Holt in Little Woolton, and were active in county society, holding important roles such as justices of the peace, and had made connections through marriages into other important families in the county.[554] William, a Puritan, with an even stauncher Puritan

[550] David R. Coffin, *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 58.
[551] Lisa McClain, 'Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33:2 (2002), p. 386; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 183.
[552] Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 119.
[553] Steve Hindle, 'Brettergh [née Bruen], Katherine (1579–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3351> [Accessed 10 November 2022].
[554] R. Stewart-Brown, 'The Brettarghs of Brettargh Holt in Woolton', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 88 (1936), p. 216.

for a wife, saw the Bretterghs clash with the Norrises on matters of faith, but also over disputes regarding land and financial matters, making them rival neighbours.[555]

When Katherine died in 1601, the sermon delivered at her funeral referred to her use of the orchards, gardens, and fields that surrounded her home for meditative practices.[556] Helen Smith has suggested that the deceased's use of the surrounding landscape was because domestic privacy was not achievable at Brettergh Holt.[557] However, what might also have informed Katherine's devotional practices was a want to seek peace and solitude away from religious tensions in her surrounding environment. In the year before her death, the family had faced persecution by the local Catholic population during the Childwall riots in 1600 which had first been ignited by William Brettergh acting as high constable of West Derby, and his attempts to arrest a local recusant.[558] The backlash from Brettergh's actions resulted in retaliation by local Catholics, with cattle being slaughtered on his lands on 22 May and 15 August 1660.[559] Part of what drove Katherine to seek these peaceful environments may have been a result of this persecution. Navigation of the feelings and grievances the Norrises felt around this period may have also been expressed in a similar way, Margaret Norris had faced her own turmoil in the upkeep of her faith, and perhaps the peace of the gardens and orchards around Speke provided similar spiritual respite.

Other examples across the country demonstrate that greenspaces were understood to be contemplative spaces. The Puritan diarist Lady Margaret Hoby (1571-1633) recorded the daily walks she would take in the gardens of her home in Hackness, Yorkshire, in her spiritual diary.[560] Margaret Clifford (1560-1616), Countess of Cumberland, would read her Bible whilst walking in the woods, even placing it on a tree, presumably as an improvised lectern. Similarly, her daughter, Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676), would use her garden for reading and meditation.[561] As Leah Knight has commented, the Clifford women's outdoor meditations reflected the wider cultural habit of outdoor parish gospel reading.[562] While the Cliffords were

---

[555] Dottie, 'The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600', p. 8.
[556] Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England*, p. 129.
[557] Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 209.
[558] The origins of the riots, William Brettergh's involvement (and Edward Norris's lack of involvement) are best detailed in Dottie, 'The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600'.
[559] Dottie, 'The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600', pp. 11, 12.
[560] Mary Thomas Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9:1 (2009), p. 15.
[561] Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 209.
[562] Leah Knight, *Reading Green in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 23.

reading as individuals, Knight suggests that 'This custom would have contributed an ambience of sanctity to other outdoor reading practices in the period even in cases where a more secular selection of reading material was preferred'.[563] The diary of the non-conformist Mary Rich (1625-78), Countess of Warwick, details how, after waking in the morning, she would first go to her gardens, to read, meditate, and pray.[564] For Molekamp 'these instances of spiritual contemplation and joy (in Rich's case) within the garden evoke the seventeenth-century literature of retirement, in which withdrawal into the natural world, or to reposeful, enclosed spaces, affords solitude, contemplation, and refreshment, as the pattern of nature stimulates spiritual growth.'[565] Although these align more strongly with Protestantism, both denominations would have found spiritual comfort provided by designed landscapes, a neutral canvas that could be shaped to one's preference.

The diary of the antiquarian Ralph Thoresby of Leeds reveals unique commentary on garden meditations, on 2 May 1680 he wrote:

> Mr. Hasle preached honestly, but, in my slender judgment, far off so well and learnedly as he, whose worthy labours we usually enjoy: spent too much of the day in frivolous visits and discourse, more fit for any other than the Sabbath-day. Evening, very happily lighted upon a sermon of worthy Mr. Sharp's, that I had writ for cousin Eliz. Idle, repeated it with joy and retired into the garden, where 1 had more satisfaction in half an hour's meditation, &c. than in all the day besides.[566]

Thoresby's account attests that garden meditation could be a more rewarding spiritual exercise than time spent listening and reading the words of others, suggestive of the power that greenspaces could have in enabling such experiences on an individual level. In a later entry dated 6 April 1682:

> Was the whole day entirely at the new garden, by the water, overseeing workfolk, and reading Sir William Waller's Divine Meditations, which I thought exceedingly sweet and agreeable, especially his content in his study, books, and solitary life.[567]

In this entry, gardens are a setting not just for meditation but reading spiritual treatises also. Thoresby highlights Waller's writings on solitary life, perhaps a subtle joke at the labours

[563] Knight, *Reading Green in Early Modern England* p. 24.
[564] Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England*, p. 128.
[565] Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England*, p. 129.
[566] Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, p. 43.
[567] Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, p. 116.

underway in his garden. These are not unique entries in his diary, as Thoresby records on numerous occasions using the garden as a space for contemplation and to read spiritual treaties.[568]

Evidence of designed landscapes used as meditative spaces is also evident from John Aubrey's famous biographical text, *Brief Lives*, providing evidence of some of the noteworthies of seventeenth-century England using gardens in a similar manner.[569] Francis Bacon had:

> a place as big as an ordinary parke, the west part whereof is coppice-wood, where are walkes cutt-out as straight as a line, and broade enough for a coach, a quarter of a mile long or better.—Here his lordship much meditated, his servant Mr. Bushell attending him with his pen and inke horne to sett downe his present notions.[570]

The philosopher, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), himself accompanied Bacon on these walks:

> The Lord Chancellour Bacon loved to converse with him … His lordship was a very contemplative person, and was wont to contemplate in his delicious walkes at Gorambery, and dictate to Mr. Thomas Bushell, or some other of his gentlemen, that attended him with inke and paper ready to sett downe presently his thoughts. His lordship would often say that he better liked Mr. Hobbes's taking his thoughts, then any of the other, because he understood what he wrote, which the others not understanding, my Lord would many times have a hard taske to make sense of what they writt.[571]

Whether Bacon's practices were what inspired Hobbes' own habits is uncertain, but later in his life Aubrey writes the latter's 'place of meditation was then in the portico in the garden' and that he would rise 'about seaven, had his breakefast of bread and butter; and tooke his walke, meditating till ten; then he did putt downe the minutes of his thoughts, which he penned in the afternoon.'[572] On the physician William Harvey (1578-1657), famed for the discovery of the circulation of blood, Aubrey wrote: 'He had a house heretofore at Combe, in Surrey, a good aire and prospect, where he had caves made in the earth, in which in summer time he delighted to meditate.'[573] Harvey's seasonal habits suggest gardens may have only been suitable spaces

[568] See for example the entry for the 30 July 1682: 'Morning, and much of the forenoon, walking in the garden, reading or meditating'. Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, p. 130.
[569] The impetus to use Aubrey's work in this work comes from Crane, who uses the biographical text in identifying the habits of Francis Bacon, William Harvey, and Thomas Hobbes. Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', pp. 15-6.
[570] John Aubrey, '*Brief Lives,' chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*, I, edited by Andrew Clark, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 83.
[571] Aubrey, '*Brief Lives,'* I, p. 338.
[572] Aubrey, '*Brief Lives,'* I, pp. 350-1.
[573] Aubrey, '*Brief Lives,'* I, p. 298.

for meditation when the weather was pleasant. The clergyman Thomas Fuller (1608-61), best known for his posthumous work, *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), was described by Aubrey has having 'a very working head, in so much that, walking and meditating before dinner, he would eate-up a penny loafe not knowing that he did it'.[574] Lastly, on John Milton (1608-74), Aubrey wrote how 'His exercise was chiefly walking. He was an early riser … The first thing he read was the Hebrew Bible, and that was at [4am for over half-an hour]. Then he contemplated … After dinner he used to walke 3 or four houres at a time (he always had a garden where he lived)'.[575] Whether the walking was part of his spiritual thinking process, or a break from it is unknown. The varied figures Aubrey mentions here, combined with the habits of pious women discussed previously, suggests that the use of greenspaces as places suitable for religious contemplation was common in the early modern period. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suggest members of the families of the three case studies may have done the same.

The Wider Landscape

Beyond the gardens of the estates, the wider landscape could also hold spiritual significance or help recusant families continue to covertly practice Catholicism. The landscape surrounding Speke lends itself to these notions. Stonor notes the hall's position so close to the River Mersey, which at that point is almost three miles wide across, and it has been suggested that it was used to ferry priests across the river, and up and down the Lancashire coast.[576] While there have been unsubstantiated claims of a man-made tunnel leading from the hall to the Mersey, the geography of the estate means it would not be necessary. The Clough, the wooded area beyond the south lawn, contains a deep ditch that acted as drainage to the moat, and this could have provided coverage for Catholic priests and other recusants to enter and leave the hall covertly.[577] One such priest known to have stayed at Speke was Richard Brittain, who is accounted for in surviving testimonies of the Norrises' recusant activities. In an account by the vicar of Kirkham in 1586, it is reported that:

> Rychard Brittaine a prieste receipted in the howse of William Bennet of Westbye about the beginning of June last, from whence young Mr. Norrice of

[574] In this instance, Aubrey does not specify here as to whether Fuller's walking was an outdoor activity. Aubrey, '*Brief Lives,*' I, p. 257.
[575] John Aubrey, '*Brief Lives,' chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*, II, edited by Andrew Clark, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 68.
[576] Robert J. Stonor, *Liverpool's Hidden Story: A Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in Liverpool* (Billinge: Birchley Hall Press, 1957), pp. 90-91.
[577] Stonor, *Liverpool's Hidden Story*, p. 91.

> Speake Conveiyed the said Brittaine to the Speake as the said Bennett hath reported.
>
> The said Brittaine remaneth now att the the howse of Mr Norrice of the Speake as appearth by the deposition of John Osbaldston (by common Report).[578]

The 'young Mr. Norrice' referred to here is William Norris IV, and was fined for the offence. Stonor notes that beyond the Mersey lay other Catholic estates of Hooton and Poole in Cheshire, which, like Speke, also had priest holes, and speculates these might have been destinations which the Norrises took priests to through navigating the river.[579] That they were successful was in part due to this access, but also to the attitude of the local Catholic, Sir Richard Shireburne, who was reluctant to report recusancy among his neighbours as he 'would ransack no man for his neighbours'.[580]

Other Catholic families have been suggested by Gašper Jakovac as having used the landscape surrounding their properties to ensure their safety. In 1597, Lady Catherine Gray, daughter of Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland and leader of the Northern Rebellion in 1569, took up the lease of Greencroft Hall, Durham; surrounded by wood and hills, it was speculated that this was chosen as her residence so that she could safely harbour Catholics and traitors.[581] Likewise, St Anthony's Hall, built in 1610s by Dame Dorothy Lawson (1580-1632), near Newcastle-on-Tyne, became a key mission centre for Catholic priests. The property was situated close to the River Tyne which provided a covert means of getting priests and illegal books into the county.[582] More broadly, England's natural landscape provided a space for priests to hide from their persecutors through hiding in caves and forests.[583] For Walsham, the Catholic understanding of the natural landscape was twofold: 'The landscape became a sanctuary in both senses of the world: a haven from repression and an enclave for worship.'[584]

Interior Design

Interpretations and uses of greenspaces and their contents for religious sustenance were not just confined to outdoor spaces. Interior architecture and artwork depicting similar sights would have also been a source of spiritual contemplation and wellbeing for the

---

578 British Library, Harley MS. 360, f.32v.
579 Stonor, *Liverpool's Hidden Story*, p. 91.
580 The National Archives, SP 12/240, f. 226.
581 Gašper Jakovac, 'The Catholic Country House in Early Modern England: Motion, Piety and Hospitality, c. 1580–1640', in Kimberly Skelton (ed.), *Early Modern Spaces in Motion: Design, Experience and Rhetoric* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), p. 89.
582 Jakovac, 'The Catholic Country House in Early Modern England', pp. 89-90.
583 Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 183.
584 Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 183.

Moretons, Hesketh, and Norrises. The parlour room of the Protestant-owned Little Moreton Hall contains an Elizabethan wall painting of a garden from the story of *Susanna and the Elders* (Figures 30, 31) taken from the Apocrypha, originally from the Book of Daniel. The wall painting was rediscovered in 1976 after the oak panelling which concealed it was removed during maintenance work.[585] During the subsequent restoration work on the painting, the initials J.M., as well as a wolf's head (part of the Moreton family's crest), were found in the design, suggesting the work was carried out by John Moreton following his inheritance of the hall in 1563, dating the painting to around the last third of the sixteenth century. Another visual clue to the work's dating are the costumes of the characters in the painting, who are clearly dressed in clothing more fitting of the period it was produced than any from the story's setting.[586]

Figure 29: The surviving elements of Little Moreton Hall's Susanna and the Elders painting, located on the parlour's south and west walls.

[585] Rouse, 'Elizabethan Wall Paintings at Little Moreton Hall', p. 113.
[586] Rouse, 'Elizabethan Wall Paintings at Little Moreton Hall', pp. 116-117; John P. Elven, *The Book of Family Crests*, II, 6th edition (London: Henry Washborne, 1851), p. 334.

Figure 30: A section of Susanna and the Elder wall painting at Little Moreton.

The painting depicts the story of Susanna, who went to bathe herself in her garden, two elders spied on her as she bathed and approached her, demanding that she have sex with them or face trial. She refused out of loyalty to her husband, and was subsequently blackmailed, tried, and sentenced to death. At that point, Daniel appeared before them and interrogated the two elders, who were then put to death, whilst Susanna was cleared of her charges. Christine Peters has examined the story extensively, arguing that in the early modern period, Susanna's ordeal represented the importance of female chastity as a key concept of female honour in early modern society. For Peters, the story transcends the traditional narrative of female purity, with the two elders being the antagonists, it emphasised the role men played in protecting and disrupting female chastity and fidelity.[587] *Susanna and the Elders* was a popular story in the early modern period; painted cloths of the story were known to hang at Vaston (Vastern) Manor, Wotton Basset, in Wiltshire, while Peters has found the tale told within embroidery work, believing this mostly likely stemmed from floral patterning being a common *topos* in needlework, so the story's garden setting makes it an obvious candidate to sew.[588] Other historians have noted

[587] Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 251, 253.
[588] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 209, Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, p. 253.

the story as taking a variety of meanings, Patricia Simons proposes that the scene was used in counter-reformation symbology as the story of resilience of the Catholic faith against Protestantism, with Susanna representing the former, and the Elders the latter, but also as an embodiment of heroism, justice, salvation, and again, chastity.[589] However, Protestants, too, adopted Susanna's story, both by the Lutheran Church and French Calvinists, depicting her as being attacked by Elders representing the old order of Catholicism.[590] The multiple interpretations of the story demonstrate how the garden was a setting where religion was contested, debated, and defended.

From a post-Reformation perspective, the story's inclusion also seems logical. As religious imagery was removed from churches, Old and New Testament characters and scenes flourished in the homes of the gentry and middling sorts in the form of paintings, carvings, embroideries, sculptures, silverware, and furniture, between 1560 and 1660. This allowed the gentry to display their strong religious convictions, while simultaneously showing their advancement up the societal ladder in a way which would be deemed modest.[591] The story of Susanna, as Tara Hamling has observed, was just one of the many biblical stories concerning familial relationships that proved popular in household decoration, with other noteworthy examples being Adam and Eve, and Solomon and Sheba. Hamling suggests that these stories depicting familial relationships were popular in domestic settings as they provided the household with exemplars of behaviour and moralistic lessons.[592]

The inclusion of the Susanna story makes sense in relation to the Moreton family. John Moreton had ten children, five boys and five girls, between four wives. Born between 1573 and 1598, only three of them are known to have lived past childhood: William III (*c.*1574-1654), Mary (*c.*1577-1648), and Tobias (*c.*1578-1648). It is unknown if the other children had lived past infancy, making it hard to determine which of the children may have taken in the lessons which the wall painting was intended to teach. With the aforementioned

[589] Patricia Simons, 'Artemisia Gentileschi's *Susanna and the Elders* (1610) in the Context of Counter-Reformation Rome', in Sheila Baker (ed.), *Artemisia Gentileschi in a Changing Light* (London: Harvey Miller, 2017), p. 45.
[590] Nicola Tilford, 'Susanna and Her Interpreters', in Carol A. Newsom, Sharon H. Ringe and Jacqueline E. Lapsley (eds.), *Women's Bible Commentary: Revised and Updated*, 3rd edition (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), p. 435.
[591] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 90; Tara Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object: Religious Imagery in Protestant Interior Decoration', in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Ashgate 2010, London: Routledge, 2017), p. 321.
[592] Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object', pp. 237, 334.

analysis of what the Susanna story meant in Tudor society, John Moreton may have commissioned the garden scene to teach his children an important lesson about what it meant to be a godly Protestant.

As noted previously, Austen includes the story of Susanna in *A Treatsie of Fruit Trees,* but he also writes of the importance of instilling adherence to faith in the youth, as seen in his fifth observance in *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard*:

> The husbandryman is carefull to Engraft his Trees while they are young he then formes, and fashions them by Pruning, and ordering of them; for he knowes when they are growen strong, and bigge Trees, these workes cannot be done so easily, if at all it be possible, therefore he sets about them when they are young-trees.[593]

At Little Moreton Hall, we see a combining of these two elements, the importance of chastity and the need to ingrain Christian teachings into believers while they are young. The wall painting is a testament that these beliefs were in no way confined to the rationality of religiously devout horticulturalists, but that they were understood and applicable to the gentry audience Austen was writing for. The garden painting provides an example of John Moreton, as the head of the household, taking responsibility for the spiritual upbringing of those under him. The wall painting shows the Moreton family as being emblematic of what Hamling describes as the 'long transition' regarding the conversation to Protestantism amongst the English populace; while iconography and images were removed from churches, in domestic settings they were still needed to offer spiritual guidance and comfort, and here people could practice their faith in private.[594]

The merging of horticultural and religious themes through art is also visible at Rufford in the form of a large oil painting (Figure 32) by the Dutch artist Gommaert van der Gracht (1592-1653).[595] A large landscape painting (175x296cm), van der Gracht's work depicts a goat at the centre of the work surrounded by an abundance of fruit and vegetables. To the left of this, a contemporary garden can be seen with neat squares divided by paths, showing the '*Noli me tangere*' scene taken from John 20:11-18. It is unknown when the painting

[593] Austen, *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard*, 2nd ed., p.7.
[594] Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object', p. 334.
[595] The painting was purchased by the National Trust in 2005 as part of the auctioning off of contents from the Easton Neston estate. The work is untitled, and is listed in Sotheby's auction as 'An extensive landscape with an exotic arroy of flowers, fruit and vegetables with a got by a tree; a scene depicting 'Noli me Tangere' in a garden beyond.' Sotheby's, *Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, 17-19 May 2005*, I (2005), p. 143. I am grateful to Frank Kinnaer of the Museum Hof van Busleyden, for providing accurate details of Gommaert's birth and death.

came into possession the of the Hesketh family; the earliest definitive recording is from a photograph taken in 1929, where the painting can be seen hung in the dining room as it does today.[596] The 1620 inventory taken at Rufford lists in the 'Dyninge Chamber' (the great hall) twenty-nine pictures valued together at £5, and an additional picture valued at twelve pence.[597] For both its size and quality, it is unlikely van der Gracht's art was included in these valuations, so it must have come to Rufford after this date. For early modern viewers of the painting, its religious symbolism would have been clear.

Figure 31: An Extensive Landscape with Exotic Flowers, Fruit and Vegetables, a Goat and a 'Noli me tangere' in the Garden beyond by Gommaert van der Gracht circa 1630 (Image provided by the National Trust).

[596] Avray Tipping, 'Rufford Old Hall – II. Lancashire. A Seat of Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh, Bt.', p. 574.
[597] Lancs RO: WCW/Supra/OS/17/2.

Figure 32: Closer examination of the painting's Noli me tangere scene, note the early-modern garden layout and Jesus holding a space (Image provided by the National Trust).

The *Noli me tangere* scene depicted on the left-hand side of the painting (Figure 33) was frequently depicted in art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance; this was when Mary Magdalene first discovered Christ had been resurrected, appearing to her disguised as a gardener.[598] Christ being depicted with a spade in his hand can be seen as a reference to him becoming a second Adam, who himself had to toil the land after the Fall, subsequently making Mary Magdalen a second Eve.[599] Uniquely, compared to other *Noli me tangere* depictions, is the emphasis given to the foodstuffs at the centre of the work. With the Edenic allusions that are seen, with Christ and Mary as Adam and Eve, the painting could be interpreted as displaying the rewards that come from toiling and suffering for work. In the proper furnishing of an early-modern house, diplomat and author, Sir Henry Wotton emphasised the importance of thematic relevance a picture had in a room:

> that they bee as properly bestowed for their quality, as fitly for their grace: that is, chearefull paintings in Feasting and Banquetting Roomes, Graver

[598] For other examples of *Noli me tangere* paintings, and the different interpretations of this scene see Barbara Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden: Mary Magdalene in *Noli Me Tangere*', in Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (eds.), *Mary Magdalene: iconographic studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 189-222.

[599] The connections between *Noli me tangere* and Eden have been commented on by others. See, Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Senses of Touch: Human Dignity and Deformity from Michelangelo to Calvin* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 117; Baert, 'The Gaze in the Garden: Mary Magdalene in *Noli Me Tangere*', p. 203.

> Stories in Galleries, Land-schips, and Boscage, and such wilde works in open Tarraces, or in Summer houses (as we call them) and the like. [600]

A painting depicting a variety of fruits and vegetables hung in a dining room where the same items may have been eaten at said dining room table fits into Wotton's logic. The painting itself may have been symbolic of the view provided by the window's view of the gardens at Rufford, as it showed a mixture of land being used for the growth of fruits, vegetables, and herbs whilst also providing a space for relaxation and contemplation akin to the formal garden accommodating Mary and Christ. Here, just as Catholics at Speke used the surrounding greenspaces to create their own version of creation and a haven from the world, the family at Rufford could use them to remind themselves of the variety of uses sacred gardens had, and that their own greenspaces were a reflection of Biblical concepts of gardens and their appropriate uses.

Speke Hall's oak parlour room retains many of its early modern features which subtly hint at the Norris family's religious devotion. The overmantel in the room (Figure 34) shows a carving of Sir William Norris III, flanked on each side by his wives, his first Ellen Bulkeley and his second Anne Myddleton (*d.*1563), whom he married after Ellen's death sometime before 1535. Ellen is depicted as holding rosary beads, while Anne shows no outward signs of Catholicism. For Rachel Willie, this carving reveals the family's anxiety at attempting to conceal their Catholic faith, which is why Anne Myddleton is depicted without any Catholic imagery.[601]

[600] Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: John Bill, 1624), pp. 98-100.
[601] Rachel Willie, 'Speke Riddles', *Early Modern Soundscapes* (online, 29 June 2019), available at: <https://emsoundscapes.co.uk/speke-riddles/> [Accessed 4 December 2020].

Figure 33: Detailing of the overmantel in Speke Hall's parlour room, Sir William Norris III is depicted at the top with his wives, Ellen (left) and Anne (right).

Ornate stuccowork adorns the room's ceiling (Figure 35), which is divided into fifteen panels, it has been attributed to the early seventeenth century and was likely commissioned by Sir William Norris IV. Elements of the natural world are incorporated into the design with the inclusion of pomegranates, roses, lilies, grapevines, and hazelnuts, as well as birds and a snake, while the beams which divide each panel have hops and honeysuckle running along them.[602] Whether or not the incorporation of these elements into the stucco was just an aesthetic choice is unknown; however, that the ceiling dates to the time when Speke was the home of William IV, a devoutly Catholic man, suggests any religious symbolism that could be drawn from the stuccowork was intentional.

[602] Anthony Tibbles, *Speke Hall: A guide to its history and owners* (Wallasey: Eaton Press, 1983), p. 14; National Trust, *Speke Hall*, pp. 28-29

Figure 34: A section of Speke Hall's oak parlour ceiling stuccowork.

At its broadest interpretation, depictions of flora reminded viewers of the Garden of Eden, as well as the betrayal of Jesus Chirst in the Garden of Gethsemane, and other Biblical passages, such as the Song of Songs. Some plants may have been chosen for the specific messages they conveyed or their ability to remind people of their faith. Roses, as discussed above, were symbolic of the Virgin Mary, the rose among thorns. Lilies also represented the Virgin and her purity. Pomegranates had a variety of meanings in Christian thought, and they were sometimes featured on statues and paintings of the Virgin and Child. The fruit's tough seeds could represent chastity, but their abundance also represented unity under one authority, be it the Church or monarchy. However, they could also represent resurrection.[603] Henry Hawkins's Catholic emblem book detailed the symbolism of pomegranates as a fruit of the *Hortus conclusus*, an enclosed garden inspired by the Song of Solomon, 'an ordination of Vertues, and a wonderful sweetnes of Devotion; for loe, Pomgranats have their grains disposed in an admirable order'.[604] Grapes were seen as Eucharistic, as they were cultivated to make wine, the blood of Christ, whilst the vines from which they grew were seen as Mary.[605] Grapes were

[603] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 249, 330; Patricia Langley, 'Why a Pomegranate?', *British Medical Journal*, 321 (2000), p. 1154.
[604] Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra*, p. 15.
[605] E. de Jongh, 'Grape Symbolism in Paintings of the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 7:4 (1974), pp. 184, 186.

symbolic of redemption, but also referred to the wine drunk at the last supper. Hazelnuts, like pomegranates, also represented fertility and fecundity, but more specifically reminded viewers of the message of the protection of faith, as the Virgin hid in a hazelnut bush when she was threatened by a snake. She thereafter promised that the hazelnut bush would protect people from snakes. Though this legendary story has fallen out of common use, it was apparently popular up to the early modern period, and so would probably have been known by the family and visitors OF Speke.[606] These themes of spiritual protection may have been a continuation of the idea that Speke Hall represented a safe bastion of Catholic faith, as already suggested by its yews and moat.

Conclusion

In the context of early modern understandings of the world, greenspaces served as a link between humanity and God, providing a suitable setting to dwell on their spiritual wellbeing. This chapter has demonstrated how examining contemporary horticultural and theological works allows us to draw out and speculate as to the spiritual value that was to be found at the three estates' greenspaces. These texts demonstrate how the very act of gardening itself was seen as a pious act, harkening back to Adam following God's instructions in toiling in the earth for his sins. There was a sense of nostalgia and comfort towards gardening and greenspaces in this regard, in that they allowed people to revert to a simpler, purer time, free of the everyday troubles of their contemporary lives, to focus on what was understood to be truly important, their faith.

In comparing the practices of other members of the early modern gentry, the chapter has suggested ways the greenspaces of the three case studies may have been deliberately designed with spirituality as a core intention of their design and use. Creating spaces with a variety of colourful flowers or bountiful orchards was a means of displaying and praising God's creations, whilst specific plants also held certain connotations, such as the purity of the Virgin, or the Passion. Designing greenspaces in this way provided the gentry with the ideal setting for meditation and contemplation of spiritual matters, whilst for Catholic families like the Norrises and Hesketh, it would have provided a means of subtle devotion to avoid persecution and harm to their wellbeing, an early modern form of 'Defiant Garden' expressed through spiritual symbolism which helped them navigate periods of turmoil. For example, Speke's Adam and Eve yew trees may have reflected the Norris family's adherence to Catholicism, and the trees

[606] Lucia Impelluso, *Nature and Its Symbols*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (Los Angeles: John Paul Getty Museum, 2003), p. 188.

placement within the very centre of the estate may have been a source of spiritual comfort. The wider greenspaces of Catholic estates would have aided their wellbeing as settings for the covert transportation of priest in and out of their estates, who provided them spiritual wellbeing. The architectural and artistic depictions of greenspaces within the interiors of the three properties also served spiritual purposes, providing the families with moral lessons, as seen in Little Moreton's wall painting.

Chapter 4: Societal Wellbeing

Introduction

This chapter demonstrates how greenspaces aided the gentry in meeting the requirements and expectations placed upon them by society, which it refers to as 'societal wellbeing'. By this, the thesis means how healthy and positive individuals' or entire gentry families' social positions were in relation to key concepts of the period which defined them, here examining their wealth and honour. To be a member of the gentry in early modern society meant living and upholding a particular lifestyle and duty towards their family and estate that would ensure its continuation and prosperity. In this regard, trying to ensure the health and stable running of the three estates, and how individuals were portrayed could be sources of mental fulfilment or anguish for the gentry. Much of the impetus for this chapter was informed by Keith Thomas's *Ends of Life*, and his exploration of what was seen as central to notions of fulfilment in the early modern period, some of the metrics he used, wealth and reputation (refered to here as honour) will be examined through the greenspaces of the three estates, and how these would have aided the three families' societal wellbeing.[607]

The chapter begins by establishing societal wellbeing in the broader context of the period, discussing examples from the three case studies in non-greenspace contexts and elsewhere. Consideration is given as to why healthy social reputations were essential for the early modern gentry, and how good management and displays of position and power at their estates were paramount for individuals' and families' wellbeing in navigating through life. The chapter then demonstrates how the three families would have used their greenspaces for the generation of wealth – income being a prerequisite for displays of wealth and honour – considering crops grown at the estates, attempts at agricultural improvement through marling, and the felling of trees. Following the acquisition of wealth by the gentry, the chapter demonstrates how they used these gains to project their status. Here, the building of specific architecture within the estates' greenspaces served as symbols of the three families' wealth, as well as the high costs needed for the keeping of horses and participation in gentry recreational activities. The third section argues that greenspaces allowed the three families to craft honourable identities as ideal landowners and members of the gentry, deserving of their societal positions. The role of hunting, botany, gardening and wider estate management are addressed, and how they were considered to be worthwhile pursuits, depicting the gentry as intelligent, idealised landowners

[607] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p. 2.

maintaining order and creating beauty in their lands. Focus is given to the codified ways the gentry rode their horses and hunted, as doing so in a particular style was a marker of honour. The giving of gifts originating from the estates' greenspaces would have provided a way to build new friendships and maintain old ones, which was essential to ensuring the stability and social mobility of gentry families. The section concludes by suggesting how gentry management of greenspaces brought honour as a patriotic act, which was believed to ensure the wellbeing of the nation as a whole.

