

Upper-Class Women, their gardens and outdoor spaces 1860-1920

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Abstract

This dissertation explores upper-class women's interactions with garden and outdoor spaces 1860-1920. It does this by using newspapers and the press as its main primary source base, focusing on the representation of upper-class women in these spaces. At a time when society was changing for women generally, socially and economically, these had an impact on how these women were interacting with and using gardens and outdoor spaces. The dissertation begins by focusing on the different types and classifications of garden spaces, examining the public garden, the outdoor domestic space, and public parks. Then, the discussion moves on to focusing on the domestic outdoor space, examining how upper-class women utilised these spaces for their own endeavours, including philanthropy. Finally, the dissertation explores the non-domestic outdoor space, examining how these spaces were used for similar events as the domestic spaces, but with different connotations.

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Introduction

This dissertation will examine upper-class women's interactions with gardens and outdoor spaces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, exploring how these spaces were used in different contexts. The dissertation will show that upper-class women had some control and power in these spaces, and will consider their involvement in several areas, including philanthropy and charity, politics – including high politics and political acts, and the various spaces in which these took place. Kathryn Gleadle argues that 'for the majority of women, this was a period of stasis, not change. Women continued to engage in 'traditional' activities- such as domestic management, child care, and philanthropy'. Therefore, although Gleadle also suggests that 'between 1860 and 1900 many dramatic advances were seen in middle -class and elite women's employment', these 'traditional' activities were still prevalent in the garden space.¹ Women of all classes were involved in gardens and outdoor spaces, but this research will mainly focus on the activities of upper-class women. The upper-classes and their houses have a long history of being involved in political and charitable activities, but this dissertation will question whether gardens and outdoor spaces were spaces where women had elements of power and control and whether they were places where they were able to perform these actions. Upper-class women are also an interesting group to examine here as they had the status and money that allowed them to host functions in their own spaces, attend functions in others' spaces, and get involved in groups and charities set in more public spaces.

This dissertation contributes to several different areas of study, including the study of women more generally, and the study of gardens and outdoor spaces. These are areas that have been given significant individual attention over the years, but this study will bring them together to explore how women interacted with these spaces. This will be adding to the debates about the role of women in various spaces by bringing the discussion round to focus on the outdoors. The

¹ Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, (Basingstoke, 2001), p139

dissertation will also contribute to discussions on gardens and other outdoor spaces by showing another facet of their history.

The main geographical scope for this research has been to mainly focus on London and the surrounding area. This was more manageable than to focus on the United Kingdom as a whole, but it was also because this was where the fashionable seasonal events happened, especially in the summer months. By mainly focusing on London this dissertation is able to examine the disparity between classes and how this was affected by the locations of open spaces. This leads onto a discussion about the various societies and charities that endeavoured to ameliorate these social issues by adding more open spaces to London. The chronological scope for this research was chosen so that it encompassed the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Beginning in 1860 and finishing in 1920 the study covers a time when the position of women was changing. By choosing to include the First World War in this time frame the research will be able to determine whether the conflict affected how women interacted with these spaces.

This dissertation will show that upper-class women had some power over these spaces, extending the domestic sphere that once existed inside the house, outside into gardens and outdoor spaces. Not only this, but this study is important for showing that not only were women involved in various causes, charities, and philanthropic activities, but that they were using these outdoor spaces (and not just their domestic ones) to do so. In this study, the term 'domestic' is being taken to mean the space in and around the houses that were owned by them or their families. This study is also useful for distinguishing the different features and fashions of various spaces, how they were used, and the purpose for which they were built. This allows the dissertation to touch upon and bring together various social issues of the time.

The second part of this introduction will review the literature surrounding the key themes that form the base of the dissertation, including literature on women's history, politics, and gardening, as well as a section on newspapers and print history, as they are the main source base for the study.

Chapter one will argue that it is first important to examine different categories of garden and outdoor space, drawing out features of each one in order to understand what makes them unique. This will involve several case studies that fit into each category that will give examples of the features examined. By doing this the chapter will touch on a number of other issues, such as the social problems caused by a lack of open spaces and overcrowding, and how organisations felt they could help. Chapter two will examine what was considered to be the 'domestic' space, using case studies from different hierarchies of upper-class women to illustrate the ways that these spaces were utilised. Looking at these spaces from the perspective of different upper-class women will show how this affected garden use through status, money, and property. This chapter will then argue that these spaces were important for gaining and maintaining social status. Chapter three will then move the discussion onto upper-class women outside of the domestic space. This will show how upper-class women used others' spaces and participated in events in these garden spaces. This chapter will argue that upper-class women had elements of power in these spaces.

The main source base for this dissertation is the newspaper press, with particular emphasis on *The Times* and *The Morning Post*. Historians have established the significance of newspapers through increasing readership, wider appeal, and how individual newspapers' fortunes changed throughout the era. In the context of this project newspapers and the press will be used to explore how the press at this time represented upper-class women in specific spaces. In doing this research there were a number of key issues to be considered, such as what was being represented in the press, the affiliations of various newspapers, readership, and the pitfalls of being reliant on digital archives. Many of these issues were solved by being aware of these sources' shortfalls, and by backing them up with other sources and with historiography. According to Andrew Hobbs, *The Times* was 'unparalleled at its peak in the second quarter of the nineteenth century' but that despite its popularity 'the abolition of stamp duty in 1855 brought the golden age of *The Times* to an end'. Hobbs also notes that from the 1880s sales of provincial morning and evening papers were far

greater than *The Times*.² This raises some interesting questions about how despite the decline of *The Times* in this time, the paper is still useful for looking at upper-class society, indicating a concentration in this social circle. From Hobbs' work it is clear that during this era the press was evolving and changing all the time, and that as the popularity of the press changed what was reported in articles is an important resource to study. *The Morning Post* was originally founded in 1772 as a morning daily and went through a number of significant changes especially when editorship was passed on to Algernon Borthwick, 'who bought the paper in 1876, and consolidated its imperialist and conservative tone'.³

From studying the newspapers available across different digital archives, including *The Times* digital archives and the *19th Century British Newspapers* archives, a preliminary search revealed a large amount of material on upper-class women interacting with gardens and outdoor spaces across the selected time frame of 1860-1920. Searching through these archives led to the realisation that there were multiple different types of outdoor spaces and that each required analysis their own classifications and features, and examinations of how each of these spaces were different for women's interactions in them. Based on these preliminary searches, the newspaper titles were narrowed down to *The Times* and *The Morning Post* as they contained a number of relevant articles, and so that the searches could become more focused. Then, the significance and historical context of the selected papers was examined, eventually showing that there was a link between the press read by this particular social class, and the actions of these women in specific outdoor spaces. This led to the main focus of the chapters being the representation of these women and spaces in the press. The women chosen, such as Baroness Burdett-Coutts, were prominent women that were visible in the media, and are therefore good examples of how they and their activities were viewed by newspaper audiences. Searches for 'Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts' in several archives such as

² Andrew Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol. 18 (2013), pp. 472-497, p474

³ Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, (Academia Press & The British Library, London, 2009), P427

The British Library and *The Bodleian Archives* returned some hits relating to her life, some biographical works and her name mentioned in collections of correspondence and family papers.⁴ However, it is through close examination of relevant newspaper articles that her public image and representation in the press can be seen. The discussion was then moved along using supplementary sources such as Charles Booth's poverty maps and the painting of Baroness Burdett-Coutts' garden party in 1881 which have been used to supplement the newspapers and give greater depth and context. There are different topics such as fashions and attendees of events included in these newspapers, and therefore they are useful for investigating different aspects of upper-class women's lives in this time.

To find specific types of events, searching using the key words 'garden party' and 'garden fete' and using a time span of ten years at a time revealed an increase in the number of hits across the time period, before the numbers decrease towards the end of the period. For 'garden party', a search between 1860 to 1870 generated 358 hits. This rises to 4392 hits in the next ten years and continues to increase up until 1900 where the search for 1901 to 1910 only generated 43 hits. The same pattern emerges in the search for 'garden fete'. The search for 1860 to 1870 generated 39 results, which then increases up to 1204 in the search 1891 to 1900 but once again drops off after 1900 with there being only 1 search result for 1901 to 1910. This indicates that these events were at the height of their popularity at the later end of the nineteenth century. When this search yielded recurring names and themes, these were then incorporated into the search terms in order to gain an idea of frequency. Searches that yielded a large number of results came from searching individual houses such as Holly Lodge and Holland House. Yearly searches for these houses reveal a number of patterns. Some of the relevant articles from these searches came from the fashionable entertainments section of the newspapers, with a large proportion of the most relevant articles coming from the summer months. This is unsurprising given that the focus of this research is gardens

⁴ Burdett-Coutts Papers, *Oxford, Bodleian Libraries*, <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/146>, last accessed 29/11/19

and outdoor spaces, with events concentrated around the summer months. Another interesting detail that appeared especially in the Holland House search was that it was the house itself that was important, as when Lady Holland died the Countess of Ilchester continued having garden parties and events at this location. This is also indicated by the titles when they specify the name of the house like 'garden party at Holland House' rather than specifying the host. When writing individual chapters, examples from the time frame and from different women, events, and houses were selected to indicate where there were patterns. The articles selected for the individual chapters not only demonstrate the types of events that these upper-class women were putting on and attending but also on another level show how they were represented and written about in the press at this time.

Literature Review

Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton note that 'over the course of the nineteenth century, periodicals and newspapers became a ubiquitous feature of daily life, serving as vehicles of entertainment, political discourse, historical retrospection, popular education, and countless other modes of thought'.⁵ This indicates that newspapers and the press were an important part of nineteenth century life, and will therefore be an interesting source to explore the representation of upper-class women. *The Times* was a popular newspaper of the time, but Andrew Hobbs warns of over-using and over-emphasising *The Times* as a representation of newspapers at the time, arguing that 'the brilliance of *The Times* still dazzles historians and literary scholars a century later, distorting our view of Victorian journalism and producing some over generalized conclusions in political, social and cultural historiography'.⁶ This is a consideration that must be taken into account when looking at

⁵ Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton, 'Introduction', in Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (eds), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, (Abingdon, 2016), pp.1-14, p1

⁶ Andrew Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol.18 (2013), pp.472-497, p472

any set of newspapers, or sources in general, that they must not be over-generalized and the assumption made that they were representative of the population as a whole. Despite this, Hobbs notes, *The Times* was 'unparalleled at its peak in the second quarter of the nineteenth century – in its management, its technology, its editorial content, volume of advertising, political influence, sales, readership and national distribution'.⁷ Martin Hewitt concurs with *The Times*' dominance, noting that 'the regime encouraged the dominance of *The Times* over other London dailies'.⁸ This indicates that *The Times* is an important newspaper to examine, but while keeping in mind not to assume that it was representative of all newspapers. Hannah Barker argues that 'historians have long associated the press with changes in the way the political world operated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' and that 'it was at times of particular political unrest that the newspaper press could appear most influential and potentially threatening'.⁹ This would appear to show that newspapers and the press were important throughout their history in terms of politics and the public, potentially influencing opinion. Aled Jones also states this, stating that

that the newspaper was a political agency in the narrow sense of helping politicians to win elections was in no doubt at the time. But the newspaper was also an agent of change in a number of much broader senses, prominent among them being its role in disseminating information and ideas along a wide front to large populations of readers.¹⁰

These all indicate that newspapers and print were influential at the time for a number of reasons, such as politics and distributing information, to a large audience.

⁷ Andrew Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol.18 (2013), pp.472-497, p474

⁸ Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849-1869*, (London/New York, 2014) [E-Book], 'The Press in the later 1840s'.

⁹ Hannah Barker, *Newspapers and English Society, 1695-1855*, (Abingdon, 2014), [E-book], 'Chapter One: Newspapers and Public Opinion'

¹⁰ Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England*, (First published 1996, Abingdon, 2016), [E-Book], 'Introduction'

As there has been a lot of research into the lives of women, splitting the existing literature thematically creates a clearer picture. This scholarship comes from many different disciplines, not just from history, but also English literature and geography. This is a sign of the significance of women's history and questions of gender since the 1970s. Women's history is a relatively well researched topic, and the historiography surrounding it has developed to give women some agency in their actions. The literature has changed since women first began to be of interest, giving women more of a place and a voice in their own history. This was the early focus of women's history. Since then, there have been several theories that have been hotly debated and criticised, and many now note that women's place in history was far more turbulent than was first imagined.¹¹ The topics covered have been varied, and authors such as Joan W. Scott and Louise A. Tilly look at women in work in nineteenth century Europe, and argue that in previous historiography the changes in women's lives were thought to be because of changes in cultural values. Scott and Tilly however argue that 'no change in values, then, was necessary to permit lower class women to work outside the home during the nineteenth century'.¹² This indicates that there were other factors that made the lower-class women work outside of the home. Class is an important part of this dissertation, and so establishing how each of the classes acted in everyday life will allow a greater focus on upper-class women later. Amanda Vickery notes that social theories were quite often not applicable to individuals, noting that when researched individually 'Victorian women emerge as no less spirited, capable, and, most importantly, diverse a crew as in any other century'.¹³ This is important to note, as any theory that is put forth about Victorian women as a whole has to be considered critically

¹¹ Several authors note this, including Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Berkeley/ Los Angeles, 1992) and Gerry Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*, (Abingdon, 2005).

¹² Joan W. Scott and Louise A. Tilly, 'Women's Work and the Family in nineteenth century Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.17 (1975), pp.36-64, p36, p43
Other authors who look at women in work in this era include Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (London, 1999), Nicola Verdon, *Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth Century England: Gender, Work and Wages*, (Suffolk, 2002), and Pat Hudson, 'Women and industrialization', in June Purvis (ed), *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: An Introduction*, (New York, 1995/2006), pp.20-43

¹³ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 36 (1993), pp.383-414, p390

when attempting to apply theories to individuals. One theory that this especially applies to is the separate spheres debate, which will be examined in further detail below. Building on anthropological work, Sara Delmont and Lorna Duffin apply these theories to nineteenth century women, arguing that developing feminist ideals and attempts to redefine a woman's place 'created a new woman who no longer fitted so easily into the classification system of the male-dominated society. The "new" woman was always in danger of stepping so far outside the categories that she became an anomaly, an ambiguous abomination'.¹⁴ This is an interesting approach, applying anthropological theories to nineteenth century women. However, other scholars have noted that the place of women was already uncertain in this era, and this approach implies that there was a definite system that women were breaking out of.

When looking at the history of upper-class women in this era, and their actions in gardens and outdoor spaces, philanthropy is important to examine. On the subject of women and philanthropy, F.K Prochaska explains that although women were restricted by society, many led independent lives despite it. This is an important point to emphasise, as this indicates that although society had rules and expectations surrounding the lives of women in this time, many women subverted these ideals. Prochaska notes that how women's 'missions' were perceived was constantly changing as what was expected of women and what women actually did changed.¹⁵ The idea of missions is especially interesting, as it implies some religious context to this debate. It is this change over time that meant that the lives of women and what was expected of them was constantly in flux, and therefore women's roles changed dramatically by the twentieth century. Prochaska argues that women were considered to be more 'sensitive to personal relations' and were therefore increasingly involved with 'social improvement'.¹⁶ When women were involved in society there were still expectations as to what kinds of roles they were involved in. Prochaska also looks at

¹⁴ Sara Delmont and Lorna Duffin, 'Introduction', in Sara Delmont and Lorna Duffin (eds), *The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her cultural and physical world*, (Abingdon, 1978/2013), pp.9-25, p16

¹⁵ F.K Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth- Century England*, (Oxford, 1980/2003), p1

¹⁶ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, (Oxford, 1980/2003), p7

the role of religion and philanthropy, stating that 'as a religion of duty, which placed service above doctrine, evangelicalism appealed particularly to women'.¹⁷ This implies that there could have been an element of choice involved, and that women had preferences as to what religion and activities they were involved in. This suggests that there were a range of factors that contributed to women's roles and philanthropy in this era. Dorice Williams Elliott argues that 'middle-class women's volunteer philanthropic work was centrally concerned with two social and ideological issues- the appropriate role of women and relations between the classes', suggesting that in some respects, charitable work was promoted as an extension of the home, but also at times a destruction of the home.¹⁸ Elliott also notes how women's philanthropic work created conflicts with those who believed they had the authority and expertise to treat society and its problems.¹⁹ This infers that there was a certain amount of conflict around women's activities outside of the home, and that this tension was not only gender based but also based around new jobs and expertise in this era. Elliott approaches this topic from a somewhat literary perspective, specifying that the project is 'an exploration of the ideological impact of philanthropy through its representation in literary and non-literary works, primarily by women authors'.²⁰ Elliott acknowledges Prochaska's work on philanthropy, stating that it gives careful consideration to cause and effect, and that it recognizes that philanthropy was important in other issues, including employment and education.²¹ Elliott, therefore, is building on Prochaska's work, showing that although women were in roles outside of the home, these roles caused conflict and tension about what was an appropriate role for women. When examining philanthropy these scholars are mainly looking at middle-class women, but this dissertation will build on their work by focusing on upper-class women and philanthropy and whether this was any different. Looking at the work on philanthropy will help this study to look at

¹⁷ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, (Oxford, 1980/2003), p9

¹⁸Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth- Century England*, (Virginia, 2002), p4

¹⁹Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House*, (Virginia, 2002), p5

²⁰Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House*, (Virginia, 2002),10

²¹Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House*, (Virginia, 2002), p10-11

what activities women were involved in, and how they were viewed when they were outside of the traditionally domestic space.

