The social and cultural value of the apple and the orchard in Victorian England

Joanna Crosby

A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

Department of History

University of Essex

Date of submission with corrections – January 2021

(Total word count: 79,840)

Abstract

This thesis argues that the apple and the orchard were of greater significance to the Victorians than has been previously realised. This thesis brings together an investigation into the economic value of the apple crop and its associated goods and services, with an exploration of how the apple and the orchard were represented and received in cultural and social constructs. This thesis argues that the economic worth of the apple was greater than the commodity value of the raw crop of apples. That value itself has been underestimated due to the difficulties of calculating the amount of land used for orchards and the profit obtainable. The apple had a wider economic value, helping to expand the sectors of commercial horticulture, domestic gardening and food. Representations of the apple and of orchards drew on Classical landscapes, Christian allegory or the pre-Christian cultures in Europe to give authority to the meanings of an apple placed in a painting. These associations were brought together in the writing about, and the actual performance of, wassailing in the orchards at Christmas. The conclusions state that the economic value of the apple was greater than had been previously thought, and that the network of apple-related trades and livelihoods was extensive. The conclusions from the social and cultural investigation were that the appreciation of the apple was at its height in Victorian England, when the Victorians responded to increasing industrialisation and urban growth by using the apple symbolically to represent values of 'Englishness' through an idealised rural past. There was tension between the symbolism of orchards in landscape and genre paintings and the Christian associations of the apple with sin and deceit.

(275 words)

Contents

Introduction

This thesis argues that the apple and the orchard were of significance to Victorian culture and society, in a way that was not directly related to the value of the apple as a material commodity. This argument is tested by considering three questions; what happened to the apple as a commodity during the Victorian era, how was the apple used and represented, and where did it fit into society and culture.

The structure of this thesis has been determined by its thematic methodology, arising from the interlinked nature of these three questions. This thesis determined that the economic value and the cultural reception of the apple are the core and the flesh of the same fruit. Any slice through nineteenth-century social history requires consideration of both. However, many attempts at maintaining this close relationship in a suitable structure for this thesis resulted in considerable overlap and repetition of the argument. Therefore, this thesis arrived at an unorthodox but effective structure, and one which facilitates the extremely interdisciplinary nature of this study.

Part One considers the 'material apple', and seeks to answer the questions of what happened to the apple as a commodity, and how was the material apple used and represented. The three chapters of this section consider the commercial orchard as a place of change and progress, the supply chain and processes necessary to bring the apple to the urban consumer, and finally the influence of the nurserymen, horticultural experts and illustrators who turned the apple from a basic food into something to be prized and celebrated.

Part Two examines the cultural apple, attempting to answer the questions of how the apple was represented, and what was the place of the imaginary or symbolic apple in culture and society. The three linked chapters first consider the orchard in genre art as an expression of Englishness before examining the Christian symbolism of the apple. The second chapter in this section considers in which other cultural movements the apple had symbolic value, before the final chapter looks at the melding of all these aspects in the ceremony of the wassail.

Naturally both parts of the thesis are linked, and refer to economic and cultural elements where necessary to emphasis a point. The apple is unique in that its cultural history is linked to, yet not dependent on, its economic value, while its cultural value works independently from associations with the apple as a culinary object. The apple is a point of intersection between the material and economic improvements in agriculture, and the morally improving effects of activities such as gardening and hobbyist fruit cultivation, high culture

and education. However, in order to examine Victorian society through the apple, and draw out these narratives and connections it has been necessary to chop the apple up, rather brutally, into these two halves.

The Victorian era was chosen for study because orchards from that time are nearly all vanished, but remain tantalisingly within the memory of local landscapes. They live on in the varieties of apples that are still cultivated, and in maps, field plans, text, art and visual culture. There is a surfeit of material, and it has been a challenge to consider the apple as a 'thing', the study of which could inform our debates about the Victorians, rather than re-writing or adding to the history of the apple. The botanic history of the apple has been studied before by eminent figures including Victorian 'pomologists'. Their work is of course discussed in detail, particularly in Chapter Three and where relevant throughout this thesis, while the work of recent experts such as Morgan, Juniper and Mabberley has been essential background to this study and was used as a starting point for studying the primary sources from the era.[1]

The history of the apple, and the extent of the Victorians' knowledge of their 'English' fruit, is outlined in a section following this introduction, since it forms an essential background to understanding the habits and decisions of nineteenth century orchard growers and apple consumers.[2] The Victorians claimed the apple for their own, and this thesis will show that the ways in which it was embedded into the mytho-historic narrative of England's past is a remarkable feat of consistent myth building and invention. This examination of the apple and the orchard in the nineteenth century has uncovered a particular narrative of the Victorian view of what it meant to be 'English', both in the idealised rural past and in the rapidly urbanising nineteenth century.