The Importance of Social Status

A key aspect to having a fulfilling life, especially for the men of gentry families, was the notion of honour, which could be earned via an individual's virtuous qualities, or gained through the qualities of their lineage. This honour could, at times, come from displays of wealth, generosity, or making oneself appear educated or cultured.[608] This honour aided in justifying why the gentry and aristocracy deserved their titles and status, especially towards the lower class as a means of social control, as Elizabeth Foyster has stated:

> The concept of honour remained a useful political tool for the gentry to enforce and explain the social order … Social groups of inferior status were expected to honour those above them. In this way, honour was essentially anti-egalitarian and could be used to justify social difference.[609]

In this regard, factors like honour were essential for gentry wellbeing in society as it was a means of ensuring the continuation of their lifestyles. For members of the gentry to lose honour, fail to meet the expectations placed upon them, to be in financial ruin, or to see the family lineage extinguished, were all sources of considerable mental turmoil. Personal or familial ruin could lead to emotions of shame and poor self-esteem, as well as derision from the rest of society, poor societal wellbeing that, for some, was too much to bear. Thomas documents the suicide of gamblers, and adulterers, who could not bear the condemnation of the society around them, a testament to how much early modern society valued their positions and status.[610] A good name was a necessity for most interactions in life, be it in matters with neighbours, employers, or matters of business or court.[611] As Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes stated, 'almost

---

[608] Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 33, 35, 37.
[609] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 33.
[610] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp. 175-176.
[611] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p. 176.

all the life choices of the gentry were referenced to these preponderant structural imperatives'.[612]

The importance of duty was expressed in contemporary advice literature. On the duties of a householder, Anthony Nixon, within his *Dignitie of Man*, stated the head of a house must first let 'his house-hold see that he is prudent, chast, sober, peaceable, and religious; as also by bringing forth plentifull fruits of his duty towards those under his charge.'[613] Of these duties, they were to 'provide for his Family … To preserve that for this, which his predecessors left him … To increase his patrimony by travel, care, and good husbandry', and to 'get his goods by just, and civill meanes'.[614] In defining good husbandry Nixon understood it as 'an industry in getting of goods, and discreet government in spending them to good purposes.'[615] It could be argued that 'good purposes' would not include ostentatious displays of wealth that were visible at gentry estates, however, this was justified on the Aristotelian understanding that such displays aided in demonstrating the worthiness and virtue of the gentry and aristocracy, which Thomas admits 'was supposedly something different from vulgar ostentation, but the distinction was a fine one.'[616]

The families of this study show various aspects of the importance of honour and reputation in the early modern period, even before the chapter considers the role their greenspaces played in this. A key aspect of societal wellbeing was the maintenance of patriarchal household order, for which the discussions of Little Moreton's wall painting in Chapter 3 can be understood as an attempt by John Moreton to not only teach spiritual lessons, but also a display of being a good householder.[617] Little Moreton, under the ownership of John's son, William Moreton III, was characteristic of a gentry family trying to ensure prosperity, through using the estates' wealth to support their children. However, reflective of the importance of supporting children, was the need on their half to a degree of obedience and success. William Moreton III's eldest son, John (1597-1662), showed no interest in becoming the heir of the estate, and following a marriage which the family disapproved of, he was socially shunned, having to beg his father

[612] Felicity Heal, Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 51.
[613] Nixon, *The Dignitie of Man*, p. 114.
[614] Nixon, *The Dignitie of Man*, p. 114.
[615] Nixon, *The Dignitie of Man*, p. 115.
[616] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p. 115.
[617] Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England *c.* 1580-1640', *Past & Present*, 167 (2000), p. 79.

for money.[618] In a letter dated January 30 1621, John begged his father to send him financial support despite his actions:

> I beseech you to forgive my disobedience in this my rash and unfortunate marriage I am willing with all my hart to give my estate over unto [illegible] of my brothers that plesaeth you, god forbid that I should bee an avertsion into that house and to my brothers and sisters, if it please god to call my wife & being of liberty desire none in the meane time I humbly beseech you to be pleased to allow me some meanes …[619]

William III would later disinherit John, serving as an example of the importance of meeting familial and societal expectations within gentry families, and the harmful effects the failure to comply could have.[620] The opposite was true of William III's youngest son, Philip Moreton, who, in understanding the importance of the family unit, left his law practice in London to return to Little Moreton and manage the estate for the family's stability and wellbeing.[621]

The need to prove and justify social positioning was also evident at Rufford. Sir Robert Hesketh II was the bastard child of Thomas Hesketh III, who had left no legitimate male heirs, leaving the lawful heirs the descendants of his three sisters. However, in the late 1520s, Robert II successfully beat their claims to Thomas III's wealth, and as a demonstration that he deserved to be the head of the Hesketh family, constructed Rufford Hall, which would serve as the family's main residence.[622] Robert II typifies the mentality of the period, in using outward displays of wealth at gentry estates to prove one's title and place in society was earned, and to suggest stability and longevity. Another display at Rufford of the family's prestige was the production of a family pedigree in *c.*1594. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, pedigree rolls detailing the genealogical histories of families became a popular means of denoting status through proving a family's long, and therefore worthy history, and right to governing the estate they sat at.[623]

The greenspaces of the three estates can similarly be approached to consider societal wellbeing. Gardens throughout history, as John Dixon Hunt described them, have been sites of 'ambitions, instincts, and desire' which reveal how people wish to represent themselves; applying this to

618 National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, p. 32.
619 Add MS. 33935, f. 42 r.
620 National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, p. 33.
621 National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall*, p. 38.
622 Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, pp. 82-83. National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall* (1991), pp. 49-50.
623 Heal, Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 34; Richard Cust, 'The Material Culture of Tudor and Stuart England', in Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, Routledge, 2017), p. 247.

early modern England, the creation and maintenance of the gardens at the estates would have provided the three families a canvas to exercise their wealth, status, and knowledge, signifying a property's stability and good order to broader society.[624]

Greenspaces as a Source of Wealth

As emphasised through the thesis, the greenspaces of the gentry were a mixture of profit and pleasure; while profit could mean benefits for physical and mental health, it also meant monetary profits. Wealth was necessary for ensuring greenspaces were pleasurable, both through designing gardens to be visually appealing and to pursue recreational activities such as hunting properly. The agricultural focus of gentry estates would have been clear to those who visited them; greenspaces would have focused on crop production, whilst vernacular architecture also attested to this focus on productivity, as observed by contemporaries like Ralph Thoresby in visiting the Northwest.[625] At Little Moreton, the survival of the sixteenth century crook-framed barn at the estate's former farm is a testament to this focus on practicality and the generation of wealth within gentry greenspaces.

The greenspaces of the estates would have been just one of the many sources of income for the three families, as their other holdings around the Northwest would have likewise provided income from crops and tenants. The steward accounts between 1722 to 1723 for Rufford document the overall income from rentals from twenty-two other areas in Lancashire including, Croston, Mawdesley, Parbold, and Ormskirk, totalling £374 1s 5d.[626] Focusing specifically on the three estates' greenspaces, however, suggests they were predominately used for practical purposes to generate income and to provide food for the families. Chapter 1 has already demonstrated how orchards that grew on the estates were a source of pleasure and wellbeing through taste; however, the apples, cherries, peaches, pears, plums, and strawberries, would have also provided profit through their sale.[627] As well as fruits, the estates' vegetables would have added to the families wealth. At Little Moreton, Philip Moreton refers to personally planting beans and cauliflowers within the estate's gardens, whilst at Speke, potatoes were recorded by Wiswall as being grown the in the lower orchard on 10 May 1712, and cauliflowers sown on 9 December 1712.[628] Wiswall also refers to unspecified garden seeds being purchased

[624] Dixon Hunt, 'Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History', p. 90.
[625] Timothy Mowl, 'John Drapentier's Views of the Gentry Gardens of Hertfordshire', *Garden History*, 29:2 (2001), pp. 154-155; Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, I, p. 436.
[626] DDHE/54/2.
[627] Add MS. 33941, ff. 65, 74, 101, 120; Wiswall, ff. 4, 43, 74, 82, 88.
[628] Add. MS. 33941, f. 74; Wiswall, f. 25, 34.

from John Ashton, who had previously been the estate's gardener, typically recording these purchases annually in the middle of every June between 1713 and 1719, with the prices paid varying from 19s to £2 13s.[629] These too, would have presumably been some sort of crop to be consumed or sold to support the Norrises wellbeing.

The three families would actively try to increase the wealth gained from their crops through soil improvement. One such method documented at the three estates was the use of marl, a calcareous material used to fertilise soil, for which large pits would be dug to extract it. Marl has received little scholarly attention, but the digging and spreading of it onto greenspaces was distinctive to the Northwest, particularly in lowland Lancashire.[630] It was a practice recorded as far back as the twelfth century in the region, in areas such as West Derby, Little Crosby and Walton-on-the-Hill.[631] Marl improved crops and, therefore, would raise rent. However, repeated use could lead to oversaturation, and diminishing returns, as Joyce Bankes and Eric Kerridge note of James Bankes (1542-1617) who owned Winstanley Hall, Wigan.[632]

At Little Moreton, an area of land on the estate in 1638 was recorded as 'marlepitt close', while a pond created from a flooded marl pit is located in the woodlands where Well Meadow is today.[633] On 3 June 1650, Philip Moreton recorded stocking carp into a body of water called 'Walnut tree pitt', alluding to the pond's former use before being filled with water.[634] The 1839 tithe map of Rufford includes various parcels of land which allude to marl pits or marling, including a 'Field by marl holes' and 'great moss hey marl holes' indicative of the Hesketh family's historic usage of the greenspaces in their possession.[635] At Speke, as part of his duty to improve his estate, Sir William Norris III solicited advice from Robert Shireburne, who wrote him a note in 1628 outlining how to extract marl from his grounds correctly.[636] The Norrises would continue marling into the eighteenth century, with Wiswall making multiple references to marl pits. On 29 August 1710, he notes a payment made to James Chadwick for

[629] Wiswall, ff. 1, 43, 58,87, 115, 127.
[630] William D. Shannon, 'An Excellent Improver of the Soil: Marl and the Landscape of Lowland Lancashire', *Agricultural History Review*, 68:2 (2020), pp. 142, 146.
[631] Jennifer Lewis, *The Medieval Earthworks of the Hundred of West Derby: Tenurial Evidence and Physical Structure* (Oxford: BAR, 2000), p. 71.
[632] Joyce Bankes, Eric Kerridge (eds.) *The Early Records of the Bankes Family at Winstanley* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1973), p. 7.
[633] Add MS. 33941, f. 151. The pond is recorded in a land survey carried out by the University of Manchester, *Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire: Archaeological Landscape and Building Survey Work on the Estate* (2002), though it is uncertain if these are the same pits.
[634] Add MS. 33941, f. 23.
[635] DRB/1/170.
[636] SPEC NORRIS 284a.

measuring a new marl pit, while on 14 July 1712, he pays Richard Barrow and his son for making a frame at the marl pit in Oglet wood and for removing water from it.[637]

Marl was not the only means to improve the soil of the three estates, the manure produced from the dovecotes and pigeon houses owned by the families was valuable for agricultural improvement. Being applied particularly to hop fields, it was claimed that a single load was ten times stronger than other sorts of fertilizer.[638] For John Worlidge, pigeon manure would 'make a most rich Compost for either *Garden*, but more especially for your *Kitchen Garden*.'[639] Likewise a poem, *The Dove-Cote: or, the Art of Breeding Pigeons* by Joshua Dinsdale, praised doves for the improvement they brought to crops:

To cleanse the House your Servants then command,
And Spread the fruitful Dung about the Land:
No Manure makes the Corn more strongly rise,
Or the Grass please with brighter Green the Eyes.[640]

At Speke, Edward Webster was paid for sowing pigeon dung in 'Green Hea' on 24 May 1715, and unspecified 'muck' there again on 28 July 1716, demonstrating another method of improving wealth generation.[641]

The estates' woodlands were another vital asset for maintaining the families' wealth and way of living. In the seventeenth century, gentry estates could include extensive tracts of woodland of different tree species, be it as a source of income, to aid in the construction or repair of the halls or surrounding vernacular buildings, or for decoration.[642] On 21 October 1658, Philip Moreton noted the income gained from selling timber since 19 September 1654, recording fourteen instances, totalling £38 9s 7d. No detail of the variety of trees sold are given, apart from ashes on 24 December 1656 and oaks on 11 February 1656.[643] The selling of timber by Philip would have been an attempt to restore the family's reputation and financial wellbeing,

---

[637] Wiswall, ff. 1, 28.
[638] Peter Hansell, Jean Hansell, *Doves and Dovecotes* (Bath: Millstream Books, 1988), pp. 29-30.
[639] John Worlidge, *Systema Horti-Culturae, or The Art of Gardening*, 4th edition (London: William Freeman, 1700), p. 208.
[640] Joshua Dinsdale, *The Dove-Cote: or, the Art of Breeding Pigeons, a Poem* (London: Joseph Davidson, 1740), p. 16.
[641] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 9; Wiswall, f. 89.
[642] J. T. Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 57.
[643] Add MS, 33941, f. 172.

as his father had left large debts due to his Royalist sympathies during the Civil War, part of a wider trend throughout the country.[644]

At Speke, a 1695 evaluation of the lands belonging to Thomas Norris III (1653-1700) included his 'Timber woods'.[645] This suggests that whole areas of woodland on the estate were planted for monetary and utilitarian purposes. There was a degree of hospitality that came with the selling of timber at Speke; on 17 February 1711, Wiswall paid for ale specifically because a 'Mr Turner' was 'comeing to look out Timber', who returned again the next following month to complete the purchase.[646] This hospitality continued on 2 April 1711, with money spent on Robert Litherland, who bought timber in Oglet wood.[647]

The money generated from the three estates' greenspaces would have contributed to the families' wellbeing in gentry society by ensuring they had steady revenues. This money could be used to ensure the futures of successive generations as seen with William Moreton III's support of his children. However, the money also allowed for displays of wealth within the three estates' greenspaces which would have demonstrated the families' status and power.

Greenspaces as an Expression of Wealth

Beyond the monetary value of trees, they were also a common decorative feature that would have demonstrated that gentry families could afford to keep up with modern gardening trends. It was a common design feature in estates' greenspace to include avenues of trees acting as an approach to a house to add an element of grandeur.[648] Maintaining the gardens in such a manner would have projected that a gentry family's social position was healthy, having the funds to adapt to the latest sensibilities in taste. At Rufford, in 1724, the fir walk that led to the hall from the parish church would have served as a daily reminder of the Hesketh's' wealth to parishioners.[649] The funnelling of walkers' vision which the firs would have provided would have focused their attention on the walk to the hall itself, emphasising the perceived grandeur of the estate. At Speke, Wiswall paid Lawrence Golden for cutting firs in the gardens in 1710 and 1711, and so may have been laid out similarly to those at Rufford, in that they heightened the mystique approaching the properties.[650] Likewise, Nicholas Blundell at Little Crosby

[644] Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 193.
[645] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 2/634.
[646] Wiswall, ff. 6,7.
[647] Wiswall, f. 8.
[648] Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 57.
[649] DDHE/105/1.
[650] Wiswall ff. 5, 6.

recorded planting fir trees in what he called the 'Avenew' of his garden in 1721, suggesting that all three gentry families were using their wealth in line with recent garden trends.[651]

Rufford and Speke's lost summer and banqueting houses would have been a symbol of wealth and taste.[652] The primary purpose of a summerhouse was for enjoyment rather than any true practical purpose; their design could be highly personalised, providing the chance to experiment with current architectural styles and to reflect its owner's tastes. Inside, they could be as well-furnished as the main property's parlour, with similar decorations. Their placement was often at the far end of a garden, or in a corner, and provided space for both social and solitary activities, be it entertaining guests, or reading and writing.[653] For visitors and staff at Rufford and Speke, that the family could afford to build these structures on their greenspaces for their own private use, sacrificing potentially profitable land for pleasurable use, would have been indicative of their wealth and stability.

Later examples of summerhouses in the Northwest provide possible suggestions for the shape of the designs at Rufford and Speke. Nicholas Blundell's diurnal provides in-depth detail about the creation of his own summerhouse (or possibly houses) at Crosby Hall. On 22 November 1721, Blundell records that John Vose had begun to lay the foundations on what he called his 'Whimsicall Summer Hous'.[654] To describe it as whimsical before it had even been built shows Blundell's intentions for the effect it was to have on those visiting the garden. The use of the word whimsical suggests that it would stand out compared to the traditional forms of architecture common to greenspaces, such as sheds and barns, serving as a signifier of Blundell's gentile tastes, compared to his surrounding neighbours. By June 1625, the summerhouse was close to completion, with lead being fixed to the windows, and wood cut for the curtains and valance. The walls were 'whit washed' a stone-blue colour, pictures and chairs added.[655] On 21 June the summerhouse saw its first use: 'Parson Egerton, Parson Acton & his Wife, Mr Cottom &c: dined here, After dinner we hansaled [meaning to mark a special occasion] the New Summer hous, Parson Wairing came to us.'[656] However, in 1727 he commissioned the building of a new summerhouse at the end of the garden canal, this was his

[651] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, p. 59.
[652] DDHE/105/1; 920 NOR 2/306.
[653] Karen Lipsedge, *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 134-135.
[654] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, p. 61.
[655] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, pp. 159-160.
[656] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, p. 160.

‘Open-Summer-House’.[657] A drawing of the hall from 1738 shows a structure in the garden which is likely one of the summerhouses, in what appears to be an octagonal shape.[658] Ornamentation displayed in Blundell’s designs gentry was common amongst the Lancashire gentry to denote their rank, and would contribute towards improving their societal wellbeing in properly displaying their virtue and good taste, as was expected of them.[659]

Another contemporary summerhouse may have been built by the lawyer Isaac Greene (1678-1749), at Childwall Hall, Liverpool, possibly around 1728 when he rebuilt the hall.[660] Situated on Woolton Hill, around a mile away from the hall, the summerhouse was octagonal in shape, each side 6 ft long, and 10 ft from the ground to the eaves. The walls were around sixteen inches thick, with the inner wall and ceiling plastered. Three windows faced south, southwest, and west. The building was surrounded by a circular wall, roughly eighteen inches high, made of stone and brick. Harris comments on the similarity of this structure to the entrance porch of the Quaker Friends Meeting House in Lancaster, built in 1708.[661] These summerhouses provide examples of what other designs looked like in the Northwest, helping to formulate possible shapes to Rufford and Speke’s lost designs. The relative uniformity of these designs again suggests a need in the period to pursue the latest design trends, which gentry wealth would have helped to provide.

Displays of wealth also helped to ensure that utilitarian aspects of gentry greenspaces stood out. Whereas poorer estates might have used wooden fences to enclose their gardens and orchards, at Speke, a brick wall survives (Figure 36) which now forms the obscured backside of the current kitchen garden. In a state of disrepair and overgrowth, the dating of the wall is uncertain; it is visible on the 1781 map of the estate by Thomas Addison (Figure 37), and served as the northern boundary for an orchard, suggesting it could date to the early seventeenth century.[662] Brick was an expensive material in the period, and would have been a display of the Norrises’ wealth and aesthetic tastes, being a mixed design of carved sandstone bricks at its bottom and handmade bricks on its upper half.

---

[657] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, pp. 220-221.
[658] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, III, fig.2, p. 64.
[659] Nicholas Cooper, ‘Rank, Manners and Display: The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1750’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2001), pp. 291-293.
[660] Stanley A. Harris, ‘The Old Woolton Summer House, and the Question of Woolton Beacon’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 94 (1943), p. 114. The summerhouse still stood in 1939 when Harris visited it, it has likely been destroyed now. Its location is some four miles away from Speke Hall.
[661] Harris, ‘The Old Woolton Summer House, and the Question of Woolton Beacon’, pp. 113, 114, 116.
[662] Arrowsmith, *Land at Speke, Merseyside*, p. 63.

Figure 35: A section of the seventeenth-century brick wall at Speke.

Figure 36: Thomas Addison's 1781 map of Speke, location of the garden wall circled. (National Trust, Speke Hall Archive).

In his *Academy of Armory*, the Cheshire antiquarian Randle Holme believed that high brick or stone walls were the most suitable for a gentleman's garden.[663] Holme suggested that brick was best, around 9 ft high for the outer walls, with a thinner five- or six-foot wall built to split fruit and flower gardens.[664] Another example in Cheshire is recorded by Thomas Wilbraham (1589-1643), in his account book regarding his home Townsend House, in Nantwich, which included an extensive brick-walled garden. On 5 November 1631, Wilbraham records a payment of 4s to Roger Fleet 'for 4 days about the brick work upon the syde of the Orchard mounts'.[665] Beyond the display of wealth using brick provided, there would have also been an element of prestige and exclusivity as only permitted individuals would have been allowed to examine the gardens; just as certain foods and precious jewels were only available to the gentry, the same was true of certain greenspaces. Here, societal wellbeing was achieved through the creation of spaces that would only be possible through the wealth owned by the gentry, denoting a clear difference between them and the yeomanry. Oliver Creighton argues the same of medieval gardens, that they were meant to display, but also conceal and exclude.[666]

The horses owned by the three families would have denoted their healthy positions in the period, and marked them out from the lower members of society who would be confined to walking. Those of lower status might have also used horses for work or travel, but the use of horses for non-utilitarian purposes – to use them as more than a means of earning a living – is what set apart the gentry from those below them, as well as the large number of them that they owned.[667] Generally, the royalty may have owned hundreds of horses, the nobility and wealthiest of the gentry may have owned thirty to fifty saddle horses, coach horses and foals, whereas the local gentry, according to Peter Edwards, kept around ten to twelve.[668] This estimate roughly correlates with the number of horses recorded in the 1697 Rufford and 1700 Speke inventories discussed in Chapter 2. At Rufford, the fifteen horses listed, including a coach and harness, were valued at £66 10s.[669] At Speke, sixteen horses were valued together at £79 50s, whilst the mare belonging to 'Madam Norris' was valued at £4 10s. A total of

[663] Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory, or, A Storehouse of Armory and Blazon* (Chester: printed for author, 1688), no pagination.
[664] Rea, *Flora*, p. 3.
[665] Chester Record Office, DBW/P/J/7.
[666] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 1.
[667] Peter Edwards, Elsphet Graham, 'Introduction: The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World', in Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Elsphet Graham (eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 6.
[668] Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, p. 3; Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 35.
[669] WCW/Supra/C268H/40.

seventeen horses on the estate valued overall at £83 60s.[670] Horse ownership was a costly affair in terms of space, feeding, and handling, and ownership of a saddle horse (rather than a workhorse) marked them out in terms of disposable income. Horses were listed in the inventories of the families of this study precisely because they were possessions of value; to be able to purchase and afford the upkeep of multiple types of horses used for different tasks represented their wealth.[671] For example, seven of the horses at Rufford were listed specifically as coach horses, whereas six were listed as such for Speke, a sign of the two families' status and positive financial situation.[672]

An earlier inventory for Speke in 1624 lists six work horses at £28 and one mill horse at 10s.[673] Owning so many horses added the further costs of having to hire someone to look after them, as evident in the inventory with a room listed as the horse keeper's chamber.[674] The inventory taken after Edward Norris's death in 1628 valued his two horses at £5 and 'Three sadles & two brydles &c.' at 16s.[675] This Edward was not the head of the family and died relatively young, though that he himself owned two horses and various pieces of riding equipment, was indicative of the Norrises wealth. Following the death of Edward's father, Sir William Norris IV, in 1630, an inventory of the items not listed in his will included a 'deceadente ryding gelding with saddle Bridle and other furniture' valued at £13 10s.[676] Of note here is that William IV's single horse was worth more than double his son's two horses and their respective equipment combined; the usage of the term decadent may suggest that it was well looked after and groomed, but may also reveal the high-quality craftsmanship of the items used to ride it. Thomas notes that for many members of the gentry, individual horses could be a greater financial burden than staff members.[677] The cost of William IV's horse demonstrates again the importance of displays of wealth for the gentry in the early modern period as a marker of their perceived success and stable position within society. Indeed, Chapter 3 has shown that William IV faced considerable fines for his recusancy in the 1620s, and visual displays of wealth such as the 'deceadente ryding gelding' gave the outside appearance that Norrises situation did not hinder the wellbeing of their gentry status.

---

[670] Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', pp. 120, 133.
[671] Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, p. 3.
[672] WCW/Supra/C268H/40; Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', p. 120.
[673] Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 142.
[674] Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 131.
[675] Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', p. 135.
[676] SPEC NORRIS 291.
[677] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 101.

In connection with horses, coaches served as a means of displaying a families' fortune. While riding a horse would be more impressive than walking, traveling by coach would be more impressive than riding on horseback. The greater the number of horses pulling the coach, the more impressive the display would be.[678] J. T. Cliffe estimates that the majority of squires with an income of £1000 or greater would have been able to their use wealth to purchase private coaches, which spread to smaller estates after the Restoration.[679] At Rufford there were the aforementioned coach and harness, while in the 1700 inventory for Speke, a building listed as the 'New Coach House' held a coach and harness for four horses valued at £25.[680] Aside from the Norrises and Hesketh, several Lancashire families owned coaches in the latter half of the seventeenth century, including the Asshetons, Blundells, Bradhaighs, Moores, Scarisbricks, and Walmesleys.[681] Just as a country house or garden could be embellished with heraldic symbols, coaches were also emblazoned with a family's coat of arms or colours. To view a coach going past in this manner not only demonstrated that its occupant was wealthy but also served to amplify their family's name whilst travelling.[682]

To keep these horses and coaches, suitable stables and coach houses were needed. Over the course of the seventeenth century, many stables were constructed, which could in themselves be large, impressive structures that could compliment the design of the main house and highlighted the number and breed of the horses they held.[683] That at Speke the coach house was listed as 'New', as well as the mentioning of a 'Best Stable' and a 'Draught Horse Stable' is indicative of these developments.[684] Not only were new structures being created, but they also had heirarchy to them, a place to hold and display the Norrises prize horses, whilst the horses that served baser agricultural functions were kept at another stable. At Little Moreton a stable is mentioned by Philip Moreton in his account books, on 29 November 1658 he pays John Shaw 10d for mending the wall at the mount yard door, mending planks in the stables, and for his food.[685] That it required mending would suggest it was not a new constructionlikely, given the financial pressures faced by the Moretons during this period.

[678] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p. 117.
[679] Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 122.
[680] WCW/Supra/C268H/40; Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', p. 122.
[681] Ashmore, 'Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry, 1500-1700', p. 103.
[682] Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, pp. 120, 122.
[683] Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, p.35; Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, p. 4.
[684] Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', pp. 121-2.
[685] Add. MS 33941, f. 77.

Gentry hunting pursuits, which defined their use of greenspaces, would have also been a costly demonstration of wealth and a signifier of their status. The hawking practised at Speke is only known from the hawk bath listed in the 1624 inventory; however, examining the Shuttleworth family's accounts provides greater details of the expenses of the sport.[686] In 1612, the Shuttleworth's steward made multiple references to purchases relating to hawking. In June 1612, hawk hoods were purchased for 16d; in August, two goshawk hoods were also purchased for 16d, and four sparrow hawk hoods for 12d; in September, a pair of hawk bells that would have been used by the Shuttleworths to locate their birds were purchased for 6d. Beyond the associated items needed for flying a hawk, they would also need mews to keep the birds in when they were not being flown, another expense for both their creation and repair, the latter of which the Shuttleworths note as costing them 2s.[687] Men would also have to be paid to take eyases from hawks' nests as these had to be taken at a young age in order for them to be trained. The Shuttleworths paid Hughe Cockeshutt 22s in July 1620 for having watched a nest for eleven weeks, while a payment for 2s for an unspecific amount of time was paid to an unknown man for watching a hawk's nest at 'Lanscale' in September 1621.[688]

The hawks themselves were the most expensive aspect of hawking, and in August 1618, a payment was made for a goshawk costing 48s.[689] Cumulatively, the money that would have been involved in the Norrises' maintenance of hawking on their estates would have made it an expensive luxury. However, both the Norrises and the Shuttleworths were two gentry families representative of the well-established trade in hawks internationally in the early modern period, and the purchasing of the associated equipment to match them. Gentry families would have been fine spending the money on hawking because it would have enhanced their status.[690] For the Norrises, a Catholic family whose social standing would have been under constant pressure from the reputational and financial losses that could come with persecution, the pursuit of hawking was to display their position in society.[691]

Other hunting activities would have also been costly displays of wealth and taste. At Little Moreton, Philip Moreton sent arms to Middlewich on 13 September 1659, including a 'ffowling

---

[686] Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 135.
[687] Harland, *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall*, I, pp. 201-203,
[688] John Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithils and Gawthorpe from September 1582 to October 1621*, II, *Remains Historical and Literary Connection with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society*, XLI (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1856), pp. 243, 251
[689] Harland, *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall*, I, p. 231.
[690] Williams, 'Sport and the Elite in Early Modern England', p. 399.
[691] Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England*, p. 130.

piece' and a 'Birding piece'; recording that they were marked, possibly referring to their ornamentation, again reflecting the luxury and presumably high cost of the everyday items members of the gentry would have used. The following month, on 25 October 1659, Philip records selling his late-brother Peter's (1601-1658) horse – a colt – at Middlewich fate, and so it is possible the guns had belonged to him too.[692] Likewise, at Speke, the listing of the deceased Edward Norris's possessions in 1628 included a birding piece and crossbow with bolts, together valued at 20s, while, the 1700 inventory lists a fowling piece at £1.[693]

At Speke, as early as 1336, 'deryortcloughs' or deer yards were mentioned as being near the property[694] In the 1625 mortgaging of Speke Hall by Sir William Norris to John Fleming of Rydal, a parcel of ground called the 'newe park' is mentioned, presumably a new hunting ground to chase the estate's deer. Rabbits and hares may have also been hunted as another area called 'Coningrie Wood' is listed in the same mortgage.[695] Evidence of hunting at the estates comes from court actions; a case was made by Robert Hesketh III in 1612 against a group of poachers for damaging fences and stealing deer in Holmeswood, while in 1699, four people were fined for coursing on the Speke estate.[696] These cases emphasise further the prestige that came with hunting for the gentry; these were reserved places for their own personal use and their friends only. The venison that came from the successful hunts of the Hesketh and Norris deer parks would have served as further extension of their prestige, it was seen as an elite food, that few could afford to buy or eat, and was eaten on special occasions, amplifying the glamour of whatever the event was.[697] The deer parks themselves would have been potent displays of gentry wealth. The Hesketh's' hunting grounds at Holmeswood were fenced and would have needed to be well maintained through the hiring of staff to ensure they were kept in good condition.[698]

Displays of wealth within gentry greenspaces, either through the construction of architecture, or their expensive use of horses and hunting equipment, was an indication to wider society that a family's wellbeing appeared to be stable in being able to afford these things. However, it was not just that these elements were expensive as to why they were beneficial. How members

[692] Add MS. 33941, f. 84.
[693] Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', p. 135.
[694] Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 19.
[695] SPEC NORRIS 276.
[696] The National Archives, STAC 8/180/28 ; Nicholson, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795', p. 19.
[697] Williamson, 'Fish, Fur and Feather', p. 93.
[698] DDK 1743; Williams, 'Sport and the Elite in Early Modern England', p. 398.

of the gentry conducted themselves in greenspaces was a chance to demonstrate themselves as honourable, idealised landowners worthy of their positions.

Greenspaces as an Expression of Honour

Aside from the great number of horses the gentry owned, how the three families rode them would have also been deemed a vital signifier of status.[699] Within Gerard Langbaine's *The Hunter*, he notes how 'many Persons of Honour delight in good Horses, both for Hunters as well as Gallopers'.[700] Thinking of one of the key reasons the gentry rode, hunting, they would travel at fast speeds, requiring dexterity and balance not to fall off.[701] While people who rode and owned horses were to be respected, the animals themselves were held with a degree of reverence. Edwards makes note of seventeenth-century writers like Michael Baret and John Worlidge, who noted the nobleness and strength of horses.[702] In this regard, horses were good company for a gentleman to keep. Particularly with larger horses, in being able to ride one, the owner could take on these qualities of the horse, having successfully tamed it.[703] For members of the three families who participated in fast horse riding for hunting, it would have provided a means of proving their worth and value in society, through tests of resilience and strength.