One theory that has been discussed at length among academics is the separate spheres theory discussed most notably by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair acknowledge Davidoff and Hall's separate spheres theory, but argue that 'men and women were emeshed in a matrix of circulating discourses, some of which competed with separate spheres, cut across it, supplemented it or even supplanted it', and that 'discourses could be resisted, subverted and refused; material factors and individual experience played an important role in shaping the ways in which representations were absorbed, interpreted and challenged'.²² This indicates that women's individual experiences need to be taken into account and that the separate spheres theory could be too simplistic to explain women's behaviours in this era. This links back to the idea that no one theory can explain individual's behaviours which makes many theories inadequate for looking at women in this era. Robert Shoemaker also analyses Davidoff and Hall's work, noting that their argument 'tying the evolution of separate spheres to the formation of the middle class in the early nineteenth century' is ultimately undermined by evidence that not only was there overlap between the sexes in previous centuries, but also that there was a separation of gender roles in other social groups as well.²³ Simon Morgan begins by noting that the role of women in the mid nineteenth century was uncertain, and this has been recognised by historians.²⁴ This also suggests that the role of women was always changing in this period, and it is therefore difficult to definitively say what the role of women was in this era. Also acknowledging the theory of separate spheres, Morgan argues that although women may have been excluded from 'full citizenship', 'women made a substantial contribution to the associations and projects that historians have seen

²² Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family, and Society in Victorian Britain*, (New Haven/ London, 2003), p2

²³ Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (Abingdon, 1998/2013), p10

²⁴ Simon Morgan, *A Victorian Woman's Place: Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, (London/New York, 2007), p1

as key to the construction of middle-class identity'.²⁵ Although this dissertation will ultimately focus more on upper class women, it is important to look at how women in general were viewed and the roles that each class of women in this era were expected to fulfil. Amanda Vickery notes that general thinking has developed over time with regard to the separate spheres theories, stating that 'proponents of the British separate spheres framework have revised many of their early generalizations', and that 'most are now at pains to present women as sentient, capable beings rather than as passive victims, emphasizing the ways that women have shaped their own lives within a male dominated culture'.²⁶ This demonstrates that academics have moved away from more simplistic explanations of women's activities, recognizing that women's lives were more complex than first thought. Susie Steinbach explains that her book 'intends to explore the tension between these restrictions and the impressive range of activities which women nevertheless engaged in', noting that these women played a variety of roles in nineteenth century society.²⁷ Kathryn Gleadle sums up the separate spheres debate concisely, noting that 'although it was recognised by the new women's historians that the ideology of "separate spheres" was a prescriptive dialogue which did not necessarily reflect the reality of nineteenth-century women's lives, such rhetoric was none the less constructed as a central starting-point in evaluating women's experiences'.²⁸ Undoubtedly, the separate spheres theory has been debated and has gained a lot of attention since it was most notably discussed by Davidoff and Hall, but many academics now argue that it is insufficient to explain women's activities and behaviours. The debate surrounding the separate spheres theory is of use for this dissertation as it shows how thinking has developed over time about women, and therefore will help to locate this study as part of the historiography showing women as part of society.

²⁵ Morgan, *A Victorian Woman's Place*, (London/New York, 2007), p5

²⁶ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 36 (1993), pp.383-414, p389

²⁷ Susie Steinbach, *Women in England 1760-1914: A Social History*, (United Kingdom, 2013), [eBook], (Introduction)

²⁸ Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, (Basingstoke, 2001), [eBook], (introduction)

It is also important to examine the existing literature on garden history. Predating the separate spheres theories, S. Martin Gaskell states that by the nineteenth century the term 'garden' was already being used to refer to improving the lives of the lower classes. However, 'in common usage, however, the term was employed essentially to denote, on the one hand, something that was the personal and private preserve of the upper classes'.²⁹ This indicates that the garden was generally used to refer to a place that was mostly associated with the upper-classes. This would suggest that upper-class activities would be practiced in these spaces. Gaskell also notes that the virtues of gardening were explained to other classes, arguing that 'the introduction of an element of competition and rivalry stimulated not only the pursuit of the ideals of middle- class society, but also the emulation of their social superiors in that pursuit'.³⁰ This indicates that the middle-classes were attempting to replicate the fashions and activities of the upper classes when it came to their gardens, which makes the garden an important status symbol in this era. This is important because it could mean that women were able to make statements through their garden spaces. Looking at changes to social status in the nineteenth century, A. J Lustig argues that industrial prosperity of the early nineteenth century 'endowed a burgeoning English middle class with substantial incomes' and that this middle class spent their new wealth on property, and therefore on their gardens.³¹ This also suggests that a rising middle class may have emulated what was fashionable in the upper-class gardens, which also suggests that boundaries between the classes may have been less clear cut than originally thought. Although writing from a literary perspective on the novel, the *Secret Garden*, Danielle E. Price notes that the Victorian industry began to produce products, newspapers and periodicals that supported the growing garden industry and popularity of horticulture.³² This

²⁹ S. Martin Gaskell, 'Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure', *Victorian Studies*, Vol.23 (1980), pp.479-501, p.479

³⁰ S. Martin Gaskell, 'Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure', *Victorian Studies*, Vol.23 (1980), pp.479-501, p.483-484

³¹ AJ Lustig, 'Cultivating Knowledge in Nineteenth- Century English Gardens', *Science in Context*, 13 (2000), pp.155-181, p.155-156

³² Danielle E. Price, 'Cultivating Mary: The Victorian *Secret Garden*', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, Vol.26 (2001), pp.4-14, p4

indicates that there was a growing market for gardening, especially in books and magazines, that women may have been a part of.

Linking women's history with gardening, Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen M. Morin look at who was collecting and acquiring knowledge about gardening from a geographical perspective, suggesting that their work indicates that there is an alternative to the traditional view that it was the male and middle class who collected knowledge, by looking at upper class women. They argue that 'these upper- class women had different expectations and constraints than those influencing middle class British women, for whom the ideologies of domesticity and respectability were more prominent'.³³ This suggests that upper class women were in a better position to acquire knowledge, about gardens, horticulture, and botany, and that it was not just men who were able to gain knowledge. Adding in other perspectives from other disciplines gives a varied view on the activities of these women. Sarah Bilston looks at women gardeners and the rise of the garden advice text, suggesting that these texts 'furthered the Ruskinian vision of the garden as not-home, as a broader and even public realm for women's activity', which suggests that the garden was a space that wasn't part of the domestic space, a more public but not fully public space. Also, she argues that

authorizing women to engage in physical labour, aesthetic debate, and technological innovation, texts build towards a vision of the social arrangement in which *flowers* sanctify and *women* act. Indeed it is, as we shall see, no mere accident that many of the later Victorian gardening texts by women were structurally innovative and politically radical.³⁴

This indicates that these advice books were intended to be political and radical, and that the garden was a space where women could be political. This implies that the garden could be a radical space for middle and upper-class women to express their ideas outside of the domestic space of the home.

³³Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen M Morin, 'Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth century British travel literature', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol.26 (2001), pp.306-326, p308

³⁴Sarah Bilson, 'Queens of the Garden: Victorian Women Gardeners and the Rise of the Gardening Advice Text', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), pp.1-19, p3

The Loudons, who were notable writers and publishers on garden topics, have attracted interest. Sarah Dewis proposes that they were relevant to a number of themes including 'politics, gender, the press, science, religion- education, leisure, gardening and death'.³⁵ This indicates that these publications that the Loudons were involved in were related to a number of topics and themes, which could indicate a correlation between the garden and the way that it was used, such as for politics. Dewis also notes that this was an era that saw a lot of changes in the printing industry, and how these changes were used alongside political and social change.³⁶ This is another facet of women's experiences and the garden that needs to be noted, that changes in print meant that more information would have been easily accessible, allowing women to write and read potentially political work. Dewis points this out, arguing that 'through their publications John and Jane Webb Loudon offered women readers a cultural alternative to the predominantly literary and classical culture of the educated English elite'.³⁷ This theorizes that the changes in the print industry gave women opportunities for further and wider reading. Also examining Jane Loudon, Nickianne Moody suggests that Loudon encouraged women to engage with more than just the home, but also with the outside world, suggesting that 'The garden became a site of social reform for Loudon who believed it offered a liberating, intellectual and physical space for women.'³⁸ This advocates that the garden could be a political space, and that it was people like Jane Loudon who encouraged this idea in their writing. Moody also notes the change in print culture, noting that editors were reacting to new professions and occupations emerging, especially in horticulture, which suggests that as gardening, horticulture, and botany became more popular, so editors and publishers printed accordingly.³⁹ This literature indicates that the garden and women have been connected for a variety of reasons, and that the garden at the time was considered to be an upper- class space. This means that there could

³⁵Sarah Dewis, *The Loudons and the Gardening Press: A Victorian Cultural Industry*, (Surrey, 2014), p1

³⁶ Sarah Dewis, *The Loudons and the Gardening Press*, (Surrey, 2014), p1

³⁷ Sarah Dewis, *The Loudons and the Gardening Press*, (Surrey, 2014), p3

³⁸ Nickianne Moody, 'Gardening in Print: Profession, Instruction and Reform', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 5.2 (2009), p1

³⁹ Nickianne Moody, 'Gardening in Print: Profession, Instruction and Reform', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 5.2 (2009), 4

be a political element to the garden. The historiography here also suggests that print culture was a very important part of disseminating ideas, not just about gardening itself, but also radical ideas. This could have given women the opportunity to read wider and gain new knowledge about a wide variety of subjects as print culture evolved alongside social and political issues.

Political history is also important to look at in the context of this research. Writing in 1988 and as an influential work, F.M.L Thompson looks at the era in general, arguing that 'nowhere was this tension between old and new more obvious than in the political structure, which was widely believed to have become dangerously out of touch with social realities'.⁴⁰ This indicates that the political climate of the time was tense. This may have had an impact on how women viewed their place in the political scene, and how they in turn were viewed. In an older work, Walter E. Houghton argues that 'the emergence of democracy meant not only the transference of political power from the aristocracy to the people, mainly by the successive Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884, but also by the arrival of what is termed a democratic society'.⁴¹ This suggests that there was a change in the political climate away from control by the aristocracy. K. D. Reynolds, however, argues that 'despite changes to the political system, social habits, and the economic infrastructure of society, the British aristocracy maintained a distinctive, cohesive culture during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, a culture which was in its very essence political'.⁴² This could show that not only were the upper-classes involved in politics, but that the culture of being upper-class was political. This argument somewhat counters that put forth by Houghton, as it suggests that the upper-classes and the aristocracy were still involved in politics in more of a way than Houghton suggests. Reynolds also notes that British women's history was 'born out of socialist and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s', and that it has mostly focused on middle and working-class

⁴⁰ F.M.L Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain*, (Massachusetts, 1988), p13

⁴¹ Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870*, (New Haven/ London, 1957/1985), p4

⁴² K. D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*, (Oxford, 1998), p1

women, while neglecting the aristocracy.⁴³ This is an interesting point to make, as it could mean that the majority of the historiography has considered the actions of the middle-classes to be more interesting to examine. This dissertation will attempt to add to the historiography surrounding upper class and aristocratic women, while using theories surrounding the middle classes as a base for understanding these women. James Vernon, while discussing popular politics, notes that some legislation encouraged the more masculine and private politics over the more threatening and public forms of politics, and that they attempted to

discipline popular politics, tempting it out from its customary venue of the pub to purpose built halls in which audiences could be better regulated, shunning the customary techniques of popular political protest as irrational, and providing women with well-defined roles and identities which would not challenge the ascendancy of the patriarchal discourse of their politics.⁴⁴

This helps to define what politics was, and who was involved in 'popular politics'. That the author chose to include women in this list indicates that women were part of the politics that were attempting to subvert the existing patriarchal system.

Looking at the period just before the one that this dissertation will cover, Elaine Chalus and Fiona Montgomery note that it is important to understand that there were ideas about a woman's nature that made them unfit for politics. However, they argue that women of all types and classes were involved in politics,

their activities ranged from the popular politics of food riots, machine-breaking, Chartist actions, protests against the New Poor Law or the repeal of the Corn Laws, through

⁴³ K. D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, (Oxford, 1998), p3

⁴⁴James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, 1815-1867*, (Cambridge, 1993), p9

politically inflected humanitarian causes like the abolition of slavery, to various forms of social politics, patronage, and electoral involvement.⁴⁵

This proposes that women fought for a great number of causes in the nineteenth century and found many ways to participate in politics in this era. Sarah Richardson argues that the question is not whether women were actively engaged in politics in the nineteenth century, but rather how far this engagement went, noting that the nineteenth century was a period of reform and innovation.⁴⁶ She also argues that this engagement is evidence that 'the rhetoric surrounding their "proper" sphere bore little resemblance to the reality of female public life'.⁴⁷ Richardson is also rejecting the idea of definitive separate spheres for women, suggesting that the theory is not realistic for everyday women. Richardson also notes that although there many single women who had the freedom to participate in politics, there were also many married women who used their husband's networks to get the outcomes they wanted for their own objectives.⁴⁸ This suggests that women were able to manipulate their individual situations to their own ends. K.D Reynolds also looks at the separate spheres theory in relation to women and politics, noting that the theory presents difficulties in relation to women whose activities that were carried out in private had an impact on the public.⁴⁹ This may show that scholars have found the theory to be problematic for women's activities in politics, not just out of the home. Looking at local politics, Kim Yoonok Sternberg argues that the 'few women who dared enter into the rough and tumble world of local politics were often middle-class ladies who had leisure, confidence, and connections'.⁵⁰ This indicates that there is a certain type of woman that would have been more likely to have been involved in politics. This does not

⁴⁵ Elaine Chalus and Fiona Montgomery, 'Women and Politics', in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds) *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850: An Introduction*, (Abingdon, 2005), pp.217-259, p219

⁴⁶ Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (Abingdon/New York, 2013) p1

⁴⁷ Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women*, (Abingdon/New York, 2013), p1

⁴⁸ Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women*, (Abingdon/New York, 2013), p2

⁴⁹ KD Reynolds, 'Politics without feminism: The Victorian Political Hostess', in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed), *Wollstonecraft's Daughters: Womanhood in England and France, 1780-1920*, (Manchester/New York, 1996), pp.94-108, p94

⁵⁰ Kim Yoonok Sternberg, 'Working-class women in London Local Politics, 1894-1914', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol.9 (1998), pp.323-349, p324

exclude other classes of women being involved in local politics but indicates that there may have been a stereotypical woman who was more likely to participate. Krista Cowman's book attempts to 'move the study of women's politics beyond the chronology implied by the wave metaphor by demonstrating that women were active political agents long before the campaign for the vote began', and notes that research into women and politics has called into question the way that politics is defined.⁵¹ This literature on politics, and how women interacted with politics indicates that women have been involved with politics for a number of reasons, and despite the opposition against it. This literature also indicates that there were several different classes of women who participated in politics in this era, and that this participation took a number of forms, such as through causes they were interested in or by using their husband's connections to achieve the outcome that they wanted.

It is possible to look at the type of sources that scholars have used in order to identify the sources that will be useful and relevant to this study. Sarah Richardson explains that records for women and politics are easily found in established sources for political history, such as newspapers, parliamentary papers, pamphlets, papers, and memoirs. These established sources are of use when looking at women's campaigns and achievements. They could also be of use when looking at politics and issues in society in a more general sense. She also notes, however, that less conventional sources provide key evidence of women's activities, through sources such as didactic texts, court cases, and visual sources, alongside women's own sources such as letters, diaries, and poems.⁵² Use of such a wide variety of sources allows for a clearer picture of the lives of women and their political activity. However, they also have some problems. A problem could be that sources such as letters and diaries that were written by the women themselves could have a certain amount of exaggeration or fabrication in them. This would be problematic if these were taken at face value, but

⁵¹ Krista Cowman, *Women in British Politics, C.1689-1979*, (Basingstoke, 2010), p3-4

⁵² Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (Abingdon/New York, 2013), p4

as part of a set of other sources, they could also be very valuable for looking at what has been included and what has been omitted. Also looking at women and politics in this era, K. D Reynolds however states that

the irregular survival of collections of the papers of aristocratic women, and the unsystematic cataloguing of such papers where they do exist (they are usually subsumed within the papers of their husbands and sons, and are hence often difficult to trace), meant that the construction of a statistically sound sample of women with existing, accessible papers too problematical.⁵³

Reynolds therefore explains that the sources used are from women's papers held in public repositories, in order to keep women at the centre of the analysis.⁵⁴ Keeping women at the centre of the analysis is important when looking at their behaviour and motivations, which may have been lost otherwise. Examining women and philanthropy in the nineteenth century from a literary perspective, Dorice Williams Elliott asserts 'that literary works function along with other kinds of discourses in shaping the ideas, attitudes, and ideologies that organize human relations'.⁵⁵ This more literary approach gives a different approach to the study of women's history, as Elliott notes that these works, novels in particular, provide a place where problems can be resolved. This is an interesting perspective to take as it could point out ideological problems and attitudes that are reflected in contemporary literature. Also taking a more literary approach, Sarah Bilston looks at Victorian gardening advice texts, arguing that they were innovative and radical.⁵⁶ Although this approach certainly has value, there are limitations to the literary approach. One of these limitations is the same with any published source- that what is written is written for what the author believed the audience wanted to read, and therefore may not be representative of women's activities and

⁵³ K. D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*, (Oxford, 1998), p23

⁵⁴ K. D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society*, (Oxford, 1998), p23-24

⁵⁵ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth- Century England*, (Virginia, 2002), p6

⁵⁶ Sarah Bilston, 'Queens of the Garden: Victorian Women Gardeners and the Rise of the Gardening Advice Text', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), pp.1-19, p3

behaviours in the garden or out of it. It is also difficult to ascertain exactly who the readers of these texts may have been, and how they came to get the information. The advice that is written in these books may also have been completely ignored by the women who read them, it is difficult to find out just how much of an impact these sources had on the lives of women. The sources that academics have used are many of the types of sources that will be used for this dissertation, as they provide a clear sense of women in the nineteenth century- their behaviours, actions, and motivations, within the limitations as outlined above. Although these sources are not new to the field, by using them in different ways this dissertation could contribute a different perspective on women, politics, and the garden.

By looking at these sources it is possible to find links between them that help to create a base about the history of women, politics, and the garden. It is clear that historiography about women has changed over the years, with many scholars now finding separate spheres and 'the Angel in the House' ideology to be problematic and insufficient for describing women's activities out of the house. Many academics now agree that women in the nineteenth century did have some agency and were involved in politics in a number of ways, including local politics, and as political wives and hostesses. This gives a good starting point for this research, as knowing that women were involved in politics leads to the question of gardens: were gardens connected in any way with women's activities? That these topics have been covered by a number of disciplines indicates that this topic is far reaching, with implications for a number of other subjects. There is a wealth of material on women in the late nineteenth century, which means that the approach to this study will combine these materials, focusing specifically on printed materials that upper-class women themselves may have looked at, to further understand women's activities in their gardens.