How the qualities of Englishness have been implied in works of art about orchards is a new area of study. Although Part Two of this thesis argues that the apple was used with care and deliberation as a symbol across many works of art, there have been very few thematic studies of the apple positioned entirely within art or cultural history; the most recent and comprehensive survey being Claire de Torcy's *La Pomme dans l'Art* in 2013.[3] This

[1] Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *The New Book of Apples* (London: Ebury, 2002). Joan Morgan is one of the foremost apple experts; she has been awarded the Royal Horticultural Society's Veitch Memorial Medal, is one of only fifty recipients of the Institute of Horticulture Award for 'Outstanding Services to Horticulture' and an Honorary Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Fruiterers. Barrie E. Juniper and David J. Mabberley, *The Story of the Apple* (Portland: Timber Press, 2006) and *The Extraordinary Story of the Apple* (Royal Botanic Gardens Kew: Kew Publishing, 2019). Dr Juniper works in Plant Sciences at Oxford University and is largely responsible for tracing the apple's earliest history.
[2] The section on the early history of the apple is indebted to the work of Morgan and Juniper in particular.
[3] Claire de Torcy *La Pomme dans l'Art* (Paris: Groupe Eyrolles, 2013).

beautifully illustrated, and well researched, book is more for the coffee table than the library, but it fills a place in the canon of apple literature that no other studies have done.[4]

There was no deliberate spatial constraint on this research, beyond concentrating on England.[5] A few examples from American literature have been used, but to compare the treatment of apples in America with that of the domestic fruit industry would have been a different thesis altogether. Examples from England have leaned towards London, the Home Counties and East Anglia. This is due to a preponderance of examples from that area, since the Home Counties were full of fruit nurseries, market gardens and commercial orchards. The West Country is discussed in relation to its cider crop and the practice of wassailing. The East of England is not famous for orchards, and has suffered the greatest loss of orchard land in the twentieth century. However, the author's haptic knowledge of these orchards allows the validity of texts to be assessed against what works on the ground.

The argument of this thesis, that the apple and the orchard were of significance during the Victorian era, is deliberately open, allowing scope to draw on the work of scholars of varying disciplines outside history, including horticulture, geography and literature studies, to extract the importance of the apple as a symbol. There are many nineteenth and twentieth-century works on domestic fruit growing that cross genres between horticulture and cookery, in order to inform the readers how to grow the fruit that they enjoy eating, or what to do with surplus crop they have grown.[6] Most of these acknowledge the cultural history - or the folklore, at least - of the fruit, while the number of cookery books solely devoted to apples continues to increase during the twenty first century, just as it did in the nineteenth.[7]

The impetus for this research was the author's involvement with a community orchard, and from then into the world of 'apple identifying' and orchard history.[8] It is hoped that this enthusiasm for apples, shared across the centuries from the Victorian pomologists to present-day growers and consumers, is evident in this work, and that readers of this thesis

[4] Robert Triomphe, *Le Signe de la Pomme* (Strasbourg: Universitie de Strasbourg, 1999) covers similar themes. Unfortunately the author of this thesis finds her French inadequate to studying it in detail.
[5] There is one paper on Scotland's apple orchards: Forbes W. Robertson, 'A History of Apples in Scottish Orchards' *Garden History*, Vol. 35. No. 1 (Summer 2007) pp.37-50.
[6] For example Andrew Mikolajski, *The Complete World Encyclopedia of Apples* (Wigston: Hermes House, 2012). The book's cover describes the work as 'a gardener's practical guide to growing, harvesting, storing and cooking an array of delicious apples from around the globe.'
[7] A treasured nineteenth-century example is Georgina Hill, *How to Cook Apples: shown in a hundred different ways of dressing that fruit* (London: Routledge Warne and Routledge, 1864) The most recent addition to the author's pomological/culinary library is Raymond Blanc, *The Lost Orchard* (London: Headline Home, 2019).
[8] Trumpington Community Orchard Project, Trumpington, Cambridgeshire. The author was one of five founder members in 2009. www.trumpington.org.

benefit from paying attention to the attributes of the next apple they encounter.