Though referring to the nobility, Edwards and Elsphet Graham, suggest that horsemanship taught humility, as unlike courtiers and their underlings, a horse would not display flattery towards their esteemed rider. If the rider made an error, regardless of their status, a horse could buck its rider off.[704] This would have still been applicable to the country gentry of this study; in their estates, respect and courtesy would have been expected from their staff and the people of the surrounding towns and villages, to gain the respect and trust of an animal, not bound by concepts of a social hierarchy, would have been seen as an achievement and an honourable quality. To ride a horse was seen as a key part of a gentleman's education as much as other leisure pastimes like dancing or fencing; in this respect, for owners of the three halls, horses were not just a marker of status, but a hurdle which had to be overcome during youth.[705] A connection between the right to rule and horses had been established by the elite, which is why

[699] Edwards, Graham, 'Introduction', p. 7.
[700] Langbaine, *The Hunter*, p. 70.
[701] Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, p. 69.
[702] Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, p. 22.
[703] Peter Edwards, 'Image and Reality: Upper Class Perceptions of the Horse in Early Modern England', in Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Elsphet Graham (eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 296.
[704] Edwards, Graham, 'Introduction', p. 11.
[705] Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, p. 27.

proper horsemanship mattered, it offered a means of justifying and displaying their status through proper, honourable conduct.[706]

As with horse riding, the form and process of hunting could make it an expression of gentry honour.[707] Hunting was an important rite of passage of gentile youth, and training on the proper conduct and terminology of the sport was essential to signifying gentry status.[708] Numerous books were published on the matter, notably, and one of the earliest, the *Booke of St Alban's*, which ran through twenty editions between 1486 and 1616; its frequent republications emphasized the importance and clear desire to know the proper conduct of the hunt.[709] Contemporary literature highlights the importance of learning to hunt in youth. Nicholas Cox in *The Gentleman's Recreation* claimed that:

> Hunting trains up Youth to use of manly Exercises in their riper Age, being encouraged thereto by the pleasure they take in hunting the Stately Stag, the Generuous Buck, the Wilde Boar, the Cunning Otter, the Crafty Fox, and the Fearful Heare.[710]

The *par force* hunt in particular, involving a small band of hunters against one animal, such as a deer or boar, was as much about the excitement, entertainment and display of a landowner's skills than the need to bring food to the table as the gentry would have food at home regardless of a successful hunt.[711] Furthermore, in the relative peace of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, hunting provided a chivalrous substitute for the traditional, medieval means of showing bravery and honour in the absence of war.[712] Participation in hunting from the three families would have solidified their claim to gentry status through these bold acts.

On the prestige of hunting, Cox wrote:

> Hunting is a Game and Recreation commendable not onely for Kings, Princes, and the Nobility, but likewise for private Gentleman: And as it is a Noble and Healthy Pastime, so it is a thing which hath been highly prized in all Ages.[713]

Part of the prestige of hunting was its long-time connection as a pastime of the elite and royalty; for the families to engage in the activity was to practice a longstanding privilege, which through

[706] Edwards, 'Image and Reality', p. 294.
[707] Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 71.
[708] Griffin, *Blood Sport*, p. 71.
[709] Heal, Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 291.
[710] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, I, 3rd ed., p. 1.
[711] Griffin, *Blood Sport*, pp. 7-9.
[712] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 36.
[713] Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, I, 3rd ed., p. 1.

their continuation of it helped justify their standing in society. In the surrounding landscape, even when not visible, the hunt would have been noticeable due to the sounds of dogs, horns and hooves.[714] Dog kennels are listed in both the 1624 and 1700 inventories for Speke; in the 1697 Rufford inventory, a dog kennel is mentioned in an evaluation of the copper pans at the property, one having belonged to the 'Dogghouse'; while Philip Moreton records setting a nursery at the side of 'the ould Dogkennel' on 18 January 1664.[715] For the farmers, and other locals surrounding the estates, hunts would have been an auditory indication of the families power and exercising of honourable qualities, while simultaneously, being unlikely to actually witness the hunt due to it being on private land.

Hawking was also seen as an honourable activity and a statement of an individual's personal qualities. As with horses, gaining obedience from a hawk had to be earned. It took patience and skill, and so to gain the obedience of a hawk would not only be a personal achievement for the owner, but to others, it would convey that this was a person with commendable, honourable traits.[716] Additionally, the qualities that man ascribed to hawks made them sought-after companions as with horses. Part of what made hawks an honourable aspect of gentry life was their association with royalty. As far back as Ancient Egypt, hawks had been seen as noble, sacred birds; continuing through to the medieval period, these connections to grandeur still remained and were a highly sought-after possession.[717] In the medieval period, hawks were placed in a hierarchy compared to other animals, being placed high for qualities attributed to them, such as their nobleness, valiantness, and aloofness. Richard Grassby suggests that these allegories faded in the early modern period, yet acknowledges that many sixteenth and seventeenth-century portraits depicted gentlemen holding falcons - given the symbolism and artistic choices that went into painting, the birds would have still served as a symbol of honour.[718] Robin Oggins has stated that the ownership of birds-of-prey disseminated into the lower classes by the later medieval period, but what kept it a mainstay amongst the gentry and aristocracy was the way hawking was done: through the circumstances, the variety of bird flown, and the use of correct terminology, became the true mark of it being an elite pastime. Oggins claims that: 'falconry was an aspect of the eternal war between the haves and the would-

[714] Griffin, *Blood Sport*, p. 31.
[715] Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 132; Saxton, 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', p. 133; WCW/Supra/C268H/40; Add MS. 33941, f. 124.
[716] Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', p. 46.
[717] McLean, *The English at Play in the Middle Ages*, p. 51.
[718] Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', pp. 41, 49.

bes – as one of the many ways in which people have sought to maintain or achieve social distinction.'[719]

To own a hawk was to emulate royalty in the early modern period. Henry VIII flew them, whereas James I flew a sparrow hawk as a child, bringing birds from Scotland after his coronation and maintaining royal mews to keep them in.[720] Hawking was another vital aspect of growing from a child to an adult in noble society; learning how to hunt using the bird and using the proper terminology and form served as another rite of passage and may have been an activity in the formative years of younger Norrises.[721] The association with hawking as a noble activity was also reflected in guidebooks of the period. Simon Latham, writer of *Lathams Falconry*, first published in 1615, had been one of the country's royal falconers, trained by Henry Sadlier, son of Elizabeth I's grand falconer, Sir Ralph Sadlier.[722] With Latham's knowledge of the proper conduct of how England's nobility and royalty flew birds, the book would have been seen as a way for the gentry to emulate these honourable practices. The book itself focuses predominately on the technical aspects of hawking, he includes a poem in which the beginning letter of each verse's first word would spell his name. For the first 'A' in 'LATHAM', he writes 'A Faulcon is a Princes Plesant sport', alluding to activity as one which would have been a signifier of social status and honour for the gentry who read his work.[723]

Gentry involvement within their estate's gardens and orchards, in the form of gardening, was understood to be an honourable pastime which crafted the image of an idealised landowner. Gardening improved an individual's social wellbeing by projecting themselves as taking an active interest in the good dressing and order of their land. It was also understood as a positive pastime with no ill effect. Moses Cook suggested that to garden was to 'employ your time so well, that you will never have cause to say it is ill spent.'[724] Compared to the other pastimes the gentry loved, such as hunting, or gambling, Samuel Gilbert stated:

> Being attended with much more (nay all) innocency [sic], fewer (nay no) evil circumstances, than either that time which is too much lavished away in

[719] Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks*, p. 117.
[720] Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', p. 41.
[721] Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks*, p. 135.
[722] John T. Battalio, 'Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Falconry Manuals: Technical Writings with a Classical Rhetorical Influence', *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, 43:2 (2013), p. 148.
[723] Simon Latham, *Lathams Falconry: or The Faulcons Lure, and Cure* (London: John Harison, 1663), no pagination.
[724] Cook, *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees*, p. li.

> Hunting, Hawking, Bowling, Drinking, Drabbing, Dicing, &c. wherein is as much pain taken, if not more, without refunding pleasure.[725]

Contemporary authors referred back to the historical pedigree of gardening to justify it as an honourable pastime, with Cook noting it had been enjoyed by kings, princes, philosophers, and nobles throughout history.[726] These sentiments were shared by William Coles in his book *Adam in Eden: or, Natures Paradise*:

> Emperours, Princes, Heroes, and Persons of the most generous Qualifications, have trod on their Scepters, sleighted their Thrones, cast away their Purples, and laid aside all other Excuberancies of State, to Court their Mother Earth in her own Dressings.[727]

For the gentry, emulation of their social superiors would have been desired, and so gardens and gardening served as an extension of this. The idea that gardening was a virtuous, harmless pastime became particularly prominent in the 1650s during the Interregnum. Having no position in court and government, many of the aristocracy and gentry instead devoted their time to estate management and gardening. Notable examples included Sir Ralph Verney after returning from the Continent after a period of exile for refusing to join the Solemn League and Covenant, while Viscount Scudamore spent the late 1640s and 1650s focusing on creating apple orchards at Holme Lacy, and the prolific gardener John Evelyn, too, spent the Interregnum focusing on horticultural pastimes.[728]

Gardening, while a physical labour, was never seen as beneath the gentry, as writers recommended it, and their social superiors – the aristocracy – also enjoyed it, unlike other physical acts such as farming.[729] In her discussion of Renaissance gardens, Elizabeth Hyde remarks that they were 'a landscape manipulated through the labor of cultivation – but cultivation understood in all senses of the word: agricultural, cultural, and intellectual', which is why working within them was seen as a honourable endeavour for the landed classes.[730] Within the context of the gentry of this study, they too would have been influenced by cultural and intellectual developments noted by Hyde, but with an emphasis on the use of their lands for farming, land management, and country pursuits.[731] Their gardens were much more a

---

[725] Samuel Gilbert, *The Florist's Vade-Mecum* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1682), p. vii.
[726] Cook, *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees*, p. li.
[727] William Coles, *Adam in Eden: or, Natures Paradise* (London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1657), p. i.
[728] Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales*, pp. 238, 239, 259.
[729] Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 115.
[730] Elizabeth Hyde, 'Use and Reception', in Elizabeth Hyde (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 100.
[731] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 89.

mixture of artistic design and productivity than the true elite examples they admired, a split emphasis on pleasure and profit.[732] Because of the duty of gentry landowners to provide for their families, the dual nature of their gardens caused 'no loss of status or dignity' as remarked by Roberts.[733] Instead, gardening displayed the gentry as honourably supporting the wellbeing of the estate. Not only was gentry involvement honourable because it helped provide for the table, it also served as reflection of the owner's intelligence. To be actively involved in the garden meant knowing about nature, the qualities of plants and fruits, when best to set them, and how to make them successfully grow.[734] Gardens were a setting in which the women of gentry households could craft honourable identities, as household management was seen as one of their key responsibilities to their family.[735] Gentry involvement was also seen as honourable because it represented an attempt to create order in their estates, serving as an extension of the themes of patriarchal control expected within the interiors of a property too.[736]

By the time a clearer understanding of Little Moreton's greenspaces is established to us with Philip Moreton's accounts, the family's wealth and status had diminished. However, Philip's handling of estate affairs and active involvement in the gardens would still have been seen as an honourable act in the maintenance and navigation of the family's precarious position. Active involvement in gardens would have been an essential display of proving one's honour and worth for the recusant members of the Norris and Hesketh families, as they were barred from the traditional sources of power that would have allowed them to display honour and power through other means. Displays of their honour through their architecture and gardens would have been a way of maintaining a healthy status in society.[737] The construction of the sandstone gateway in 1605 by Edward I and Margaret Norris, and William IV and Eleanor Norris's porch in 1612, both leading into Speke's south garden, may have been attempts by recusant members of the Norrises to create honourable identities by expressing it through the refinement of their greenspaces. At Rufford, the recusant Sir Thomas Hesketh IV was well known in his lifetime as a patron of the arts and his architectural additions, being remembered as 'a notable good housekeeper, a benefactor to all men, and singular in every science.'[738] Science in the early

[732] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 101.
[733] Roberts, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', p. 101.
[734] Rebecca Krug, 'Plantings', in Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 69, 72.
[735] Krug, 'Plantings', p. 72; Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p. 170.
[736] Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 31; Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England *c.* 1580-1640', p. 79.
[737] Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England*, p. 131.
[738] Quoted from Procter, 'The Manor of Rufford and the Ancient Family of the Hesketh', p. 104.

modern period also included curiosity in the cultivation of plants, suggesting Thomas IV used gardens to display honour through his intellectual pursuits. It is also possible that these pursuits ignited an interest in his son, Thomas Hesketh, to become a botanist and physician.[739] Preparing the children itself was seen as essential for the gentry to ensure the family's continued wellbeing for successive generations.[740]

Thomas Hesketh, the botanist, lived in Martholme, roughly twenty miles from Rufford, with his mother, practising as a physician in Clitheroe.[741] As a healer, his gardens would have been vital for upholding his honourable reputation, as they would have been used to cultivate herbs for the medicine that he prepared for his clients. Thomas actively went out into the countryside to discover new plants, which are recorded within John Gerard's *Herball.* Throughout the book, Hesketh is given credit for helping to inform Gerard's work:

> There is a strange Primrose founde in a wood in Yorkeshire, growing wilde, by the travell and industry of a learned gentleman of Lancashire, called master Thomas Hesketh, and a diligent searcher of Simples, who hath not only brought to light this amiable and pleasant kind of Primrose, but many others likewise, never before his time remembred or founde out.[742]

For his name to be included in such a popular book would have provided a means to bolster his name and reputation around the country. Given that Thomas was the second son-in-line to the estate, his father may have encouraged him down this career path, since it would be his older brother, Robert Hesketh III, who would instead have to focus on the burdens of being the head of the family. Thomas was recorded to have found over twenty-seven different plants (see Appendix A), which held both medicinal and aesthetical value. Plants with medicinal purposes he found, included St Peter wort, the seeds of which, when drunk in four ounces of mead, were said to purge choleric excrements.[743] Thomas was also interested in plants that were valued for their beauty, sending Gerard meadow buttercups, which he had found in the village of Hesketh. On this find, Gerard writes it was:

> planted in Gardens for the beauty of the flowers … which hathof late beene brought foorth of Lancashire unto our London Gardens, by a curious gentleman in the searching foorth of Simple Master *Thomas Hesketh*, who found it growing

[739] This has also been suggested by Abram, 'Thomas Hesketh of Martholme and Clitheroe', p. 7.
[740] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 39; Bankes, Kerridge (eds.) *The Early Records of the Bankes Family at Winstanley*, p. 4.
[741] Abram, 'Thomas Hesketh of Martholme and Clitheroe', p. 9.
[742] Gerard, *The Herball*, 1st ed., p. 637.
[743] Gerard, *The Herball*, 1st ed., p. 637.

> wilde in the towne fields of a small village called Hesketh, not far from Latham in Lancashire.[744]

In this instance, Thomas was informing garden trends by bringing plants from the north to south, a contrast as typically London dictated the latest styles. Thomas's most notable find resulted in his immortalisation, through a plant being named after him. The second edition of Gerard's *Herball* includes a picture of the plant including, its latin name, *Primula veris Heskethi*, or Mr. Hesketh's Primrose. Thomas discovered the flower whilst searching for plants in a wood in Clapham and is now recognised as a hybrid between the primrose and the cowslip.[745] The language which Gerard uses to describe Thomas Hesketh throughout his *Herball* is reflective of the esteem he held him in, and presumably, his readership too, calling him a 'worshipful and learned gentleman, a diligent searcher of simples, & a fervent lover of plants'.[746] Here, the use of greenspaces allowed Thomas to forge a lasting, positive identity through his honourable scientific pursuits, beneficial to his own societal wellbeing and the Hesketh family name more generally.

The fruits and vegetables grown in the three estates' gardens and the various game caught through hunting all contributed to early modern notations of gift culture. To be generous with gifts was a symbol of an estate's honour but was also a means of forging new social networks and relationships, essential for the security of the wellbeing and stability of gentry families.[747] As much as deer parks were a recreational event to display one's hunting prowess, friends (old and potential new ones) could be gratified with gifts of venison.[748] Evidence of gift giving at Rufford comes from the Shuttleworth accounts, when in August 1591, 'Mr Heskethe mane of Rufforthe which broughte a fatte buke frome his M^r^ v^s^'.[749] This 'Mr Hesketh' was likely Robert Hesketh III, who had presumably killed a deer at his park in Holmeswood. The importance of venison cannot be understated; it fetched a high price, but was also a key meat for feasts to honour guests due to its exclusivity, and to be given it was a display of favour.[750] As Keith Thomas has emphasised, living a fulfilling life in the early modern period was dependent on the social circles the gentry kept, be it family, friends, or patronage, that could provide

[744] Gerard, *The Herball*, 1st ed., p. 810-811.
[745] Gerard, *The Herball*, 2nd ed., p. 782; Foley, 'Some localised early plant records from North-west England', p. 358.
[746] Gerard, *The Herball*, 1st ed., p. 89.
[747] Griffin, *Blood Sport*, p. 72.
[748] Cliffe, *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 48.
[749] Harland, *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthrope Hall*, I, p. 67.
[750] Griffin, *Blood Sport*, p. 72; Williamson, 'Fish, Fur and Feather', p. 93.

'security, subsistence, education, protection, or advancement.'[751] The giving of gifts would have ensured the maintenance of these relationships, and the continuation of good societal wellbeing. Evidence of gift giving was also at documented at Speke, with the dairy of the estates cattle sent as gifts of cheese. In a letter Katherine Norris, wife to Thomas Norris II, wrote to her brother William Garway:

> I can never forget what I owe to your Love and Goodness upon which I must beg your pardeon for this bouldnes desering you to accept … I have maid in bould to send you a littell of thir housewifery a couple of cheses I know they are unworthy your acceptans but I hope your Goodnes will excuse all our failing…[752]

The specifics of the 'Love and Goodness' that William showed to Katherine and her family are unknown. However, the maintenance of the Norris connection to the Garways may have played a role in their elevation in society and reinforcement of their societal wellbeing. In October 1698, Katherine's son, Sir William Norris VI (1658-1702), was appointed the New East India Company's ambassador to India, at first this would have been a position which greatly bolstered the Norris family's societal wellbeing, as beyond the benefits of a yearly salary of £2000, he was also created a baronet in the December of that year.[753] Though William VI had made a name for himself through politics, which no doubt aided his appointment, the importance of maintaining family relations was also important, as his maternal grandfather, Sir Henry Garway (*d.*1646), had been a founding member of the East India Company.[754] William VI's newfound success would be short-lived, failing to make any headway with the Mughal emperor, he died on the voyage back to England in 1702.[755] The Norris family also gave fruit trees as gifts. On 23 May 1694, William Sacheverall, the governor of the Isle of Man, wrote to Richard Norris, mentioning how he feared that he 'shall loose all your Brothers kind present of Apple trees for I fear I have not tenn alive occasioned by the great drought'.[756]

The dovecotes at the three estates would have also been part of early modern gift culture. In the medieval period, they were seen as a marker of social status; to build a dovecote and to

---

[751] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp. 191-192.
[752] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 1/1.
[753] Richard D. Harrison, 'Norris, Sir William, baronet (1658–1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2016), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20290> [Accessed 29 November 2023].
[754] Arthur C. Wardle, 'The East India Company: some local associations', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 99 (1949), p. 65; Anita McConnell, Robert Brown, 'Garway [Garraway], Sir Henry (bap. 1575, d. 1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2007), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10405> [Accessed 29 November 2023].
[755] Harrison, 'Norris, Sir William, baronet (1658–1702)'.
[756] Liverpool Record Office, 920 NOR 1/11.

stock them initially was a costly investment.[757] Until 1619, the ownership of dovecotes had been a manorial prerogative, when freeholders were given the right to create their own dovecotes without permission from their lord.[758] Prior to this, as with venison gained from the deer parks, to eat pigeon, was a marker of status, though even after this, a yeoman would have still needed enough money to create and stock a dovecote.[759] Between the ages of four and six weeks, the squabs were considered at their best and most tender as they had yet to grow tougher through flight. Yielding around a pound of meat, the squabs were normally spit-roasted, while the tougher meat of the adult pigeons was given to servants.[760] In 1639, Lady Brilliana Harley's (1598-1643) letters show her sending her son Edward Harley (1624-1700) a pigeon pie in response to an illness he was suffering, as the bird was thought to have medicinal properties.[761] Lady Harley demonstrates here how gift-giving was an effective means of fulfilling gentry duties towards their childrens' wellbeing. However, the gifting of pigeons was not solely relegated to the elite, should their owners choose so. Nicholas Blundell recorded on 30 January 1712, how he had taken 'some old Pigeons' that were for'servants & Workfolks', the mention that they had been older pigeons, rather than the young squabs which were seen as tastier, shows that even in acts of charity towards their social inferiors, gentry still barred aspects of their life to them.[762] Despite this, Blundell's actions would have still been a source of positive social wellbeing for him, displaying honour in looking after the people under his employ.

Gentry involvement in greenspaces was also seen as beneficial not just for their own societal wellbeing, but for the wellbeing of the nation. In the early modern period there was an understanding that the health and condition of families was reflective of that of the nation. As Susan Dwyer Amussen has argued:

> everyone understood that what happened in their families was related to what happened in the state. The family was a social, public institution, not a private one that could be left to its own devices … The analogy between the household

[757] John McCann, 'Dovecotes and Pigeons in English Law', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 44 (2000), pp. 25-26.
[758] McCann, 'Dovecotes and Pigeons in English Law', p. 45.
[759] Jennifer Heller, 'Material Goods in Brilliana Harley's Letters', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15:2 (2015), p. 92.
[760] Jean Hansell, *The Pigeon in History, or The Dove's Tale* (Bath: Millstream Books, 1998), pp. 149, 151; John McCann, 'An Historical Enquiry into the Design and Use of Dovecotes', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 35 (1991), p. 92; Frank Pexton, John McCann, 'An Early 18th-Century Dovecote at Burghill', *Transactions of The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 54 (2006), p. 23.
[761] Jennifer Heller, 'Material Goods in Brilliana Harley's Letters', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15:2 (2015), p. 92.
[762] Blundell, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell*, II, pp. 25-26.

> and the state was available to all those interested in authority and the enforcement of order in early modern England.[763]

As a result, greenspaces were seen as an essential aspect of national wellbeing. In the Tudor period, were the household was seen as a microcosm of the state, the good upkeep and order of gardens was seen as an extension of this.[764] Indeed, it was during the positive periods of a nation's history when estates tended to prosper and flourish; Hamlin notes the growth of secular building in England between 1570 and 1640, caused by relative government stability, a strong economy, and increased social mobility.[765] Representative of this understanding, many gardening and agricultural guides emphasised the importance of well-ordered estates for the good health of the nation. These texts promoted estate management as a patriot and nationalistic act, Katherine Bootle Attie suggests that yeoman and gentry landowners were portrayed in these guides as 'The self-reliant, industrious individuals who profit by enclosure, then, are the foundation of a self-reliant nation.'[766] During the Commonwealth and Restoration, periods marked by environmental and economic ruin from the Civil Wars, the growing of fruits within orchards was seen as essential towards England's recovery, emphasised by writers such as Ralph Austen.[767] The planting of trees was also seen as a patriot duty in advice literature, as the timber could be used to construct boats to increase the country's revenues from fishing as well as for the development of the navy's warships in times of conflict.[768] In these ways, members of the gentry could further hone their desired image of an honourable landowner by contextualising their greenspaces in the broader framework of the wellbeing of the nation, and, in doing so, proving their own worth in contributing towards this.

Conclusion

In the early modern period, conforming, or excelling, towards societal expectations was a vital aspect of gentry life. This was understood both on individual and familial terms, and fulfilling these goals was an essential part of gentry navigation and success through early modern society. While not directly concerned with the bodily health of individuals, societal wellbeing was still an important aspect of the gentry lifestyle, to have poor sources of income, a poor looking

[763] Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, pp. 36-37.
[764] Francis, 'Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558-*C*.1630', p. 22.
[765] Hamling, Tara, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 57.
[766] Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s', p. 145.
[767] Bellamy, *The Language of Fruit*, p. 4; Turner, 'Ralph Austen, an Oxford Horticulturalist of the Seventeenth Century', p. 40.
[768] Peter Goodchild, 'John Smith's Paradise and Theatre of Nature', *Garden History*, 24:1 (1996), p. 19; Williamson, 'Estate Management and Landscape Design', p. 19.

estate, and an even poorer reputation, were seen as critical failings in the eyes of wider society. In thinking of how greenspaces could help prevent this through societial wellbeing, they should be understood as an essential reason for the longevity that the three families remained at these properties as lineages.

Greenspaces improved the three families' societal wellbeing by providing them with wealth, a location to demonstrate this wealth and to conduct and display honourable qualities that would have been considered admirable by the rest of society. Gentry greenspaces were a mix of profit and pleasure, the fruits, vegetables, and crops grown within them provided the three families with a steady form of income, that allowed for displays of pleasure thereafter. Displays of wealth at the estates' greenspaces, be that the construction of summerhouses or the purchasing of expensive riding equipment, would not have been seen as a waste of money. Instead, it proved that the gentry had earned and deserved these things, and allowed them to adapt to the latest design trends to prove their relevancy. The wealth put into greenspaces also created an element of exclusivity; gardens may have been separated and hidden, and deer parks were for the family and their chosen friends only. Greenspaces also allowed the gentry to display honourable qualities. The role of gift-giving would have provided societal wellbeing for the three estates' through the reaffirmation and making of new social connections, which could help them flourish further or help in times of need. The gardening endeavours of Philip Moreton would have been understood as an attempt to be a good householder for his brother, whereas Thomas Hesketh's plant discoveries gained him recognition both by herbalists and London's gardeners. Greenspace management was also honourable as it could represent the head of the household seeking to benefit the rest of the country through providing fruits or timber. As with the other chapters of this thesis, the benefits of individual aspects of greenspaces could provide multiple positives towards a gentry estate's wellbeing. Trees could be planted for the generation of wealth, or as a representation of an estate's wealth and good tastes, while also a patriotic act. Hunting, was both an exclusive display of wealth but was also a demonstration of honourable qualities in members of the gentry, their strength and resolve.

Chapter 5: National Trust Engagement

Introduction

This research is part of a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA), which is partnered with the National Trust, the organisation which now owns Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke. As part of the CDA, it is expected that the research and findings of this thesis are developed in ways that are suitable for use by the National Trust. Reflecting this partnership, this chapter will discuss the ongoing plans for this and offer suggestions for future engagement.[769] Additionally, the three properties will receive access to this thesis and documents produced during this research to keep and reflect on, for developing their own projects. [770] Part of the material to be given to the National Trust includes two datasets based on the horticultural literature and archival material consulted during this project and are included within this thesis's appendices (Appendices A and B).

Appendix A contains a list of the plants found by Thomas Hesketh, the botanist, attributed to him by John Gerard and John Parkinson, two authors referred to extensively throughout this thesis.[771] The data set would be valuable in informing choices about what flora may be planted at Rufford in the future, providing an opportunity in the National Trust's programming for discussions about Thomas Hesketh or the qualities and values attributed to these plants historically and today. This could be developed into an engagement activity in the form of a plant hunt, as visitors search around the estate's grounds to find these plantings, emulating Thomas's actions. The list also includes where Thomas located these plants, and the development of a map based on this would provide a good visual means of emphasising the distance and many locations he travelled to in his endeavours.

Appendix B is a partial transcription of the Wiswall Disbursements, the Speke Hall estate account book between 1710 and 1719, focusing on expenses related to the property's greenspaces. The Disbursements are a vital document for those interested in the running of the estate in the early modern period, and a transcribed version allows for easier access to the material, particularly for those not familiar with early modern handwriting. The information is useful as it provides the names of those who worked at Speke, including the estate's gardeners

[769] Initially, it was planned that such activities would be carried out during the thesis. However, due to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, initial communication with the National Trust and subsequent reorganisation of its priorities and staff means these plans will be put in place after the submission of this thesis.
[770] Predominantly consisting of photographs and transcriptions of archival material.
[771] The list makes use of Gerard, *The Herball*, 1st and 2nd eds., and John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum, The Theater of Plantes. Or, An Universall and Compleate Herball* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640).

between 1710 and 1719.[772] Having names of the people who historically worked at the estate and what tasks they specifically did may be helpful in future living history programming by the National Trust, as it would allow for the development of characters associated with the property's history beyond the well-established names of the owners themselves. This would reinforce that the Norrises were not the sole occupiers of the hall and that they would have staff and servants who were an overlooked but essential part of the property's history and management. Such information could be expanded upon with examinations of parish records to build a better picture of these people's lives in the form of births, marriages, and deaths. This transcription may also benefit other scholars and could be used differently than how it has in this thesis, for example, focusing on expenditure and wages and comparing this to other gentry account books.

Some of the themes this thesis has addressed will be more readily transferable to the heritage sector than others. Notions of gardens as beneficial for wellbeing (in terms of the aesthetic and sensory value they provide) are the most obvious areas that transfer across into public engagement. At the same time, other aspects, such as hunting, are less feasible both in terms of being less socially acceptable and practical to support. This research contributes towards the National Trust's strategy up to 2025, 'For everyone, for ever', which identifies as one of its key aims: 'championing the importance of nature in our lives today', which the thesis has done through the context of the early modern period.[773]

The focus of this thesis also speaks directly to the words of the National Trust's co-founder, Octavia Hill in the late 1870s when she wrote about the impact of contemporary urban life and the need for access to 'some space near their homes':

> We all need space; unless we have it we cannot reach that sense of quiet in which whispers of better things to come to us gently. Our lives … are over-crowded, over-excited, over-strained. This is true of all classes; we all want quiet; we all want beauty for the refreshment of our souls. Sometimes we think of it as a luxury, but when God made the world He made it very beautiful, and meant that we should live amongst its beauties, and that they should speak peace to us in our daily lives.[774]

[772] Five gardeners worked at the estate in Wiswall's accounts, they are: John Ashton, 1710-1712; John Valentine 1712-1713; Ralph Bratherton, 1713-1716; Henry Awin (Awen), 1717-1718; and Peter Warburton 1718-1719; Wiswall, ff. 1, 23, 44, 106, 119.
[773] See, 'For ever, for everyone: Our strategy to 2025', *The National Trust*, available at: <Our strategy to 2025 | National Trust> [Accessed 23 November 2023].
[774] Octavia Hill, *Homes of the London Poor* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), pp. 211-212.