Chapter 1- Overview of Outdoor Spaces

This chapter lays the groundwork for the remainder of the dissertation by establishing the different types of garden and outdoor spaces prevalent between 1860-1920. This is an important opening task because how upper-class women interacted with these spaces differed depending on the characteristics and functions of the spaces themselves. This research focuses on England, examining specifically more urban spaces, such as London, where many public parks and gardens were located and where there were gardens attached to more influential houses.

As the Introduction argued, newspaper articles contain a wealth of information on gardens and outdoor spaces, enabling the historian to identify key features. Because there were different types of gardens and outdoor space this opening chapter takes each of the following in turn: public gardens, domestic outdoor spaces, and public parks and other open spaces. The research revealed a number of similarities between these garden spaces in press coverage, such as an association with fashion, and a focus on specific types of event and the layout of these spaces. The majority of these articles were published in the late spring and summer months, indicating that all of these spaces were used as part of the summer social season. Other primary sources were used to supplement the newspaper articles, such as Charles Booth's poverty maps, to look at these spaces from a wider perspective than just those of the newspapers.

The chapter begins by examining Booth's poverty maps to offer an overview of the distribution of classes around gardens and open spaces. The chapter then examines a variety of public gardens to explore how they were viewed in the press and compared to each other. The chapter then moves on to domestic outdoor spaces and how, although they differed to the public garden, they had many similarities in the way in which they were reported on. The chapter then examines the public park and other open spaces, where there was a discussion around the need for more open spaces in London to improve standards, not only in the physical lives of the poor, but also

of behaviour and morality. These different spaces had many functions in society, which then leads on to the next chapters which will examine in more depth how upper-class women interacted with these spaces.

Gardens and public spaces were a part of upper-class society that continued right through to the early twentieth century, which makes their continuity significant through a period of change in society. Gardens were a significant feature of society in the second half of the nineteenth century, and many groups and societies were interested in gardens and the practice of gardening.

Ornamental gardening was significant in this period and the practice remained strong until it came under pressure in the First World War. Brent Elliott states that 'it was not until 1916 that the war began to have a serious effect on horticulture, as interruptions to food supplies led to an official discouragement of ornamental gardening and a demand for an increase in food production'.¹

Gardens and gardening, particularly non-productive gardening appeared to be the domain of the upper-classes, with Elliott explaining 'some [flower] shows were blamed for alienating part of their potential clientele by aiming too narrowly at one class', and that 'unfair preference was given to the wealthy who could afford large-scale greenhouse cultivation'.² This indicates that gardens and gardening, and in particular shows, were geared towards the upper end of society. Location was also a large part of upper-class interest and interaction with the garden and outdoor space. As will be considered next in this chapter, Charles Booth's poverty maps appear to reveal that the streets around these larger gardens and open spaces were predominantly higher up on the social scale.

Gardens were also fashionable and sometimes, patriotic. They were well resourced, often including buildings which enabled visiting regardless of weather, as detailed in one 1863 article:

Out- of- door places of amusement, or rather places of amusement where the attractions of beautiful gardens and ample scenery around are enhanced by buildings which render the

¹ Brent Elliott, 'The Royal Horticultural Society's War Relief Fund, 1914-20, *Garden History*, Vol. 42 (2014), pp.107-117, p107

² Brent Elliott, 'Flower shows in Nineteenth- Century England', *Garden History*, Vol.29 (2001), pp.171- 184, p174

visitor independent of our uncertain climate, seem to be the want of this generation at least, and likely to be the fashion of the next.³

Places such as these were apparently popular in all weathers, and that this type of building was reported as fashionable indicates that that this was considered important. The article also suggests that this interest in gardens was expected to continue. Patriotism is also something to consider, with one article in *The Pall Mall Magazine* in 1897 claiming that 'Landscape gardening, as exemplified in such a domain as Kew, is peculiarly English. It originated, no doubt, partly in an intelligent appreciation of the possibilities afforded by the climate'.⁴ This could be indicative of a certain amount of patriotism involved in gardens and gardening.

This chapter will incorporate historiography from several areas of study, including on individual parks and gardens, general works on gardening, and works examining the eighteenth century as a prelude to this period. Hannah Grieg, for example, examines social classes in London's pleasure gardens 1740-1800 and how they were popular with the upper-classes, which indicates some level of continuity in these spaces.⁵ Other examples of works included are Lynda Nead's studies on Cremorne Gardens, Hilary A. Taylor's work on public parks, and H.L Malchow on public parks and social action.⁶ All of these areas of study work as a base to examine the different types of gardens, parks and open spaces that were important in this era.

³ "Alexandra Park." Times [London, England] 21 July 1863: 10. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 12 May 2018.URL

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupNa me=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS168860917&type=multi page&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

⁴ 'Kew Gardens', Thiselton-Dyer, W T. *The Pall mall magazine*, May 1893-Sept. 1914; London Vol. 12, Iss. 52, (Aug 1897): 584-586,

<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/6436837?accountid=14660>, p2

⁵ Hannah Grieg, "' All Together and All Distinct'": Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.51 (2012), pp.50-75

⁶ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth- Century London*, (New Haven/ London, 2005), Hilary A. Taylor, 'Urban Public Parks, 1840-1900: Design and Meaning', *Garden History*, Vol.23 (1995), pp.201-221, H.L Malchow, 'Public Gardens and Social Action in Late Victorian London', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 29 (1985), pp.97-124

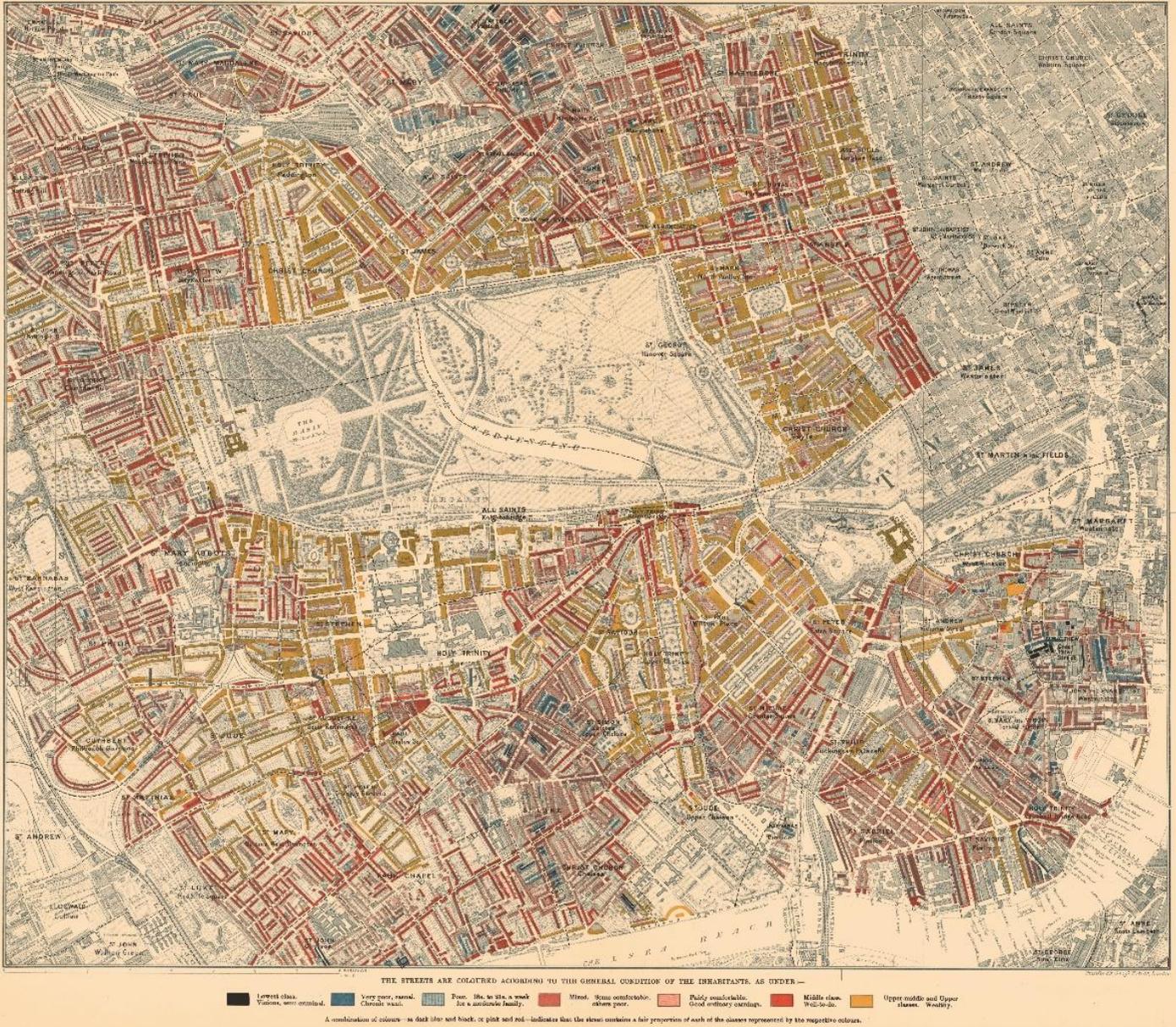


Figure 1: Charles Booth, *Map Descriptive of London Poverty, 1898-9, Sheet 7: Inner Western Central District.*⁷

⁷ Charles Booth, *Map Descriptive of London Poverty, 1898-9, Charles Booth's London: Poverty Maps and Police Notebooks*, London School of Economics and Political Science, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more/download-maps>, last accessed 22/05/18

The poverty maps created by Charles Booth highlight the distribution of classes around garden and open spaces. In this case these maps illustrate that one of the characteristics of the upper-classes in this time was having open space. Charles Booth was a social reformer born in Liverpool in 1840 and was concerned by the country's social problems.⁸ Booth's maps were an 'early example of social cartography', and the streets were coloured to correspond with a key to show the social class of each street.⁹ The key shows that yellow were associated with the upper class, whereas black corresponded to the very lowest classes. This section of Booth's map depicts the area surrounding Kensington Gardens. The streets here are coloured yellow with some coloured red, indicating that the surrounding area was predominantly upper-middle and upper-class. From this it can be inferred that Kensington gardens were predominantly the spaces of the upper classes in society. Studying the map shows other gardens and open spaces in this area, such as Kensington Palace Gardens, Queens Gardens, and Hyde Park Gardens, all with similar coloured surroundings. Other sheets in the collection, such as the map showing the East Central District, where there are significantly more blue streets (lower classes), show fewer open spaces and gardens. Although the significance of this survey has been debated, with some arguing that the survey had little validity, it clearly depicts how the different social classes were organised, and how the parks and gardens were organised accordingly.¹⁰

Booth's maps show that on the surface these garden spaces and parks were designed with the latest fashions and upper-classes in mind. They indicate that the upper-classes were located nearer to these parks and gardens and that these spaces were an important feature of society and of

⁸ 'Who was Charles Booth?', *Charles Booth's London: Poverty Maps and Police Notebooks*, London School of Economics and Political Science, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more/who-was-charles-booth>, last accessed 22/05/18

⁹ 'What were the poverty maps?', *Charles Booth's London: Poverty Maps and Police Notebooks*, London School of Economics and Political Science, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more/what-were-the-poverty-maps>, last accessed 22/05/18

¹⁰ Harris, Jose. "Booth, Charles (1840–1916), shipowner and social investigator." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 22 May. 2018. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31966>.

the spatial neighbourhood. The next section will examine the features of the public gardens and commercial pleasure gardens of the time.

Section 1: Public Gardens

The first category of public space examined in this chapter is the public garden. As they were open to the general public, these spaces were important in terms of fashions, status, and how upper-class women interacted in these spaces. Historically, even though these spaces were open to the general public, they were popular with the upper classes. Hannah Grieg explains this, arguing that although many different social classes could be located in these older pleasure gardens, such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh, 'at the same time as being presented as sites of unprecedented social mobility, the gardens were also construed to be a place to behold the spectacle of glamorous elite exclusivity'.¹¹ Because of this, a key feature of many of these gardens was the entertainment and activities that were put on in these spaces. Jonathan Peacock states that 'pleasure gardens had become a central feature of the leisure activities in London by the mid-seventeenth century', and that 'significant numbers of different entertainments were regularly provided'.¹² This continued, as Jonathan Conlin writes about the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, 'Pleasure gardens were privately operated suburban entertainment resorts which combined tree-lined allees for promenading with ornate, often temporary structures in which to drink, dance, eat, view paintings and watch short dramatic or acrobatic performances'.¹³ This section will therefore examine how fashions and what was included in these spaces demonstrate what was important. To do this, this section will view these spaces through the press, exploring a number of different gardens and how they were presented in newspapers. How fashionable these gardens were helped to determine their status, influencing who was visiting them and for what purpose. These spaces often had multiple

¹¹ Hannah Grieg, "' All Together and All Distinct": Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.51 (2012), pp.50-75, p62

¹² Jonathan Peacock, 'Rosherville Gardens- an Epitome of Victorian England', *Garden History*, Vol. 39 (2011), pp.64-82, p64

¹³ Jonathan Conlin, 'Vauxhall on the boulevard: pleasure gardens in London and Paris, 1764-1874', *Urban History*, 35 (2008), pp.24-47, p25

uses, such as Cremorne Gardens, which held all manner of amusements and played host to a number of flower shows.

Cremorne Gardens, located in Chelsea, London were an example of a popular garden which was used for a variety of purposes. Opened to the public in 1846, Cremorne Gardens soon became a fixture of the summer social season, offering attractive and aesthetic landscaping and a number of attractions to entertain the widest section of society possible.¹⁴ Lynda Nead, when looking specifically at Cremorne, notes that 'by day they [visitors] would be immediately struck by the grounds themselves; by the trees, lawns and flower-beds, punctuated by statues and fountains'.¹⁵ Searching the *British Library Newspapers* archive reveals that press coverage was most frequent when the gardens first opened in 1846, with 205 of the available 318 hits from the 1860s. From 1870, the numbers begin to decline with 104 in the years 1871-1880, 6 in 1881-1890, 3 in 1891-1900, and 0 hits beyond that. This makes sense as the gardens were closed in 1877, when the land was used for other purposes.¹⁶ Articles after this refer to Cremorne in the past. In 1860 the search comes back with 75 hits, and the majority of the hits are in the summer months starting in May. Newspapers in 1860 were preoccupied with the new features added as the gardens opened for the season, 'in the gardens a very interesting feature has been introduced consisting of a new fernery supplied with several thousand plants, comprising specimens of every known British and foreign fern', which the reporter described as 'tastefully arranged', and 'one of the most pleasing exhibitions'.¹⁷ There is further emphasis on content and layout in this article, where it states that a new dining saloon had been opened, giving a view of 'the gardens and amusements in progress' on

¹⁴ 'Social history: Social and cultural activities', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 12, Chelsea*, ed. Patricia E C Croot (London, 2004), pp. 166-176. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol12/pp166-176> [accessed 21 June 2019].

¹⁵ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*, (New Haven/London, 2005), p110

¹⁶ 'Social history: Social and cultural activities', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 12, Chelsea*, ed. Patricia E C Croot (London, 2004), pp. 166-176. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol12/pp166-176> [accessed 21 June 2019].

¹⁷ 'Royal Cremorne Gardens', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, May 29, 1860; pg, 3; Issue 26972, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213131818

one side, and on the other ‘behold the maze and esplanade on the banks of the river Thames, to the very verge of which trees, shrubs, and blossoming plants are seen in rich profusion’.¹⁸ This article demonstrates that the opening of these spaces marked the season, and that aesthetics were important. There is also a strong imperial dimension. Plants from across the world were important status symbols and fashionable. The article also mentions that amusements were important to entertain visitors, ‘amongst the most recent novelties introduced is Mahmond, the miniature man of India’.¹⁹ The use of language such as ‘novelties’ used to describe the foreign entertainments suggests that imperialistic fashions were popular as entertainment and specifying the origins of these entertainments further reinforces their popularity. Hilary Taylor explains that design from foreign cultures was especially popular, stating that ‘the designs of alien and exotic cultures were embraced with an enthusiasm bred of Imperial Confidence. For example, by the 1890s the taste for things Japanese had taken on the proportions of a popular cult’.²⁰ The same types of features of the garden were repeated in an article from July 1861, where the ‘beds of flowers, the grassy lawns, the picturesque walks, the charming fernery’ were all noted to be attractive features of the garden.²¹ Cremorne Gardens were also used to host flower shows for a time, as Brent Elliott notes, ‘the Cremorne Gardens in Chelsea provided a venue for the Metropolitan Society’s shows from 1838 and continued to hold shows for a while after the Society collapsed in the 1840s’.²² This is another example of an activity that was held in this type of space. Articles also report that it was a struggle to keep the gardens up to standard, with one in *The Times* from 1860 which states that in this year

¹⁸ ‘Royal Cremorne Gardens’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, May 29, 1860; pg, 3; Issue 26972, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213131818

¹⁹ ‘Royal Cremorne Gardens’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, May 29, 1860; pg, 3; Issue 26972, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213131818

²⁰ Hilary A. Taylor, ‘Urban Public Parks, 1840-1900: Design and Meaning’, *Garden History*, Vol.23 (1995), pp.201-221, p210

²¹ ‘Grand Aristocratic Fete at Cremorne’, *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), Friday, July 19, 1861; Issue 29493, *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: BC3207272086

²² Brent Elliott, ‘Flower shows in Nineteenth- Century England’, *Garden History*, Vol. 29, (2001), pp. 171- 184, p174

there was 'a perpetual struggle' against the weather.²³ This suggests that there was an expectation of appearance that was difficult to maintain.