Methodology

This thesis is positioned within the fields of social and cultural history.[9] It employs an inductive, thematic, text-based approach, using other cultural objects and art works where appropriate. This thesis therefore does not contain a separate literature review, since analysis of the primary sources, and the corresponding secondary literature, has been used as the substance of each chapter. The majority of the primary sources are nineteenth-century texts directly concerned with apples and orchards in both horticultural and cultural settings. As wide a range as possible has been included, such as published recipes, readers' letters in newspapers and accounts of meetings and speeches. Other primary sources were used to contextualise the significance of the apple, for example texts that attempted to set out how the fresh produce trade functioned, or instruction manuals on how to grow an orchard. Victorian paintings and other art objects were studied to consider how and why apples were represented, and to place such depictions within the context of art movements and changes in wider culture during the period. Such paintings provide some of the most intense depictions of the importance and meaning of apples to the nineteenth century viewer, so, although some of them were not intended to be exhibited in the Academy, nor could be said to constitute fine art, they have been examined here without artistic censure.

Most primary sources were accessed online. This has been a very effective use of time for a part-time student without easy access to academic libraries. It has facilitated searching not just for individual articles but for patterns within sequences of publications. For example, key-word searching within the digitised copies of *The Gardener's Chronicle* has revealed fluctuations in the amount of information given out, and readers' letters received, about different apple varieties through the decades.[10] However online access is not ideal, in that the subtleties of the publication as a material object are missing, and text recognition is not always totally accurate. Therefore where the quality of the original book is a part of its story, it has been seen in the original. This has included rare copies of Pomonas and other illustrated texts.

---

[9] Christopher Kent, 'Victorian Social History: Post-Thompson, Post-Foucault, Postmodern' *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Autumn, 1996) pp. 97-133 neatly dissects the historiography of social history through Thompson and Foucault. Christopher Lloyd, 'The Methodologies of Social History: A Critical Survey and Defense of Structurism' *History and Theory*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (May, 1991) pp. 180-219, defines social history, which he sees as having become part of culture itself, as a study of the 'old and crucial problems of the relationships between individuals and structures and among the material, social, and mental aspects of society.' p.181.

[10] Issues of *The Gardener's Chronicle* were accessed from archive.org during the period 2010 – 2020. Full references have been provided throughout the thesis where an issue is quoted.

Searches were made for any relevant information contained in archives including the Royal Horticultural Society and the various bodies that now form the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.[11] Archives of letters were also searched, including those of Ruskin and Dickens.[12] However, little directly relevant archive material was found, beyond correspondence between Charles Darwin and the nurseryman Thomas Rivers, which is used in Chapter Three. Autobiographies, memoirs and collected letters from nineteenth-century rural workers were also considered, but, although useful in providing context for the themes of this thesis, were found to provide very little material on orchard cultivation or labour.[13] There is some material on the folk tradition of wassailing (see Chapter Six) and its background, but little devoted to consuming apples. Despite the apple's cultural importance and the volume of texts devoted to growing fruit, it would appear that the act of consuming apples, when not described symbolically, was so familiar as to pass without comment.

Finally, regretfully, not included in this thesis for reasons of space is a history of cider, or jam making. Nor is a detailed study of apple artefacts, such as cider presses, apple barns, apple bushel baskets and kitchen gadgets, or apple products such as apple sauce, or jam. Such a study would be unavoidably more antiquarian than academic, as the apple has largely remained invisible to historians of material culture.[14] The apple in the kitchen survives in the thousands of delicious nineteenth-century recipes devoted to it, but they too must remain in the background of this study, even though, as discussed in Chapter Three, food studies is becoming an area of academic development. Of course, apples were produced to be eaten, raw or cooked, and that chapter uses an examination of a popular dish, the apple dumpling, to stand in for the many. A deep analysis or history of apple recipes and apple-related objects both widen the scope of this investigation too far, and remove the focus from the uses and representation of the fruit and the tree. However, where the author has first-hand knowledge of nineteenth-century apple varieties or kitchen and orchard practices that have survived into contemporary usage, these have been mentioned.

[11] Established by the Board of Agriculture Act 1889, it did not begin producing material on orchards until the 1920s.
[12] Initial searches at https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk during 2013 – 2020.
[13] John Burnett, David Vincent, David Mayall (eds), *The Autobiography of the Working Class: An Annotated Critical Bibliography* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984). Also individual memoirs such as Winifred Foley, *A Child in the Forest* (London: BBC Books, 1986).
[14] The implications of the 'material turn' towards the social history of 'things' and 'stuff' have been evaluated by Ian Hodder, 'The Entanglements of Humans and Things: A Long-Term View' *New Literary History*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2014) pp. 19-36.

Victorian awareness of the deep history of the apple

This section begins by defining an apple, before moving on to consider the history of the apple from its early pre-historic origins in the Fruit Forest of Khazakstan until the peak of apple development in the nineteenth century. That recently established history is juxtaposed with Victorian sources, to demonstrate what awareness the Victorians displayed of the apple's ancestry, and how they manipulated and re-used the information they had to turn the apple from an exotic incomer into part of their culture and landscape. As such this background informs the rest of the thesis as well as indicating the extent of Victorian academic interest in the apple.