Many of the engagement activities outlined below have visitor wellbeing in mind and are designed to evoke positive emotional responses or to raise attention to personal wellbeing for consideration in their daily lives. The use of heritage sites as spaces of wellbeing has been considered by others, in particular by Faye Sayer, who defines wellbeing as ‘a facet of an individual’s overall self-perception, attributed to a combination of physical, social, and psychological variables’ which we associated with physical health, quality of life, and happiness.[775]

In the early planning stages for engagement activities conceptualised for the National Trust, it was decided that output would predominantly focus on Rufford Old Hall.[776] This was partially because Little Moreton and Speke Halls have more recently seen academic research transferred into digestible forms for the heritage sector, such as through Sasha Handley’s AHRC-funded project ‘How We Used to Sleep’ at Little Moreton, which allowed visitors to think about early-modern notions of sleep, body and health, with the creation of a ‘sleep bed’ garden consisting of soporific plants.[777] Speke Hall, on the other hand, has benefitted from an audio installation focused on early-modern soundscapes, which was produced based on Rachel Willie and Emilie Murphy’s work on early-modern soundscapes, and from Anna Fielding’s displays in the kitchen area on early modern food and dining.[778]

The three case studies are not the only sites where there has been an increasing emphasis on engaging with the wider estate; there have been calls for greater opportunities for visitors to actively learn and engage with history in greenspaces. A 2018 study by Hristov, Naumov and Petrova into visitor motivations for visiting Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, for example, found that they could be categorised into two typologies: those who went to experience the history of the parks, and those who went as leisure seekers, with the former being a smaller minority than the latter at 3 percent. This suggests that for greater visitor interpretation at Wrest Park, more active

---

[775] Faye Sayer, ‘Understanding Well-Being: A Mechanism for Measuring the Impact of Heritage Practice on Well-Being’, in Angela M. Labrador and Neil Asher Silberman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Heritage Theory and Practice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 388. Sayer’s definition itself was informed by a variety of works, for example Sonja Lyubomirsky, Kennon Sheldon, David Schkade, ‘Pursuing Happiness: The Architecture of Sustainable Change’, *Review of General Psychology*, 9:2 (2005), p. 111–131; Rachel Dodge, Annette Daly, Jan Huyton, Lalage Sanders, ‘The Challenge of Defining Wellbeing’, *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2:3 (2012), pp. 222–235.
[776] This was decided through conversations with my supervisor within the National Trust, Caroline Schofield.
[777] See ‘Research Projects: How we used to sleep’, *University of Manchester*, available at: <How we used to sleep - Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies - The University of Manchester> [Accessed 26 November 2023]. Past examples of scholarly engagement at the three estates are explored in Anna Fielding ‘Going Deeper than ‘Emotional Impact’: Heritage, Academic Collaboration and Affective Engagements’, *History*, 107:375 (2022), pp. 417-419.
[778] Fielding ‘‘Going Deeper than ‘Emotional Impact’’, pp. 423-428, 430-431.

forms of interpretation were required to get families involved.[779] The improved need for access that this approach requires has also been recognised by heritage custodians like the English Heritage and researchers at Exeter University, whose 'Unlocking Landscapes Network' is currently looking into the 'complex ways in which landscapes become meaningful to diverse individuals and groups through their senses, personal memories and shared histories.'[780]

Based on the unique approaches taken previously at Little Moreton and Speke, as well as calls for more diverse methods of getting visitors actively engaged with the interpretation of sites, the thesis presents several ways of portraying its findings in such methods. Some of these activities, outlined below, were developed during the course of the CDA, while others are suggestions for future activities which could not be carried out due to the limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Summerhouse Activity

This activity is primarily targeted at young children who visit Rufford Old Hall. It asks participants to draw what they think the summerhouse, mentioned in a 1724 lease of the estate, may have looked like and to describe how it was used.[781] While new information surrounding the summerhouse has remained elusive throughout this research, suggestions of its possible use and shape have been offered through the examination of other examples in the North West, resulting in a variety of possibilities. However, the open-ended nature of our knowledge of the lost summerhouse provides an opportunity for younger visitors to offer their own interpretation at Rufford and to think about how outdoor spaces could be used. The display for the activity (Figure 38) outlines its context and offers points that participants may want to consider before starting their drawings, from suggesting ideas of the shape or materials used for the summerhouse's construction, to the various ways it might have been used.

The activity is part of a methodology which promotes greater visitor critical thinking and interaction with the information presented to them, which Tim Copeland describes as a constructivist approach.[782] This approach involves presenting the evidence (that we know a

[779] Dean Hristov, Nikola Naumov, Petia Petrova, 'Interpretation in Historic Gardens: English Heritage Perspective', *Tourism Review*, 73:2 (2018), p. 210.
[780] See, 'Improving Access to Historical Buildings and Landscapes', *Historic England*, 1 February 2021, available at: <Improving Access to Historic Buildings and Landscapes | Historic England> [Accessed 26 November 2023]; Clare Hickman, 'Unlocking Landscapes Network', *Wordpress Blog*, available at: <Unlocking Landscapes Network: History, Culture and Sensory Diversity in Landscape Use and Decision Making « Dr Clare Hickman (wordpress.com)> [Accessed 26 November 2023].
[781] DDHE/105/1.
[782] Tim Copeland, 'Constructing Pasts: Interpreting the Historic Environment' in Alison Hems and Marion Blockley (eds.) *Heritage Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 86.

summerhouse existed at Rufford Old Hall in 1724); an interpretation (offering a series of variable designs which the summerhouse might have looked like, and listing some of its potential uses for the structure, informed by other examples); and lastly asking the audience themselves (the visitors to Rufford) who, after being presented with evidence and interpretations, can construct their own ideas as to what the lost summerhouse may have looked like, or how it was used.[783]

A4-sized activity sheets (Figure 39) will be provided next to the display, as well as coloured pencils and pens for participants to complete their designs. An outline mapping Rufford Old Hall and the various sections of its garden are also included on the sheet to allow visitors to mark down where they think the summerhouse would have been located. Space is provided for the participant to put their name; while this could initially be seen as a minor addition, writing down their names on the design helps to convey ownership.[784] This is done to reinforce the idea that they are creating their own unique individual interpretation of the summerhouse and is particularly beneficial in engagement activities for younger children (Figure 40).

A key reason behind this activity is to encourage visitors to think about the history at Rufford that is no longer visible and to remind them that there is more to be discovered about the estate than the materials and buildings which survive today. It was essential to make this activity drawing-based for children as pedagogical studies have found it is an effective means for allowing them to communicate their thoughts.[785] Research into introducing children to philosophical or abstract concepts such as the afterlife has found drawing an effective means of helping children think and conceptualise them. While the lost summerhouse can hardly be compared to these topics, it does show how drawing is a valuable tool to help visualise buildings or concepts which cannot be readily seen.[786] As Margaret Brooks notes, drawing 'provides children with their first means of making a permanent, tangible, concrete, and

[783] Copeland, 'Constructing Pasts', p. 87.
[784] Robin Campbell, ''That's how I used to write my name when I was little': Under-fives Exploring Writing', in Janet Evans (ed.), *The Writing Classroom: Aspects of Writing and the Primary Child 3-11* (London: David Fulton Publishers, 2001), p. 2; Lois A. Groth, Lynn Dietrich Darling, 'Playing "Inside" Stories', in Artin Göncü and Elisa L. Klein (eds.), *Children in Play, Story, and School* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), p. 226.
[785] Maureen E. Kendrick, Roberta A. McKay, 'Researching Literacy with Young Children's Drawings', in Marilyn J. Narey (ed.), *Making Meaning: Constructing Multimodal Perspectives of Language, Literacy, and Learning through Arts-based Early Childhood Education* (New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 53, 54; Patricia Whitfield, 'The Heart of the Arts: Fostering Young Children's Ways of Knowing', in Marilyn J. Narey (ed.), *Making Meaning: Constructing Multimodal Perspectives of Language, Literacy, and Learning through Arts-based Early Childhood Education* (New York: Springer, 2009), p. 156.
[786] Karin S. Murris, Robyn Thompson, 'Drawings as Imaginative Expressions of Philosophical Ideas in a Grade 2 South African Literacy Classroom', *Reading & Writing*, 7:2 (2016), p. 11.

communicable record of their ideas', resulting in many having a natural inclination towards it.[787]

Activities which require children to take active involvement is also known to have a positive effect on their wellbeing. As such, their art might suggest not only how the summerhouse may have positively affected Rufford's residents but their works might also reflect how visitors would see it as beneficial for themselves.[788] Drawing allows children to share their ideas better than they might have done through speech and provides parents and volunteers the chance to ask them questions to expand on their choices.[789] For example, if a child were to depict an eighteenth-century gentleman eating in the summerhouse, they could ask: 'is it because they [they child] like eating fruit in the shade, too?' This, in turn, allows for the themes covered in this thesis to be discussed with children, creating an accessible way into conversations about the senses, the importance of recreation, and the role of socialisation in notions of wellbeing.

Refinements could be made to the display to make it an activity for adults. In recent years, there has been a growth in colouring books aimed at adults as a means of stress relief and relaxation, reinforced by cultural interest and case studies.[790] The simplicity of this activity means it could be developed for use at either of the other properties of this study. For example, at Speke Hall, a similar display could be used for visitors to recreate the lost banqueting house recorded by Katherine Norris in 1703, or how the two mounts at Little Moreton Hall may have originally been intended to look.[791] It would also be easy to transfer this activity to any other National Trust property where former features of the estates are now lost.

---

[787] Margaret L. Brooks, 'Drawing to Learn', in Marilyn J. Narey (ed.), *Multimodal Perspective of Language, Literacy, and Learning in Early Childhood: The Creative and Critical "Art" of Making Meaning* (New York: Springer, 2017), pp. 25-44.
[788] Sayer, 'Understanding Well-Being', pp. 398, 399.
[789] Brooks, 'Drawing to Learn', p. 28.
[790] Julie A. Uhernik, *Using Neuroscience in Trauma Therapy: Creative and Compassionate Counselling* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 130.
[791] 920 NOR 2/306.

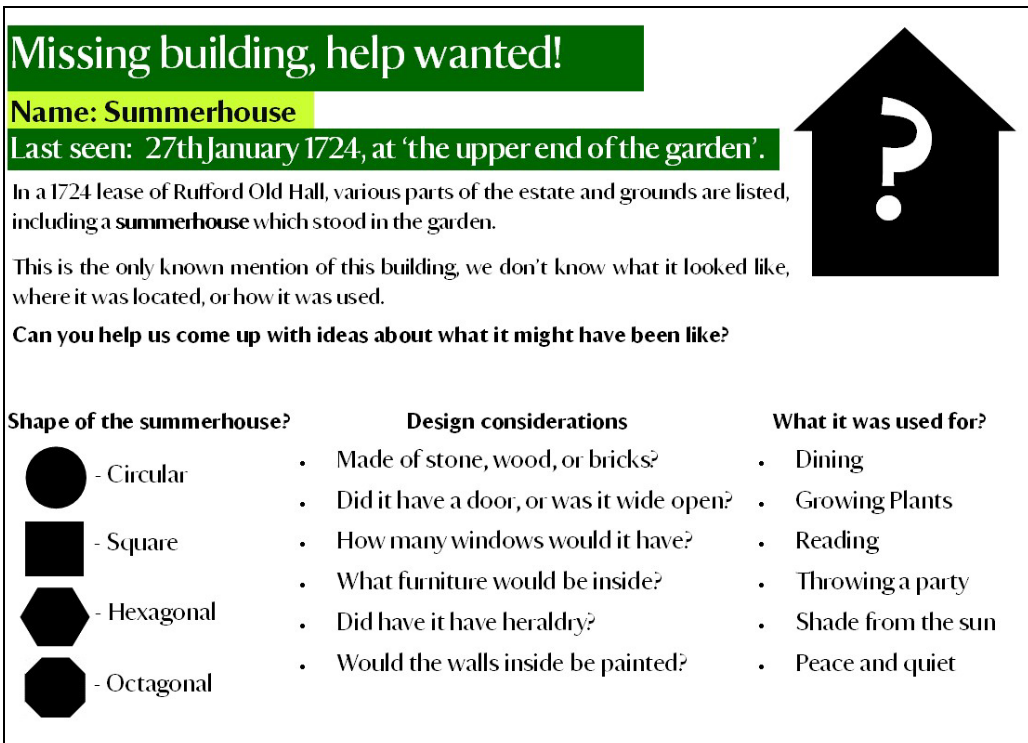

Figure 37: Concept for the public display outlining the summerhouse activity

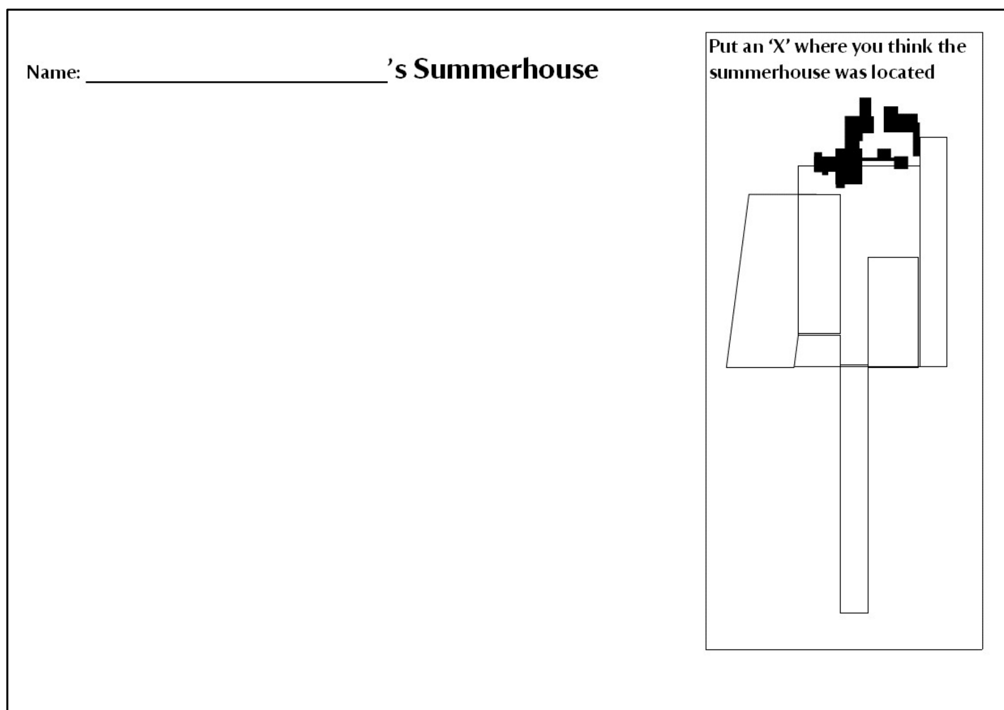

Figure 38: Concept of a blank summerhouse activity sheet

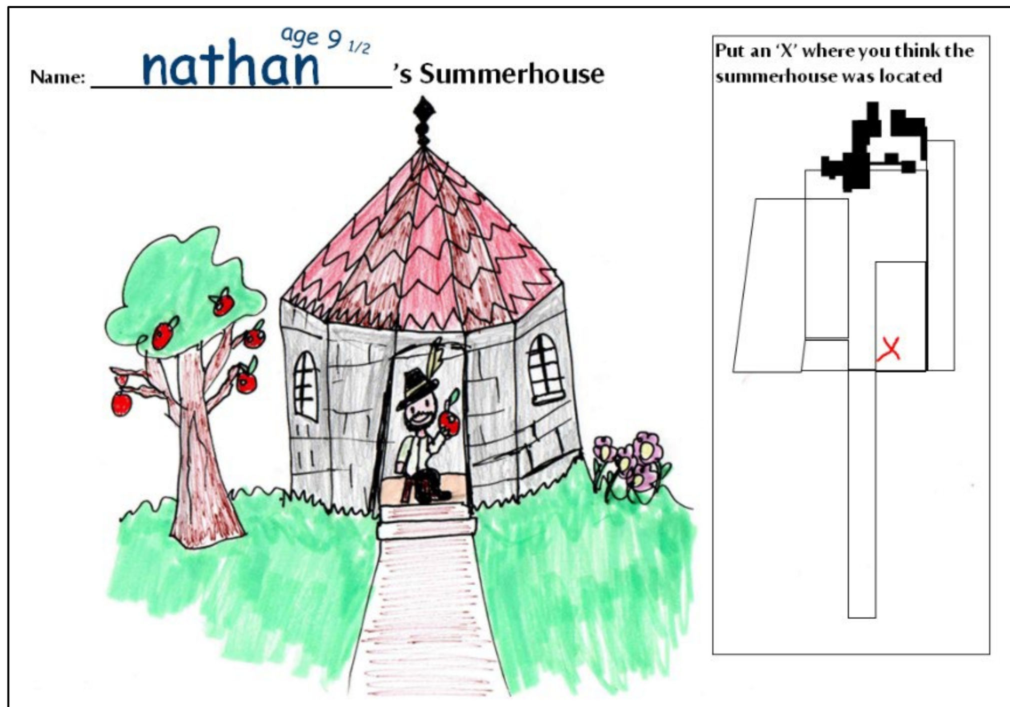

Figure 39: Concept of a completed summerhouse activity sheet

Sensory Map

Inspired by explorations of early-modern understanding of the five senses and their connection to wellbeing in Chapter One, a sensory map of the grounds at Rufford Old Hall is currently being developed, which will allow visitors to understand and seek out the variety of different sensory experiences that are to be had on the estate's grounds (Figure 41). A prototype of the map was developed during the course of this CDA which set out the possible ways to convey information to visitors, the salient features of the gardens, and the elements that might prove most stimulating to the senses.[792] The final map is intended for display inside the estate's coach house, which acts as the entrance for visitors and will thus serve as a point of reference to help navigate the grounds upon arrival. The inspiration for the map came from the research into historical understandings of the five senses, and how great value was given to sensory experiences for mental and physical health.

The map is based on the layout of the estate as it stands today and is less an exercise in showing what the grounds might have historically looked like, but how the Hesketh may have enjoyed

[792] This map was first produced as a collaboration with Ankita Rani, a landscape architecture master's student at Manchester Metropolitan University, as part of the 9th Annual Postgraduate Arts & Humanities Centre Symposium. The Symposium's title that year: *"Bad fences make bad neighbours": transcending disciplinary constraints in post-graduate research*, was held in May 2022, and required participants to produce a research poster and presentation which reflected a merging of the collaborators respective disciplines, for which this poster was selected as a winner.

such spaces through their understanding of the senses, and asks visitors to prioritise all their senses similarly when exploring the estate. More work is required to make the map easier to navigate for visitors, as well as orientating the design so that it is landscape rather than portrait. Supplementary signposts may also need to be developed to better indicate certain plants or features around the grounds which hold unique sensory value.

When visiting Rufford Old Hall to produce the initial map, it was noticed that different age groups had unique experiences of the grounds. In one instance, a child played in the fallen leaves near the beech walk, collecting pinecones while her family stayed on the path, happy to watch rather than participate. The loss of sensory experiences, particularly touch, is common with age, with sight becoming the predominant sensory means of enjoying natural spaces.[793] The lack of adult engagement with tactile sensory experiences in nature may come from perceived thoughts that they may look silly or childish, so it is hoped that this new map will encourage visitors of all ages to experience Rufford's greenspaces beyond the sense of sight. The discourse on the medical benefits of touch in nature is a topic still underdeveloped, though holistic and therapeutic studies and practitioners already use this as a means of promoting relaxation and wellbeing.[794]

As well as encouraging general visitors to embrace sensory experiences to be found on the estate, the map will also afford an opportunity for greater inclusivity at Rufford. This is not the first sensory map to be used at a National Trust property, with sensory maps having been created for Trust-held property Croome, Worcestershire, specifically designed around the sensory experiences of children who visited the site with special needs in 2016, while in 2008 a trail was devised at Stourhead, Wiltshire, with input from local disabled community groups, which emphasised sensory aspects of the route, the first time the National Trust had created such a trail.[795] Speke Hall itself was part of a sensory trail programme in 2008. However, the emphasis in this instance focused on the sensory experiences found within the property itself,

---

[793] Yi-Fu Tuan, 'The Pleasures of Touch', in Constance Classen (ed.), *The Book of Touch* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p. 75.

[794] Lara S. Franco, Danielle F. Shanahan, Richard A. Fuller 'A Review of the Benefits of Nature Experiences: More Than Meets the Eye', *International Journal Environmental Research and Public Health*, 14:864 (2017), pp. 9-10; David S. B. Mitchell, et al. 'Presence in Place: Exploring Well-Being Through Mindfulness and Spirituality at Grand Canyon National Park and Other Natural Settings' in Cheryl. L Fracasso, Stanley Krippner, and Harris L. Friedman (eds.), *Holistic Treatment in Mental Health: A Handbook of Practitioner's Perspectives* (Jefferson: MacFarland Health Topics, 2020), p. 250.

[795] Steve Slack, *Interpreting Heritage: A Guide to Planning and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), p. 91; Chris Abbott, Cate Detheridge, 'Access all Areas: The Use of Symbols in Public Spaces', in Jane Seal and Melanie Nind (eds.), *Understanding and Promoting Access for People with Learning Difficulties: Seeing the Opportunities and Challenges of Risk* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 61-62.

with a later project in 2012 exploring how sensory engagement at the hall promoted greater access to heritage for groups with learning disabilities.[796]

More broadly, this map promotes wellbeing by encouraging visitors to walk to find these sensory areas of Rufford's grounds. The positive effects of walking in greenspaces have already been recorded at other, albeit larger and less designed greenspaces, owned by the National Trust: Dunkwich Heath, Suffolk; Flatford Mill, Suffolk; Hatfield Forest, Essex; and Wicken Fen, Cambridgeshire, which suggested that time spent walking in greenspaces made people feel more vigorous, increased the positivity of their moods, and also positive social benefits in allowing friends and family to spend time together.[797] The map itself could promote further social cohesion, particularly between families, as parents direct and encourage their children to experience the sensory aspects of Rufford's gardens as they encounter them.

---

[796] Nic Hollinworth, et al., 'Interactive Sensory Objects for and by People with Learning Disabilities', *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum*, 9:1 (2016), pp. 21-38.
[797] J. Barton, R. Hine, J. Pretty, 'The Health Benefits of Walking in Greenspaces of High Natural and Heritage Value', *Journal of Integrative Environmental Sciences*, 6:4 (2009), pp. 273-274.

Benefits Behind the Beauty: Sensory Engagement in the Heritage Sector

This project provides a **reinterpretation** of how to **understand** and **explore** the grounds of the National Trust property, **Rufford Old Hall**, through **the five senses.** In recent years there has been growing emphasis on the **importance of spending time outside** for our **mental and physical health,** a sentiment which has been amplified since the COVID-19 pandemic (Chaudhury and Banerjee, 2020).

The **sensory stimulation** we experience while outdoors - hearing birdsong, feeling the warmth of sun, seeing colourful flowers - provide positive reactions that **help us connect with nature.** The project seeks to show that National Trust properties hold importance not just for their historical value, but also as **spaces to share ideas about current issues** that visitors can return home with, and put into **action or consideration in their daily lives.**

Bibliogprahy:

Chaudhury, P and Banerjee, D. (2020). '"Recovering With Nature": A Review of Ecotherapy and Implications for the COVID-19 Pandemic'. Frontiers in Public Health, 8:604440.

Key

A: Avenue of large mature Beech trees

B: Lawn sown with Wildflower mix

C: Woodland with mature Oak, Beech and Lime

D: Mature Alder trees

E: Semi-improved Grassland

Detail: Area A

Detail: Area B, C & D

Detail: Area C, D & E

Senses: Primary, Secondary, Tertiary

Play Area, Canal, Ducks, Swans, Daffodils, Shady Area, Pinecones, Fallen leaves

Bluebells, Snowdrops, Spanish Oak Tree, Daffodils, Topiary, Sunny Area, Daffodils, Cafe, Catmint, Roses, Beehive, Squirrel Topiary, Heather, Rhododendron yakushimanum, Rhododendron luteum, Hawthorn, Apple trees, Hedged Alleyways, Vegetable Garden, Play Area, Sunny Area

Fallen leaves, Pinecones, Canal, Ducks, Swans, Wind, rustling leaves, Beech avenue texture on ground, Shady Area, Sunny Area, External road-Asphalt texture

To find out more, please contact: nathan.atherton@stu.mmu.ac.uk, ankita.rani@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Manchester Metropolitan University

National Trust

Figure 40: Sensory Map of Rufford Old Hall

Scent Boxes

A continuation of the theme of senses and how they were tied to early modern ideas of wellbeing is a project for an output programme focusing specifically on smell. This can be developed in the form of scent boxes. In recent years, the use of smell at museum and heritage sites has gained traction as a means of engaging with the public, conveying history through specific smells as a means of telling stories, and generating audience engagement and emotive responses.[798] The use of smells in heritage is varied in scope. Some, such as the early example of Jorvik Viking Centre in York in the 1980s, used smell along with other forms of sensory engagement to capture a sense of what it would have been like to venture through the city in the tenth century. More commonly, simple installations capture specific smells through single room displays through diffusers or through smelling stations, which are experienced by one visitor at a time, normally in the form of a box which they open, revealing the odour it contains.[799]

The use of smell as a means of visitor engagement at the three properties is not a new one. For one study into sensory engagement at Speke Hall, herbs were placed inside the hall's kitchen to emphasise a sense of the room as a place that would be used to prepare food.[800] As part of Handley's installation at Little Moreton Hall, the bedchamber accessible to the public was scented with lavender, chamomile, and rose, all fragrances with soporific qualities that encouraged sleep.[801] The scent boxes recommended here would include aromas that have been addressed in this thesis, and would be used to emphasise the large crucial role that the sense of smell would have once played in the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families' understanding of health. Some of the scents which can be included in the boxes include the smell of roses, a common flower likely to have been in most gentry gardens. The information accompanying the scent box can inform visitors how the scent of roses was seen to be beneficial for health merely because it smelt nice, and how this played into the concept of the non-natural of air in relation to the humoral system. The information accompanying the box can also address the

---

[798] Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Follow Your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and Their Histories', *The American Historical Review*, 116:2 (2011), p. 336; Jim Drobnick, 'The Museum as Smellscape', in Nina Levent, Alvaro Pascual-Leone (eds.), *The Multisensory Museum: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Touch, Sound, Smell, Memory, and Space* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), pp. 177; Inger Leemans, et al., 'Whiffstory: Using Multidisciplinary Methods to Represent the Olfactory Past', *American Historical Review*, 127:2 (2022), p. 855; Cecilia Bembibre, Matija Strlič, 'Smell of Heritage: A Framework for the Identification, Analysis and Archival of Historic Odours', *Heritage Science,* 5:2 (online, 2017), p. 2, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-016-0114-1> [Accessed 29 November 2023].

[799] Drobnick, 'The Museum as Smellscape', p. 190.

[800] Hollinworth, et al., 'Interactive Sensory Objects for and by People with Learning Disabilities', p. 27.

[801] Fielding 'Going Deeper than 'Emotional Impact', p. 418.

value that came from the scent's spiritual connotations, as the sweet aroma of the rose would have conjured images of God and heaven to the early-modern mind.

Other scent boxes can contain what would have been understood as bad smells, what we now consider unpleasant, and which in the early modern period would have been associated with death and illness. These scents could include the smell of stagnant water, with accompanying information stating how still or swampy water was seen to be miasmatic. Emphasis can be placed here on the properties' surrounding greenspaces, with information boards suggesting how moats at Little Moreton and Speke could have been potentially dangerous if they grew stagnant, or at Rufford, highlighting how the area had once been swampier as a result of Martin Mere being much larger. Other scent boxes could include scents with sulphuric tones, with its accompanying information revealing how it was a smell associated with hell and the devil, as a contrast to that of the roses. The scent boxes themselves could be plain in design, making no allusions to what smell was contained within them, allowing for an element of fun as visitors recoil at some of the fouler-smelling boxes, but also letting them guess the smell that they had just experienced, before revealing the answer and information boards to them.

As part of the output, the scent boxes are intended to get visitors to think more deeply about smells and their role in our lives today, rather than arguing that they must be treated as seriously as they were in the early modern period. Questions could be posed to visitors through the use of an accompanying sign or by the property's volunteers, asking them how certain scents make them feel. Questioning visitors about smells is an important part of this activity, as scents are wholly subjective experiences which can stir a variety of different emotions in individuals based on specific moments in their lives.[802] This is to highlight the emotional power which smells can have on us, despite living in a society which places the greatest value on visual experiences. As Andreas Keller has emphasised, contemporary society is one which places greater emphasis on the visual than the olfactory: 'our brains are not equipped to talk about what we smell in the same way in which we talk about what we see. Our culture is based on language, and experiences that are inaccessible to language, like olfactory experiences, therefore play only minor roles in our cultural institutions'.[803]

[802] Drobnick, 'The Museum as Smellscape', p. 188.
[803] Andreas Keller, 'The Scented Museum', in Nina Levent, Alvaro Pascual-Leone (eds.), *The Multisensory Museum: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Touch, Sound, Smell, Memory, and Space* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), pp. 173-174.

Hawking Experience

The keeping of hawks at Speke Hall by the Norris family in the early seventeenth century was explored in Chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis, which argued that the birds would have provided the Norrises with a positive emotive experience with nature through forging a bond with the animal if they were to make a success of hawking. Owning hawks would have also allowed the Norrises to display their wealth and status, as keeping hawks was an expensive pastime. For this reason, it was a marker of social status, taken up by early modern nobility and royalty. In addition to the wealth aspect of hawking, the patience and perseverance needed in taming a bird for hunting would have been seen as a virtuous and respectable trait for an owner, helping to craft a positive image of them in wider society.

Knowing that the Norrises kept hawks allows for a unique opportunity to present the family's relationship with animals and greenspaces to visitors to the hall. A hawking experience could be held at Speke Hall, allowing visitors to see these birds up close as the Norrises would have done, and for the opportunity to learn how they were used and valued historically. It would also be an opportunity to learn more about the birds in general today. To have such an event at Speke Hall would emphasise that the lands around Speke Hall were not solely relegated to the Norris family's gardeners and farmers, but rather that wider greenspaces of the estate were intrinsically linked to the Norris family's daily lives, and should serve such as much a reminder of this as the hall itself.

Through a partnership with a local bird-of-prey centre or falconry club, a falconer would visit Speke Hall for a few hours on specific days as allocated by the National Trust to run the event. The falconer would be partnered with a member of the National Trust's living history team, who would be dressed in attire that is representative of an early-seventeenth-century member of the gentry. They would act as a member of the Norris family from this time (noteworthy candidates from the period include Sir William Norris IV, his wife Eleanor, or his son Edward). The National Trust volunteer would talk to visitors about early modern hawking and speak about the emotional bond they would have formed with the bird, through slowly building its trust so that it could be flown, but also explain the prestige of owning hunting birds, mentioning cost and how impressive it would have been to tame a wild animal. To further emphasise the potential importance of hawking to the wellbeing of the Norrises, other details about their lives, such as that they were under constant threat of persecution for their recusancy, can be included. This information could be used to suggest how the flying of hawks might have served as a distraction from the family's troubles. The falconer helping to run the event could also share

their experiences of handling birds of prey and what it means for them personally, allowing for a comparison between historical and modern values, and between the two presenters.