The Royal Surrey Gardens, opened in 1856, were another public garden notable for fashion and entertainment, comparable in many ways to Cremorne Gardens. Searching this garden in the archive in the years from 1860 to 1913 came back with 261 hits. The majority of the hits for this garden came from 1871-80 with 204 hits, suggesting once again that these gardens were more popular in the first half of this time period. These numbers could also be because of their restoration and reopening in 1872, 'these gardens are about to be restored and reopened on a most extensive and sumptuous scale'.²⁴ After this, the hits come back at 0. Similarly to Cremorne Gardens, many of these results took place in the summer season. An article from 1860 notes that, 'extending over a space of more than 14 acres, present the *beau- idéal* of landscape gardening'. How these spaces were presented was important for their image. The author of the article notes that there were

lovely flower beds and undulating lawns, well grown timber and Italian terrace, adorned with statuary, pathways, and alleys through shrubs and plants, Swiss chalets, grottoes, fountains, jets d'eau, cascades, running streams, and a silvery lake.²⁵

Emphasising where these influences originated, such as Italy or Switzerland, reinforces that there was a desire to have exotic or foreign elements in these spaces. There was some comparison between gardens, with the article also noting that 'these gardens are not surpassed in beauty by their famous rival at Cremorne, nor by the best gardens on the Continent.' This demonstrates that there was competition between the best gardens not only in this country, but also other countries,

²³ "Cremorne Gardens." Times [London, England] 6 Oct. 1860: 11. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 16 May 2018, URL: <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupNa me=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS185112390&type=multip age&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

²⁴ 'VAGRANCY AND MENDICITY IN THE METROPOLIS', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Friday, March 01, 1872; pg. 7; Issue 30649. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, R3213154358

²⁵ 'Royal Surrey Gardens', *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), Monday, June 11, 1860; Issue 29147, *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: BC3207259692

and that individual features made each garden fashionable. Entertainment was also an essential element of this garden space, visitors usually paid one shilling to enter for entertainment such as ‘in the afternoon, principally of musical selections and of feats by acrobats; and in the evening, chiefly of dancing by the visitors on the platform, and by the members of the company, in a ballet’.²⁶ Entertainments were a common feature in these public gardens and the entrance fee suggests that these were not aimed at the lower classes.

The opening of the new Horticultural gardens at Kensington can also give insight into how these gardens were constructed in 1861. The search across the time frame for the Horticultural Gardens Kensington returned 247 hits. 141 of these hits came from the years 1860-1870, 57 of these from 1871-1880, 49 from 1881-1890, and 0 after that. Although a different sort of space as they were specifically built for a purpose, much like the other gardens a significant number of these happened in the summer season. The drop off in these numbers can be explained by the garden’s troubles towards the 1880s, as ‘by the summer of 1876 a scheme was outlined for the society to surrender its lease, so enabling the Commissioners to pursue their ambition of building a Science Museum across the site of the garden’.²⁷ The author claimed that ‘the gardens when completed will certainly be the finest for their size in Europe’ which further reinforces comparison between the gardens, and that ‘this style of garden decoration is a revival of the mode adopted in the time of Louis XIV’, demonstrating that these gardens were following a definite and recognisable style and design. This is important enough for the article to mention that ‘the whole of the works are being carried out under the direction of Mr. Eyles, the late chief gardener to the Crystal Palace’.²⁸ A respected gardener coming on board to help with the design was clearly worth mentioning here. The opening of these gardens was of great interest, as after the initial article in 1860, another article

²⁶ ‘Royal Surrey Gardens’, *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), Monday, June 11, 1860; Issue 29147, *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: BC3207259692

²⁷ ‘Garden of the Royal Horticultural Society’, in *Survey of London: Volume 38, South Kensington Museums Area*, ed. F H W Sheppard (London, 1975), pp. 124-132. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol38/pp124-132> [accessed 22 June 2019]

²⁸ ‘the Horticultural Gardens at Kensington’, *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), Friday, December 7, 1860; Issue 29301, *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: BC3207265780

published in March 1861, noted that 'Her majesty has taken a great interest in the progress of the works, and will open the gardens early in June', suggesting that these gardens were important, and that their opening was an event that was high on the social scale. This is a theme that will be considered in later chapters, where events that upper-class women attended will be examined. The article from the event itself, dated June 6th, 1861, notes that despite some of the garden being unfinished,

there was more than sufficient yesterday in these noble arcades, that delicious garden, and that exquisite conservatory, to say nothing of the gorgeous beauty of the flower show, and the bright presence of so many elegantly dressed ladies; to elicit from every spectator one universal expression of unqualified praise, wonder, and delight.²⁹

Despite this particular garden being unfinished at the time of reporting, the use of language such as 'delicious', 'exquisite', and 'gorgeous' suggest that how this garden looked and was designed was admired in the press. The mention of the ladies present further places these upper-class women in these spaces. Given the emphasis placed on the visual beauty and quality of these spaces, it is unsurprising that these spaces were held to a high standard. One particular article from 1886 complained: 'it is difficult to believe that such a disgraceful state of things would be permitted in the public gardens of any other capital in Europe', which further indicates comparison between similar gardens, and that there was a standard that these spaces occasionally did not meet as well as these gardens experiencing difficulties in the 1870s and 1880s.³⁰

²⁹ 'Opening of the new Horticultural Gardens at South Kensington', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, June 06, 1861; pg. 5; Issue 27290, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3212068894

³⁰ BAYSWATER. "The State Of Kensington Gardens." *Times* [London, England] 17 July 1886: 7. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 12 May 2018., URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS119720689&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

These articles also convey that the contents of these gardens were a selling point, and therefore were often concerned with the latest fashions. One short piece in *The Morning Post* states that 'the National Botanic gardens, containing the great palm- house, the old and new museums, the tropical aquarium, &c, and the royal palace pleasure grounds, flower-gardens, and new arboretum, having been greatly improved and adorned, are now open for the season'.³¹ Here the article is clearly advertising these gardens, attempting to use its updated and improved features to attract visitors as it opens for the season. This idea of improvement and innovation is one that can be seen across the era. This is also seen in another article, where at Kew Gardens 'the large masses of rhododendrons, azaleas, and other American plants [...] are advancing towards their prime, and when covered with blossoms of various colours will present for several weeks a most magnificent sight of surpassing interest and beauty'.³² This once again indicates that foreign and exotic plants were being used to attract interest, and that visitors were more interested in these gardens at the height of the season, when the plants were in full bloom. In this case, advertising these spaces by using foreign and exotic plants could have succeeded in attracting visitors, as flowers were of considerable interest to the visiting public.

³¹ 'The Earl and Countess of Durham have arrived in town for the season- Kew Gardens', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Friday, May 10, 1861; pg. 5; Issue 27267, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3212068012

³² 'Royal Humane Society (Kew Gardens)', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, May 29, 1861; pg.5, Issue 27283, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3212068550



Figure 2: Plan of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew. Coloured engraving (?) after E.M.

Sowerby, 1886³³

Figure 2 is a plan of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, from 1886. The gardens were clearly designed to showcase the flowers and plants that attracted visitors, as described in the article above. On the plan there are paths, and different sections for guests to visit. An article about the

³³ Plan of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew. Coloured engraving (?) after E.M. Sowerby, 1886. Credit: Wellcome Collection, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/wcdk6jgr> , Last accessed 27/11/19

flower show at the Crystal Palace notes that 'the show of flowers and fruits at the Crystal Palace on Saturday was in every respect one of the most brilliant for some time past', which suggests that these flower shows were popular for a while.³⁴ Also, *The Times* from 1884 reported on the first of the Royal Botanic Society's exhibitions, where a number of spring flowers were displayed. The article notes that the 'exhibition was one of considerable interest' and that 'the exhibitors were many, and the numbers of visitors was so great as to make the examination of flowers a task of some difficulty'.³⁵ The popularity of these shows indicates that they were a large part of the social season and that they also attracted a wider public. The Royal Botanic Society also put on events and fetes, such as the one held in 1872, when they 'gave an evening fete on Thursday night in their gardens at the Regent's Park', which reinforces that these were important spaces for the season.³⁶ Kew gardens appears to have kept track of numbers of visitors, noting that the bank holiday in August brought in the most visitors, and that 'Sir J. Hooker has no doubt that the immensely increased facilities of access to the Gardens which is thus obtained by residents in London will very much add to the number of visitors'.³⁷ The heads of Kew were apparently considering what would bring in the most visitors at any point in the year. Compared to other gardens, Kew Gardens appears in the newspaper

³⁴ "The Flower Show At The Crystal Palace." *Times* [London, England] 26 May 1862: 6. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 16 May 2018, URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS101227194&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

³⁵ "THE BOTANICAL GARDENS.-The first of the Royal." *Times* [London, England] 27 Mar. 1884: 10. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 16 May 2018, URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS168216187&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

³⁶ "GARDEN FETE.-The Royal Botanic Society of." *Times* [London, England] 13 July 1872: 12. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 16 May 2018, URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS202288877&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

³⁷ "Kew Gardens." *Times* [London, England] 4 Sept. 1878: 9. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 12 May 2018., URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS151698212&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

archive far more frequently. A search across the selected time period returned 1810 hits, and much like the other gardens, a large number of these are in the summer months. Advertisements can also be examined to consider what was fashionable. One advert from 1873 was offering 'in seven series of 50 each, together with 350 distinct species, one plant each species of the finest and newest hardy trees and shrubs, forming together a complete arboretum, equal in variety to some of the finest in Europe', with the instruction to apply to 'Thomas Thornton, Heatherside Nurseries, Bagshot, Surrey'.³⁸ This once again reinforces the competition with other countries, especially in Europe, and also suggests that these adverts were offering the opportunity for private gardens to emulate public ones.

Examinations of these public gardens have determined that aesthetics and features of these spaces were important. They were examples of innovation and status, and were spaces where people went to be entertained as well as keeping up with the latest fashions. As gardens that were open to the public, the audience of these spaces while often aimed at higher classes, often encompassed multiple social classes - access for a greater number of people than private gardens. Often compared to both similar gardens of the country and other countries, there was a standard that was expected to be upheld. These examples all indicate that this competition and having foreign and exotic plants was a symbol of status and prestige.

Section 2: Domestic Outdoor Spaces

Another category to examine is the outdoor domestic space. As they were an extension of the home, these spaces provide an important contrast to public spaces in how they were used, their fashions, and access. As with public gardens, their contents determined their status, and how they were viewed by the press. Several of these features are specifically mentioned in the articles, whether that is the large conservatory at Syon House, or the large variety of trees at both Osterley

³⁸ 'Trees, Shrubs, &C', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, January 23, 1873; pg. 8; Issue 31377, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213551488

and Syon House. An article dated December 7 1860, notes that 'last week Lady Holland placed at the disposal of the [Horticultural] society a number of fine chesnut trees from the plantations at Holland House; and Mr Gibbs, of Tyntsfield, has also forwarded a large quantity of finely grown lime trees from his estate near Bristol', demonstrating how the patronage of influential houses helped out the local community.³⁹ Being acknowledged for the donation raised the status of the house that they were coming from. Although the 'domestic' space will be more fully explored in the next chapter using case studies, it is important to situate the control, access, and use of these spaces in a more general context.

Several key examples of major houses can provide an examination of various fashions, and how they were viewed by the press. In 1864, for example, *The Morning Post* reported that there was a visit from General Garibaldi to Chiswick House, and that 'the Duchess (Dowager) of Sutherland gave a *dejeuner* at Chiswick, the late Duke of Devonshire's beautiful suburban retreat'. The reporter noted that 'the beautiful pleasure grounds wore a fresh and cheering aspect', and that later in the day 'General Garibaldi planted a cedar tree (*cedrus deodara*) on the lawn in front of the house, to commemorate his visit to Chiswick'.⁴⁰ This article reveals that how the grounds and garden were presented for this visit was important, and that activities were undertaken in the garden space, suggesting its significance. A search for Chiswick House in the newspaper archive returned 386 hits, many of them from the summer months and having titles such as 'fashionable world'. This would suggest that houses such as this one and the events that took place there were part of the summer social season, like the ones held in public gardens. The look of the gardens at Chiswick House was repeated in an article detailing 'The Polish Fete at Chiswick House', where the article begins 'Beneath the shade of the magnificent cedar trees, upon the lawn of one of the most beautiful

³⁹ 'The Horticultural Gardens at Kensington', *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), Friday, December 7, 1860; Issue 29301, *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: BC3207265780

⁴⁰ 'Visit of General Garibaldi to Chiswick House', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Wednesday, April 13, 1864; pg. 5; Issue 28182, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210439074

gardens in our beautiful England', where the language reinforces that not only were the gardens at this house important, but that aesthetics of these gardens were important.⁴¹

The garden spaces in these houses were used for many different functions. Syon House is a good example of this, with an article from 1898 stating that 'Countess Percy gave the first of a series of garden parties at Syon House, Isleworth, yesterday afternoon', and that 'refreshments were served in an enormous marquee' where it was decorated with many varieties of plants and flowers. The garden spaces of these houses were used for a variety of events, and that the author specifically mentions that this was the first in a series further suggests that they were an important feature of society and the season. For example, at Syon House the reporter comments on the 'famous Syon Conservatory' and the 'enormous marquee', along with how many guests attended ('upwards of one thousand guests'). These suggest that these spaces and these events were created to show status, and the reporting reflects that.⁴² Although a search across the time period for Syon House only returned 85 hits, several of these articles were themed around fashionable events and parties. This could be because these gardens were not aiming to advertise these spaces as much as the commercial public gardens were.

These spaces were also used to further various political aims, such as an event held at Osterley House in 1884, where 'the first of a series of weekly Conservative meetings, or afternoon *fetes*, was held on Saturday, by permission of the Earl of Jersey'. The reporter states that 'and after they had inspected the picture galleries of Osterley House, they assembled in the forecourt of the mansion, and were there addressed by several gentlemen who had volunteered to support the Conservative Cause'.⁴³ This concept is explored in greater depth in relation to women's activities in chapter three, where the Conservative Primrose League and the women associated with it are

⁴¹ 'Polish Fete at Chiswick House', *Daily News*, (London, England), Saturday, May 21, 1864; Issue 5628, *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: Y3202991089

⁴² 'Syon House Garden Party', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Friday, June 24, 1898; pg. 5; Issue 39329, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: GS3214982016

⁴³ 'Lord Carnarvon at Osterley', *The Standard*, (London, England), Monday, July 28, 1884; pg. 3; Issue 18731, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3209383347

examined. The gardens and grounds of these houses were of interest at the time, with one article noting that 'every twelve months the Arboricultural Society makes a forest pilgrimage. This year the neighbourhood of London has been chosen, and for four days members will explore its woods and forests'. The article states that 'Osterley has been famed for its garden, the extent of its greensward, and its beautiful timber', and that the house is 'surrounded by a garden laid out in the best Old English style, and by lawns beautifully planted with cedars of Lebanon'. Of Syon house, the article notes that it has 'one of the oldest gardens in England, and is unsurpassed for the rarity and beauty of its timber'.^{44 45} The 'Old English Style' mentioned further emphasises the patriotism mentioned earlier in the chapter. This interest in the grounds and gardens of these houses suggests their importance for the status of the house and their surroundings.

These examples of domestic outdoor spaces in the grounds of large houses indicate that these garden spaces were scrutinised for how they looked, and that they were used for a wide variety of events. What these articles chose to focus on further reinforces that the fashions and features of the gardens were important. In this sense, the domestic garden was subject to many of the same fashions as the public gardens. In this category of garden space trees seemed to be an important feature, which could link to the idea of these houses wanting to appear long established. The ways that upper-class women used these spaces will be further examined in the next chapter.

Section 3: Public Parks and other large open spaces

The third category is public parks and other open spaces. While open to the public like the public gardens, these had different uses. David Lambert notes that throughout history parks were

⁴⁴ 'The Society of Arboriculture', *The Standard*, (London, England), Wednesday, August 16, 1899; pg. 3; Issue 23443, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210686206

⁴⁵ Arboretums themselves have been of interest to scholars, such as David Whitehead, 'Veterans in the Arboretum: Planting Exotics at Holme Lacy, Hertfordshire, in the late Nineteenth Century', *Garden History*, Vol. 35 (2007), pp.96-112, Paul Elliott, Charles Watkins and Stephen Daniels, 'William Barron (1805-91) and Nineteenth-Century Arboriculture: Evergreens in Victorian Industrializing Society', *Garden History*, Vol.35 (2007), pp.129-148, and Sophie Piebenga and Simon Toomer, 'Westonbirt Arboretum: From Private, Nineteenth-Century Estate Collection to National Arboretum', *Garden History*, Vol.35 (2007), pp.113-128.

used for memorials, 'the eighteenth-century landscape park was punctuated with classical statues, dedicated buildings and inscriptions; and the nineteenth-century public park was stocked with statues commemorating the lives of national or local heroes'.⁴⁶ Although these may not have been public parks in the modern sense, these indicate a desire and need for open public spaces that ended up in more recognisable public parks. These later spaces were subject to discussion, with questions of morality, public health, and town planning all being brought up. Although their appearance and maintenance were important, fashion played less of a part in these discussions. One of the questions surrounding public parks and open spaces was whether to use disused burial grounds and turn them into spaces that would give London and other urban areas more green spaces, which could link back to the locations on Booth's maps, where lower-class, crowded areas needed more open spaces as the London landscape changed. Upper-class women used these spaces in multiple ways, from being involved with the associations that endeavoured to create these open spaces, to opening them ceremonially. These actions show the diverse ways women got involved in these spaces which will be further examined in the third chapter. This is outside of the traditional domestic sphere and this section will explore how upper-class women interacted with this type of space, and how this compared to both the outdoor domestic space and the public gardens.

The need for open spaces was recognised as important in this time. Hilary A. Taylor examines public parks in the late Victorian era and notes that it was recognised that there was a need for 'some response to the rapid and unplanned proliferation of urban dwellings'. Taylor also highlights that there were a number of reasons why it was thought that public parks were the answer, stating that 'the "problems", to which the provision of parks was expected to offer some relief were easy to describe: overcrowding, poverty, squalor, ill-health, lack of morals and morale, and so on'.⁴⁷ Overcrowding and social behaviour were issues that many felt needed to be addressed,

⁴⁶ David Lambert, 'A living monument: memorial parks of the First and Second World Wars', *Garden History*, Vol. 42 (2014), pp.34-57, P34-35

⁴⁷ Hilary A. Taylor, 'Urban Public Parks, 1840-1900: Design and Meaning', *Garden History*, Vol.23 (1995), pp.201-221, p.202

and in many cases, they thought that parks and open spaces would help solve some of these issues. Felix Driver examines this issue from a social science perspective and argues that 'The critical problems were associated with the labouring classes; they included pauperism, crime, ill-health, drunkenness, delinquency and degeneracy. These characteristics were seen as being part of a wider syndrome of anti-social behaviour'.⁴⁸ Looking slightly earlier, Peter Bailey notes that in the 1830s and 1840s there were issues of social order, provoking large debates. Bailey states that 'one strand in the debate concerned popular recreations and the desirability of promoting their reform in such a way as to make a constructive contribution to the general drive for social amelioration'.⁴⁹ Tim Brown agrees, noting that in a paper given by Miss M. J Vernon (a member of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association) in 1878, she was 'clearly talking to a much broader sanitary science discourse which recognised that parks and gardens were spaces for social and moral improvement as well as sites for the promotion of physical health'.⁵⁰ This indicates that there was a wider scientific discussion surrounding public health. The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association (formed in 1882) was recognised by the *British Medical Journal* which in 1887 printed that their work 'in recovering permanently open spaces for the poor of this too large city is one which should not be allowed to languish for the want of funds'.⁵¹ This suggests that although public health was important in this time there was sometimes a lack of funds to implement it. This concern for lack of funds is repeated 10 years later in *The British Architect*, where it states that 'each year it becomes a most costly matter to provide adequate breathing room for dwellers in the thickly populated and growing metropolis'.⁵²

⁴⁸ Felix Driver, 'Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol.13 (1988), pp. 275-287, P277

⁴⁹ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*, (Abingdon, 2007 [first published 1978]), p35

⁵⁰ Tim Brown, 'The making of urban 'healtheries': the transformation of cemeteries and burial grounds in late-Victorian East London', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (2013), pp. 12-23, P16

⁵¹ 'Metropolitan Public Gardens Association', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol.1 (1887), p.1344

⁵² 'The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association', *The British Architect*, 1874-1917, London, (Mar 12, 1897), p194, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/6854066?accountid=14660>, last accessed 01/09/18

One way that reformers introduced garden and park spaces into London was by repurposing disused burial grounds. H.L Malchow explains that the 1884 Disused Burial Grounds Act ‘a direct result of pressure brought to bear by the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, forbade the erection of any buildings on burial grounds in London’, which reduced the value of these plots and therefore helped the Association.⁵³ By the spring and summer of 1883, there were enough well-known names in philanthropy to make the Association more visible, and by the end of the year many members of the ‘parliamentary, social, and professional elite lent their names and resources’, as well as sporting the ‘requisite royalty (H. R. H. Princess Frederica), aristocrats, prelates, and statesmen’.⁵⁴ Many important were people involved in making green recreation spaces for London. Peter Thorsheim notes that ‘during the final decades of the nineteenth century, nearly a hundred old burial grounds in London became public gardens or children’s playgrounds’.⁵⁵ Thorsheim also explains that ‘the idea of converting cemeteries into parks found a number of enthusiastic advocates, but it also encountered considerable resistance, for it involved important questions of public health, law, and religion’.⁵⁶ One of these criticisms came from a Rector of Bethnal-Green, where the argument against turning burial- grounds was that ‘old graveyards are so saturated with human remains that it is dangerous to the public health to disturb them, even to dig them into public gardens. If you must use them as recreation grounds you must concrete them all over, and even this will not secure them from sudden sinking’.⁵⁷ Public health was clearly an issue here.

⁵³ H.L Malchow, ‘Public Gardens and Social Action in Late Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 29 (1985), pp.97-124, p108

⁵⁴ H. L Malchow, ‘Public Gardens and Social Action in Late Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 29 (1985), pp.97-124, p113

⁵⁵ Peter Thorsheim, ‘The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth- Century London’, *Environmental History*, Vol.16 (2011), pp.38-68, p38

⁵⁶ Peter Thorsheim, ‘The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth- Century London’, *Environmental History*, Vol.16 (2011), pp.38-68, p39

⁵⁷ Rector of Bethnal-green. "Graveyards As Recreation Grounds." Times [London, England] 26 Aug. 1885: 13. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 18 May 2018, URL

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupNa me=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS218810650&type=multip age&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

The fashion and look of these parks was also considered. An article from 1865 titled 'The Parks of London', states that 'within the last two or three years, this park [Regents Park] has been greatly improved and embellished by the construction of what are known as the Avenue-gardens'.⁵⁸ Not only was the construction of these parks considered, but also how they looked and fitted in with the surrounding area was considered important. Another piece of writing on parks in a periodical *Public Parks and Pleasure- Grounds (1897)*, notes that 'happily London is well supplied with parks; and these are, generally speaking, well placed for those most in need of them', and that there were handsome groups of shrubs, so arranged as to give an excellent example of that peculiar style of landscape gardening, composed of shrubberies, water, trees, and sloping turf, which has been so much admired and so largely adopted in the parks and gardens in Germany and other countries.⁵⁹

Like the gardens these parks were held to a certain standard and were compared to similar parks and areas in other countries. Some of the same features were fashionable, such as large amounts of trees and bodies of water. The same sentiment is repeated many years later, with another periodical article stating that 'no capital in the world can surpass London in the number and extent of the parks and gardens situated within its confines', and that under the direction of the Parks Committee of the London County Council the parks 'have been largely augmented and beautified'.⁶⁰ As with the public gardens, the parks were held to a high standard and because of this there were worries and debates about the state of these spaces. The London County Council was established in 1888, when as

⁵⁸ "The Parks Of London." Times [London, England] 16 Oct. 1865: 12. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 16 May 2018, URL: <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=unihersts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS202809680&type=multiple&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

⁵⁹ 'Public Parks and Pleasure- Grounds', LENNOX, HENRY GORDON, RIGHT HON, LORD. Time; London Vol. 1, (Jun 1879): 275-283,

<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/6418759?accountid=14660>, p275, p276

⁶⁰ 'The Possibilities of Metropolitan Parks', [Meath. The New review](#); London Vol. 11, Iss. 63, (Aug 1894): 201-208,

<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/6699729?accountid=14660>, p201, p203

Michael P. Collins notes, London was ‘witnessing a series of transitions in government structure, economic organisation, demography and architectural styles’.⁶¹ This also fits in with the recurring theme of comparing these spaces to others in other countries, especially Europe.

To conclude, how gardens and outdoor spaces were constructed and what fashions were included were central to how they were viewed in the press and by the public. By establishing and distinguishing these different types of space, this chapter has argued that these spaces served different functions for different occasions. Public gardens were important in terms of fashions, status, and social events. The features that made them popular spaces that were often specified in the press, were often imperialistic in nature, and were compared to gardens in other countries. These public gardens had peaks of popularity before many of them, especially the commercial examples used here, closed towards the end of the nineteenth century. These spaces were still frequently mentioned in newspaper articles either for reference or nostalgia. Domestic gardens were similar in how the fashions and what was included was important for their status. However, these domestic spaces had different functions and were reported on in slightly different ways to the public garden. Although the features that made them popular were often also specified, in the domestic garden space these were usually describing the details of an event, rather than advertising the features of the garden itself. This chapter also examined the Public Park. Although the appearance and maintenance of these spaces was important, less importance was placed on fashion. The public park was also important for reformers who, driven by concerns about public health and urbanisation, aimed to increase the amount of public spaces available to all. These spaces were all used in different ways, with different features, but they co-existed in society as outdoor spaces for different people to use. The rest of this dissertation will examine how upper-class women interacted with the spaces presented in this opening chapter, detailing how these women interacted with these spaces in different ways, and why this was significant. The next chapter will specifically

⁶¹ Michael P. Collins, ‘The London County Council’s Approach to Town Planning: 1909-1945’, *The London Journal*, Vol. 42 (2017), pp.172-191, p.172

focus on the domestic garden space, using case studies of upper-class women such as Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts and houses such as Holland House to examine how these women extended the traditionally domestic space of the home outside.

Chapter 2: Upper- Class women's use of 'domestic' garden spaces

This chapter will argue that upper-class women in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century used their domestic spaces to hold functions and events which furthered their ambitions, such as charity work, and raised their status between 1860-1920. This fits with the overall theme of women and their outdoor spaces during this period. By looking solely at the domestic space rather than all outdoor spaces, this chapter aims to explore how women controlled this space directly.

It is important to note that this chapter takes the domestic space to mean space that was attached to the house that was owned or lived in by the women mentioned. Women used these spaces as an extension of the domestic space of the home, and in many cases, physically extended the house into the garden.

K.D Reynolds notes that aristocratic households in the nineteenth century, 'far from being places of retreat, they were the public arena in which the aristocracy reinforced and reinvented its power, maintained its dominance over rural communities, engaged in the political life of the nation, and sought to fulfil their dynastic ambitions'.¹ Also, Lillian Lewis Shiman notes that 'the family estate was the physical and symbolic center of the aristocratic family'.² For the aristocratic and upper classes, the house was at the centre of their role in society, which meant that as an extension of this domestic space the garden also played an important role. The objective of this chapter is to investigate how these relationships were represented to wider audiences, and what this meant in practice.

This chapter will analyse a series of events, staged by different women in the domestic garden space. It will examine how they utilised these spaces through again engaging with the wealth

¹ K.D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*, (Oxford, 1998), p28

² Lillian Lewis Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth- Century England*, (New York, 1992), p2

of material contained in newspaper articles. As discussed in the introduction, a large proportion of the newspaper articles come from summer months and from entertainment sections, indicating a social season that will be useful to examine for this chapter. On the subject of newspapers in this time, Michael Diamond notes that ‘the Victorians had more opportunity than any of their predecessors to enjoy sensations, due principally to the unprecedented development of the press’, after the removal of the ‘taxes on knowledge’ made newspapers much more affordable’.³ This would mean that newspapers became a lot more widely accessible, making them a good measure of public reaction to events. Other sources that will be considered are a number of images, that will give a visual representation of these events, studying body language and scenery analysis. Other contemporary publications on London will add greater depth to what the newspaper articles claim.

The chapter begins by offering an introductory overview of the historiography surrounding this topic, examining views on upper-class women and philanthropy. Then, the focus will shift to consider how organising garden parties and events was practised by the very upper echelons of society, including Royalty at the top of the social scale. The chapter then moves on to examine in depth the case study of Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts (1824-1906), who used her domestic garden space as part of her philanthropic activities- putting on events for people of a variety of social classes. The chapter will then focus on how women used their garden events for charity purposes, whether that was for the local parish or the wider community. Lastly, the chapter will concentrate on Holland House and its functions.

This dissertation focuses on upper-class women and K.D Reynolds notes that aristocratic and upper- class women are often left out of the narrative of women, suggesting that

The paradigm of separate spheres which has been central to our understanding of Victorian women for so long presents particular difficulties in relation to women whose most private

³ Michael Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or, the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth – Century Britain*, (London, 2003), p1

actions carried enormous public significance, and whose public and political roles were carried out in the privacy of the domestic setting.⁴

Although this collection is relatively old now, this still holds true for the study of upper- class women. The idea of separate spheres that was once popular with historians can be very problematic when applied to these women. This chapter will look at the public and political roles that Reynolds touches on here and at how they were carried out in the domestic setting, which in this case will focus on the garden space. Reynolds also notes that a lot of upper class and aristocratic women participated in activities like 'entertaining political connections, exercising patronage, guarding political confidences and offering advice, which were the particular speciality of the political hostess'.⁵ This suggests that women using their status for political gain was not uncommon in this era, but this study will extend this further by focusing on the garden and outdoor spaces.

Looking at philanthropy is an integral part of analysing these women's activities, and a number of scholars have noted that not only were charity and philanthropy a large part of society, but also that there were conflicting views on how women were supposed to act. Alan J. Kidd notes that 'The social fabric of Victorian England was permeated by charity and repercussions of the charitable relationship. Directly or indirectly, philanthropy affected the social and cultural life of the time'.⁶ Dorice Williams Elliott, in addition, notes that one contemporary writer's description of a philanthropist 'explicitly raises the threat that women's philanthropy will jeopardize the separation between the domestic and public spheres that seemed to Victorians to be the foundation of social order'.⁷ This indicates that although, as Elliott notes, philanthropy at this time was an important part of ameliorating the social problems caused by industrialization and other issues, there were still

⁴ K.D Reynolds, 'Politics without feminism: The Victorian Political Hostess', in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed), *Wollstonecraft's Daughters: Womanhood in England and France, 1780-1920*, (Manchester/New York, 1996), pp.94-108, p.94

⁵ K.D Reynolds, 'Politics without feminism: The Victorian Political Hostess', p.95

⁶ Alan J. Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the "social history paradigm"', *Social History*, Vol. 21 (1996), pp. 180-192, p.180

⁷ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England*, (Virginia, 2002), p3

fears about what this meant for women outside of the house.⁸ Kathryn Gleadle also notes that women of the middle and upper-classes used philanthropy as a way to pass the time, noting that although it could be a burden for some, ‘for countless others- especially single women- philanthropy remained an important source of fulfilment’.⁹ This suggests that some women used philanthropy as a way of giving back to the community, which indicates that they were using their spaces for their own goals and aspirations. Sarah Richardson, while looking at the field, notes that philanthropy in this time was complex, and that ‘analyses of the motives underlying the charitable impulse have tended to neglect the role of politics and ideology’, indicating that there was more to women and philanthropy than some scholars have suggested.¹⁰

Putting on and attending garden parties was an activity practised by the upper classes in society, as far up as the Queen and other members of the Royal family. Being at the top of the social hierarchy meant that these events were also ways of demonstrating power and status. Diamond notes that ‘the rigid social hierarchy of the Victorian age meant that a sensation was all the greater if the protagonist enjoyed high rank’, and that ‘at the top of the steep social pyramid was the Royal Family’.¹¹ One particular event in June 1870 was covered by both *The Morning Post* and *The Times*, highlighting that this was an event that was worth covering for the public. *The Morning Post* noted that there was a reception of 800 guests in the event given by the Queen, and that there were ‘a magnificent range of marquees and tents upon the lawn in front of the east terrace of the palace’. It also reported that ‘a covered way with canvas awning has been erected over the paved footpath on each side of the State entrance under the clock-tower, and the latter entrance and that used by

⁸ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England*, (Virginia, 2002), p4

⁹ Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, (Basingstoke, 2001) [ebook], ‘Politics, Community and Protest – Philanthropy’

¹⁰ Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (New York/ Abingdon, 2013), p63

¹¹ Michael Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or, the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth – Century Britain*, (London, 2003), p6

visitors will both be called into requisition'.¹² These events were well planned and extensive, suggesting that they were important in the summer social calendar. *The Times* reported on the same event, noting many of the same features such as the tents and how there were 'special trains provided to bring the guests to Windsor by the Great Western Railway, and carriages were in readiness to convey the company to the Castle, with similar arrangements being made for the return of the guests to London'.¹³ This consistency in reporting demonstrates that these were important features of the event. These reports also highlight that these functions were designed to impress, and by reporting on them showcases the important people in society and how they were keeping up with the latest fashions. This could also have been a way that these events were designed to articulate power and status, with extensive features that were meant to impress. *The Times* was a newspaper with a widespread interest in this era, its 'circulation rocketed from around 10,000 in the mid-1830s to 60,000 by 1855'.¹⁴ This would suggest that if high profile events, such as ones attended by and put on by the Queen and other members of the Royal family, were reported here, then they were events that the audience wanted to read about.

The Queen not only put on these garden parties, but also attended them. A report from *The Times* noted that 'the Queen, accompanied by Princess Beatrice, went to a garden party given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House'.¹⁵ That it was desirable to be seen at these events is suggested by a correction on a previous article in *The Times* that stated 'the names of Colonel and Mrs. Hepburn should have been included in the list of those who had the honour of

¹² 'Her Majesty's Garden Party at Windsor', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Friday, June 24, 1870; pg. 5; Issue 30123, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213547826

¹³ "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 25 June 1870: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 Mar. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS151825113&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

¹⁴ Andrew Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol. 18 (2013), pp.472-497, p474

¹⁵ "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 15 July 1878: 6. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 Mar. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS100842223&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

being invited to the Garden Party given by the Prince and Princess of Wales, at Chiswick, on Saturday last'.¹⁶ There are similarities in the reports of these garden parties, even when they were held in different places. A common feature was to report on the fashionable people who attended these parties, as evidenced by the report of the Countess of Airlie's garden party. It notes that 'the company began to arrive shortly after four o'clock, and among her ladyship's numerous guests were', followed by a long list of distinguished attendees.¹⁷ Even when there is not such a long list of the names of people who attended, the most important names are commonly listed, such as in the article on the garden fete at 'Cliefden', where it notes that 'among those present were the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke and Duchess of Teck'.¹⁸ It would appear to be standard for the names of the most important visitors to be listed, and in descending order of rank. For the upper levels of society, the garden space was being used to showcase wealth and charity, as a demonstration of elite power and status.

One of the upper-class women who used her garden space to put on events was Baroness Angela Burdett- Coutts (1814-1906). These events were varied and allowed Burdett-Coutts different opportunities to articulate power and status, from high profile events to entertaining workers from one of her projects. She had been described in a periodical (*The Leisure Hour*) as being 'famous for her wealth, her extensive benevolence, her erection of dwelling houses for the poor, churches for church-goers, and bishoprics for the colonies'.¹⁹ This periodical started in 1852 under the *Religious*

¹⁶ "Court Circular." *Times* [London, England] 2 July 1873: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 19 Mar. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS152088802&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

¹⁷ 'The Countess of Airlie's Garden Party', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, June 12, 1873; pg. 5; Issue 31497, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210510015

¹⁸ "Great Garden Fête At Cliefden. -On Satur-." *Times* [London, England] 15 July 1872: 7. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 2 May 2018.,

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS119058159&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

¹⁹ 'Miss Burdett Coutts', Macauley, James (ed), *The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of instruction and recreation, Jan 1852- Dec. 1876*; London, Iss. 941, (Jan 8, 1870): 23-28, p23, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/3692527?accountid=14660>

Tract Society, and as Doris Lechner explains, their aim was to create a publication that was ‘of similar entertainment and instructive content, yet written in a Christian spirit’ to other ‘secular periodicals’, which would make the features listed in this particular article important to the periodical.²⁰ Burdett-Coutts was very involved with philanthropy and the local community, and this was reported in many ways. This is also shown in various histories, where in one it was noted that ‘she has been also a large contributor to a variety of religious and charitable institutions in London – churches, schools, reformatories, penitentiaries, drinking fountains, Columbia Market, model lodging- house’, but also that she not only took an interest in people, but also animals as she ‘also exercised her pen, as well as her purse, in mitigating and relieving dumb animals and the feathered tribe from the suffering to which they are often subject, having written largely against cruelty to dumb creatures’.²¹ This is noted by Rhodri Davies also, who states that her interests were varied, including education, welfare of children, and animals.²² Burdett-Coutts’s interests and charity works clearly spanned many fields and classes.