The birds could also be taken to one of the estate's greenspaces and flown to specific targets and back to its handler's glove. This may require a greater degree of organising on the National Trust's part in terms of allocating a suitable location for the flight and safety. The event, should it prove successful, could also be expanded upon further by developing of hawking or falconry workshops in which visitors could learn to fly a bird of prey at the estate under the supervision of an experienced organisation who have run similar events. Unlike the first proposed event, this would require booking and would be limited in availability. Both interaction with birds and participation in falconry itself have been seen to evoke positive emotional responses and improvements to health, and as such, the events can be seen as a form of animal therapy.[804] The activity also has the potential to provide an opportunity for greater interdisciplinary research to be conducted, investigating themes of animal therapy and wellbeing.

As part of either experience, a mock-up of an early modern hawk bath might also be implemented at the event. Without providing any initial signage or prompts, the presenters can ask younger visitors to guess what it might have been used for in relation to the hawk. After this, a display revealing the answer (Figure 42) will be shown to them with another activity included on it, which asks visitors to try and work out the prices of items and animals related to hawking by converting Roman numerals into Arabic ones. As the conversion of Roman numerals is taught at the primary school level in England, this would be an age-appropriate activity. The items themselves are reflective of genuine valuations, taken from both the 1624 Norris inventory and the accounts of the Shuttleworth family, the latter of which provides more detail. The activity goes through items in order of the price, which itself correlates to the increase in difficulty of conversion: a pair of hawk bells, vj^{d} (6s); four sparrow hawk hoods, xij^{d} (12d); a hawk bath, xvj^{d} (16d); a goshawk, xlviij^{s} iiij^{d} (48s 4d).[805] The items listed also provide points for discussion between the presenters and visitors, explaining what each item means. As a very informal activity, and potentially for many visitors, their first attempt at

[804] Mark Wheeler, et al., 'Outdoor Recreational Activity Experiences Improve Psychological Wellbeing of Military Veterans with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Positive Findings from a Pilot Study and a Randomised Controlled Trial', *PLoS ONE*, 15:11, e0241763 (online, 2020), available at: <https://doi.org/10./journal.pone.0241763> [Accessed 29 November 2023].
Holt, et al., 'Animal Assisted Activity with Older Adult Retirement Facility Residents', p. 273; Burmeister, et al., 'Development and Application of the Owner-Bird Relationship Scale (OBRS) to Assess the Relation of Humans to Their Pet Birds', pp. 9-10, 13.
[805] Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 135; Harland (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthrope Hall*, I, pp. 201, 202.

translating numerals into numbers, some of the nuances of early modern numeracy are omitted in the display, such as 'j' signifying the last digit of a number so as not to over complicate it for younger participants. This is only a smaller aspect of the wider event but serves as an opportunity for younger visitors to engage in a very light form of primary source interaction, and presents them with a basic lesson in early modern money.[806]

Figure 41: Concept of the hawk bath activity display.

806 Marie Fogg, 'The Use of Sixteenth/Seventeenth Century Wills and Inventories as Historical Sources in the Primary School', *Teaching History*, 80 (1995), pp. 27-30.

Conclusion

The greenspaces surrounding the gentry estates of Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke were intrinsically tied to early modern notions of wellbeing. Time spent in greenspaces for the Moreton, Hesketh, and Norris families would have been recognised as a holistic experience, providing numerous benefits that would have improved their physical and mental health. Greenspaces were also a setting for the consideration and navigation of key themes that underpinned contemporary culture, primarily spiritual concerns, and the upkeep of gentry reputation, honour, and lifestyle, which were deemed essential. This thesis has made a vital contribution to the discourse of early modern wellbeing by emphasising the holistic nature of greenspaces, incorporating different aspects of what was considered positive for health in the period. Previous studies have often focused on singular aspects of wellbeing, such as the sensory or spiritual, and have primarily focused on gardens. The limited scope of past approaches failed to consider the wider greenspaces which belonged to the gentry, or how specific aspects found within them could cater to wellbeing on multiple levels. The case studies of this thesis represent an original approach; before now, the early modern greenspaces of the three estates had received scant coverage. This thesis has demonstrated how the archival sources of the estates, and surviving and lost landscape features, can be considered and expanded upon through comparing them with wider material and contrasting it to contemporary understandings of wellbeing. Moreover, by focusing on gentry rather than noble households, this thesis expands scholarly knowledge on early modern gardens and greenspaces of a comparatively understudied level of society.

The primary goal of this thesis was to interrogate how the immediate and wider greenspaces of early modern gentry estates were understood, used, and experienced as places which aided their wellbeing. The use of different contemporary sources, and particularly, the multitude of advice literature of the period, has revealed that these spaces provided wellbeing in a variety of ways. A secondary goal of this research was to provide a greater focus on gentry estates of northwest England by using Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke as case studies, as the region is underrepresented in scholarly discourse. More broadly, studies into elite greenspaces have overshadowed gentry studies entirely, so any form of contribution is a valued one. The final goal was to consider how this research could be used by the National Trust, the organisation which owns and conserves the three properties, in ways that could be beneficial to both staff and visitors. As such, the final section of this study has provided suggestions for engagement,

which allows for critical thinking about the greenspaces at the properties and promoting wellbeing.

A key point repeated frequently in this thesis, and by contemporary sources and previous research, is that gentry greenspaces were landscapes designed to be both pleasurable and profitable. This duality served as a reflection of the gentry's social positioning. The utilitarian aspects of their gardens were akin to the yeomanry below them in ensuring their land helped provide sustenance and an income, whilst also containing elements of well-established or newly-emerging architectural and leisurely pursuits, reflective of the more ostentatious designs at elite residences which would filter down and be emulated by the gentry. This provides a good foundation for understanding the greenspaces of Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke as spaces with varied purposes. Pleasure and profit can be used to understand wellbeing through different means, such as improving bodily health, monetary increase, or through more abstract and emotional concepts, such as providing happiness or a sense of peace. The thematic approaches taken in the chapters of this study, examining greenspaces through sensory, recreational, spiritual, and societal wellbeing, stand as a testament to the diverse range of ways such spaces were seen as beneficial to health in the early modern period. Many of the benefits uncovered through these different approaches can be categorised into physical and mental benefits, which were seen in the sensory and recreational experiences to be had at gentry estates, while the latter two discourses reveal how religious conviction, as well as personal or familial social standing, could be reinforced through greenspaces.

Chapter 1 revealed how sensory experiences were understood to play an active role in wellbeing, and pleasant and unpleasant sensory stimulation often equated to having good and bad effects on health, respectively. Gardens and orchards were created in ways so as to provide maximum positive sensory output. The views of these estates could be enhanced by the planting of colourful flowers or bright orchard fruits, which were understood to refresh the eyes and mind. Equally, the smells these produced were believed to purify the air, making it healthier for the body to breathe in, whilst fruits' sweet tastes evoke positive emotions, demonstrating that individual features found within greenspaces often had multiple sensory benefits. Features like the mounts at Little Moreton, were constructed to provide their climbers with better opportunities to soak in the beauty of the gardens. Compared to the rest of the estate, where staff areas, vernacular buildings such as stables or slaughterhouses, and the potentially miasmatic air of the wider landscape may have produced foul odours, these designed greenspaces ensured estates had areas that provided holistic benefits.

In warmer months, garden architecture such as summerhouses allowed for spaces in which bodies could be cooled in the shade, and for the consumption of fresh fruits and beverages which similarly help to regulate temperature. These benefits went beyond the confines of gardens and orchards, and could be experienced within the walls of the estates. Flowers and herbs could be cut from the gardens and used indoors to provide olfactory benefits, whilst sweet-tasting fruits would be consumed in the halls. The design of greenspaces and the halls were well synergised to provide the owners of the estates the maximum benefit. The key rooms occupied by the gentry, their bedrooms, halls, and parlours, often overlooked the gardens so that their views and smells from carefully chosen plantings could be experienced through windows. These pleasant interactions with the sensory experiences of greenspaces were understood to stir positive passions in the body, which would prevent ill health.

Chapter 2 focused on wellbeing through recreation, a broad term consisting of both leisurely pursuits which were relaxing, and other more sporting or active pastimes. Contemporary writers addressing the topic of health knew of the benefits of physical exercise, but this was a precarious matter for members of the gentry as the day-to-day tasks of running their estates was considered beneath them. Instead, they assigned these duties to servants, potentially creating the risk of an inactive lifestyle for themselves and leading to subsequent health dangers. Greenspaces, however, allowed the three families to exercise in ways that would not compromise their status, such as gardening, walking, horse riding, and hunting, ensuring that the gentry stayed active. Mentally, outdoor recreational activities sharpened the mind and instilled good sleeping habits by tiring people out, while more sedate activities such as fishing on the estates allowed for solitary peace and contemplation. There was also a socialisation element to this, as these activities provided quality time with friends and family, and allowed the gentry to bond with their animals.

Chapter 3 drew strong links between faith and gentry greenspace. Belief in God and the need to live a pious life avoidant of sin were core notions to understanding wellbeing, and could prey heavily on the minds and consciousness of contemporaries. Gentry greenspaces, particularly gardens and orchards, held spiritual value that could help with these issues, as to spend time in them allowed the chance to better reflect on God and their own faith. Christians saw gardens as an emulation of the Garden of Eden, but more broadly, all things on Earth were God's creation, so to create and work a garden was to display the beauty of the Lord's designs. In this sense, gardens and gardening and the use of greenspaces brought wellbeing through basking in, and bearing witness to, God's designs. That these greenspaces had to be properly

maintained to flourish was reflective of humanity's post-Edenic state after the First Sin, yet this too was interpreted as a positive as it would be an emulation of Adam and Eve, bringing gardeners closer to what God had first tasked them to do. Gardens, both the physical ones attached to properties, and the Biblical depictions that formed part of the interior decorative features inside gentry homes, held symbolic or allegorical meaning which allowed the families to reflect on God. Alternatively, they might refer to specific stories from the Bible as seen with the painting of Susanna and the Elders at Little Moreton, to serve as reminders to live a devout life.

For recusant families, devotion to Catholicism resulted in the damage of wellbeing in several ways: financially through fines, spiritually through loss of church and required secrecy, and potentially physically through risk of imprisonment or execution in the most extreme circumstances. Greenspaces played a small part in alleviating these troubles; symbolic meanings associated with plants may have allowed the Hesketh and Norris families subtler means of displaying their adherence to Catholicism without drawing attention from conformist persecutors. Speke Hall's courtyard yews, symbolic of unwavering faith, complimented other known features of the families' recusant architecture, such as its priest and spying holes. In reading greenspaces as havens for Catholicism, the woodlands and wildernesses beyond the immediate estates may have been understood by Catholics as places to hide priests or as spaces away from the troubles of a society which persecuted them.

Just as important as faith in the early modern period was the maintenance of reputation and honour, both on a personal and familial level, and weighed heavily on gentry minds; Chapter 4 considered how the greenspaces of the three case studies could aid towards wellbeing and navigation of these societal matters. Greenspaces provided a means of extracting wealth and displaying it, as well as demonstrating the honourable and admirable traits of the gentry. Keeping gardens and orchards well maintained, and keeping moats and the various ponds which surrounded the estates stocked with fish, symbolised the owner's wealth and organisational control of their assets. The gardens, orchards, bodies of water, and woodlands surrounding the estates all served as a means of providing for the families, both as a source of sustenance, and as an income. While the yeomanry also grew plants on their lands, what distinguished the gentry was the scale of activity.

Horticultural pursuits were also considered a science, a pursuit of knowledge, and so were seen as an honourable pastime for the gentry. This was especially the case when contrasted to other

gentry activities such as gambling or their penchant for drink, helping to build a positive personal reputation for figures like Thomas Hesketh, the botanist. Gentry greenspaces were performative spaces for hosting visitors and a way to demonstrate social prestige, take walks and hold discussions in the gardens, provide meals prepared using materials grown in the orchards, or as places for hunting. These factors had the potential to create and enhance a reputation for the owner's impressive self-sufficiency, while gifts taken from their demesnes could maintain or forge social and political relations or craft the image of a generous landowner. While showcasing the pomp and splendour of gentry life, these greenspaces were also deliberately exclusive areas; the orchards, hunting grounds, and fishponds were often walled or compartmentalised from their tenants, further emphasising their social positioning.

Greenspaces provided holistic benefits to body and mind, which through the thematic approaches taken by this research of sensory, recreational, spiritual and societal wellbeing, demonstrated complimentary overlaps. The olfactory healing provided by sweet-smelling herbs and flowers in the gardens could also be spiritual, reminiscent of the fragrance that theologians attributed to Heaven. Simultaneously, these were symbolic of the status and wealth of gentry families for growing such exquisite plants and creating such spaces. Recreational activities such as hunting allowed the gentry to exercise body and mind, while the social comradery and subsequent feast after a hunt helped solidify their reputations. In terms of personal wellbeing and the attempt to live a life well lived, an active interest in horticulture and gardening itself could be seen as a spiritual calling, an emulation of a simpler life akin to Adam and Eve, closer to God's true intentions for humanity, but it could also be seen as a positive interest in worldly pursuits of the sciences and arts, and a demonstration of estate management. Just as gentry gardens were seen as a dual space of pleasure and profit, the wellbeing they provided for was a complex web of benefits and bodily and cultural understandings of wellness.

This thesis has addressed multiple underdeveloped areas in the existing discourse of early modern gardens, and expanded both knowledge on gardens in northwest England, and contributed to the more generalised need for greater information on the estates of county gentry. Examining contemporary literature concerning horticulture, health guides, spiritual treatises, and advice books on various gentry leisure activities has helped to formulate an understanding of the values early modern society placed on greenspaces. Thinking of the intended readership of these publications is essential, as their target audience included the gentry. This can be critical when examining gentry estates, such as the three case studies, where a lack of surviving

sources related to them means that wider material must be incorporated to build a substantial reading and interpretation.

The thesis covered the period between 1550 and 1730, but few changes were documented regarding gentry gardens and wellbeing, suggesting that ideas towards both largely remained constant. This may be because gentry greenspaces were not the sites for true innovation in health and design than what would be seen at their aristocratic and college counterparts. That Thomas Hyll (the writer of some of the first English gardening books) in 1579, and Ralph Austen almost a century later in 1653, both refer to gentry gardens as sites where pleasure and profit combined, would indicate that gentry gardens remained predominately practical spaces, in which enjoyment could be found within them.[807] This is not to say that their designs remained entirely static throughout this period, and smaller changes in the form of plantings, and the construction and deconstruction of architecture such as summerhouses, would have been likely.

Due to the lack of surviving evidence, it has not been possible to document the change in design and use of the three estates' greenspaces in a comprehensive manner. However, Rufford's fir walk, a common feature at estates by the end of the seventeenth century, suggests some attempt to conform to stylistic trends in gardens and may have replaced designs that would have been considered dated. Likewise, that Wiswall records purchasing flower pots, rather than simply plant or herb pots, for the Speke estate in 1719, may be reflective of texts like John Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole*, which heralded the of growth gardens being enjoyed for their visual benefits, at the loss of other senses.[808] That the Norris family owned hawking equipment at the Speke estate in the early seventeenth century, a sport which would decline over the century, to the family later playing bowls in Liverpool in the early eighteenth century, may be suggestive of the decline of gentry leisure at their estates and the growing importance of cities as hubs for socialisation and leisure.[809]

To expand on this research, multiple approaches can be taken to understand gentry greenspaces and their uses. At Little Moreton, Rufford, and Speke specifically, more can be done to understand the general history of their landscapes, with or without keeping to the theme of wellbeing. At Rufford and Speke, in particular, much archival evidence survives from the

---

[807] Hyll, *The Profitable Arte of Gardening*, p. 1; Austen's *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 1st ed., pp. 8, 36.
[808] Wiswall, f. 124; Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole*, p. 8
[809] Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', p. 50; Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', p. 135; 920 NOR 1/250.

nineteenth century, which could reveal more about how the greenspaces of the estates were used in later periods. Beyond the three case studies, similar research could be conducted on other properties in the northwest to provide a greater understanding of gentry estates of this period, in both their form and function, focusing on well-documented gardens like those of Nicholas Blundell at Little Crosby. Not all thematic strands need to be examined simultaneously, as this study has done. Instead, the health benefits of gardening, hunting, fishing, or other smaller case studies could make for worthwhile projects individually, focusing on a specific estate or person examined. A study of recusant uses of greenspaces could provide a fruitful area for further development as Lancashire had several Catholic families, allowing for the simultaneous expansion of the discussion of wellbeing and northwest gardens while developing research into recusant life in Lancashire.

Beyond scholarly research, there is also great potential for using these findings at heritage sites and engaging with public history. The range of thematic approaches taken in this research transfer well to a heritage setting, encouraging visitors to think about greenspaces beyond an overreliance on sight, and how the sensory stimulations the settings provide can have a positive effect on health, translating historical-holistic understandings of greenspaces to a public audience into one which they take from the halls and consider how it could better their own wellbeing in everyday life. Tours or trails of historic gardens and woodlands owned by heritage trusts could emphasise both historical and present values that nature offers regarding wellbeing, as well as showcasing a fresh history of estates that moves away from their current house-centric focus. As a result of the wide range of methodological approaches and themes which this research has touched on, and the applicability of wellbeing outdoors – the possibilities are varied and exciting.

Appendix A: Plants found by Thomas Hesketh (1561-1613), as recorded by Gerard and Parkinson

Note on Table

This table combines Abram's 1885 and Foley's 2009 studies of the plants found by Thomas Hesketh. Both researchers omitted certain plants, and as such, the table presented here represents a more cohesive list. The table records the modern names of the plants, the date their discovery was first attributed to Hesketh within herbals, the location he found them, and the plants status as of 2009 based on Foley's previous inquiry. The table provides transcriptions of the herbals when they specifically relate to Hesketh and the location a plant was found in. The herbals cited are the first and second editions of John Gerard's *The Herball or, Generall Historie of Plantes*, and John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum, The Theater of Plantes*. The table does not record Gerard's second edition unless it is either the first time a plant is mentioned or if the text deviates from the first edition in a noteworthy way. This is not an exhaustive list, further research other herbals may reveal different plants found by Hesketh.

<table>
<tr><th>SPECIES</th><th>FIRST RECORDED</th><th>LOCALITY</th><th>STATUS AS OF 2009</th></tr>
<tr><td>Andromeda polifolia
Bog Rosemary</td><td>1597</td><td>Mawdesley</td><td>N/A</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 1108-1111.
Of Rosemarie.
2. Rosemarinum syluestre. Wilde Rosemary.

'Wilde Rosemarie groweth in Lancashire in diuers places, especially in a fielde called Little Reede, amonst the Hurtle berries, neere vnto a small village called Maudsley; there founde by a leanred Gentleman often remembred in our History (and that worthily) master Thomas Hesketh.' p. 1110.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Digitalis purpurea
Common foxglove</td><td>1597</td><td>Ingleton area</td><td>Frequent off the limestone.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 646-647.
Of Foxe gloues.
1. Digitalis purpures. Purple Foxe gloues.
2. Digitalis lutea. White Foxe gloues.

'Foxe gloues with white flowers differeth not from the precedent [referring to Digitalis purpurea, Purple Foxe gloues], but in the colour of the flowers, for as the other were purple, these contrariwise are of a milke white colour.' p. 646.
'Those with white flowers do grow naturally in Landesdale [Londsdale], and Crauen, in a field called Cragge close, in the north of England' p. 647.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">**Gerard (1633), pp. 789-791.**
Of Fox-Gloues.
1. *Digitalis purpures.* Purple Fox-gloues.
2. *Digitalis alba.* White Fox-gloues.

Note: The Latin name of the white foxglove changes from *Digitalis lutea* to *Digitalis alba* between the 1597 to 1633 editions of Gerard's work. The former name is instead given to a yellow variant named as Yellow Fox-gloue. Abram suggests that the foxgloves found in the north are the common foxglove, likewise, Foley assumes the same. Neither of them make reference to *Digitalis alba*.</td></tr>
<tr><td>*Echium vulgare*
Viper's bugloss</td><td>1640</td><td>Walney Island</td><td>N/A</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">**Parkinson (1640), pp. 765-768**
Borrage & Buglossum. Borrage and Buglosse.
5. *Buglossum dulce ex Insulis Lancastriae.* Lancashire Buglosse.

'…the fift groweth in one of the Iles about *Lankashire,* there found by Mr. *Thomas Hesket*' p. 767.
On its name origin in history: 'fift hath not beene related by any before' p. 76

Note: Later text claims this Lancashire island to be Walney Island.</td></tr>
<tr><td>*Hypericum tetrapterum*
St. Peter's wort, **Peterwort**, **square stemmed St. John's wort**, **square stalked St. John's wort**.</td><td>1597</td><td>'Craven area'</td><td>Still present.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">**Gerard (1597), p. 434.**
Of S.Peters woort, or Square S.Johns grasse.

'S.Peters woort, or S.Johns grasse, groweth plentifully in the North part of England, especially in Landesdale and Crauen.' p. 434.</td></tr>
<tr><td>*Lathraea squamaria*
Common toothwort/Lungwort</td><td>1597</td><td>Talbot Bank wood, Whalley – Great Harwood.</td><td>Unconfirmed, but grows nearby elsewhere.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">**Gerard (1597), pp. 1387-1388.**
Of great Toothwoorth, or Clownes Lungwoort.
1. *Dentaria mior Mathioli.* Great toothwort, or Lungwoort.

'it groweth likewise neere Harwood in Lancashire, a mile from Whanley, in a wood called Talbot banke.' p. 1388.</td></tr>
<tr><td>*Lepidium latifolium*
Pepperweed/ dittander</td><td>1597</td><td>Bryn, Sawley</td><td>Probably extinct.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">**Gerard (1597), pp. 186-188.**
Of Horse Radish
2. *Raphanus syluestris officnarum, lepidium Aeginetae*. Dittander, and Pepperwoort.

'… at the Hall of Brinne [Bryn] in Lancashire …' p. 187.

Parkinson (1640), pp. 855-856.
Lepidium sive Piperitis. Pepperwort or Dittander. Chap. XXI.</td></tr>
</table>

1. Piperitis sive Lepidium vulgare. Dittander or Pepperworte.

'The first is found naturally growing in many places of this Land, as at *Clare* in *Essex*, neare *Exester* also, and upon *Rochester* Common in *Kent*, at *Sawle Abbey* neare *Whawley* in *Lancashire*, and in other places, but usually kept in Gardens …' p. 856.

Maianthemum bifolium (Smilacina bifolia) **False lily of the valley**, **May lily**	1597	Dinckley and Great Harwood	Extinct

Gerard (1597), pp. 330-331.
Of Winter greene
1. *Pyrola.* Winter greene.
2. *Monophyllon.* One blade.

'*Monophyllon* groweth in Lancashire in Dingley wood [Dinckley], sixe miles from Preston in Audernesse; and Hardwood, neere to Blackeburne likewise' p. 330.

Note: *Pyrola* and *Maianthemum* are discussed in the same chapter: '*Of Winter greene*'.

Narthecium ossifragum **Bog asphodel**, **Lancashire asphodel**, **bastard asphodel**	1597	Martholme (Great Harwood)	Occurs nearby of Wiswell Moor.

Gerard (1597), pp. 88-89.
Of the Kings Speare.
1. *Asphodelus luteus minor.* The Kings Speare.
2. *Asphodelus Lancastriae.* Lancashire Asphodill.

'The Lancashire Asphodill groweth in moist and marish places neere vnto the towne of Lancaster in the moorish grounds there, as also neere vnto Maudsley and Martom [Martholme], two villages not far from thence; where it was found by a worshipfull and learned gentleman, a diligent searcher of simples, & fervent louer of plants, master *Thomas Hesket*, who brought the plants thereof vnto me for the increase of my garden.' p. 89.

'The Lancshire Aspholdil is called in Latine *Asphodelus Lancastriae*, and may likewise be called *Asphodelus palustris*, or *Pseudoasphodelus luteus*, or the Bastard yellow Asphodill.' p. 89.

Gerard (1633), pp. 95-9.
Of the Kings Speare.
1. *Asphodelus luteus minor.* The Kings Speare.
2. *Asphodelus Lancastriae.* Lancashire Asphodil.
3. *Asphodelus Lancastriae verus.* The true Lancashire Asphodil.

'Besides the last described (which our Author I feare mistaking, termed *Asphodelus Lancastriae*) there is another water Asphodill, which growes in many rooten moorish grounds in this kingdome, and in Lancashire is vsed by women to die their haire of a yellowish colour, and therefore it is termed Maiden-haire, if we may beleeue *Lobell.*)' 96.

On the True Lancashire Asphodil: 'This Asphodill figured and described out of *Dodonaeus,* and called *Asphodelus Lancastriae* by our Author … but whether it grow in Lancashire or no, I can say nothing of certaintie … *Lobell* also affirmes this to be the Lancashire Asphodill.' 96.

<table>
<tr><td>Paris quadrifolia
Herb-paris, true lover's knot, One berry</td><td>1597</td><td>Dinckley, Martholme (Great Harwood)</td><td>Extinct, recently recorded nearby at Clitheroe.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 328-329.
Of one Berrie, or herbe Trueloue, and Moonewoort.
Herba Paris. One Berrie, or herbe Trueloue.

‘in Blackburne at a place called Merton [Martholme] in Lancashire … in Dingley woode [Dinckley], sixe mile from Preston in Aundernesse … at Hesset [Hesketh] in Lancashire ; and in Cotting woode [Cottingwith, near York], in the north of Englande; as that excellent painfull and diligent Phisicion master doctor Tuner of late memorie doth recorde in his Herball.’ pp. 328-329.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Parnassia palustris
Marsh grass of Parnassus, northern grass-of-Parnassus, grass-of-Parnassus, bog-star</td><td>1597</td><td>Craven</td><td>Still present.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 691-692.
Of the grasse of Parnassus
1. Gramen Parnassi maius. The greater Grasse of Parnassus.
2. Gramen Parnassi minus. The lesser Grasse of Parnassus.

‘The first groweth very plentifully in Landsall [Lonsdale] and Crauen, in the north parts of England’. p. 692.
<hr>Gerard (1633), pp. 840-841.
Of the Grasse of Parnassus.

‘The figure that was formerly in the first place of this Chapter was of Vnifolium, described before, cap.90 pg. 409. That which was in the second place belonged to the first description.’ P. 841.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pinguicula vulgaris
Common butterwort</td><td>1597</td><td>Ingleborough, Settle, Great Harwood.</td><td>Still present near Settle. Probably extinct at Great Harwood but still present at nearby Wiswell Moor.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 643-646.
Of mountaine Sanicle.
2. Pinguicula siue Sanicula Eboracensis. Butterwoort, or Yorkshire Sanicle.

‘Butterwoort which groweth in our English squally wet grounds, and will not yeelde to any culturing or transplanting : it groweth esecpially in a field called Cragge close, and at Crosbie, Rauenswaith in Westmerland, vpon Ingleborough fels, twelue miles from Lancaster, and in Harwood in the same countie neere Blackburne, ten miles from Preston in Andernesse vpon the bogs & marish grounds’. p. 645.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>Polygonatum odoratum
Angular Solomon's seal, scented Solomon's seal</td><td>1597</td><td>Clapdale wood, Clapham</td><td>Still present on nearby scars.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 755-759.
Of Salomons Seale.
3. Polygonatum I.Clusii. Sweet smelling Salomons Seale
4. Polygonatum ramosum. Branched Salomons Seale

‘The sort of Salomons seale with broad leaues groweth in certaine woods in Yorkshire called Clapdale woods, three miles from a village named Settle.’ p. 758.

Notes: Foley notes that while this is unlocalised it must be a Hesketh record, as is its where he also recorded the hybrid primrose. Gerard lists six varieties of Solomon’s seal, but doesn’t specific which was specifically found in Clapdale, I have assumed he meant the third or fourth variety is the one found locally since it had broad leaves.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Primula farinosa
Bird's-eye primrose (red and white)</td><td>1597</td><td>Great Harwood</td><td>Extinct. Last record in 1907.[3]</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 638-639.
Of Birds eine.
1. Primula veris flore rubro. Red Bird eine.
2. Primula veris flore albo. White Bird eine.

‘These plants do grow very plentifully in moist and squallie grounds, in the north parts of England; as in Harwood neere to Blackburne in Lancashire, and then miles from Preston in Aundernesse, also at Crosbie, Rauenswaith, and Cragge close in Westmerland.’ p. 639.

‘They likewise growe in the medowes belonging to a village in Lancashire neere Maudsley called Harwood, and at Hesketh not farre from thence, and many other places in Lancashire, but not on this side Trent that I could euer haue any certaine knowledge of; L’Obeliw reporteth that Doctor Pennie (a famous Phisition of our London Colledge) did finde them in these Southerne parts.’ p. 639.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Primula vulgaris × veris
(hybrid between the Primrose and the Cowslip)</td><td>1597</td><td>Clapdale wood, Clapham</td><td>Probably still there but overlooked</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 635-638.
Of Cowslips.

‘There is a strange Primrose founde in a wood in Yorkshire, growing wilde, by the trauell and industry of a learned gentleman of Lancashire, called master Thomas Hesketh, and a diligent searcher of Simples, who hath not only brought to light this amiable and plesant kind of Primrose, but many others likewise, neuer before his time remembred or founde out. This kinde of Primrose hath leaues and rootes like the wilde field Primorse in eche respect; it bringeth forth among the leaues a naked stalke of a grayish or ouerworne greenish colour: at the top whereof doth growe in the winter time one flower and no more, like vnto that single one of the fielde; but in the sommer time it bringeth foorth a soft russet huske or hose, wherin are conteined many small flowers sometimes fower or fiue, and oftentimes more, very thick thrust together, which maketh one entire flower, seeming to be one of the common double Primroses, whereas indeed it is one double flowers, neuer ceasing to beare flowers winter nor sommer, as before is specified.’ p. 637.

‘the Primrose found by master Hesketh, groweth in a woode called Clapdale, three miles from a towne in Yorkshire called Settle.’ p. 637.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1633), pp. 779-783.
Of Cowslips
8. Primula veris Heskethi. Mr. Heskths Primrose.

‘Fabious Columna refers these to the Alisma of Dioscor and calls the Cowslip Alisma pratorum: and the Primrose, Alisma syluarum.’ p. 782.

Notes: It is only in the 1633 edition of Gerard’s Herball that a name and drawing is given to Hesketh’s primrose (p. 782).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Prunus padus
Bird cherry, hackberry, hagberry, Mayday tree</td><td>1597</td><td>Martholme (Great Harwood)</td><td>Perhaps extinct but known from an adjacent tetrad</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 1318-1324.
Of the Cherrie tree.
9. Cerasus auium nigra & racemosa. Birds Cherries, and blacke Grape Cherrie tree.

‘this wilde tree growet very plentifully in the north of England, especially at a place called Heggdale, neere vnto Rofgiull in Westmerland, and in diuers other places about Crosbie Rauenswaith, and there called Hegberrie tree : it groweth likewise in Martome [Martholme] Parke, fower miles from Blackburne, and in Harward [Great Harwood] neere thereunto; in Lancashire almost in euerie hedge’. p. 1322.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pyrola minor
Snowline wintergreen, lesser wintergreen, common wintergreen</td><td>1597</td><td>Craven</td><td>N/A</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 330-331.
Of Winter greene.
1. Pyrola. Winter greene.
2. Monophyllon. One blade.