In 1881, on the 12th February, Baroness Burdett-Coutts married William Lehman Ashmead Bartlett, which the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* claimed was the most important event in his life. The author of his entry notes that ‘the marriage of a young impecunious American, not yet thirty years old, to a wealthy woman in her late sixties provoked much gossip casting doubt on the veracity of Bartlett’s motives’.²³ This gossip was not limited to the United Kingdom, however, as an article from an American newspaper noted, the marriage was ‘long deferred and much talked of’,

²⁰ Doris Lechner, ‘Serializing the Past in and out of the *Leisure Hour*: Historical Culture and the Negotiation of Media Boundaries’, *Memoires du Livre*, Vol. 4 (2013), <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1016740ar>, 2-3

²¹ Edward Walford, 'Highgate: Part 2 of 2', in *Old and New London: Volume 5* (London, 1878), pp. 405-428. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol5/pp405-428> [accessed 14 April 2018].

²² Rhodri Davies, *Public Good By Private Means: How philanthropy shapes Britain*, [ebook], (London, 2015), ‘Case Study: Angela Burdett-Coutts: The Life Philanthropic (with Charles Dickens)?’

²³ Reid, Brian Holden. "Coutts, William Lehman Ashmead Bartlett Burdett- (1851–1921), philanthropist and politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 30 Apr. 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-58663>

and that 'this unequal match has created a good deal of talk and some opposition'.²⁴ That this news was important enough to be reported on and discussed in the United States indicates the Baroness' position in society, and how far this match was controversial. The Baroness' position benefited Bartlett, who went on to be elected Unionist MP for Westminster, and was 'a competent back-bencher, who acted as his wife's political agent'.²⁵ This indicates that the marriage was mutually beneficial, and that the Baroness used her position as well as her husbands for political gain.



*Figure 3: Baroness Burdett- Coutts' garden party at Holly Lodge, Highgate, for members of the International Medical Congress, 1881, Wellcome Images*²⁶

²⁴ Public ledger. (Memphis, Tenn.), 12 Feb. 1881. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033673/1881-02-12/ed-1/seq-1/>>

²⁵ Reid, Brian Holden. "Coutts, William Lehman Ashmead Bartlett Burdett- (1851–1921), philanthropist and politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 30 Apr. 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-58663>

²⁶ Baroness Burdett- Coutts' garden party at Holly Lodge, Highgate, for members of the International Medical Congress, 1881. Oil painting by Archibald Preston Tilt and/or Alfred Preston Tilt and/or Arthur Preston Tilt,

In 1881 shortly after her marriage, she put on a garden party for the International Medical Congress in the grounds of her property Holly Lodge in Highgate, London. On the Charles Booth poverty maps, this area is characterised by upper-class and middle-class or 'well-to-do' streets.²⁷ The painting in figure 3 was mentioned in an article from February 22, 1883, where the author praises the artist, stating that 'due care has been bestowed by the painter upon the composition of the figures, which are so grouped and placed that, numerous though they are, they nowhere present the appearance of being crowded'.²⁸ The painting shown in figure 3 indicates that these events were attended by people, in this case mainly male, of a high social class owing to the dress of the crowd and the scenery around them, which is what would have been expected for the International Medical Congress. Baroness Burdett- Coutts was well known for her work, and for her events and Alex Sakula noted that 'At her town house, 1 Stratton Street, Piccadilly, she entertained lavishly, and became one of the great society hostesses of the Victorian era'.²⁹ This is evidenced by the reports surrounding her garden parties at Holly Lodge. When searched for in the *British Library Newspapers* archive over 1860-1913, Holly Lodge comes back with 513 hits. The highest number of hits comes, when broken down, from 1891-1900 with 193 hits. After that, the next highest result comes from 1881 – 1890 with 148 hits. This lines up with the garden party put on for the International Medical Congress in 1881 and her marriage, which could have enabled Burdett- Coutts to host different types of social occasions and suggests the beginning of this house's popularity. Several of these articles appear in the summer months, once again indicating that this house was part of the summer social season. Many of the reports also mention the number of important people who attended. A report from June 24, 1874, notes 'a very numerous company availed themselves of her ladyship's invitation,

1881-1882., <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/f5ppm5wp?page=2&query=garden>, last accessed, 16/03/2018

²⁷ 'Charles Booth's London: Poverty Maps and Police Notebooks', London School of Economics and Political Science, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/map/17/-0.1534/51.5627/100/0?marker=529141,186844>, last accessed 11/08/19

²⁸ 'A Garden Party at Holly Lodge', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, February 22, 1883; PG. 5; Issue 34528, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213263675

²⁹ Alex Sakula, 'Baroness Burdett- Coutts' Garden Party: The International Medical Congress, London, 1881', *Medical History*, 26 (1982), pp.183-190, p185

and, in addition to her usual guests, nearly the whole of the delegates attending the International Congress for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were present'.³⁰ This also reinforces the Baroness' interest in the welfare of animals and is also apparent in a report from June 15, 1882, where it was reported that 'about 800 availed themselves of the Baroness's invitations'.³¹ This suggests a continuity in her influence across the era and that she spent a lot of her time entertaining important people that were linked to her campaigning interests. Sakula also notes this, stating that at Holly Lodge 'she received the most eminent British and foreign participants in the Congress'.³² This links to the reports of the garden parties given by the royal family, where it was customary to include the important people who attended. These reports noted guests such as 'reception to the numerous foreigners, heads of the municipal corporations abroad'³³, and 'among the Baroness's guests were – the Japanese minister'³⁴, and also 'Among members of the Corps Diplomatique and foreigners of rank present were- His excellency the German Ambassador, his Excellency the Portuguese Minister and Madame d'Antas'.³⁵ There were wider social implications than just the immediate area, and foreign relations were important aspects of these events.

However, other reports indicate that it was not only the important people in society that Baroness Burdett- Coutts put effort into entertaining. An article in *The Times* from May 03, 1869, reported that 'Miss Burdett Coutts gave an afternoon party to 600 of Messrs. Cubitt's artisans, workmen, and labourers, being all the hands who have worked longest during the past five years in

³⁰ 'Baroness Burdett Coutts's Garden Party', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Wednesday June 24, 1874; pg.5; Issue 31819. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210522052

³¹ 'Garden Party at Holly Lodge', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday June 15, 1882; pg. 6; Issue 34313, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210587396

³² Alex Sakula, 'Baroness Burdett- Coutts' Garden Party: The International Medical Congress, London, 1881', *Medical History*, 26 (1982), pp.183-190, p183

³³ 'Garden Party at Holly Lodge', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, August 03, 1875; pg. 3, Issue 32166, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210525214

³⁴ 'Garden Party at Holly Lodge', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Saturday, July 16, 1881; pg. 6; Issue 34028, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213259950

³⁵ 'Garden Party at Holly Lodge', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, June 15, 1882; pg. 6; Issue 34313, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210587396

the building of Columbia-square Market'.³⁶ This suggests that Baroness Burdett Coutts was using her garden space for more than just entertaining the higher members of society, and that through her use of her spaces she was able to bring about change in the community. There are references to Burdett Coutts' involvement with Columbia Market, where it is noted that it was due to her work that 'the whole seat of this foulness and disease was cleared away, and in its place four large blocks of model lodging houses, forming a square called Columbia buildings'.³⁷ This was also noted in *Baroness Burdett- Coutts: A Sketch of Her Public Life and Work* (1893/2013), where the author states that this work, like many of her other projects, had a great impact on the poor in London.³⁸ Helen Rappaport notes that 'Burdett also built Columbia Market on Hackney Road in the East End to provide a cheaper and better-quality source of fish and vegetables for the poor'.³⁹ However, Rhodri Davies argues that 'she gave the vast sum of £200,000 to pay for the construction of Columbia Market in the East End of London, which turned out to be a massively costly white elephant'.⁴⁰ Although these contemporary reports have an idealistic and celebratory tone that only present one side of the story, as Davies's argument would suggest, they do show how she used her influence. Her philanthropy is also referenced in an article from September 04, 1893, where it was reported that

The Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Mr. W. Burdett- Coutts, M.P., gave a garden party on Saturday at Holly Lodge, Highgate, to the workmen recently engaged on repairs at 1,

³⁶ "HOLLY LODGE, HIGHGATE. - Saturday was a bright." Times [London, England] 3 May 1869: 5. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 18 Mar. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS84715683&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

³⁷ Edward Walford, 'The northern suburbs: Haggerston and Hackney', in *Old and New London: Volume 5* (London, 1878), pp. 505-524. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol5/pp505-524>, [accessed 14 April 2018]

³⁸ Anonymous, *Baroness Burdett- Coutts: A Sketch of Her Public Life and Work*, (Cambridge, 1893/2013), p108

³⁹ Helen Rappaport, *Encyclopedia of Women Social Reformers, Volume 1*, (California/Colorado/Oxford, 2001), p.116

⁴⁰ Rhodri Davies, *Public Good By Private Means: How philanthropy shapes Britain*, [ebook], (London, 2015), 'Case Study: Angela Burdett-Coutts: The Life Philanthropic (with Charles Dickens)?'

Stratton- street, Piccadilly, their town residence. The men's wives and children accompanied them, the whole party numbering over 500.⁴¹

The Baroness was involved in philanthropic matters beyond entertaining members of society of the same social standing as her. The article notes that the event was well received, mentioning that 'the men seemed highly pleased, and remained after dinner enjoying the grounds until a late hour'.⁴² These reports further emphasize a class divide and reinforce the view of upper - class benevolence and lower - class gratitude and celebrate Burdett-Coutts' charity works and how she treated those of a lower class than she was. However, this once again shows only the celebratory side of the Baroness' works.

One of the reasons that these upper - class women had for organising parties and events in their gardens was fundraising. Andrea Geddes Poole states that for women, charity work was 'socially sanctioned, even encouraged, philanthropy was an honourable field in which women could exercise their altruistic inclinations'.⁴³ An example of this was when the Duke and Duchess of Connaught held a garden fete 'in aid of the restoration fund of St. Anne's Parish Church and for providing a new organ', that was held 'in a number of marquees sent from Windsor castle'.⁴⁴ On some occasions these fetes were held in order to aid the local community, and again shows a celebratory view of the upper classes helping out those perceived to be of a lower class than they

⁴¹ 'The Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Mr. W. Burdett-Coutts, M. P., gave a garden party on Saturday at Holly Lodge, Highgate, to the workmen recently engaged on repairs at 1, Stratton-street, Piccadilly, their town residence', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Monday, September 04, 1893; pg. 5; Issue 37825. British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900., Gale Document Number: R3210626699

⁴² 'The Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Mr. W. Burdett-Coutts, M. P., gave a garden party on Saturday at Holly Lodge, Highgate, to the workmen recently engaged on repairs at 1, Stratton-street, Piccadilly, their town residence', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Monday, September 04, 1893; pg. 5; Issue 37825. British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900., Gale Document Number: R3210626699

⁴³ Andrea Geddes Poole, *Philanthropy and the Construction of Victorian Women's Citizenship: Lady Frederick Cavendish and Miss Emma Cons*, (Toronto, 2014), p3

⁴⁴ "Garden Fête At Bagshot Park." Times [London, England] 19 July 1899: 13. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 2 May 2018,

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS218424563&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

were. Another garden fete that was given in aid of the local community was on July 15th, 1899, when 'their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Strathearn have consented to a garden fete and bazaar being held in the grounds of Bagshot Park on Tuesday and Wednesday next, in aid of the funds for the restoration of the parish church'.⁴⁵ On other occasions, these fetes reinforced the reputations of people and their charitable works, such as in 1870, where a fete given by Mr. S. D. Sassoon and Mr. and Mrs. R. Sassoon was reported in *The Morning Post*. The article notes that the house is well known 'both in India and England, for its munificent charity', and that 'it has been a great supporter of the Royal Caledonian Asylum', which the fete was held for.⁴⁶ Although on a much larger scale than the local community church, this highlights that these fetes often had a clear purpose when it came to charity. This is seen in an article from July 14, 1900, where it was reported that 'on the invitation of Sir Whittaker and Lady Ellis a pleasant garden and river fete was given yesterday afternoon at Buccleuch House, Richmond, in aid of the Royal Cambridge asylum for Soldier's Widows', which the article claimed was 'the only one of its kind for the benefit of the soldier's widow'.⁴⁷ There was a clear purpose for the upper-classes to be charitable and give back to the community. Other fete organisers took a different approach to fundraising. In June 1899 an 'Arts and Crafts Garden Fete' was held by Lady Hay at North House, Putney- Hill, in aid of the Memorial Cottage Hospital, Mildmay- Park. For the event, her family helped organise and 'contributed a number of artistic exhibits of their own design to the sale'. The article notes that 'The stalls, prettily arranged on the shady lawns, made an attractive spectacle', and that there were several objects for sale.⁴⁸ This approach combines the traditional garden party with having items for sale in order to raise money for a chosen charity, which in this case was established by the host. This sort of sale was

⁴⁵ 'Bazaar in Bagshot Park', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Saturday, July 15, 1899; pg. 5; Issue 39660, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: GS3214995264

⁴⁶ 'Garden Fete at Ashley Park', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, July 28, 1870; pg.6; Issue 30152, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213153039

⁴⁷ 'The Royal Cambridge Asylum', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Saturday, July 14, 1900; pg. 3; Issue 39973, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3214585030

⁴⁸ 'Garden Fete at Putney', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Friday, June 09, 1899; pg. 3; Issue 39629, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210648763

common, according to Ellen Jordan, who states that ‘beyond serving on committees, these organizations involved women in fundraising, and bazaars where objects made by the whole range of women, from little girls to old ladies, were on sale, were a notable feature of the social life of the period’.⁴⁹ Once again these articles were predominantly in the summer months, which not only would make sense for outdoor fetes, but also fits in with the concept of a summer social season.

Another house that was used by its residents to organise events and activities in the grounds was Holland House, Kensington. On Charles Booth’s poverty maps this area is predominantly upper-class.⁵⁰ Holland House was important for a long time not only for the grounds and Linda Kelly notes that ‘during the first 30 years of the nineteenth century, when the party was almost constantly out of office, Holland House was the unofficial centre of the Whig opposition’.⁵¹ This is also referenced by Susanne Schmid, who notes that ‘The great time of Holland House as a major cultural center spanned more than 40 years, which stood under varying political auspices’ and that ‘it was a focus for the Whigs’.⁵² N. B Penny also notes Holland House’s political influence, suggesting that it was where ‘policy was hatched and allies recruited’.⁵³ Holland House was clearly historically an important place.

⁴⁹ Ellen Jordan, *The Women’s Movement and Women’s Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain*, [first published London, 1999], (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2001), p103

⁵⁰ ‘Charles Booth’s London: Poverty Maps and Police Notebooks’, London School of Economics and Political Science, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/map/17/-0.2007/51.5030/100/0?marker=524966,179622>, last accessed 11/08/19

⁵¹ Linda Kelly, *Holland House: A History of London’s Most Celebrated Salon*, (London/New York, 2015), p.1-2

⁵² Susanne Schmid, *British Literary Salons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, (New York, 2013), p73

⁵³ N. B. Penny, ‘The Whig Cult of Fox in Early Nineteenth-Century Sculpture’, *Past & Present*, No.70 (1976), pp. 94-105, p95

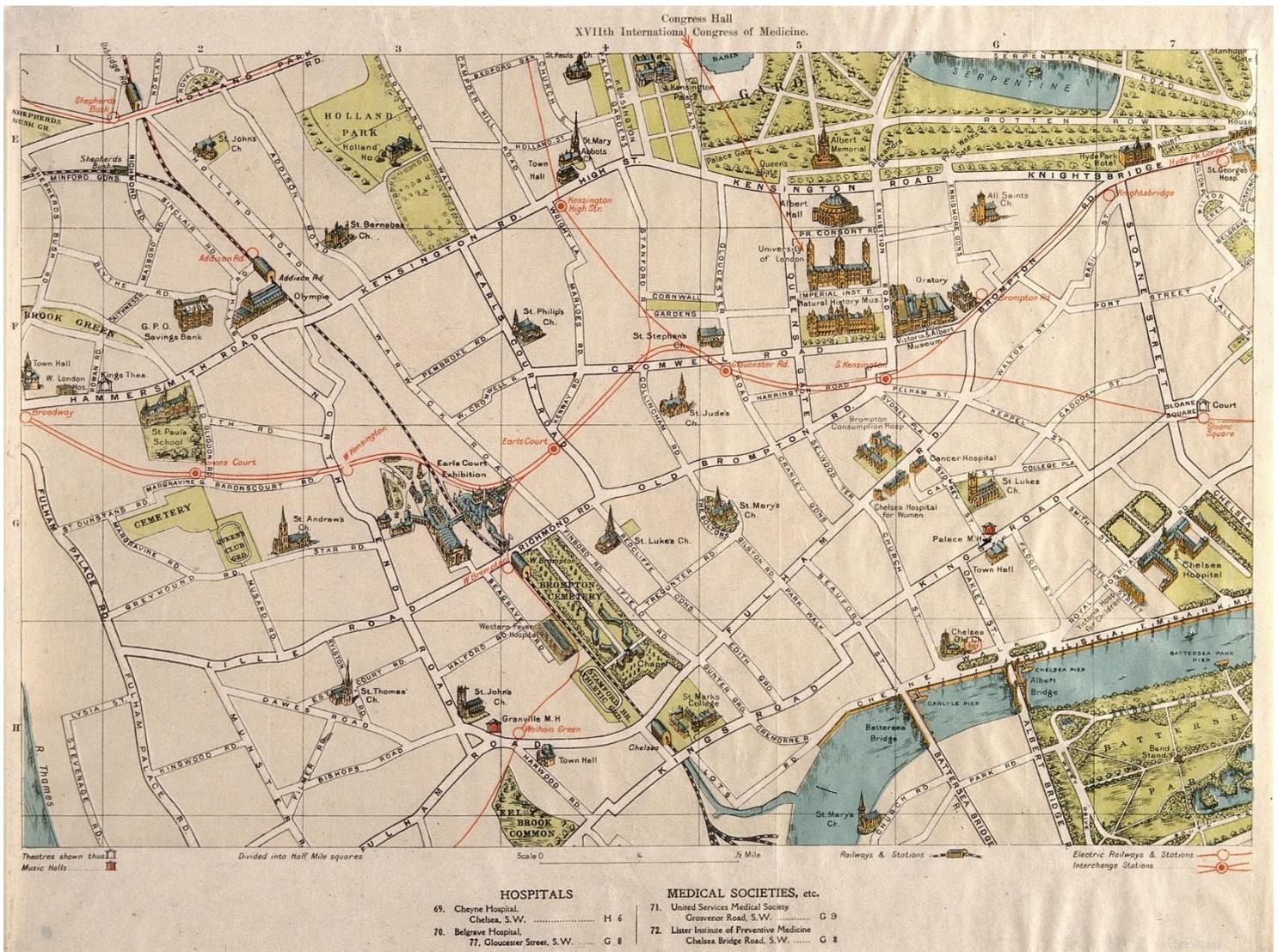


Figure 4: A map of London: showing sites of medical interest in Chelsea and Kensington.

Coloured Lithograph, 1913⁵⁴

Figure 4 depicts a map of London from 1913, where in the top left corner of the map Holland House and park can be seen. As this is a map of interest in the area, it can be inferred that Holland House remained an important landmark long after its rich political history. Reports from the time frame selected of 1860 to 1920 suggest that it was a major house where garden parties were well attended, with one from 1871 stating that there were ‘above 1200 representatives of the

⁵⁴ A map of London: showing sites of medical interest in Chelsea and Kensington. Coloured Lithograph, 1913, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/n73re3h4> last accessed 28/22/19

aristocracy, as well as several members of the royal family.’⁵⁵ This is repeated in several of the other reports, such as in 1878, where ‘many members of the Royal Family and a great number of other guests assembled’.⁵⁶ This again suggests that these events were an influential part of the main social calendar. K. D Reynolds suggests that ‘aristocratic women were expected to lend glamour and prestige to social events and to charitable endeavours’, which could provide an explanation as to why the same names appear across these articles.⁵⁷ When Holland House is searched for in the *British Library Newspapers* archive, the search comes back with 818 hits. The majority of these are also from 1891-1900 with 396 hits. This could be the influence of the new residents, the Earl and Countess of Ilchester, where the tradition of holding garden parties at the house was continued, with a report from 1891 stating that ‘the Earl and Countess of Ilchester gave their first garden party on Saturday at Holland house’.⁵⁸ This could suggest that there was a certain amount of obligation for people of this social class to hold events such as these. The Countess of Ilchester continued to hold these parties, and in 1892 it was reported that ‘the Italian and Dutch gardens are now at their best’⁵⁹, and again in 1894, where it was noted that ‘the gardens were in perfection in spite of the heavy rain the previous night, and the afternoon being fine’.⁶⁰ This presumes a certain amount of expectation about the condition of the gardens, and that the hosts were being judged on how much care went into the gardens. Reports also reveal that on occasion these events could bring these upper- class women together for a common goal, with a report from 1896 stating that ‘The Marchioness of Salisbury and Lady Gwendoline Cecil assisted Lady Ilchester in receiving her guests,

⁵⁵ ‘Lady Holland’s Garden Party’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, July 20, 1871; pg. 5; Issue 30456, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210482425

⁵⁶ ‘Garden Party at Holland House’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, July 16, 1878; pg. 6; Issue 33088, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3211720772

⁵⁷ K.D Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*, (Oxford, 1998), p17

⁵⁸ ‘Garden Party at Holland House’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Monday, July 20, 1891; pg. 3; Issue 37159, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210617933

⁵⁹ ‘Garden Party at Holland House’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, June 23, 1892; pg. 7; Issue 37450. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3214413515

⁶⁰ ‘Garden Party at Holland House’, *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Friday, July 13, 1894; pg. 3; Issue 38093, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210627623

who numbered upwards of 1500'. This indicates that there was a network of women who all participated in the same activities and attended the same events.

These reports also suggest that hosting and organising one of these garden parties was perceived as a feminine activity, as many of these reports and articles begin with the name of the woman of the house, in this case, the Countess of Ilchester. This is corroborated by Joan Perkin, who suggested that 'the organisation of massive entertainment was usually devolved upon the women of the household'.⁶¹ This would corroborate the idea that the garden is viewed in these scenarios as an extension of the domestic space. This is also evidenced by the way in which these garden parties are laid out. In many of the reports it is noted how these parties were held in both the indoor and outdoor spaces, thereby extending the domestic sphere from the house to the garden. As an example, in a report from 1894, the article notes that 'refreshments were served in the old ball-room and the conservatory adjoining'.⁶² By opening up the house to the garden party, the domestic space is extended into the garden space.

⁶¹ Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth Century England*, (London, 2002), p98

⁶² 'Garden Party at Holland House', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Friday, July 13, 1894; pg. 3; Issue 38093, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210627623



Figure 5: 'Holland House- A Garden Party', "G. Doré / A. Doms. Sc", (1872), *The British Museum*⁶³

The image shown in figure 5 is an example of a garden party that was held at Holland House, 1872. The image implies that these events were very well-attended, and that the people who attended were of a certain class. The image specifically notes that this was Holland House, indicating that the house was a well - known space for this kind of activity. When compared to the previous

⁶³ G. Doré / A. Doms. Sc, 'Holland House- A Garden Party' (1872), *The British Museum*, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1482376001&objectId=3483163&partId=1, last accessed 19/03/18

image in this chapter, that there are more female guests at this event implies that this was a very different type of event than the one that Baroness Burdett-Coutts hosted for the International Medical Congress in 1881, where the guests pictured were predominantly male.

To conclude, upper-class women used their domestic outdoor spaces for a variety of different functions and events that furthered their ambitions and raised their status. This chapter has demonstrated that although all for similar purposes, the focus of the press on each of these spaces differs slightly. The chapter begins by showing that at the top of the social scale, Royalty held well-attended garden parties, where it was fashionable to be seen and noted. Baroness Burdett-Coutts also held garden parties. These events were held for a range of causes, from hosting the International Medical Congress, to hosting some workers from one of her philanthropic pursuits. Here the press were very celebratory of her achievements and her philanthropic work. This is a trend among other upper-class women, where many held garden parties and outdoor events for the sake of charities. The chapter then argues that individual houses are also important for examining domestic outdoor spaces, as the focus on Holland house indicates that here particular features were important. This chapter has therefore demonstrated that the domestic outdoor space was significant for bringing the traditional domestic space outside, and that these spaces were important for upper-class women to organise events for their own benefit. The next chapter will examine the significance of the non-domestic outdoor space, showing how these were important for upper-class women in several ways.

Chapter 3: Upper-Class women's use of the 'non-domestic' outdoor space

The previous chapter focused on how upper-class women interacted with 'domestic' garden spaces. This chapter moves the discussion onto how upper-class women interacted with 'non-domestic' spaces between the years 1860-1920. The chapter will argue that the definition of what it means for a space to be 'domestic' or 'non-domestic' depends in some cases upon the experiences of the people in the space. In this case, in the gardens and grounds attached to houses, what will be termed as a 'non-domestic' space for one may be the domestic space of another. This will allow examination from different perspectives. However, in some cases, such as the Botanic Gardens, the spaces will solely be defined and viewed as public non-domestic spaces. It will examine the similarities and differences to the domestic space and ask how different types of gardens and outdoor spaces contributed to upper-class women's lives by allowing them various opportunities to raise their social status by organising events and raising money for charities. Examples of these spaces could include attending events in others' domestic spaces, or in totally non-domestic spaces, such as embassy gardens or parks. This brings up questions of control and use, and whether this differed to how they utilised their own domestic spaces, such as for philanthropic purposes. Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange, and Bertrand Taithe note that 'the late 1870s, and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 in particular, saw a notable spike in elite fundraising initiatives, much of it led by high-profile women for whom the earlier work of Florence Nightingale was both rival and inspiration'.¹ Jessica Gerard argues that 'in their role as Lady Bountiful, women of the nineteenth-century gentry and aristocracy reinforced the landed classes' rule over the rural poor, implementing

¹ Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange, and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain 1870-1912*, (Great Britain, 2019), p101

paternalism and enforcing deference'.² These upper-class women who raised money for various charities and communities is a theme that runs through this dissertation, but this chapter examines how this was achieved in the non-domestic space. Although these events served different functions to those held in their own personal domestic spaces, by examining the representation they received in the press it is clear that these women still had some limited power.

The chapter will begin by examining how upper-class women interacted with the non-domestic space by their attendance of specific events. These events were sometimes in the spaces of others, and sometimes in more public spaces. In either case, their presence was often enough to give them a certain degree of power. The different kinds of events detailed here gave upper-class women opportunities to articulate their power. The chapter will then move on to another function that women performed in these spaces, which was to formally open events, where their presence often added gravitas to the event. Then, the chapter will move on to how these women also opened recreation grounds and spaces as part of their philanthropic works. Also, the chapter will examine how upper-class women organised events before going on to explore how these women were involved in organisations such as the Primrose League, which also gave them opportunities to be involved in areas such as politics.

The chapter will mainly focus on how these upper-class women were represented in the popular press, as by examining how articles are written, language is used, and which specific details are presented in the articles it is possible to gain an outside perspective of these women's activities, and of social values and norms. Several methods were used in searching for these articles. Terms such as 'garden party' were used in order to find specific instances of events, which were then broken down by year to make the results more manageable. For search terms such as 'Primrose League' these results were also reported in terms of frequency to gain a clearer idea of popularity

² Jessica Gerard, 'Lady Bountiful: Women of the Landed Classes and Rural Philanthropy', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 30 (1987), pp.183-210, p183

across the time frame. These will be supplemented by other sources to help round out this analysis and examine how these women were using spaces that were not their own, for their own purposes, and maintaining elements of power and control while doing so.

One way that upper-class women interacted with 'non-domestic' spaces was through their attendance of events in the non-domestic space. In this case their presence alone was a way for them to demonstrate their power through their status and presence at these events. In an article covering the Duke of Rutland's Garden Party, the reporter notes that 'Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, attended by Lady Geraldine Somerset, honoured the duke by her company'.³ Here the Duchess of Cambridge was demonstrating her power at this event through hierarchy, as by being a member of the Royal family it would imply that her status was automatically the highest at the event. The use of language such as 'honoured' in the article further reinforces the concept of status and hierarchy as a demonstration of power, as by being honoured by her company suggests that her status was higher than that of the Duke's. The use of 'honoured' in this article is present in several others, such as in 1875, where at a garden party at Holland House, 'Her Royal Highness Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne), and her Royal Highness Princess Mary Adelaide (Duchess of Teck) honoured Lady Holland by their presence'⁴, and in 1891 'Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, the Duke of Teck, and Princess Victoria, with Mr. Edgar Sebright in waiting, honoured the Countess of Ilchester by their company'.⁵ In all of these examples the upper-class women used their status as part of the Royal family as a type of power at these events held in others' domestic spaces. In these cases, these events could have been primarily about demonstrating elite power and status through being the most important person at an event. Another way that upper-class women interacted with the non-domestic space was through their attendance at events held in more public

³ 'The Duke of Rutland's Garden Party', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Monday, June 07, 1869; pg. 5; Issue 29795, *British Library Newspaper, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3212083528

⁴ 'Garden party at Holland House', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Friday, July 16, 1875; pg. 5; Issue 32151. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210635101

⁵ 'Garden Party at Holland House', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Monday, July 20, 1891; pg. 3; Issue 37159. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210617933

non-domestic spaces. In an article about a fete given by the Royal Botanical Garden in 1861, it was noted that 'in the throng of distinguished visitors we noticed her Royal Highness the Princess Mary'.⁶ The implication here is that by being important enough to be noticed, her presence gave her a degree of power and control, as well as potentially enhancing the image of the host by association. This articulation of power is the same as was seen when upper-class women attended events in others' domestic spaces. Her status as a member of the Royal family gave her power through hierarchy, and the way that these women were specifically picked out to be reported on would seem to imply that their presence was at least as noteworthy, if not more so, than the other guests in attendance. It could also be deduced, due to the high status of the guest list, that a fete given by, for example, The Botanic Society, was an important event and therefore that attendance could be important for personal status too. This is further reinforced by another article from 1861, titled 'Fashionable World', which reported that 'Her majesty the Queen and his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, accompanied by the Princesses Alice and Helena, visited the Horticultural Gardens'.⁷ That the title has 'fashionable' in it lends further evidence that being seen at these events was important for status and are therefore a way to demonstrate power and status just by being in attendance. The title could also just be a reference to the Royal visit, but the fact that the Royals were in attendance could suggest that this space and event had some importance. This can also be seen in figure 6 below, where the men and women in the image would appear to be relatively wealthy. This would seem to indicate that this could have been a social occasion where it was socially important to attend and be seen.

⁶ "Fete Of The Botanical Society." Times [London, England] 23 May 1861: 10. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 Apr. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS168204471&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

⁷ 'Fashionable World', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Saturday, March 16, 1861; pg. 5; Issue 27221, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800- 1900*, Gale Document Number: R3210078631



Figure 6: 'The Artist at the Flower Shows- No. 1: Rival Roses', (1862), Florence Claxton, DMVI Database.⁸

Figure 6 depicts a number of men and women in a garden or outdoor setting, where the women are at the centre of the image, taking up a good proportion of the space in the foreground of the image despite being outnumbered by the men around them, indicating that they are the main focus of this work. This would further suggest that in these situations women often held some power, even if they did not personally own the space they were in. The specific events that women chose to be seen at are also important to note. An article from 1890 states that 'the Duchess of Albany has consented to be present at a garden party at the Metropolitan Convalescent Institution'. The wording here indicates that not only was this her choice to attend, suggesting autonomy, but that this is indicative of deference and class hierarchy as she has graciously agreed to attend.⁹ This also

⁸ See the record for Florence Claxton 'The Artist at the Flower Shows- No.1 Rival Roses' (1862), in J. Thomas, P. T. Killick, A. A. Mandal, and D. J. Skilton, A Database of Mid-Victorian wood-engraved Illustration <http://www.dmvi.cf.ac.uk> (last accessed 04/07/18), DMVI Code: LSF025

⁹ 'The Duchess of Albany has consented to be present at a garden party at the Metropolitan Convalescent Institution, Walton-on-Thames, on Tuesday, the 10th of June, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the

suggests that her attendance is important for the image of the event, where a prestigious connection and presence, especially if reported in the press, could be very influential for a charity. From these sources it seems that despite a lack of control over the finer details of these public events, these women still maintained a degree of power. This would make gardens and outdoor spaces places where women could use situations to their advantage.

Another function that women performed in society was the formal opening of some of these events. Sumiao Li states that 'Upper class women, like the lady of the manor or the lady of the bountiful, had the tradition of presiding over charitable events', and that 'often, the patroness knew the participants- usually her dependents, tenants, neighbors, etc.- who gathered together for a known purpose such as collecting money for the repair of the community church'.¹⁰ This links back to the previous chapter where some women used their domestic spaces to hold charitable events for lower classes, and indicates that both of these types of charitable activities further emphasize upper-class benevolence. This is another way that upper-class women showed power. At this type of event upper-class women had the opportunity to exercise power through the perceived authority over the village or community. Opening events for the sake of a charity is mentioned in an article from 1893 when Her Royal Highness Princess Christian opened an event for various charities¹¹, and again in 1899 when 'Her Royal Highness Princess Louise Marchioness of Lorne opened yesterday a Garden Fete and Sale of Work at the Vicarage, Kensington'.¹² This may suggest that these women were important for the public image of these events. In 1901, it was noted that 'yesterday afternoon

stitution', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Monday, May 26, 1890; pg. 5; Issue 36799. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213829302

¹⁰ Sumiao Li, "'Arabian Nights Entertainment': The Rule of Fashion and the Public Roles of Aristocratic Women in Britain 1820-1860", *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, Issue 6.1 (2010), <29>

¹¹ 'The Pot-Pourri in aid of the Girls' Friendly Society Work in Northern and Central Europe, the Brabason Home for Incurables, and the Meath Home for Epileptics will be opened to-day, at three o'clock by her Royal Highness Princess Christian, and to-morrow by the Earl of Meath', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Wednesday, June 28, 1893; pg. 7; Issue 37767. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3214427664

¹² 'Garden Fete and Sale of Work', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Wednesday, June 07, 1899; pg. 5; Issue 39627, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: GS3214992882

the Duchess of Abercorn formally opened a garden fete and sale of pictures'.¹³ The use of the word 'formally' here implies that her presence ceremonially opening the fete added some gravitas, raising both her own status and the status of the event. These women also opened events for specific purposes, such as the one in an article from 1891, where it states that 'the Duchess of Rutland yesterday opened a bazaar at Bottesford, near Grantham, to provide a new organ for the parish church'.¹⁴ As with the previous chapter where charity was an important part of events, these articles demonstrate that women were opening outside events for the same reasons. This further suggests that being actively involved in their community was important to them, on both a personal and public level. As Anne Anderson noted, 'The upper classes may have used philanthropy to discharge their moral and social obligations but it also created a platform for social and even political reform. This platform was one effectively used by women, who extended their "mission" from the domestic sphere into the wider world'.¹⁵ Frequently, these events showcased the charities and events that the women were personally interested in, as displayed when Princess Christian opened a new wing of the Croydon General Hospital, where she was thanked, and it was noted that 'everybody knew how much her Royal Highness devoted to works of a similar nature'.¹⁶ It would seem that the events that some of these women chose to be seen at was tailored to their interests and how they would be presented in the press and to the public, especially when it came to the representation of the Royal family. Medical charities seemed to be especially popular, seen when Princess Louise opened a

¹³ "CHARITY GARDEN FÊTE.-Yesterday afternoon." Times [London, England] 10 July 1901: 5. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 Apr. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS85649642&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

¹⁴ 'The Duchess of Rutland yesterday opened a bazaar at Bottesford, near Grantham, to provide a new organ for the parish church', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday, May 21, 1891; pg. 5; Issue 37108, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3214396932

¹⁵ Anne Anderson, 'Victorian high society and social duty: the promotion of 'recreative learning and voluntary teaching'', *History of Education*, Vol. 31 (2002), pp.311-334, p316

¹⁶ "Princess Christian At Croydon." Times [London, England] 2 July 1900: 10. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 24 June 2018, URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS167962338&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

garden fete in aid of the funds of Charing- Cross Hospital,¹⁷ and when the Countess of Ancaster 'presided yesterday at the garden fete in aid of the Princess Louise Hospital'.¹⁸ This would seem to confirm that for the upper class women opening these events it was important not only for the status of the event itself, but also to showcase the charities and interests of themselves and to make their public image look good. This is similar in motivation to the events hosted by women in their own domestic outdoor spaces where many of them showcased specific charities, such as events held in aid of the local parish.