‘Pyrola groweth in Landsdale, and Crauen, in the north part of England, especially in a close called Cragge close.’ p. 330.

Note: Pyrola and Maianthemum are discussed in the same chapter, ‘Of Winter greene’.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ranunculis acris
Meadow Buttercup</td><td>1597</td><td>Hesketh</td><td>N/A</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), p. 810-811.
Of yellow Batchelers Buttons.
2.Ranunculus maximus multiplex. Double wild Crowfoote.

‘The first is planted in Gardens for the beauty of the flowers, and likewise the second, which hath of late beene brought foorth of Lancashire vnto our London Gardens, by a curious gentleman in the searching foorth of Simple Master Thomas Hesketh, who found it growing wilde in the towne fields of a small village called Hesketh, not far from Latham in Lancashire.’ 810-811.

Note: Charles Bailey in Abram’s article adds – ‘Probably a form of Ranunclis acris, L., in which the anthers have become petaloid. “Double” flowers, and diæcious plants, are frequent in the Ranunclulaceæ.’</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>Rubus chamaemorus
Knotberry, cloudberry</td><td>1597</td><td>Ingleborough, Pendle Hill</td><td>Still present at Ingleborough, and likely Pendle Hill</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 1089-1092, 1368 (misprinted as 1386).
Of the Bramble , or blacke Berrie Bush.
4.Chamaemorus. Knot Berrie tree.

‘Knot berries do loue snowie hils, and mountains: it groweth plentifully vpon Ingleborough hils among the Heath and Ling, twelue miles from Lancaster, being though to be the higest hill in England.’ p. 1091.

Of Cloud-berrie.
Vaccinia nubis. Cloud berries.
‘This plant groweth naturally vpon the tops of two high mountains (among the mossie places) one in Yorkshire called Ingleborough, the other in Lancashire called Pendle, two of the highest mountains in all England, where the cloudes are lower than the tops of the same all winter long, whereupon the people of the countrie haue called them Cloud berries, found there by a curious gentleman in the knowledge of plants, called Master Hesketh often remembred.’ p. 1368 [misprinted as 1386].</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1633), pp. 1271-1274, 1420.

‘My friend M. Pimble of Maribone reciued a plant hereof out of Lancashire; and by the shape of the leafe I could not judge it to differ from the Chamaemorus formerly described, pag.1273 neither doe the descriptions much differ in any material point; the figures differ more; but I judge this is a very imperfect one.’ p. 1420.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rubus idaeaus
Raspberry</td><td>1597</td><td>Great Harwood</td><td>Frequent</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), pp. 1089-1092.
Of the Bramble , or blacke Berrie Bush.
2.Rubus Idaeus. The Raspis bush, or Hindberrie.

‘The Raspis is planeted in gardens; it groweth not wilde that I know of, except in the fielde bya village in Lancashire called Hardwood, not farre from Blackburne.’ p. 1091.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sedum rosea
Roseroot</td><td>1597</td><td>Ingleborough?</td><td>Still present</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Gerard (1597), p. 426.
Of Rosewoort, or Rose roote
Rhodia radix. Rosewoort roote.

‘in a place called Ingleborough Fels, neere vnto the brookesides’. p. 426.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Parkinson (1640), pp. 739-740.
Sedum laciniatis folijs. Small Houseleeke with divded leaves. Chap. VIII.
1. Sedum Alipinum laciniatis Ajugæ folijs. Small Mountaine Houseleeke with jagged leaves.

‘that which wee had from Mr. Hesket out of Lancashire bore pale whitish flowers with some yellow threds compassing a middle round umbone’. p. 739.</td></tr>
</table>

‘but on the Mountaines of *Lancashire* with us as Mr. [*Hosket*?] told us’. p. 739-740.

Silene maritima OR *Silene inflata* **Bladder campion**	1597	Lytham/Lathom?	N/A

Gerard (1597), pp. 382-385.
Of wilde rose Campions.

2. *Lychnis marina Anglica. English Sea Campion.*

‘It is reported vnto me by a gentleman one Master *Thomas Heket*, that by the sea side in Lanshire, from whence this plant came, there is another sort hereof with red flowers.’ p. 382.

‘The Sea Campion groweth by the sea side in Lancashire at a place called Lytahm, fiue miles from Wygan, from whence I had some seedes brought me for my gardenby a diligent searcher of simples, master *Thomas Hesketh*, who hath harde it reported that in the same place doth grow of the same kinde some with red flowers, which are very rare to be seene.’ p. 385.

Notes: Abram points out that both *Silene maritima* and *Silene inflata* possess calyces which often have a reddish-purple tinge, which may explain the red colour.

Silene pratensis **Double white rose OR White catchfly**	1597	Rufford, Latham, Layland.	N/A

Gerard (1597), pp. 1077-1084.
Of Roses.

1. *Rosa alba.* The White Rose.

‘The double white Rose doth growe wilde in many hedges of Lancashire in great abundance, euen as Briers do with vs in these southerly parts, especially in a aplce of the cuntrye called Leylande, and in a place called Roughfoorde [Rufford], not far from Latham. Moreouer, in the saide Leilande fields doth grow our garden Rose wild, in the plowed fields among the corne in such abundance, that there may be gathered daily, during the time, many bushels of Roses, equall with the best garden Rose in each respect : the thing that giueth great cause of wonder is, that in a field in the place aforesaid, called Glouers fielde, euery yeere that the field is plowed for corne, that yeere the field will bespred ouer with Roses; and when it lieth as they cal it leye, and not plowed, then shal there be but fewe Roses to be gathered: by the relation of a curious gentleman there dwelling, so often remembred in our Historie.’ p. 1081.

Gerard (1633), pp. 1259-1265.
Of Roses.

Johnson (editor of the 1633 edition) adds: ‘I haue heard that the Roses which grow in such plenty in Glouers field, euery yeare the field is plowed, are no other than corne Rose, that is, red Poppies, howeuer our Author was informed.’ p. 1262.

Notes: Abram claims that what Johnson suggested as field roses are actually red poppies. This seems wrong because of 1597 edition notes the white colour of the plants. I therefore speculate it was *Silene pratensis*.

Teucrium scordium **Water Germander**	1597	Great Harwood	Extinct (probably planted).

Gerard (1597), pp. 534-535.
Of Water Germander, or Garlicke Germander.

1. *Scordium maius.* Great Garlicke Germander.
2. *Scordium minus.* Small Garlicke Germander.

'in a medow by Harwood in Lancashire'. p. 535.

Notes: Gerard does not specify which species he found in Harwood.

Tragopogon porrifolius **Salsify, Purple goat's beard**	1597	Banks of the River Calder (Great Harwood)	Extinct, but known some distance away near Nelson.

Gerard (1597), pp. 594-596.
Of Goates beard, or Go to bed at no one.

1. *Tragopogon purpureum.* Purple Goates beard.

'The first groweth not wilde in England that I could euer see or heare of, expect in Lancashire vpon the bankes of the riuer Chalder [Calder], neere vnto my Ladie *hesketh* hir house [Martholme Hall], two miles from Whawley: it is sowen in gardens for the beautie of the flowers, almost euery where.' p. 596.

Note: As Foley points out, as Gerard mentions Lady Hesketh it is possible either she or Thomas Hesketh sent him a specimen, or even the possibility that he had visited them.

Vaccinium Vitus-Idaea **Lingonberry**	1597	Crosby Ravensworth, Pendle Hill	N/A

Gerard (1597), pp. 1228-1232.
Of Whortes, or Whortle berries.

2. *Vaccinia rubra.* Red Whortes, or Whortle berries.

'The red Whortle berry groweth in Westmerlad, at a place called Crossby Rauenswaith; where also doth growe the Whortle with the white berrie, and in Lancashire also vpon Pendle hils.' p. 1230.

Note: Abram could not identify the 'Whortle with the white berrie', and assumes it is a rosaceous plant.

Viola lutea OR *Viola tricolor* **Mountain Pansy**	1597	Near Lytham	N/A

Gerard (1597), pp. 698-702.
Of Violets.

5. *Viola martia lutea.* Yellow Violets.

'it groweth seldome any where but vpon most high and craggie mountains, from whence it hath beene diuers times brought into the garden, but it can hardly be brought to culture, or growe in the garden without great industrie. And by the relation of a Gentleman often remembred called Master *Thomas Hesketh*, who found it growing vpon the hils in Lancashire, neer vnto a village called Latham, & though he brought them into his garden, yet they withered and pined away.' p. 701.

Notes: Abram suggests this flower could be *Viola lutea*, but he thinks the one found near Lytham was more likely *Viola tricolor* as the other he had never seen in south Lancashire before. I assume Lytham is meant here, rather than Lathom, as the next entry mentions it being four miles from Kirkham.

Viola tricolor OR *Viola Curtisii* **Wild Pansy**	1597	Lytham	N/A

Gerard (1597), pp. 703-705.
Of Harts ease, or Paunsies.

1. *Viola tricolor.* Hartes ease. [possibly this is the one the quote below refers to]

'Those with yellow flowers haue beene found by a village in Lancashire called Latham, fower miles from Kyrckam [Kirkham] by Master *Thomas Hesketh* before remembred.' p. 704.

Notes: Abram suggests this flower could be either be *Viola tricolor* or *Viola Curtisii.*

Appendix B: Partial Transcription of Disbursements of John Wiswall on Behalf of Edward Norris of Speke, 28 August 1710, to 6 October 1719

Note on the Transcription

This is not a full transcription of the Wiswall Disbursements, it records the various expenses relating to the estate's greenspaces, and other related expenditures. The table records the date of an activity, its folio number, and provides a transcription of what was written. The period between 1710 and 1712 is more meticulously recorded to capture a better sense of the activities of the Speke estate, after this, commonly occurring activities such as collecting hay or raking molehills are omitted for the sake of space.

Date	Folio No.	Record
29/8/1710	1	'Pd to Mr James Chadwick for measuring the holeboth and new marle pitt. 000-11-0'
-	-	'Pd to James Foster for digging in the Gardens 3 days & a half 000-01-9'
19/9/1710	-	'Pd to John Ashton Gardiner for his Quarters Wages till Michmas being [illegible] 001-10-0[?]' Note: First mention of the gardener John Ashton, who may have later become Speke Hall's seed supplier.
-	-	'For spreading dung in the Lower Orchard Two days, and [illegible] James Lees onto lead hay from hale one day att 8d [illegible] day 000-02-0'
-	-	'And for shearing oats in Barnhey Croft, Barley in lower orchard and putting tench into the new marlepitt in all Three days & a half 000-02-4'
[Unknown date, either late September or early October]	2	'Pd to John Charnley for shearing oats in the Plumbfield 4 days & a half at 10^{d} [illegible] 000-03-9'
21/10/1710	3	'Pd to Lawrence Golden For 7 days worke (viz.) Two days Ridding in Green Hea Two days ditching att side of Mrs Croft one day mowing in the gardens one day casting slutch out of the stew and one day cutting hedg wood 000-04-8'
23/10/1710	-	'Pd to the Gardiner when he went to Chester & brought the Bay horse back 000-00-9'

[Unknown date, possibly early November]	4	'Pd to Katherine Tyrer for weeding in the Strawberries and Gardens 7 days 000-02-4'
13/11/1710	-	'Pd to John Charnley, Law: Golden and John [Skath?] for ditching between stable & bone pitt, and att side of Banks lane meadow each of them 2 days & a half 000-05-0'
-	-	'Pd to James Pilkington for killing 9 woodcocks & a stork [dove?] to goe to Chester 000-03-4'
[24/11/1710?]	-	'Pd to the Gardiner for which he spent in goeing to Chester 000-03-1'
12/12/1710	5	'Pd to Richard Barrow for falling Timber for millns use sawing Ash Boards & repairing [the locks?] att Barn doors himself & son 15 days 000-10-0'
21/12/1710	-	'Pd to John Charnley, Lawrence Golden & John [Skath?] for work (viz.) John Charnley & John Skath Ridding in Lower Orchard and takeing up Roots of Okes there, & filling Earth either of them 9 days & a half 000-12-8'
-	-	'Lawrence Two days cutting firrs in the Gardens ne day in Lower Orchard & One day ridding in Gardens 000-03-0'
-	-	'Pd them for ditching between the holebatch & hey between woods each a day & a half 000-03-0'
-	-	'Pd to Richard Answorth for 10 days slateing after the great wind 000-06-8.'
23/12/1710	-	'Pd to the Gardiner when he went to Chester 000-00-9'
6/1/1711	-	'Pd for a nett for [illegible] use & Ratts Bane 000-00-2'
14/1/1711	6	'Pd John Charnley for hedging a day & a half att Bottom of Great [Brandrith?] and four days & a half ditching 000-04-0.'
-	-	Pd to Lawrence Golden for ditching & cutting more Firrs 3 days & half 000-02-4'
-	-	'Pd to the Gardiner for his wages due att Christmas 001-10-0'
18/1/1711	-	'Spent with James Shaw when I sold him the Cropp Wood in Clough and other wood in Oglett wood 000-00-6'
26/1/1711	-	'Pd to the Gardiner when he went to Chester 000-00-8'

29/1/1711	-	‘Pd to John [Skalth?] for ditching between Bankslane meadow and further plumb field hedging & mowing Rishes in wood end 12 days 000-08-0’
-	-	‘Pd to Lawrence Golden for the same work nine days 000-06-0’
30/1/1711	-	‘Pd to Richard Answorth for one days work about Garston Kiln and laying a sough in the Gardens Two days 000-1-4’
10/2/1711	-	‘Pd to John [Skalth?] for opening the sough in the gardens helping to fill it up, spreading Earth in Lower orchard and cutting wood there 6 days 00-04-0’
17/2/1711	-	‘Spnt when I went to Leverpool to bespake [Candles?] and in company with Mr Turner, Thomas Hurst & others about Timber 000-01-0’
-	-	‘Pd for Ale against Mr Turners comeing to look out Timber 000-00-6’
6/3/1711	7	‘Pd for a Peck of Banes bought of Thomas Hardman for Gardiner 000-01-3’
10/3/1711	-	‘Pd for drink when Mr Turner Mr Hurst and Thomas [illegible] came to Speake to buy Timber 000-01-0’
2/4/1711	8	‘Spnt with Robert Litherland and others with him when he bought Timber in Oglett wood 000-01-[4?]’
7/4/1711	-	‘Pd to John Skath for helping Gardiner 5 days and hedging seven days and a half 000-08-[8?]’
-	-	‘Pd to William Bridge for the like work seven days & a half 000-5-[illegible]’
-	-	‘Pd to Law: Golden for helping the Gardiner to dig & to fill Earth twelve days 000-08-[illegible]’
10/4/1711	-	‘Pd to Mary Wilkinson for weeding four days 000-01-4’
		‘Pd to Katharine Tyrer for the like work four days 000-01-4’
12/4/1711	-	‘Pd to the Gardiner for his Quarters Wages due att Lady day 001-10-[illegible]’
14/4/1711	-	‘Pd in Leverpool for a pound of hops and for Two Quarters of [beal/veal/bear?] 000-03-6’

16/4/1711	9	'Pd to Dorcas and Alice Foster for spreading mole hills, and dungings in the fields, Gathering & cutting small slicks in the Clough either of them eight days & a half 000-05-8'
-	-	'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for the like work 9 days & a half 000-03-2'
23/4/1711		'Pd to James Almond for five yong Geese 000-03-4'
28/4/1711	-	'Pd to Richard Ballard for paving att the garden door 000-00-6'
1/5/1711	-	'Pd to Edward Webster for mowing Squares & digging in gardens four days 000-02-0'
14/5/1711	-	'Pd to Dorcas and Alice Foster for weeding and gathering rubbish on rooks att green hea 2 days 000-01-4'
-	10	'Pd to Samuel Ellison for helping the gardeiner to dig for three days 000-02-6'
-	-	'Pd a man for mending a sawce pan, and a watering pott 000-00-2½'
12/6/1711	-	'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for weeding in the gardens &c. 4 days 000-01-4 and for Burning ground 2 days 000-00-1'
-	-	'Pd to her [referring to Mary Wilkinson] for making hay in the Gardens 4 days & a half 000-01-6'
-	-	'Pd to Katharine Tyrer for weeding in Gardens Courts and dressing Squares when mowed 21 days & half 000-07-2'
-	-	'Pd to her [referring to Katharine Tyrer] for burning ground 2 days 000-01-0'
-	-	'Pd to her [referring to Katharine Tyrer] for rooking gorse in Green hea one day 000-00-4 and for making hay in the gardens two days & half 000-00-10'
-	-	'Pd to Ann Pilkington for making hay Three days 000-01-0'
-	-	'Pd to Mary Wainwright for making hay two days 000-00-8'
16/6/1711	11	'Pd to Samuel Ellison for ditching one day att Corner of Swine pasture, spreading Ashes in burn'd ground one day, Tilling muck one day & spreading it for getting Turf half a day & helping gardiner half a day in all 4 days 000-03-4'

-	-	‘Pd to Thom: Hardman for plowing in the lower orchard and burned ground two days and a [illegible] of a day [illegible] 3 weeks score of [illegible] Cow being slopped [in?] 000-03-0’
19/6/1711	-	‘Pd for a hive for Bees that came and [illegible] by the hall 000-00-3’
27/6/1711	-	‘Pd to the Gardiner his Quarters Wages then due 001-10-0’
28/6/1711	-	‘Pd to James Shaw of Leverpool towards falling okes in Lower Orchard, Hole batch & new [cock/cork?] Glade 000-05-0’
2/7/1711	12	‘Pd to the Gardiner for to discharge his Bill of Seeds &c 001-11-0’
7/7/1711	-	‘Pd to Ann Pilkington for making hay in hopyard, upper end of lower orchard & some in swine pasture seven days & a half 000-02-6’
9/7/1711	-	‘Pd him [referring to Richard Barrow] towards falling Timber 000-10-0’
16/7/1711	-	‘Pd to James Holme for mending a little Gun to shoot Birds in the Gardens 000-01-0’ Note: Shooting birds in the garden, presumably pests.
17/7/1711	-	‘Pd for a pound of black peper six Lemons & sand to scowre with which the gardiner bought att Leverpool 000-04-9’
-	-	‘Pd to Samuel Ellison for mowing in the gardens 000-4-6, for mowing the hopyard 000-02-0, for mowing swine pasture 000-04-0, for mowing lower orchard 000-07-0, for mowing Barn hey Croft 000-02-6’
-	-	‘Pd to him [referring to Samuel Ellison] for hedging one day between heath & school house hey 000-00-10 and for ditching two days & a half att lower end of swine pasture 000-02-0’
-	-	‘and for 2[li] of shott for gardiner 000-00-4’
23/7/1711	13	‘Pd to Samuel Ellison James Boulton & Rob Wiswall for laveing Fishpond in Green hea 000-03-0’
-	-	‘Pd to Rob Wiswall for laveing Lower orchard pitt and opening the ditch to let water of & from the same 000-02-0’

7/8/1711	-	‘Pd to them [referring to John Skath and William Bridge] for pish plowing 60 rood in green hea att [illegible] and for pushing potatoe ground in lower orchard 000-00-9’
22/8/1711	14	‘Pd to Katharine Tyrer for Weeding in the Gardens, Courts, and dressing them & squares 000-08-8 26 days 00-1-03-0’
12/9/1711	-	‘Pd to Edward Webster for mowing in the gardens two days 000-02-0’
-	-	‘Pd to William Bridge for the like work Two days 000-02-0’
26/9/1711	15	‘Pd to the Gardiner for what he had laid down for a peck of [Grakes?] att Leverpool 000-01-6’
3/10/1711	-	‘Pd to the Gardiner for his Quarter Wages then due 001-10-0’
9/10/1711	16	‘Pd to Edward Webster 4 days shearing Barley in Lower Orchard & Green Hea 000-02-8’
-	-	‘Pd him [referring to Edward Webster] for 3 days helping to get potatoes up one day cutting wood for loading & one day helping Gardiner 000-03-4’
-	-	‘Pd him [referring to Edward Webster] for 2 days mowing Rishes in Oglett Wood 000-01-4’
8/11/1711	17	‘Pd to Richard Heye, Edward [Litchmough?], Robert Lathom, Edward Milner & as a Gift for bringing up a surgeon 0000-03-0’
10/11/1711	-	‘Pd to Edward Webster for Ten days work in Oglett wood Ridding & filling up holes 0000-06-8’
-	-	‘And William Bridge for Five days att the same work 0000-03-4’
21/11/1711	18	‘Pd to the Gardiner for which he had laid out in expenses for himself and two horses when Betty Chamberman sent from Speake to Chester att Royall Oke 0000-02-10’
-	-	‘Pd for Boatige For 3 horses and expenses att the Boat in waiting when I went with the gardiner & Betty over, att that time I went to Crewood [Ufkington?] & Spurstow about the Peacocks Greyound whelp & Mouring Ring &c. 0000-01-2’

24/11/1711	-	'Pd to Richard Answorth for Ten days work slateing and making up a brick wall att corner of gardens and alsoe for pointing walls in some places with lime & hair 000-06-8'
8/12/1711	19	'Pd to Edward Webster for 5 days work helping the Gardiner to dig, and att Oglett Wood 0000-03-4'
-	-	'Pd to William Bridge for the like work for 5 days 0000-03-4'
13/12/1711	-	'Pd to Katharine Tyrer for weeding & dressing squares in the gardens 2 days & a half 0000-00-10'
2/1/1712	20	'Pd to the Gardiner for his Quarters Wages due att x.mas 0001.10.0'
12/1/1712	-	'Pd to the Gardiner for which had had laid out for Carriage of Setts & Garden [shill?] from London 0000-01-7'
9/2/1712	21	'Pd for carriage of seeds from London for the Gardiner 0000-00-6'
23/2/1712	-	'Pd in Leverpool for oyl of Turpentine for the Gardiner 0000-00-4'
29/3/1712	23	'Pd for Carriage of 14li of Seeds and Little trees from London 0000-01-9'
-	-	'Pd for mending Garden door lock 9d [illegible] then 6d 0000-01-3'
1/4/1712	-	'Pd to John Valentine Gardiner for his wages then due Lady day 0001-10-0' Note: Frist direct mention of John Valentine as the gardener at Speke
-	-	'Pd to Richard Barrow for himself and son seven days & a half setting posts and mending gates and sawing boards for Gardiners use &c. 0000.06.9'
3/4/1712	-	'Pd to the joyner for making Frames for Gardiners Hott beds Glasses &c 0000-04-8'
-	-	'Pd for Ten [Bassmatts?] for the Gardiners use 0000-02-06'
8/4/1712	-	'Pd to Mary Wilkinson and Katherine Tyrer for spreading molehills and dungings in meadows & fields either 6 days 0000-04-0'

[8?]/4/1712	24	'Spnt on John Holsbrook when he went with me to Leverpool to be sworn about James Mollyneus shooting one Sonday morning 000-01-2'
15/4/1712	-	'Pd to Ralph Plumb for dressing Tenn dozen of Spade trees 0000-08-10'
21/4/1712	-	'Spnt with Robert Litherland when wee discoursed about the sale of Oglett wood 0000-01-0'
29/4/1712	-	'Pd for the Glazier for new glass for frames for the Gardiner and some repairs as per bill 0001-05-10'
5/5/1712	25	'Spnt with Robert Litherland & others when he came to view Oglett wood Timber 0000-01-6'
6/5/1712	-	'Pd to Ezekiel Mason for one day & a half work att new Room door and the Gallery 0000-01-0'
8/5/1712	-	'Pd for 12 measures of Limestone att Leverpool for whitewashing and Plaistering in the Galleries & and other places 000-06-0'
10/5/1712	-	'Pd for Edward Webster and William Bridge for Pushplowing in Gardens, Lower Orchard & Swine pastures for potatoes, & 95 roods in Green Hea att 1[li?] [illegible] roods 000-13-6'
24/5/1712	26	'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for weeding in the Gardens, Burning ground in Green Hea spreading mole=hills and gathering stones out of the swine pasture in all 5 days 0000-01-8'
28/5/1712	-	'Pd to The Heyes for plowing Two days in Burned ground in Green Hea 0000-06-0'
6/6/1712	27	'Pd to Ezekiel Mason for Three days work making frames to sett about the Yew trees in the Court & working above sairs 0000-02-0'
7/6/1712	-	'Pd to Edward Webster John Baner & William Bridge for each of them filling earth helping to lead wood spreading Ashes in Green Hea and scowring of [illegible] of the ditch att Green Hea each 10 days 0001-01-0'
16/6/1712	-	'Pd to Katherine Tyrer for wedding in the Garden & such like work for 36 days 0000-12-0'
19/6/1712	-	'Pd to Richard and [illegible] Foster for weeding the little Barn hey Croft each 2 days & half 0000-01-6'

2/7/1712	28	'Pd that day to Robert Wiswall for laveing the fishpond in the Gardens 0000-01-0'
4/7/1712	-	'Pd to John Sumerford for a Samon he brought to Speake 0000-04-0'
12/7/1712	-	'Pd to Richard Foster for weeding in Lower Orchard Barley 5 days 0000-01-8'
-	-	'Pd to him for making Hay in the Gardens one day and a half 0000-00-6'
-	-	'Pd to [Dorcas?] Foster for makeing Hay in Gardens 4 days 0000-01-4'
-	-	'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for weeding the Gardens the 3 days & a half 0000-01-2'
-	-	'Pd to Mary Wilkinson for weeding half a day 0000-00-2 and for making hay in Gardens & Hopyard 6 days & half 0000-02-2'
14/7/1712	-	'Pd to Richard Barrow for himself & son making a Frame att Marl Pitt in Oglet wood for winding water out of the Pitt setting seats in severall planes, Repairing Barns and [Cliebeing?] Some Salts for plaistering new room, 12 days 0000-10-0'
19/7/1712	-	'Pd to William [Hurdleson?] to discharge his Bill of Beans Pease and Garden stuff as per Bill 0000-14-4'
-	-	'Pd to Edward Webster, and William Bridge for mowing squares and digging for the Gardiner either one day 0000-01-8'
-	-	'Pd to James Foster for two Hay Rakes 0000-00-5'
-	29	'Pd to Richard Foster for 3 days & [illegible] for Two days & a half making hay 0000-01-10'
24/7/1712	-	'Pd to John Marsden for [Master?] Thomas Ford use for mending the still Coffee Potts, Tea potts and sauce pans &c. as [per?] Bill 0000-11-0'
29/7/1712	-	'Pd to John Baner for scaring Ditch before Little Barn door clearing the Calf house in Lower Orchard and helping Thomas Barrow to lead wood 5 days 0000-03-4'

7/8/1712	-	'Pd to Edward Webster and William Bridge for mowing Gardens 0000-4-6, Hopyard 0000-02-0, Swine Pasture 0000-04-0, Lower Orchard 0000-07-0'
-	-	'Pd them for mowing 4 acres in Mullis Meadow 0000-10-8'
8/8/1712	-	'Pd to James Whitfield for mending the Little Parlour Clock 0000-15-0, and for a new Glass for the face of it 0000-01-5 and for mending the Great clock 0000-04-0'
14/8/1712	-	'Pd to John Baner for Two days & a half filling and spreading Dung in Lower Orchard 0000-1-8'
-	30	'Pd to An Pilkington for Ten days & a half makeing Hay 0000-03-6'
28/8/1712	-	'Pd to Edward Webster for helping the Gardiner to Mow and Digg in the Gardens one day 0000-00-9 and for searching for water about the leads and watering [shraw?] For half a day 0000-00-4'
20/9/1712	31	'Pd to John Banner for helping to remove Charcole into the house in Lower Orchard and sheering the upper & Lower head butts of Barley in Lower Orchard being 2 days 0000-01-4' Note: Mention of a house in Lower Orchard, possibly some sort of storage?
25/9/1712	-	'Pd to the Gardiner for which he spent in going to Chester with Dolly and brining a man back with 5 horses and for boatige of two persons and one? Horse to Chester, and Two persons and five horses from chester, when my [master?] Left Speake and was att Chester 0000-00-10'
29/9/1712	-	'Pd to James Foster for reaping Green Hea Barley & Little Barn Hey Croft Oats and Lower Orchard Barley 0000-12-6 spent on the Reapers 0000-00-6'
7/10/1712	32	'Pd to Katharine Tyrer for weeding in Gardens & [illegible] and helping Gardiner in Gardens 39 days 0000-13-0'
13/10/1712	-	'Pd to John Valentine Gardiner for his Quarters Wages 0001-10-0'
18/10/1712	-	'Pd to the Gardiner for Boatige & Expenses to & from Chester 0000-00-10'
23/10/1712	33	'Pd to Jospeh Heyes for helping Gardiner to get up potatoes 2 days & a half 00-01-8'

24/10/1712	-	'pd to the Gardiner for what he had spent in going to Chester the 17th Instant, with Boatige 0000-00-10'
25/10/1712	-	'Pd to Edward Webster for Thrashing 14 measures of Green Hea Barley 0000-01-4'
-	-	'Pd to Gabriel [Pinnigton?] for 10 measures of Oats for Swine & Geese 0000-09-2'
13/11/1712	34	'Pd to Ralph Plumb for falling one Ash, [Croscutting?] & dressing Two Dozen and a half of spade trees 0000-03-6'
9/12/1712	-	'Pd to John Valentine for what he had laid down for Colly Flower seeds 0000-01-0'
18/12/1712	-	'Pd to Joseph Heys for helping the Gardiner in the Gardens 2 days 0000-1-04'
-	-	'Pd to William Bridge for the like work for six days 0000-04-0'
15/1/1713	35	'Pd to John Valentine Gardiner for his Quarters Wages then due 0000-13-9'
4/4/1713	39	'Pd to Katharine Tyrer for weeding and gathering [Slicks?] in the Gardens & Carrying Rubbish of, Eight days & a half 0000-02-10 & for Threed to make and mend sacks with 0000-00-2 & for Burning Gors & rubbish in Green Hea 2 days 0000-00-8'
7/4/1713	40	'Pd to Richard Ballard for paveing 7 days in the Poultry yard and the stone bridge 0000-04-8'
11/4/1713	-	Pd to Mary Wilkinson and Mary Winstandley for either of them Three days gathering stones of marled ground and weeding three days 0000-02-0'
13/5/1713	41	'Pd for a knife for the Gardiner to kill sheep with 0000-00-1 [½?]'
15/6/1713	43	'Pd to John Ashton to discharg his Bill of Garden Seeds &c 0000-19-0'
[illegible]/7/1713	-	'Pd to Katharine Tyrer for touting Cherries in Gardens and makeing Hay in Gardens & Hopyard 22 days 0000-11-0'
11/7/1713	44	'Pd to Anne Pilkington, Mary Pilkington, Ellen Webster, Mary Wainwright, Mary Wilkinson & Eliz: Taylor, for

		weeding a day and a half in Green Hea Corn and for making Hay in Swine Pasture each half a day 0000-01-0’
13/7/1713	-	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner for Four Months Wages viz. from March the [1st?] being the time he was to begin his service att Speake 0002-00-0’ Note: First direct mention of Ralph Bratherton as the gardener at Speke.
24/8/1713	45	‘Pd to Nathan Martendale for Dressing Flaggs for soughs on the Green 0000-05-0’
29/8/1713	-	‘Pd to Richard Answorth for laying Limekiln & helping the masons about the old Brewhouse Chimney &c Eleven days 0000-07-4’
2/9/1713	46	‘Pd to Edward Letherland for pulling down walls & chimney and making a new wall and chimney att old Brew House as per Bill 0003-8-0’
7/9/1713	-	‘Pd to him [referring to Richard Tatlock] for Dressing a Spade tree & Pikeford [sleales?] 000-00-4’
12/10/1713	47	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton (Gardiner) for his Quarters Wages 0001-10-0’
24/10/1713	48	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton for which he spent in going to Chester with Fowl, & also Boatige 0000-00-10’
4/11/1713	49	‘Pd to the Gardiner for what he spent going to Chester to order Gardens 0000-00-8’
23/11/1713	-	‘Pd to the Gardiner for killing sheep all the summer for house use 0000-02-6’
29/11/1713	50	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner for his Quarters Wages 0001-10-0’
18/1/1714	51	‘Pd to Edward Webster and William Bridge for ridding yong Ashes in Hopyard & Barnfield & setting them in Clough either of them Three days 0000-04-0’
10/3/1714	53	‘Pd to Mary Winstanley for 4 days weeding in the Gardens 0000-01-4 and for five days spreading molehills & one day rooking wood in Oglett wood 0000-02-0’
2/4/1714	-	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton Garden for his Quarters Wages due all Lady day 0001-10-0’
26/4/1714	54	‘Pd to Mary Winstandley for weeding in Gardens spreading dungings & rookeing Gors Tenn days 0000-03-4’

28/6/1714	58	‘Pd to John Ashton to discharge his Bill of Garden seeds 0001-04-6’
10/7/1714	-	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner his Quarter wages then due 0001-05-0’
5/8/1714	59	‘Pd to Richard Barrow for 14 days and his son for Three days and a half making a new frame in one of the pigeon houses, a new hate, repairing some old ones and setting some windows in the new [Sandry?] 0000-08-9’ Note: Pigeon houses (plural), suggesting multiple dovecotes beyond the remains of the stone one in the outer courtyard.
16/8/1714	-	‘Pd to John Worrall for Shifting a saddle 0000-00-4’
6/10/1714	60	‘Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner for his wages due att Michmas 0001-10-0’
24/12/1714	65	‘Pd to the Gardiner what he spent in going to Chester with Boatige 0000-008’
12/2/1715	67	‘Pd to Edward Webster for Ridding in New Park Five days & a half 0000-03-8’
-	-	‘Pd to William Whitfield for Two days Ridding Hollys in New Park 0000-01-4’
1/3/1715	-	‘Pd to Richard Answorth and Edward Whitesides for Plateing Pointing and laying up a wall in the Garden either of them Twelve days 0000-16-0’
-	-	‘Pd to Jospeh Heyes & Thomas Barrow for carrying six sacks of lime from water side to Pickerings for the wall att Crowood 000-02-0’
9/4/1715	69	‘Pd to the Gardiner his Quarters Wages due att Lady Day 0001-10-0’
20/4/1715	70	‘Pd for six pounds of shott for the Gardiner 0000-00-09’
25/4/1715	-	‘Spnt on Chapman that came to buy Tumber in New Park and Oglett Wood 000-07-6
10/5/1715	71	‘Pd to the Gardiner what he spent in going [illegible] to the Boat and [illegible] to Chester 0000-01-3’
16/5/1715	72	‘Pd to Ralph, Gardiner which he spent in going to Runkhorn with things for Chester 0000-00-4’

17/6/1715	73	'Pd to John Ashton to discharge his Bill of Garden seeds &c 0001-03-6'
9/7/1715	74	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner for his Quarters wages due att Midsummer 0001-10-0'
-	-	'Pd to Mary Winstandley for weeding &c Twenty days 0000-06-8 and for Touting Cherries &c in Gardens Eighteen days att [illegible] days 0000-09-0'
7/10/1715	78	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton for his Quarters Wages due at Michmas 0001-10-0 and which my Master promised him more by the year 0000-10-0 and for [illegible] and [illegible] for mowing squares &c. 0000-02-6'
4/1/1716	81	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner his Quarter Wages due then 0001-10-0'
11/2/1716	82	'Pd in Leverool for Peach trees for the Gardiner 0000-06-0'
13/3/1716	83	'Pd and Spent going to Chester when Sparrograss Plants were fetch from there 0000-01-0'
3/4/1716	84	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner his Quarter Wages 0000-10-0'
18/4/1716	85	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton for killing sheep last year 0000-01-0'
25/4/1716	-	'Pd for a pair of Dubbing shears for Gardiner 0000-02-4'
11/6/1716	87	'Pd to John Ashton to discharge his Bill of Garden Seeds 0001-02-0'
22/6/1716	88	'Pd for 1000 of [Salt?] nails for pigeon house & Gardiner 0000-02-0'
5/7/1716	-	'Pd to Katharine Tyrer for touting Cherryes 20 days and a half 0000-10-2 and for weeding in Gardens 5 days & a half 0000-04-0'
14/7/1716	89	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton his Quarters wages due att midsummer 0001-10-0'
21/7/1716	-	'Pd to Richard Answroth for 12 days & a half latting and plaistering att the Pigeon houses &c. 0000-08-4'

28/7/1716	-	'Pd to Edward Webster for filling muck to Green Hea spreading it and mowing walks in Gardens 3 days 0000-02-06'
25/8/1716	90	'Pd to James Heys of Ormskirk for seven fatt sheep 0007-10-6'
8/9/1716	-	'Pd to Richard Barrow for setting a Gate into Mistress Croft Knotting and Cros cutting some wood and mending one of Gabriels Barn Doors 5 days 000-02-06'
8/10/1716	92	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner his Quarters wages 0001:10:0'
14/12/1716	95	'Pd to the Gardiner which he spent in going to Chester 0000-01-0'
26/12/1716	96	'Pd to Ralph Bratherton Gardiner for his Quarter Wages 0001-10-0'
26/1/1717	97	'Pd to the Gardiner for what he had laid out att Warrington for a [Line?] Gun Pouder & Expences 0000-03-0'
2/3/1717	98	'Pd for 200 Cabbage Plants 0000-01-6'
2/4/1717	99	'Pd to Henry Awin Gardiner for his Quarters Wages due 0001-10-0' Note: First direct mention of Henry Awin as gardener at Speke.
18/4/1717	100	'Pd for a Garden Shovell 0000-03-6'
19/4/1717	-	'Pd to Richard Answorth for making Dawb & fairing Pigeon houses and att Gabriels house 11 days 0000-07-4'
28/5/1717	102	'Pd to John Worsley for 2 dozen Winter Colly flower plants 0000-02-0'
29/6/1717	103	'Pd to him [Ralph Mercer?] for six days taking down and setting up the wall att Hopyards Door and setting up the Boyler in the Brewhouse 0000-08-0'
2/7/1717	-	'Pd for Four pounds of Shott for the Gardiner 0000-00-08'
10/7/1717	103*	'Pd to Henry Awin Gardiner for his Quarters wages due att midsummer last 0001-10-0' * Note: Wiswall writes down two pages as 103 by mistake, this entry is part of the erroneous page.

29/8/1717	104	‘Pd to Richard Answorth for 4 days pulling down the old stable and putting up some slates 0000-02-8’ ________________ Note: The removing of this stable may relate to the construction of the coach house the following month, which may have been built in its place.
26/9/1717	105	‘Pd to Joseph Kenyon for him & his men dressing stone and setting walls at the Coach House at Speake 0005-15-0’
11/10/1717	-	‘Pd to Edward Webster for Five days & a half putting down the Copp att Lower Wall within hop yard & Lower orchard 0000-03-8’
14/10/1717	106	‘Pd to Henry Awins, Gardiner his Quarters Wages due att Michmas 0001-10-0’
17/10/1717	-	‘Pd to the Gardiner which he laid out in going to Aston & [Norton/Morton?] about trees to sett & spent in Warrington 0000-01-0’
21/10/1717	-	‘Pd to Richard Barrow & Ralph Plumb for Carpenters work att New Coach house 0001-15-6’
29/10/1717	107	‘Pd to the Gardiner which he spent in going to Chester and from thence to Aston & Norton for trees 0000-02-0’
26/12/1717	109	‘Pd to Henry Awen Gardiner his Quarter Wages then due 0001-10-0’
15/2/1718	110	‘Pd to John Parkinson for making new Frames for Garden glasses himself & man 7 day att [11d?] per day 0000-06-5’
11/3/1718	111	‘Pd for six Basmatts for the Gardiner 0000-01-3’
14/3/1718	-	‘Pd for Two Dozen and five Flower Potts for Gardiner 00-06-0’
-	-	‘Pd for bring them [referring to flower pots] to Speake from Sutton 0000-01-0’
4/4/1718	113	‘Pd to the Gardiner for his Quarters Wages due at Lady day 0001-10-0’
9/5/1718	114	‘Pd to Richard Barrow for 19 days and a half of him=self and 5 days of his man sawing wood setting gate posts making Coach house doors, [stairs/stawns/staws?] att Garden house and other works 0000-12-3’
19/6/1718	115	‘Pd to John Ashton to discharge his Bill of Seeds &c 0002-13-0’

3/7/1718	-	‘Pd to Peter Warburton for his Quarters Wages due att midsummer last 0001-10-0’ Note: First direct mention of Peter Warburton as gardener at Speke.
27/10/1718	119	‘Pd to Peter Warburton Gardiner for his Quarters Wages due att Michmas 0001-10-0’
31/10/1718	-	‘Pd to Katherine Tyrer for weeding in the Gardens and the quickwood & gathering Grass of the Squares and Gardens Five days 000-01-08’
6/1/1719	121	‘Pd for Woollen patches for the Gardiner 0000-00-6’
12/1/1719	-	‘Pd to the Gardiner for his Quarters Wages due att Xmas 1li 10d and a Gift from my [Master?] by [promise?] 2:00:0’
27/2/1719	123	‘Pd to Edward Webster for helping the Gardiner to make a hot bed half a day & hedging 0000-03-4’
19/3/1719	124	‘Pd to Robert Robinson for Two dozen & two Flower potts 0000-05-0’
9/4/1719	125	‘Pd to Peter Warburton Gardiner his Quarter Wages dye att Lady day 0001-10-0’
9/5/1719	126	‘Pd to Richard Barrow for Five days work setting up Racks in the Coach House and send of the Cart house & making a Hutt for the poultry 0000-02-6’
17/6/1719	127	‘Pd to Richard Ballad for Paving the Stable att the End of the Carthouse &c 0000-02-04’
23/6/1719	-	‘Pd to John Ashton to discharge his Bill of Garden Seeds &c 0001-08-0’
13/7/1719	-	‘Pd to Peter Warburton Gardiner for his Quarters wages due att Midsumer last 0001-10-0’
29/9/1719	129	‘Pd Peter Warburton Gardiner one Quarters wages due September 29th 001-10-00’ Note: Seem to be written in a different hand, the book ends here.

Bibliography

Manuscript and Archival Sources

British Library

Add MS. 33935

Add MS. 33936

Add MS. 33937

Add MS. 33938

Add MS. 33939

Add MS. 33940

Add MS. 33941

Harley MS. 360

Chester Record Office

DBW/L/A/1

DBW/M/I/2

DBW/P/J/7

Lancashire Archives

DRB/1/170

DDHE/37/12

DDHE/54/2

DDHE/54/3

DDHE/54/4

DDHE/105/1

DDHE/105/33

DDHE/122/2

DDHE/122/42

DDK/1743

WCW/Supra/C98B/16

WCW/Supra/C268H/40

WCW/Supra/C288/91

WCW/Supra/OS/17/2

Liverpool Record Office

920 NOR 1/1

920 NOR 1/11

920 NOR 1/37

920 NOR 1/250

920 NOR 1/273

920 NOR 1/396

920 NOR 2/306

920 NOR 2/537

920 NOR 2/634

942.721/3 SPE

The National Archives

SP 12/240

STAC 8/180/28

Speke Hall Archive

Addison, Thomas, *A Survey with Maps of the Lordship of Speke in the County of Lancaster late the estate of the Honourable Topham Beauclerk, deceased* (1781).

University of Liverpool Special Collections & Archives

SPEC NORRIS 276

SPEC NORRIS 284a

SPEC NORRIS 291

Printed Primary Sources

Albin, Eleazar, *A Natural History of Birds* (London: 1731).

Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. C. D. C. Reeve (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2017).

Aristotle, *The Metaphysics*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin Books, 1998, repr. 2004).

Aristotle, *On Sense and the Sensible*, trans. J. I. Beare (online) available at: <https://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/sense.html> [Accessed 12 October 2023].

Aubrey, John, '*Brief Lives,' chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*, I-II, edited by Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).

Austen, Ralph, *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Thomas Robinson, 1657).

Austen, Ralph, *The Spirituall Use of an Orchard, or Garden of Fruit-Trees*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Thomas Robinson, 1657).

Bacon, Francis, *Of Gardens*, in *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral* (London: Hanna Barret, 1625).

Blundell, Nicholas, *Blundell's Diary: Comprising Selections from the Diary of Nicholas Blundell, Esq., from 1702 to 1728*, edited by T. Elission Gibson (Liverpool: Gilbert G. Walmsley, 1895).

Blundell, Nicholas, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, 3 vols., edited by Frank Tyrer and J. J. Bagley (Liverpool: Record Society of Lancashire & Cheshire, 1970).

Boorde, Andrew, *Compendyous Regyment or Dyetary of Helth*, in Joan Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Three Sixteenth-Century Dietaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

Brathwait, Richard, *Essaies vpon the Five Senses* (London: Richard Whittaker, 1620).

Bullein, William, *The Government of Health* (London: Valentine Sims, 1595).

Burton, Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1621).

Carr, Alan, *A Peaceable Moderator, or, Some Plain Considerations to give Satisfaction to such as stand Dis-affected to our Book of Common Prayer Established by Authority* (London: William Crooke, 1665).

Cheyne, George, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724).

Cogan, Thomas, *Haven of Health*, 4th edition (London: Roger Ball, 1636).

Coles, William, *Adam in Eden: or, Natures Paradise* (London: Nathaniel Coles, 1657).

Cook, Moses, *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forest and Fruit-Trees* (London: Peter Parker, 1679).

Cox, Nicholas, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, I-IV, 3rd edition (London: Freeman Collins, 1686).

Culpeper, Nicholas, *The English Physitian: or An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation* (London: Peter Cole, 1652).

Descartes, René, *Principles of Philosophy*, in *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, trans. Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

Dinsdale, Joshua, *The Dove-Cote: or, the Art of Breeding Pigeons, a Poem* (London: Joseph Davidson, 1740).

Dinsdale, Joshua, *The Modern Art of Breeding Bees, a Poem* (London: Joseph Davidson, 1740).

Dodoens, Rembert, *A New Herball, or, Historie of Plants* (London: Ninian Newton, 1586).

Fenn, John (ed.), *Original Letters, Written during the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. And Richard III.* II (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788).

Ffarington, William, *The Derby Household Books … by W. Ffarington. The Stanley Papers*, II, *Remains Historical and Literary Connection with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society*, edited by F. R. Raines, XXXI (Manchester: Chethams Society 1853).

Fuller, Francis, *Medicina Gymnastica: or, A Treatise Concerning the Power of Exercise*, 2nd edition (London: Robert Knaplock, 1705).

Fuller, Thomas, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: Thomas Williams, 1662).

Gerard, John, *The Herball or, Generall Historie of Plantes*, 1st edition (London: John Norton, 1597).

Gerard, John, *The Herball, or, Generall Historie of Plantes*, 2nd edition (London: Adam Islip, Joice Norton, and Richard Whitakers, 1633).

Gilbert, Samuel, *The Florist's Vade-Mecum* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1682).

Gray, Thomas de, *The Compleat Horseman and Expert Ferrier* (London: Nicholas Vavasor, 1639).

Green, Mary Anne Everett (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1598-1601* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869).

Harland, John (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthrope Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithils and Gawthorpe from September 1582 to October 1621*, I, *Remains Historical and Literary Connection with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society*, XXXV (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1856).

Harland, John (ed.), *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthrope Hall, in the County of Lancaster, at Smithils and Gawthorpe from September 1582 to October 1621*, II, *Remains Historical and Literary Connection with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester Published by the Chetham Society*, XLI (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1856).

Hawkins, Henry, *Partheneia Sacra or The Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes* (Rouen: John Cousturier, 1633).

Holme, Randle, *The Academy of Armory, or, A Storehouse of Armory and Blazon* (Chester: printed for author, 1688).

Howlett, Robert, *The School of Recreation: or, a Guide to the Most Ingenious of Exercises* (London: H. Rhodes, 1701).

Hyll, Thomas, *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577).

Hyll, Thomas, *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London: Jane Bell, 1652).

Hyll, Thomas, *The Profitable Arte of Gardening* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1579).

Langbaine, Gerard, *The Hunter, A Discourse of Horsemanship* (Oxford: Nicolas Cox, 1685).

Latham, Simon, *Lathams Falconry: or The Faulcons Lure, and Cure* (London: John Harison, 1663).

Lawson, William, *A New Orchard and Garden*, 8th edition (London: W. Wilson, 1653).

Markham, Gervase, *Hungers Prevention: or, The Whole Art of Fowling by Water and Land* (London: Anne Helme and Thomas Langley, 1621).

Markham, Gervase, *Maison Rustique, or, The Countrey Farme* (London: John Bill, 1616).

Markham, Gervase, *The Country Contentments: Or, The Husbandmans Recreations*, 4th edition (London: John Harison, 1631).

Markham, Gervase, *The English Husbandman: The First Part* (London: John Browne, 1613).

Mascall, Leonard, *A Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line* (London: 1590; repr. London: W. Satchell & Co., 1884).

Mascall, Leonard, *A Booke of the Arte and Maner How to Plante and Graffe All Sorts of Trees* (London: John Wight, 1575).

Meager, Leonard, *The English Gardener* (London: M. Wotton and G. Conyers, 1688).

Mulcaster, Richard, *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children* (London: Thomas Chare, 1581).

Nixon, Anthony, *The Dignitie of Man, Both in the Perfections of His Soule and Bodie* (Oxford: John Barnes, 1616).

Parkinson, John, *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris: or, A Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers* (London: Humphrey Lownes and Robert Young, 1629).

Parkinson, John, *Theatrum Botanicum, The Theater of Plantes. Or, An Universall and Compleate Herball* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640).

Plato, *Timeaus and Critias*, trans. A. E. Taylor (1929; repr. London: Routledge, 2013).

Rea, John, *Flora: seu, De Florum Cultura* (London: Thomas Clarke, 1665).

Rolle, Richard, *The English Prose Treaties of Richard Rolle*, edited by C. E. McIlroy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).

Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments*, I (London: George Thomason, 1659).

Sedulius, *Sedullius, the Paschal Song and Hymns*, trans. Carl P. E. Springer (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013).

Southwell, Robert, *A Short Rule of Good Life* (St Omer: John Heigham, 1622).

Speed, John, *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas* (London: Pavilion, 1988).

Stevenson, Matthew, *The Twelve Moneths, or A Pleasant and Profitable Discourse of Every Action, Whether of Labour or Recreation, Proper to each Particular Moneth* (London: Thomas Jenner, 1661).

Taverner, John, *Certaine Experiments concerning Fish and Fruite* (London: William Ponsonby, 1600).

Thoresby, Ralph, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S. Author of the Topography of Leeds*, I, edited by Joseph Hunter (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830).

Turberville, George, *The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1611).

Tyldesley, Thomas, *The Tyldesley Diary: Personal Records of Thomas Tyldesley (Grandson of Sir Thomas Tydesley, the Royalist) During the Years 1712-13-14*, edited by Joseph Gillow and Anthony Hewitson (Preston: A. Hewitson, 1873).

Vaughan, William, *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health, derived from the best philosophers, as well moderne as auncient* (London: Richard Bradocke, 1600).

Walton, Izaak, Charles Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, 5th edition (1676; repr. London: Pickering, 1859).

Willughby, Francis, *The Ornithology of Francis Willughby of Middleton in the County of Warwick* (London: John Martin, 1678).

Woodall, John, *The Surgeons Mate, or Military & Domestic Surgery* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1639).

Worlidge, John, *Systema Horticulturae, or, The Art of Gardening*, 3rd edition (London: Tho. Dring, 1688), p. 36.

Worlidge, John, *Systema Horti-Culturae, or The Art of Gardening*, 4th edition (London: William Freeman, 1700).

Wotton, Henry, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: John Bill, 1624).

Wright, Thomas, *Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: Walter Burre, 1604).

Secondary Works

Abbott, Chris, Cate Detheridge, 'Access all Areas: The Use of Symbols in Public Spaces', in Jane Seal and Melanie Nind (eds.), *Understanding and Promoting Access for People with Learning Difficulties: Seeing the Opportunities and Challenges of Risk* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 57-68.

Abram, W. A., 'Thomas Hesketh of Martholme and Clitheroe', *Palatine Note-Book*, 5 (1885), pp. 7-14.

Adlington, Hugh, David Griffith, Tara Hamling, 'Beyond the Page: Quarles's *Emblemes*, Wall-Paintings, and Godly Interiors in Seventeenth-Century York', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78:3 (2015) pp. 521-551.

Albala, Ken, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (London: University of California Press, 2002).

Amherst, Alicia, *A History of Gardening in England*, 2nd ed. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896).

Amussen, Susan Dwyer, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

Appleby, John H., 'Woodall, John (1570-1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28653> [Accessed 6 November 2023].

Arcangeli, Alessandro, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425–1675* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Arnaud, Sabine, *On Hysteria: The Invention of a Medical Category between 1670 and 1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Ashmore, Owen, 'Household Inventories of the Lancashire Gentry, 1500-1700', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 110 (1958), pp. 59-105.

Attie, Katherine Bootle, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 51:1 (2011), pp. 135-157.

Avray Tipping, H., ‘Little Moreton Hall – I. Cheshire’, *Country Life*, 66:1715 (1929), pp. 754-762.

Avray Tipping, H., ‘Little Moreton Hall – II. Cheshire’, *Country Life*, 66:1716 (1929), pp. 798-808.

Avray Tipping, H., ‘Rufford Old Hall – I. Lancashire’, *Country Life*, 66:1709 (1929), pp. 528-535.

Avray Tipping, H., ‘Rufford Old Hall – II. Lancashire’, *Country Life*, 66:1710 (1929), pp. 570-576.

Baert, Barbara, ‘The Gaze in the Garden: Mary Magdalene in *Noli Me Tangere*’, in Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (eds.), *Mary Magdalene: iconographic studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 189-222.

Baines, Edward, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, II (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1870).

Bankes, Joyce, Eric Kerridge (eds.) *The Early Records of the Bankes Family at Winstanley* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1973).

Barton, R., R. Hine, J. Pretty, ‘The Health Benefits of Walking in Greenspaces of High Natural and Heritage Value’, *Journal of Integrative Environmental Sciences*, 6:4 (2009), pp. 261-279.

Bartos, Jim, ‘The Spirituall Orchard: God, Garden and Landscape in Seventeenth-Century England Before the Restoration’, *Garden History*, 38:2 (2010), pp. 177-193.

Bates, Catherine, ‘George Turberville and the Painful Art of Falconry’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 41:3 (2011), pp. 403-428.

Battalio, John T., ‘Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Falconry Manuals: Technical Writings with a Classical Rhetorical Influence’, *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, 43:2 (2013), pp. 145-164.

Bellamy, Liz, *The Language of Fruit: Literature and Horticulture in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

Bentz, Katherine M., ‘Gardens, Air, and the Healing Power of Green in Early Modern Rome’, in Jennifer Cochran Anderson and Douglas N. Dow (eds.), *Visualizing the Past in Italian Renaissance Art: Essays in Honour of Brian A. Curran* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 235-267.

Bembibre, Cecilia, Matija Strlič, ‘Smell of Heritage: A Framework for the Identification, Analysis and Archival of Historic Odours’, *Heritage Science,* 5:2 (online, 2017), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-016-0114-1> [Accessed 29 November 2023].

Bevan-Jones, Robert, *The Ancient Yew: A History of Taxus Baccata*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2017).

Blackwood, B. G., ‘The Economic State of the Lancashire Gentry on the Eve of the Civil War’, *Northern History*, 12:1, (1976), pp. 53-83.

Brinson, David, ‘Hesketh, Richard (1553-1593)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13126> [Accessed 14 December 2020].

Brisson, Luc, ‘Plato’s Theory of Sense Perception in the *Timeaus*: How it Works and What it Means’, *Proceedings of the Boston Area Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy*, 13 (1999), pp. 147-176.

Brooks, Margaret L., ‘Drawing to Learn’, in Marilyn J. Narey (ed.), *Multimodal Perspective of Language, Literacy, and Learning in Early Childhood: The Creative and Critical “Art” of Making Meaning* (New York: Springer, 2017), pp. 25-44.

Bulpit, W. T., *Notes on Southport and District* (Southport: Visiter, 1908).

Burgon, Hannah, ‘Case Studies of Adults Receiving Horse-Riding Therapy’, *Anthrozoös*, 16:3 (2003), pp. 263-276.

Burke, Peter, ‘The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe’, *Past & Present*, 146 (1995), pp. 136-150.

Burnby, Juanita, ‘Parkinson, John (1566/7–1650)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21372> [Accessed 12 October 2020].

Burmeister, Anne-Kathrin, et al., ‘Development and Application of the Owner-Bird Relationship Scale (OBRS) to Assess the Relation of Humans to Their Pet Birds’, *Frontiers in Veterinary Science*, 7:575221 (2020), pp. 1-13.

Bushnell, Rebecca, *Green Desire: Imagining Early Modern English Gardens* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Campbell, Robin, ‘‘That’s how I used to write my name when I was little’: Under-fives Exploring Writing’, in Janet Evans (ed.), *The Writing Classroom: Aspects of Writing and the Primary Child 3-11* (London: David Fulton Publishers, 2001), pp. 1-7.

Cammack, Paul J., Ian Convery, Heather Prince, ‘Gardens and Birdwatching: Recreation, Environmental Management and Human-Nature Interaction in an Everyday Location’, *Area*, 43:3 (2011), pp. 314-319.

Cavallo, Sandra, Tessa Storey, ‘Healthy, ‘Decorous’ and Pleasant Exercise: Competing Models and the Practices of the Italian Nobility (Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)’, in Rebekka von Mallinckrodt and Angela Schattner (eds.), *Sports and Physical Exercise in Early Modern Culture: New Perspectives on the History of Sports and Motion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), pp. 165-188.

Charlesworth, Michael, (ed.), *The English Garden: Literary Sources & Documents, Volume I: Chronological Overview: 1550-1730* (Roberts Bridge: Helm Information, 1993).

Charlton, Anne, ‘An Example of Health Education in the Early 17th Century: *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health* by William Vaughan’, *Health Education Research*, 20:6 (2005), pp. 656-664.

Clark, Stuart, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Classen, Constance, David Howes, Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994).

Classen, Constance, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

Cliffe, J. T., *The Worlds of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999).

Coch, Christine, 'The Woman in the Garden: (En)gendering Pleasure in Late Elizabethan Poetry', *English Literary Renaissance*, 39:1 (2009), pp. 97-127.

Cock, Emily, 'In Dock, Out Nettle: Negotiating Health Risks in the Early Modern Garden', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 70-88.

Coffin, David R., *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Cogan, Susan M., *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).

Cogan, Susan M., 'Gardens, Religion and Clerical By-Employments: the dual careers of Hugh Hall, Priest-gardener of the West Midlands', *British Catholic History*, 36:1 (2022), pp. 32-65.

Cole Mambretti, Catherine, 'William Bullein and the "Lively Fashions" in Tudor Medical Literature', *Clio Medica*, 9:4 (1974), pp. 285-297.

Comito, Terry, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1979).

Conan, Michel, 'Introduction', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), pp. 1-16.

Coney, Audrey, 'Fish, fowl and fen: landscape and economy on seventeenth-century Martin Mere', *Landscape History*, 14:1 (1992), pp. 51-64.

Coney, Audrey, 'Managing the Fens', in W. G. Hale, and Audrey Coney (eds.), *Martin Mere: Lancashire's Lost Lake* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), pp. 98-124.

Coope, Rosalys, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), pp. 43-84.

Cooper, Nicholas, 'Rank, Manners and Display: The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1750', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2001), pp. 291-310.

Copeland, Tim, 'Constructing Pasts: Interpreting the Historic Environment' in Alison Hems, Marion Blockley (eds.) *Heritage Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 83-95.

Crane, Mary Thomas, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9:1 (2009), pp. 4-22.

Creighton, Oliver H., *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middles Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009).

Crowley, John E., ‘The Sensibility of Comfort’, *American Historical Review*, 104:3 (1999), pp. 749–782.

Cunningham, Andrew, ‘The Culture of Gardens’, in N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary (eds.) *Cultures of natural history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 38-56.

Cunsolo Willox, Ashlee, ‘Climate Change as the Work of Mourning’, *Ethics and the Environment*, 17:2 (2012), pp. 137-164.

Currie, Christopher K., ‘The Early History of the Carp and Its Economic Significance in England’, *The Agricultural History Review*, 39:2 (1991), pp. 97-107.

Cust, Richard, ‘The Material Culture of Tudor and Stuart England’, in Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, Routledge, 2017), pp. 247-274.

Davey, P. J., J. Speakman, ‘Speke Hall: Excavations in the Gardeners Compound, 1987’, *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 8 (1992 for 1988-89), pp. 85-86.

Davidson, Clifford, ‘Heaven’s Fragrance’, in Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The Iconography of Heaven* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), pp. 110-217.

Davidson, Peter, et al., ‘The Harkirk graveyard and William Blundell ‘the Recusant’ (1560-1638): a reconsideration’, *British Catholic History*, 34:1 (2018), pp. 29-76.

Dixon Hunt, John, ‘Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History’, in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), pp. 77-90.

Dobson, Mary J., *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Dodge, Rachel, Annette Daly, Jan Huyton, Lalage Sanders, ‘The Challenge of Defining Wellbeing’, *International Journal of Wellbeing* 2:3 (2012), pp. 222-235.

Dottie, Roy G., ‘John Crosse of Liverpool and Recusancy in Early Seventeenth-Century Lancashire’, *Recusant History* 20:1 (1990), pp. 31-47.

Dottie, Roy G., ‘The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600: A Reappraisal’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 132 (1982), pp. 1-28.

Drobnick, Jim, ‘The Museum as Smellscape’, in Nina Levent, Alvaro Pascual-Leone (eds.), *The Multisensory Museum: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Touch, Sound, Smell, Memory, and Space* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), pp. 177-196.

Eburne, Andrew, ‘The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden’, *Garden History*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 114-134.