As well as opening events, upper-class women were also reported opening recreation grounds and gardens, with one article from 1885 stating that 'the Countess Cadogan, who was accompanied by Lord Cadogan, yesterday formally opened as a public garden some ground attached to Christ Church, Battersea'.¹⁹ This is evidence supporting the growing importance at this time to have more public grounds, and that the opening of one was considered an important event. *The Morning Post* also reports that 'the proceedings, which took place in a pavilion erected in the grounds, were witnessed by a large number of ladies and gentlemen'.²⁰ This article also effectively demonstrates how nineteenth century aristocratic and upper-class families publicly supported urban improvement in lower-class neighbourhoods, as the article also states that Lord Cadogan made a speech noting that 'the population of Great Britain was increasing at the rate of 300,000 per annum,

¹⁷ "THE REEDHAM ORPHANAGE.-The general." Times [London, England] 8 July 1908: 20. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 24 June 2018, URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS336393960&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

¹⁸ "Fete At Monzie Castle." Times [London, England] 19 Aug. 1920: 13. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 24 June 2018, URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS219221779&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

¹⁹ "Metropolitan Public Gardens Association.-." Times [London, England] 30 May 1885: 8. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 12 May 2018, URL: <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS136104126&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

²⁰ 'NEW PUBLIC GARDEN AT BATTERSEA', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Saturday, May 30, 1885; pg. 3; Issue 35238. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3211735305

and it was obvious that unless some steps were taken to increase the number of open spaces in our large towns, the health of the population must suffer', and that 'open spaces had been set apart and properly arranged and taken care of for the benefit of the poorer residents'.²¹ From these articles it would appear that although Lord Cadogan gave the speech here, it was Countess Cadogan who was the important figure in attendance, with Lord Cadogan listed as accompanying her as she opened the event. This is also apparent in other reports, with one from May 14th, 1887 noting that the Princess Frederica of Hanover opened the disused burial grounds of St. Martin's- in- the -fields as a public garden.²² This is repeated again in 1889 when 'yesterday afternoon the disused burial ground of St. Martin's, abutting on Camden-street and Pratt-street, St. Pancras, was formally opened as a public garden by the Countess of Rosebery'.²³ This would imply that the opening of public open spaces and recreation grounds was a cause that upper-class women wanted to get behind. The Baroness Angela Burdett- Coutts was also involved in this practice, as one article from June 30th, 1887 states, 'the disused burial- grounds of Old St. Pancras and of St. Giles's-in- the -Fields, which now join each other, were opened as public recreation gardens in the presence of Lady Burdett- Coutts and other visitors'.²⁴ This links in with her charity work described in chapter two, and how she was heavily involved in her wider community and supported the use of disused ground for public recreation space. Opening these various events held in gardens and outdoor spaces further indicates women having and exercising power outside of their personal domestic space and using them to raise their status within their communities. The use of power here, through upper-class benevolence

²¹ 'NEW PUBLIC GARDEN AT BATTERSEA', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Saturday, May 30, 1885; pg. 3; Issue 35238. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3211735305

²² "St. Martin's-In-The-Fields.-The Princess." *Times* [London, England] 14 May 1887: 17. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 12 May 2018., URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS286837934&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

²³ 'A PUBLIC GARDEN IN ST. PANCRAS', *The Morning Post* (London, England), Thursday, July 25, 1889; pg. 2; Issue 36538. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3214381544

²⁴ "Recreation Gardens In London.-On Thurs-." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1877: 6. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 12 May 2018.,URL <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS101628126&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

and how charity work puts focus on the upper-class women, gives them the opportunity to focus on their standing in the community.

Upper-class women also organised events outside of the domestic space. In a notice in a magazine, it states that 'Under the patronage of Princess Christian, the Duchess of Fife, the Duchess of Teck, and Prince Albert of Schleswig-Holstein, a midsummer fete will be held'. The event was in 'aid of the South London District Nursing Association', suggesting that these women often used their own status and these events to contribute to charity, especially ones that fit their interests and duties.²⁵ It could also be argued here that the charities chosen could be viewed as particularly feminine charities, often being in aid of nursing, children or animals. Women organising events outside the domestic space is further evidenced by another notice that states that 'the garden party given on the 13th by the Countess of Lytton, at the British Embassy, in Paris, was one of the most pleasant social gatherings of the year'.²⁶ This would appear to strengthen the evidence that women were using the outdoor spaces of others to their own advantage, and despite not having full control over it they still had some power over the situation as a whole. Being noteworthy and mentioned in connection with these events gives them some importance of their own within this space. Women organising these kinds of events continued right through the turn of the century and into the First World War. An article 'Unionist Garden Fete' from 1911 also describes women's involvement, stating that 'the fete is being organized by the Kensington Tariff Reform League, of which Lady Barrington is chairman and the Dowager Lady Ilchester president'.²⁷ An article from 1918 describes 'a three days' fete in aid of the Women's Auxiliary Force' that was opened by Mrs. Lloyd George at

²⁵ 'Society', *Bow Bells: A Magazine of general literature and art for family reading*; London, Vol.13, Iss. 181, (June 19, 1891): p588, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/3189727?accountid=14660>,

²⁶ 'Society', *Bow Bells: A Magazine of general literature and art for family reading*; London, Vol.13, Iss. 181, (June 19, 1891): p588, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/docview/3189727?accountid=14660>

²⁷ "UNIONIST GARDEN FÊTE.-A garden fête." *Times* [London, England] 30 June 1911: 12. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 Apr. 2018, <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=&docId=CS201653470&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

the Savoy Hotel.²⁸ Events organised for the sake of publicising a particular charity appear to be common, such as in the article about the Royal Cambridge Asylum, which notes that there was a 'lack of interest taken by the public in the asylum for soldiers' widows at Kingston' and that 'with a view to bringing it more prominently before the public Sir Whittaker and Lady Ellis undertook to give it a garden party'.²⁹ Garden parties were clearly seen as a socially acceptable and effective way of making money and raising publicity for charity.

Upper-class women also interacted with non-domestic spaces by being part of organisations. Organisations gave women the opportunity to demonstrate power through giving them opportunities to participate in political activities. Sarah Richardson states that 'the nineteenth century was a period of reform and innovation for women's engagement in public life' and that 'in this period women were able to participate in politics at many levels- from the intensely domestic to the wider international sphere- and they developed strategies for interacting with the largely male political world'.³⁰ One specific organisation that many women were involved in at this time was the Primrose League. Formed in the late nineteenth century, the Primrose League was a Tory society, Matthew Hendley describes the society as a 'patriotic group supporting the Conservative Party'.³¹ It was reported in *The Morning Post* that the 'members will be animated by the principles and precepts of Lord Beaconsfield, whose favourite flower has been adopted as the badge', and that it was 'an association which may be destined to exercise no considerable influence on political

²⁸ "Floral Fête At Savoy Hotel." Times [London, England] 3 July 1918: 9. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 24 June 2018, URL

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupName=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS151849699&type=multiPage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

²⁹ A. C. FRYER. "The Royal Cambridge Asylum." Times [London, England] 20 Sept. 1900: 9. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 Apr. 2018,

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³⁰ Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Abingdon, 2013), p1

³¹ Matthew Hendley, 'Anti-Alienism and the Primrose League: The Externalization of the Postwar Crisis in Great Britain 1918-32, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 33 (2001), pp.243-269, p244

contests throughout the empire'.³² Searching in the *British Library Newspapers* archives from 1860 to 1913 reveals that the League appears in far greater numbers in the later half of the nineteenth century, with 2515 hits in the years 1881 to 1890 and 2791 hits in the years 1891 to 1900. Matthew Hendley notes that 'The League could boast a large male and female membership, a lengthy tradition dating back to the previous century'.³³ There are several accounts of women being predominantly involved, and other accounts of the League putting on fetes and garden parties. Mitzi Auchterlonie examined the League and argued that 'the long tradition of personal philanthropy undertaken by the women members of influential families was simply extended to include canvassing work for the local habitation', which demonstrates that the League was a way for women to be involved in a political process, while also maintaining their status and some of their traditional roles.³⁴ The accounts suggest that women were involved in the organisation in a fairly large way, with one article noting that 'the Ruling Councillor, Lady Trevor, presided' over one of their events.³⁵ One prominent woman involved with the League was Lady Betty Balfour, who in her resignation letter from the position of Dame Presidency noted that 'the Primrose League supports the Church, the Constitution, and the integrity of the empire, and invites women to work for these causes', and also that although the League had nothing specifically to do with women's suffrage, 'people could be members of the Primrose League and think whichever way they liked on the question'.³⁶ Balfour, her article in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* explains, was an

³² 'The York Election', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Saturday, November 24, 1883; pg. 4; Issue 34764, *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3211729185

³³ Matthew Hendley, 'Anti-Alienism and the Primrose League: The Externalization of the Postwar Crisis in Great Britain 1918-32', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 33 (2001), pp.243-269, p244

³⁴ Mitzi Auchterlonie, *Conservative Suffragists: The Women's Vote and the Tory Party*, (London/New York, 2007), p35

³⁵ 'The Primrose League', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Wednesday, January 25, 1893; pg. 2; Issue 37635. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3214420240

³⁶ BETTY BALFOUR. "Lady Betty Balfour And The Primrose League." *Times* [London, England] 30 July 1910: 9. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 24 June 2018, URL

<http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/ttda/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TTDA&userGroupNa me=uniherts&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=BasicSearchForm&docId=CS151452414&type=multip age&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>

active supporter of the suffrage movement, but she never participated in violent protest actions. Instead, her suffragist sister-in-law Frances Balfour described her as taking on the hardest of all tasks: attacking and trying to convince one by one the Conservative leaders.³⁷

Her resignation demonstrates how she took a stand against the Conservative leaders, as Auchterlonie states, 'only Lady Betty Balfour broke ranks and took the step of resigning as Dame President of the Working Habitation of the Primrose League'.³⁸ When looking at Frances Balfour, Julia Bush notes that 'her own political trajectory extended from the Primrose League through the Women's Liberal Unionist Association to the imperialist Victoria League and ultimately back to free-trade Liberalism'.³⁹ This indicates that she took positions across the political spectrum, not just in Conservative politics. It seems that the League encouraged women to get actively involved in the work for the causes that the League stood for and enabled them to take different positions on suffrage. One of the ways that the League conducted their work was through the use of the garden space. An article from 1889 reports that 'The members of the Rothbury Habitations held a fete on Saturday in the grounds of Cragside, kindly granted by Lord Armstrong'.⁴⁰ Organisations such as the Primrose League often used the gardens and grounds of prominent people for their events, making the outdoor space an important part of how they were run and a stage for the growing political presence of women at this time. There are many examples of these events occurring throughout the end of the nineteenth century, several times a year, which indicates that they were an important part of the calendar of the League. The existence of groups such as this suggests that women were heavily involved in their local communities and in wider politics. The use of the garden spaces for the

³⁷ Percy, Clayre. "Balfour [née Lytton], Elizabeth Edith [Betty], countess of Balfour (1867–1942), social hostess and biographer." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 25 Jun. 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.herts.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-59381>

³⁸ Mitzie Auchterlonie, *Conservative Suffragists: The Women's Vote and the Tory Party*, (London/New York, 2007), p154

³⁹ Julia Bush, 'Ladylike Lives? Upper Class Women's Autobiographies and the Politics of Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Literature and History*, Vol.10 (2001), pp.42-61, p.42-43

⁴⁰ 'The Primrose League', *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Tuesday, September 10, 1889; pg. 6; Issue 36578. *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800-1900*, Gale Document Number: R3213620532

League's events further demonstrates that gardens and outdoor spaces were important spaces for upper class women.

To conclude, this chapter has explored how upper-class women interacted with non-domestic outdoor spaces. Before going on to investigate these non-domestic spaces, the chapter began by defining how spaces such as the gardens and grounds attached to houses could be both domestic and non-domestic depending on the experiences of the people in them. Other non-domestic spaces, such as the Botanic Gardens, were defined as being solely public, non-domestic spaces. By examining different types of space and the activities held in them, this chapter has argued that these spaces were significant in the lives of upper-class women. Attending events was one of the ways that upper-class women interacted with non-domestic spaces. From functions in others' domestic spaces, to more public spaces, these events gave upper-class women an element of power, despite having very little physical control over the specific situation. In some cases, this was reported on as the hosts being 'honoured' by their presence. Opening events and spaces was another way upper-class women interacted with a non-domestic environment. Along with organising events, these gave women opportunities to raise money for local causes or for specific charities, while also raising their own public status. Being part of organisations was another way that upper-class women interacted with the non-domestic space. The Primrose League was a way for women to be involved in politics, and the use of gardens and outdoor spaces for the League's events indicates that the outdoor space was an important part of this process. All of these combine to help conclude that the outdoor non-domestic space was an important part of the lives of upper-class women, giving them opportunities to attend and organise events, both charitable and political, outside of the 'domestic' space of the home.

Conclusion

The aims of this dissertation were to examine upper-class women and outdoor spaces, exploring how they used these spaces in a variety of ways. The time frame for this project was 1860 to 1920, a period of far reaching social and economic change. Gardens and outdoor spaces were changing at this time as well- various technological innovations meant that growing and maintaining exotic plants became easier. All of these had an impact on how women were using and interacting with outdoor space. The primary source base for this dissertation was newspapers and the press, exploring how upper-class women were represented in order to get a view of what was considered to be interesting and important enough to report on.

Throughout the period, newspapers reported on upper-class women in various spaces, bringing their activities to the notice of the wider public. These articles represented these women's status and ambitions, and also reveal the significance of social class in giving women access to these spaces, and in the potential for women to use them for influence and authority. The newspapers indicated the start of the summer social calendar, the influential people attending events, and the spaces where it was important to be seen. The newspapers selected have different readerships, *The Times* for example, had a very large readership at this time. By using this specific source base this research came across similarities in reporting across different newspapers, indicating consistency and what was considered important. In order to represent this consistency, several different articles across the time period were selected. These articles could then be analysed for their content, examining what the authors chose to focus on, and what features were included. Multiple mentions of specific names and houses across the period led to further research into these case studies and indicated recurring activities and events on the social calendar.

The project discovered that in many cases upper-class women used these gardens and outdoor spaces in ways that benefited both them and their status. Chapter one examined different types of space, arguing that in order to look at how women acted in and upon these spaces it was first important to classify these spaces and examine their various features. Categorising these spaces involved examining their purpose, uses, and how they were reported in the press. The chapter began by investigating public gardens, their features and entertainments, and how they were compared to gardens of a similar nature in other countries. Examination of this category found that these spaces were popular for their imperial fashions and entertainments. The chapter then examined the outdoor domestic space, defining it and looking at their uses and features. Fashions and specific features were important to these spaces, with newspapers commenting on aspects such as trees and grounds, similar to the discussions surrounding public gardens. The chapter then discussed public parks and other open spaces, and how they differed to the other categories. Here it was shown that these spaces were used in arguments on public health, with various groups pushing for more access to open spaces. The chapter found that there were different expectations for each of the spaces, such as fashion being more important in public and pleasure gardens than in parks. Chapter two examined how upper-class women used domestic spaces through a series of case studies, beginning with Royalty and moving through different scales of wealth and property. This revealed how upper-class women of different hierarchies used their spaces in similar ways, but with a different focus. For Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts her garden space was an important setting for philanthropic work, whereas other upper-class women may have used their garden spaces for charity events where the focus was on the important people and the aesthetics. This chapter demonstrated that this space was important for gaining and maintaining social status, and that this can be seen through the newspaper articles surrounding these events. Chapter three moved the discussion onto discovering how upper-class women used and interacted with the non-domestic garden space. This chapter argued that although these spaces had many of the same features and functions, despite being owned by other people, these women still maintained some power and

control. By exploring the same sort of events as held in the domestic space, this chapter argues that in many cases women were named as being important guests, suggesting they had influence over the events. These outdoor spaces provided a platform for women's influence and authority, such as through groups like the Primrose League.

Historical debate has tended to focus on the development and character of a middle class. This dissertation has added a discussion of upper-class women by arguing that not only does looking at upper-class women through space merit discussion, but that the analysis needs to be taken further by examining these women in very specific settings, where there was an expectation of behaviour. For example, how upper-class women used the domestic space differed to how they interacted with non-domestic spaces such as public gardens and parks. This research has shown that upper-class women used these spaces for their own benefit, in various different ways, which indicates that their actions in these spaces was intentional. This dissertation ties together several different areas of research, including work from garden history and women's history. These have spanned several different disciplines, including work from English Literature scholars and geographers. This research has added to these discussions by concluding that upper-class women were deliberately using outdoor spaces, domestic or not, for their own gain.

Recommendations for further research could be to continue looking in greater depth at each of the spaces mentioned and the women that used them, to build a much broader picture geographically of the extent that women across the country were using these spaces. This could include looking at various associations and women's roles in them, continuing to examine public health concerns across the country, and to consider whether this was unique in class and geography. If these women were part of families that owned summer properties in London and the surrounding area, then did these activities also take place in more northern regions of the country? Another area that could be explored are the differences in reporting events that took place outside compared to other events that took place inside homes or halls. This could show how the garden and outdoor

space was perceived to be different from these. Understanding how upper-class women used outdoor spaces expands knowledge by adding and combining elements from different studies to show another element of these women's histories.

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