Edmondson, John, Jennifer Lewis, ‘A Lancashire Recusant’s Garden, Recorded by Nicholas Blundell of Crosby Hall from 1702 to 1727’, *Garden History*, 32:1 (2004), pp. 20-34.

Edwards, Peter, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007).

Edwards, Peter, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish First Earl of Devonshire (1551-1626) and his Horses* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).

Edwards, Peter, 'Image and Reality: Upper Class Perceptions of the Horse in Early Modern England', in Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Elsphet Graham (eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 281-306.

Edwards, Peter, Elsphet Graham, 'Introduction: The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World', in Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Elsphet Graham (eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 1-33.

Elliott, Brett, 'Historical Revivalism in the Twentieth Century: A Brief Introduction', *Garden History*, 28:1 (2000), pp. 17-31.

Elven, John P., *The Book of Family Crests*, II, 6th edition (London: Henry Washborne, 1851).

Emrys Morgan, John 'An Emotional Ecology of Pigeons in Early Modern England and America', *Environment and History*, 3 (2022), pp. 435-452.

Farrer, William, J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, III (London: Archibald Constable and co., 1907).

Farrer, William, J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, XI (London: Archibald Constable and co., 1911).

Fielding, Anna, 'Going Deeper than 'Emotional Impact': Heritage, Academic Collaboration and Affective Engagements', *History*, 107:375 (2022), pp. 408-435.

Findlay, Alison, Richard Dutton, 'Introduction', in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (eds.), *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-31.

Fitzpatrick, Joan, (ed.), *Three Sixteenth-Century Dietaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

Fogg, Marie, 'The Use of Sixteenth/Seventeenth Century Wills and Inventories as Historical Sources in the Primary School', *Teaching History*, 80 (1995), pp. 27-30.

Foley, M. J. Y., 'Some localised early plant records from North-west England: then and now', *Watsonia*, 27 (2009), pp. 355-364.

Foyster, Elizabeth A., *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999).

Francis, Jill, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales, 1560-1660* (London: Yale University Press, 2018).

Francis, Jill, 'Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558-*C*.1630', *Garden History*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 22-35.

Franco, Lara S., Danielle F. Shanahan, Richard A. Fuller 'A Review of the Benefits of Nature Experiences: More Than Meets the Eye', *International Journal Environmental Research and Public Health*, 14:864 (2017), pp. 1-27.

French, Sara L., 'Re-Placing Gender in Elizabethan Gardens', in Merry Wiesner-Hanks (ed.), *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 157-175.

Gage, John, *Color and Meaning: Art, Science, and Symbolism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

George, David, (ed.), *Lancashire: Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

Gesler, Wilbert M., 'Therapeutic Landscapes: Medical Issues in Light of the New Cultural Geography', *Social Science and Medicine*, 34:7 (1992), pp. 735-746.

Goodchild, Peter, 'John Smith's Paradise and Theatre of Nature', *Garden History*, 24:1 (1996), pp. 19-23.

Grassby, Richard, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 157 (1997), pp. 37-62.

Griffin, Emma, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Grindon, Leon, H., *Lancashire: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892).

Groth, Lois A., Lynn Dietrich Darling, 'Playing "Inside" Stories', in Artin Göncü and Elisa L. Klein (eds.), *Children in Play, Story, and School* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), pp 220-237.

Groves, Linden, *Historic Parks & Gardens of Cheshire* (Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing, 2004).

Hall, James, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

Hall, Tony, *The Immortal Yew* (Kew: Kew Publishing, 2018).

Hamling, Tara, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

Hamling, Tara, 'Reconciling Image and Object: Religious Imagery in Protestant Interior Decoration', in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 321-334.

Han, Areum, Junhyoung Kim, Jaehyun Kim, 'A Study of Leisure Walking Intensity Levels on Mental Health and Health Perception of Older Adults', *Gerontology and Geriatric Medicine*, 7:2333721421999316 (online, 2021), available at: <10.1177/2333721421999316> [Accessed 29 November 2023].

Hansell, Jean, *The Pigeon in History, or The Dove's Tale* (Bath: Millstream Books, 1998).

Hansell, Peter, Jean Hansell, *Doves and Dovecotes* (Bath: Millstream Books, 1988).

Harris, Stanley A., 'The Old Woolton Summer House, and the Question of Woolton Beacon', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 94 (1943), pp. 111-120.

Harrison, Richard D., 'Norris, Sir William, baronet (1658–1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2016), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20290> [Accessed 29 November 2023].

Hartwell, Clare, Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Lancashire: North* (London: Yale University Press, 2009).

Harvey, John H., *Mediaeval Gardens* (London: B. T Batsford, 1981).

Head, Robert, 'Old Moreton Hall, and its past and present owners', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, 11 (1895), pp. 1-12.

Heal, Felicity, Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

Heller, Jennifer, 'Material Goods in Brilliana Harley's Letters', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15:2 (2015), pp. 83-111.

Helphand, Kenneth I., *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2006).

Henderson, Paula, 'Clinging to the Past: Medievalism in the English 'Renaissance' Garden', *Renaissance Studies*, 25:1 (2011), pp. 42-69.

Henderson, Paula, *The Tudor House and Garden* (London: Yale University Press, 2005).

Hickman, Clare, 'The Picturesque at Brislington House, Bristol: The Role of Landscape in Relation to the Treatment of Mental Illness in the Early Nineteenth-Century Asylum', *Garden History*, 33:1 (2005), pp. 47-60.

Hickman, Clare, *Therapeutic Landscapes: A History of English Hospital Gardens since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

Higgins, D. A., 'Speke Hall: Excavations in the West Range, 1981-82', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 8, (1992 for 1988-89), pp. 47-84.

Hill Curth, L., 'Lessons from the Past: Preventive Medicine in Early Modern England', *Medical Humanities*, 29 (2003), pp. 16-21.

Hill, Octavia, *Octavia Hill, Homes of the London Poor* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875).

Hindle, Steve, 'Brettergh [née Bruen], Katherine (1579–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3351> [Accessed 10 November 2022].

Hoffmann, Viktoria von, *From Gluttony to Enlightenment: The World of Taste in Early Modern Europe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

Hoffmann, Vikoria von, ‘Learning (to) Taste: Food, Aesthetics, and Education in Early Modern France’, *The Senses and Society*, 14:2 (2019), pp. 131-147.

Hollinworth, Nic, et al., ‘Interactive Sensory Objects for and by People with Learning Disabilities’, *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum*, 9:1 (2016), pp. 21-38.

Holt, Sandra, et al., ‘Animal Assisted Activity with Older Adult Retirement Facility Residents: The PAWSitive Visits Program’, *Activities, Adaptation & Aging*, 39:4 (2020), pp. 267-279.

Honigmann, E. A. J., *Shakespeare: the ‘lost years’* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).

Hopkins, Lisa, ‘‘Balms and gums and heavy cheers’: Shakespeare’s poison gardens’, in Bill Angus, Lisa Hopkins and Kibrina Davey (eds.), *Poison on the Early Modern English Stage: Plants, Paints and Potions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), pp. 15-32.

Hopkins, Lisa, ‘Herb Paris, *Romeo and Juliet*, and Thomas Hesketh’, *Notes and Queries*, 65:4 (2018), pp. 530-533.

Horden, Peregrine, ‘Sickness and Healing’, in Bernice M. Kaczynski (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 403-417.

Howes, Laura L., ‘Uses and Reception’, in Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 75-100.

Hristov, Dean, Nikola Naumov, Petia Petrova, ‘Interpretation in Historic Gardens: English Heritage Perspective’, *Tourism Review*, 73:2 (2018), pp. 199-215.

Hyde, Elizabeth, ‘Use and Reception’, in Elizabeth Hyde (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 97-123.

Impelluso, Lucia, *Nature and Its Symbols*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (Los Angeles: John Paul Getty Museum, 2003).

Jacques, David, ‘The Compartiment System in Tudor England’, *Garden History*, 27:1 (1999), pp. 32-53.

Jakovac, Gašper, ‘The Catholic Country House in Early Modern England: Motion, Piety and Hospitality, c. 1580–1640’, in Kimberly Skelton (ed.), *Early Modern Spaces in Motion: Design, Experience and Rhetoric* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), pp. 81-109.

Jenner, Mark, S. R., ‘Follow Your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and Their Histories’, *The American Historical Review*, 116:2 (2011), pp. 335-351.

Jensen, Phebe, ‘Religious Identity and the English Landscape: William Blundell and the Harkirk Coins’, in Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (eds.), *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), pp. 55-76.

Jones, Sara, ‘Report on a Pilot Study of the Garden as a Place of Health and Well-Being’, in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 156-165.

Jongh, E. de, 'Grape Symbolism in Paintings of the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 7:4 (1974), pp. 166-191.

Jouanna, Jacques, 'Air, Miasma and Contagion in the Time of Hippocrates and the Survival of Miasmas in Post-Hippocratic Medicine (Rufus of Ephesus, Galen and Palladius)', in Jacques Jouanna, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 121-136.

Jütte, Daniel 'Window Gazes and World Views: A Chapter in the Cultural History of Vision', *Critical Inquiry*, 42:3 (2016), pp. 611-646.

Kałwak, Weronika, Vanessa Weihgold, 'The Relationality of Ecological Emotions: An Interdisciplinary Critique of Individual Resilience as Psychology's Response to the Climate Crisis', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13 (2022), pp. 1-10.

Keller, Andreas, 'The Scented Museum', in Nina Levent, Alvaro Pascual-Leone (eds.), *The Multisensory Museum: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Touch, Sound, Smell, Memory, and Space* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), pp. 168-175.

Kendrick, Maureen E., Roberta A. McKay, 'Researching Literacy with Young Children's Drawings', in Marilyn J. Narey (ed.), *Making meaning: Constructing Multimodal Perspectives of Language, Literacy, and Learning through Arts-based Early Childhood Education* (New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 53-70.

Kewes, Paulina, 'Langbaine, Gerard (1656–1692)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16007> [Accessed 23 November 2023].

Knight, Leah, *Reading Green in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

Krug, Rebecca, 'Plantings', in Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 57-73.

Landsberg, Sylvia, *The Medieval Garden* (London: British Museum Press, 1995).

Lane, Joan, *A Social History of Medicine: Health, Healing and Disease in England 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Langley, Patricia, 'Why a Pomegranate?', *British Medical Journal*, 321 (2000), pp. 1153-1154.

Leemans, Inger, et al., 'Whiffstory: Using Multidisciplinary Methods to Represent the Olfactory Past', *American Historical Review*, 127:2 (2022), pp. 849-879.

Leslie, Michael, ''Bringing Ingenuity into Fashion': The 'Elysium Britannicum' and the Reformation of Husbandry,' in Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), pp. 131-152.

Leslie, Michael, 'Introduction: A Cultural History of the Medieval Garden? The Social Life of a Subject Form', in Michael Leslie (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 1-18.

Lewis, Jennifer, 'Speke Hall: Archaeology of the East Courtyard, 1989', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 8 (1992 for 1988-89), pp. 87-93.

Lewis, Jennifer, 'The Home Farm, Speke Hall: an archaeological survey 1993' *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 15 (2015), pp. 51-62.

Lewis, Jennifer, *The Medieval Earthworks of the Hundred of West Derby: Tenurial Evidence and Physical Structure* (Oxford: BAR, 2000).

Lewis, Jennifer, Anthony Tibbles, 'Speke Hall – a study of the structural history of the house', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 15 (2015), pp. 3-50.

Lipsedge, Karen, *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Lloyd, Paul S., 'Dietary Advice and Fruit-Eating in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 67:4 (2012), pp. 553-586.

Lottes, Wolfgang, 'Henry Hawkins and the *Partheneia Sacra*', *The Review of English Studies*, 26:102, (1975) pp. 144-153.

Lyubomirsky, Sonja, Kennon Sheldon, David Schkade, 'Pursuing Happiness: The Architecture of Sustainable Change', *Review of General Psychology*, 9:2 (2005), p. 111–131.

Malchrowicz-Mośko, Ewa, Darousz Wieliński, Katarzyna Adamczewska, 'Perceived Benefits for Mental and Physical Health and Barriers to Horseback Riding Participation. The Analysis among Professional and Amateur Athletes', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17:3736 (2020), pp. 1-14.

Malcolmson, Robert W., *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von, Angela Schattner, 'Introduction', in Rebekka von Mallinckrodt and Angela Schattner (eds.), *Sports and Physical Exercise in Early Modern Culture: New Perspectives on the History of Sports and Motion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1-17.

Magner, Lois N., *A History of Medicine* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1992).

Martin, Jessica, 'Walton, Izaak (1593-1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2013), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28653> [Accessed 19 December 2021].

Marshall, Peter, *Nature's Web: Rethinking Our Place on Earth* (London: Routledge, 2015).

Martin, Peter, *Samuel Johnson: A Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Maslen, R. W., 'The Healing Dialogues of Doctor Bullein', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 38:1 (2008), pp. 119-135.

Mazzio, Carla, 'The Senses Divided Organs, Objects, and Media in Early Modern England', in David Howes (ed.), *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 85-105.

McCann, John, 'An Historical Enquiry into the Design and Use of Dovecotes', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 35 (1991), pp. 89-160.

McCann, John, ‘Dovecotes and Pigeons in English Law’, *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 44 (2000), pp. 25-50.

McClain, Lisa, ‘Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33:2 (2002), pp. 381-399.

McConnell, Anita, Robert Brown, ‘Garway [Garraway], Sir Henry (bap. 1575, d. 1646)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2007), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10405> [Accessed 29 November 2023].

McKay, Elaine, ‘For refreshment and preservinge health’: The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England’, *Historical Research*, 81:211 (2008), pp. 52-74.

McLean, Teresa, *The English at Play in the Middle Ages* (Windsor Forest: Kensal Press, 1983).

McLean, Teresa, *Medieval English Gardens* (William Collins, 1981; London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989).

Merritt, J. F., *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Mitchell, David S. B., et al., ‘Presence in Place: Exploring Well-Being Through Mindfulness and Spirituality at Grand Canyon National Park and Other Natural Settings’ in Cheryl. L Fracasso, Stanley Krippner, and Harris L. Friedman (eds.), *Holistic Treatment in Mental Health: A Handbook of Practitioner's Perspectives* (Jefferson: MacFarland Health Topics, 2020), pp. 244-258.

Molekamp, Femke, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Morgan, Luke, ‘Early Modern Edens: The Landscape and Language of Paradise’, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 27:2 (2007), pp. 142-148.

Morgan, Luke, ‘Design’, in Elizabeth Hyde (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 17-42.

Mowl, Timothy, ‘John Drapentier's Views of the Gentry Gardens of Hertfordshire’, *Garden History*, 29:2 (2001), pp. 152-70.

Muir, Alexandra, ‘Speke Hall’, *Archaeological Journal*, 169:1 (2012), pp. 29-31.

Munroe, Jennifer, ‘Gender, Class, and the Art of Gardening’, *Prose Studies*, 28:2 (2006), pp. 197-210.

Murris, Karin S., Robyn Thompson, ‘Drawings as Imaginative Expressions of Philosophical Ideas in a Grade 2 South African Literacy Classroom’, *Reading & Writing*, 7:2 (2016), pp. 1-11.

National Trust, *Little Moreton Hall* (Swindon: Butler, Tanner, and Dennis, 1995; repr. 2011).

National Trust, *Rufford Old Hall* (Hampshire: The National Trust, 1991).

National Trust, *Speke Hall* (Swindon: Pureprint Group, 2017).

Nelson, Karen L., '"To informe thee alright": Translating Du Perron for English Religious Debates', in Heather Wolfe (ed.) *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 147-163.

Newton, Hannah, 'Inside the Sickchamber in Early Modern England: The Experience of Illness through Six Objects', *English Historical Review*, 136:580 (2021), pp. 530-567.

Nicholson, Susan, 'Farming on a south Lancashire estate 1066-1795: evidence from Speke Hall', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 3 (1983 for 1979), pp. 1-31.

Nicholson, Susan, 'Speke Hall Moat', *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society*, 3 (1983 for 1979), pp. 33-39.

Oggins, Robin S., *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (London: Yale University Press, 2004).

O'Rourke Boyle, Marjorie, *Senses of Touch: Human Dignity and Deformity from Michelangelo to Calvin* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

Orlin, Lena Cowen, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Ovitt, Jr., George, 'The Cultural Context of Western Technology: Early Christian Attitudes toward Manual Labor', *Technology and Culture*, 27:3 (1986), pp. 477-500.

Palmer, Richard, 'In Bad Odour: Smells and its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century', in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 61-68.

Parkhurst Ferguson, Priscilla, 'The Senses of Taste', *The American Historical Review*, 116:2 (2011), pp. 371-384.

Pearce, Walter J., 'The Glazed Windows of Moreton Old Hall, Cheshire', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, 8:2 (1940), pp. 68-75.

Peters, Christine, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Pexton, Frank, John McCann, 'An Early 18th-Century Dovecote at Burghill', *Transactions of The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 54 (2006), pp. 15-24.

Pita, Pablo, et al., 'Recreational Fishing, Health and Well-being: Findings from a cross-sectional Survey', *Ecosystems and People*, 18:1 (2022), pp. 530-546.

Plett, Heinrich F., *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).

Pollard, Richard, Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).

Pollard Brown, Nancy, 'Southwell, Robert (1561-1595)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26064> [Accessed 26 November 2023].

Prest, John, *The Garden of Eden: The Botanic Garden and the Re-Creation of Paradise* (London: Yale University Press, 1981).

Preston, C. D., P. H. Oswald, 'James Duport's Rules for His Tutorial Pupils: A Comparison of Two Surviving Manuscripts', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 14:4 (2011), pp. 317-362.

Price, Eoin, 'Political Gardens in Early Modern English Drama', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 123-132.

Procter, W. G., 'Notes on the Hesketh Pedigree', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 62 (1910), pp. 58-66.

Procter, W. G., 'The Manor of Rufford and the Ancient Family of the Hesketh', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 23 (1907), pp. 93-118.

Quest-Riston, Charles, *The English Garden: A Social History* (London: Viking, 2001).

Ratcliffe, Eleanor, Birgitta Gatersleben, Paul T. Sowden, 'Bird Sounds and their Contributions to Perceived Attention Restoration and Stress Recovery', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 36 (2013), pp. 221-228.

Rawcliffe, Carole, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles": Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Garden History*, 36:1 (2008), pp. 3-21.

Reinarz, Jonathan, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 2014).

Richards, Jennifer, 'Useful Books: Reading Vernacular Regimens in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73:2 (2012), pp. 247-271.

Roberts, Judith, 'The Gardens of the Gentry in the Late Tudor Period', *Garden History*, 27:1 (1999), pp. 89-108.

Roe, Jenny, Peter Aspinall, 'The Restorative Benefits of Walking in Urban and Rural Settings in Adults with Good and Poor Mental Health', *Health & Place*, 17 (2011), pp. 103-113.

Rouse, E. Clive, 'Elizabethan Wall Paintings at Little Moreton Hall', in Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *National Trust Studies 1980* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), pp. 112-118.

Sales, John, 'Garden Restoration Past and Present', *Garden History*, 23:1 (1995), pp. 1-9.

Sales, John, 'The Role of the National Trust in Garden Conservation and Restoration', *Garden History*, 3:4 (1975), pp. 50-61.

Saxton, Eveline B., 'Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 96 (1945), pp. 108-135.

Saxton, Eveline B., 'A Speke Inventory of 1624', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 97 (1946), pp. 107-143.

Sayer, Faye, 'Understanding Well-Being: A Mechanism for Measuring the Impact of Heritage Practice on Well-Being', in Angela M. Labrador and Neil Asher Silberman (eds.), *The Oxford*

Handbook of Public Heritage Theory and Practice, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 388-403.

Schattner, Angela, ‘‘For the Recreation of Gentlemen and Other Fit Persons of the Better Sort’: Tennis Courts and Bowling Greens as Early Leisure Venues in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century London and Bath’, *Sport in History*, 34:2 (2014), pp. 198-222.

Schattner, Angela, ‘Theologies of Sport: Protestant Ideas on Bodily Exercise, Sports Practice and Christian Lifestyle in the Declaration of Sports Controversy in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Archive for Reformation History*, 105:1 (2014), pp. 284-313.

Schwarzmüller-Erber, Gabriele, et al., ‘Recreational Horseback Riding and Its Association with Physical, Mental, and Social Wellbeing and Perceived Health’, *Anthrozoös*, 34:5 (2021), pp. 685-706.

Schwoerer, Lois G., *Gun Culture in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press 2016).

Scully, Terence, ‘A Cook’s Therapeutic Use of Garden Herbs’, in Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (eds.), *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 60-71.

Seaton, Beverly, ‘Towards a Historical Semiotics of Literary Flower Personification’, *Poetics Today*, 10:4 (1989), pp. 679-701.

Shannon, William D., ‘An Excellent Improver of the Soil: Marl and the Landscape of Lowland Lancashire’, *Agricultural History Review*, 68:2 (2020), pp. 141-167.

Shepard, Alexandra, ‘Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England *c.* 1580-1640’, *Past & Present*, 167 (2000), pp. 75-106.

Shrubb, Michael, *Feasting, Fowling, and Feathers: A History of the Exploitation of Wild Birds* (London: T. & A.D. Poyser, 2013).

Sim, Alison, *Pleasure & Pastimes in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

Sim, Jeannie, ‘Explorations in Landscape Design Theory’, *Australian Garden History*, 22:4 (2011), pp. 19-22.

Simons, Patricia, ‘Artemisia Gentileschi’s *Susanna and the Elders* (1610) in the Context of Counter-Reformation Rome’, in Sheila Baker (ed.), *Artemisia Gentileschi in a Changing Light* (London: Harvey Miller, 2017), pp. 41-57.

Sinclair Rohde, Eleanour, *The Story of the Garden*, rev. ed. (London: The Medici Society, 1989).

Skinner, Patricia, Theresa Tyers, ‘Introduction: The Garden at the Intersection of Pleasure, Contemplation, and Cure’, in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 3-15.

Slack, Steve, *Interpreting Heritage: A Guide to Planning and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021).

Smith, Helen, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Smith, Pete, 'The Sundial Garden and House-Plan Mount: Two Gardens at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, by Robert (*c.*1535-1614) and John (-1634) Smythson', *Garden History*, 31:1 (2003), pp. 1-28.

Soga, Masashi, Kevin J. Gaston, Yuichi Yamaura, 'Gardening is Beneficial for Health: A Meta-Analysis', *Preventive Medicine Reports*, 5 (2017), pp. 92-99.

Sotheby's, *Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, 17-19 May 2005*, I (2005).

Stannard, Jerry, 'Alimentary and Medicinal Uses of Plants', in Elisabeth B. MacDougall (ed.), *Medieval Gardens* (Washington, D.C.: Meriden-Stinehour Press, 1986), pp. 69-91.

Stewart-Brown, R., 'The Brettarghs of Brettargh Holt in Woolton', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 88 (1936), pp. 211-239.

Strong, Roy, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

Strong, Roy, 'The Renaissance Garden in England Reconsidered: A Survey of Two Decades of Research on the Period 1485–1645', *Garden History*, 27:1 (1999), pp. 2-9.

Stonor, Robert J., *Liverpool's Hidden Story: A Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in Liverpool* (Billinge: Birchley Hall Press, 1957).

Sul, Heasim, 'The Tubs of Pleasure: Tudor-Stuart Spas', *The International Journal of the History of Sports*, 16:1 (1999), pp. 148-158.

Sul, Heasim, 'The King's Book of Sports: The Nature of Leisure in Early Modern England', *The International Journal of the History of Sports*, 16:4 (2000), pp. 167-179.

Taavitsainen, Irma, 'Authority and Instruction in Two-Sixteenth-Century Medical Dialogues', in Matti Peikola, Janne Skaffari, and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (eds.), *Instructional Writing in English: Studies in honour of Risto Hiltunen* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2009), pp. 105-124.

Taylor, Henry, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire: Including on the Ancient Domestic Architecture of the Counties Palatine* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1884).

Taylor, Henry, 'The Plans of Moreton Old Hall', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 11 (1895), pp. 13-20.

Tibbles, Anthony, *Speke Hall: A guide to its history and owners* (Wallasey: Eaton Press, 1983).

Tilford, Nicola, 'Susanna and Her Interpreters', in Carol A. Newsom, Sharon H. Ringe and Jacqueline E. Lapsley (eds.), *Women's Bible Commentary: Revised and Updated*, 3rd edition (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), pp. 432-435.

Thacker, Christopher, *The History of Gardens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

Thomas, Keith, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Thomas, Keith, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Tuan, Yi-Fu, 'The Pleasures of Touch', in Constance Classen (ed.), *The Book of Touch* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 74-79.

Turner, James G., 'Austen, Ralph (*c.* 1612–1676)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/905> [Accessed 24 September 2020].

Turner, James G., 'Ralph Austen, an Oxford Horticulturalist of the Seventeenth Century', *Garden History*, 6:2 (1978), pp. 39-45.

Turner, Richard C., *Gawsworth Hall Gardens: A History and Guide to the Great Elizabethan Garden at Gawsworth, Cheshire* (Macclesfield & Vale Royal Groundwork Trust, 1990).

Turner, Tom, *English Garden Design: History and Styles since 1650* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1986).

Tyers, Theresa, 'A Delite for the Senses: Three Healing Plants in Medieval Gardens, the Lily, the Rose, and the Woodland Strawberry', in Patricia Skinner and Theresa Tyers (eds.), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 56-69.

Uhernik, Julie A., *Using Neuroscience in Trauma Therapy: Creative and Compassionate Counselling* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

Vale, Marcia, *The Gentleman's Recreations: Accomplishments and Pastimes of the English Gentleman 1580-1630* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1977).

Varey, Sharon M., 'Keys to the Past: Unlocking the Secrets of the Landscape at Peel', in Sharon M. Varey (ed.), *Landscapes Past and Present: Cheshire and Beyond* (Chester: Chester University Press, 2016), pp. 130-163.

Virgoe, John, 'Thomas Fleetwood and the Draining of Martin Mere', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 152 (2003), pp. 27-49.

Walford, E., 'Old Moreton Hall', *Once a Week*, 12:301 (1865), pp. 418-420.

Walsham, Alexandra, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain & Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Wardle, Arthur C., 'The East India Company: some local associations', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 99 (1949), pp. 63-78.

Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Wear, Andrew, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Webster Charles, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975).

Weisser, Olivia, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender and Belief in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

Wheeler, Mark, et al., 'Outdoor Recreational Activity Experiences Improve Psychological Wellbeing of Military Veterans with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Positive Findings from a Pilot Study and a Randomised Controlled Trial', *PLoS ONE*, 15:11, e0241763 (online, 2020), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0241763> [Accessed 29 November 2023].

Whitaker, Harold*, A Descriptive list of the Printed Maps of Cheshire, 1577-1900* (Manchester: Chethams Society, 1943).

Whitaker, Jane, *Gardens for Gloriana: Wealth, Splendour and Design in the Elizabethan Garden* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

Whitfield, Patricia., 'The Heart of the Arts: Fostering Young Children's Ways of Knowing', in Marilyn J. Narey (ed.), *Making Meaning: Constructing Multimodal Perspectives of Language, Literacy, and Learning through Arts-based Early Childhood Education* (New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 153-165.

Williams, James, 'Sport and the Elite in Early Modern England', *Sport in History*, 28:3 (2008), pp. 389-413.

Williamson, Tom, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995).

Williamson, Tom, 'Fish, Fur and Feather: Man and Nature in the post-Medieval Landscape', in Kathrine Barker and Timothy Darvill (eds.), *Making English Landscapes* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), pp. 92-117.

Williamson, Tom, 'Estate Management and Landscape Design', in Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (eds.), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp. 12-30.

Williamson, Tom, 'English orchards in history: production, aesthetics and myth', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 40:3-4 (2020), pp. 197-215

Willes, Margaret, *The Making of the English Garden* (London: Yale University Press, 2011).

Wilson, David, 'The Medieval Moated Sites of Cheshire'*, Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 84 (1987), pp. 143-154.

Wilson, K.W., B. J. D'Arcy, S. Taylor, 'The Return of Fish to the Mersey Estuary', *Journal of Fish Biology*, 33: Supplement A (1988), pp. 235-238.

Winchcombe, Rachel, 'Comfort Eating: Food, Drink and Emotional Health in Early Modern England', *English Historical Review*, 138:590-591 (2023), pp. 61-91.

Winstanley, Herbert, 'Speke Hall', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 71 (1919), pp. 1-20.

Woods, May, *Visions of Arcadia: European Gardens from Renaissance to Rococo* (London: Aurum, 1996).

Yoshikawa, Naoë Kukita, 'The Virgin in the *Hortus conclusus*: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul', *Medieval Feminist Forum: Journal of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship*, 50:1 (2014), pp. 11-32.

Anon., revised by Rachel E. Davies, 'Cogan, Thomas (*c.* 1545-1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online, 2004), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5812> [Accessed 16 November 2023].

Anon., 'Thomas Cogan, the Student's Physician', *The Palatine Note-book*, 3 (1883), pp. 77-84.

Unpublished Grey Literature

Architectural History Practice*, Little Moreton Hall: Architectural History and Development* (2012).

Arrowsmith, Peter, *Land at Speke, Merseyside: Desk-based Archaeological Assessment* (2018).

Ashmead Price, *Speke Hall: Garden Conservation Management Plan* (2018).

Buchanan, Jessie, *Rufford Old Hall Conservation Management Plan* (2010).

Crossland, John, *Past below Ground: Archaeological geophysical survey of Rufford Old Hall* (The University of Manchester Field Archaeology Centre Service for Schools and the Community, 2003).

Edwards, Ben, *Report: Ground Penetrating Radar and Topographic Survey. Little Moreton Hall, Congleton* (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2022).

University of Manchester Archaeological Unit, *Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire: Archaeological Landscape and Building Survey Work on the Estate* (University of Manchester, 2002).

Websites

Hickman, Clare, 'Unlocking Landscapes Network', *Wordpress Blog*, available at: <Unlocking Landscapes Network: History, Culture and Sensory Diversity in Landscape Use and Decision Making « Dr Clare Hickman (wordpress.com)> [Accessed 26 November 2023].

Willie, Rachel, 'Speke Riddles', *Early Modern Soundscapes*, 29 June 2019, available at: <https://emsoundscapes.co.uk/speke-riddles/> [Accessed 4 December 2020].

'For ever, for everyone: Our strategy to 2025', *The National Trust*, available at: <Our strategy to 2025 | National Trust> [Accessed 23 November 2023].

'Improving Access to Historical Buildings and Landscapes', *Historic England*, 1 February 2021, available at: <Improving Access to Historic Buildings and Landscapes | Historic England> [Accessed 26 November 2023].

'Research Projects: How we used to sleep', *University of Manchester*, available at: <How we used to sleep - Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies - The University of Manchester> [Accessed 26 November 2023].

‘side cabinet’, *National Trust Collections*, available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1196487> [Accessed 26 September 2023].

‘The Temptation: Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with the Angel Gabriel’, *National Trust Collections*, available at: <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1197369> [Accessed 26 September 2023].

‘well-being, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary* (online, 2014), available at: <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/well-being_n?tab=meaning_and_use&tl=true#14893302> [Accessed 31 October 2023].