This thesis considers what an apple was, and what it represented, both as a commodity and as a cultural artefact during the nineteenth century. Therefore, a definition of the object under scrutiny is essential. The first question must be simply 'what is an apple?' The Victorians were concerned with the complicated answer to this seemingly straightforward question, and, perhaps surprisingly, uncertainty over the origins and therefore the taxonomy of the apple continues today, particularly as the use of DNA sequencing gives further information into the apple's ancestry.

An apple is, of course, an edible fruit. Botanically it is a pome – a fruiting body with the seeds at the centre. Or, more accurately 'a fleshy, indehiscent so-called false fruit formed from a flower of which the true fruit is surrounded at maturity by an enlarged floral tube or a fleshy receptacle, or both.'[1] J. E. Jackson's recent detailed taxonomy has noted that there are still two hypotheses as to the nature of the fruit tissues. [2]

At the time of writing apples are classified as belonging to the genus *Malus*, in the large *Rosaceae* family, and therefore related to roses. This relationship is clear when studying the form of a large rosehip against that of a young apple. In the nineteenth century apples were also often described as *Pyrus malus* (being considered more closely part of the pyrus family, which includes pears) or *Malus domestica*. Currently the botanic name for the domestic, sweet apple (including 'cookers') most commonly used is *Malus x domestica Borkh*, commonly written as *Malus domestica* or *M. domestica*. Many modern taxonomists however have argued that the correct taxonomy is *Malus pumila Mill*.[3] 'Mill' refers to Philip Miller, who first described the botanic nomenclature of the species in 1768. It should be

[1] Barrie E. Juniper and David J. Mabberley, *The Story of the Apple* (Oregon: Timber Press, 2006) p.19.
[2] J. E. Jackson, *Biology of Apples and Pears* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p.22.
[3] *Introduction to the DNA Fingerprinting of Apples and Pears* (NP: Fruit ID, 2015).

noted that this classification refers only to the fruiting scion. Apple trees grown during the nineteenth century and today are compound trees, made from a fruiting scion (determining the variety) grafted onto a rootstock (which influences the size and vigour of the tree). Rootstocks were developed and interbred for centuries from wild apples, but may be from a number of different *malus* species, including *Malus x robusta* and *M.Sieboldii.*[4]

The term 'apple' used in this thesis, unless otherwise indicated, describes the fruit of *M. domestica*, eaten and enjoyed both cooked and raw through many centuries. However, there is also a small-fruited wild European apple, now described as *M. sylvestris*, or the 'crab apple' which is thought to have been native to Britain long before the introduction of *M. pumila*. The date of that introduction is contested, but pre-dates the Roman Occupation.[5] *M. sylvestris* or crab apple may be the species referred to in some place names and early English texts, and originally used in cider production.[6]

The apple, therefore, dates back into pre-history. Its ancient ancestors were first discovered in 1793, when an intrepid botanist, Johann Sievers, was travelling through the mountainous region of what is now Kazakhstan. He was looking for a medicinal rhubarb, but found instead a fruit forest, with many examples of wild trees bearing large and sweet apples – the origin of *M. pumila*. However, Sievers's sudden death meant that his discovery was not disseminated, but in his *Flora Altaica* (1833) Carl Friedrich von Ledebour named the species *Pyrus sieversii* (now *M. sieversii*) in his honour. Sievers had found the origin of all the sweet apples eaten across the world. The fruit which, in the nineteenth century, came to epitomise the English countryside had its ancestry in the mountains of Inner and Central Asia, in particular the Tian Shan region of China, approximately 1.5 million years ago. From there, *M. pumila* moved slowly across Europe, the seeds carried in the guts of bears, horses and early man. Apples need a cold spell for the seeds to germinate, but cannot survive very cold winters, so this naturally limits them to temperate regions with seasonal variations.[7]

It is not clear when the sweet apple reached Britain, or how much it hybridised naturally with the crab apple or wild apple, *M. sylvestris*, but certainly during their period of occupation the Romans grew apples across the country, and had a good knowledge of the

[4] Jackson, *Biology of Apples* p.23.
[5] Ibid. p.4.
[6] Juniper and Mabberley, *The Story of the Apple* p.129.
[7] See Juniper and Mabberley, *The Story of the Apple* and *The Extraordinary Story of the Apple*; Jackson, *Biology of Apples*; Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *The Book of Apples* (Kent: Brogdale Trust, 1993) for greater detail. Subsequent apple taxonomy studies confirm the apple's birthplace, while others move it further east to the Tien Shen region of China. See James Luby, Philip Forsline, Herb Aldwinkle, Vincent Bus and Martin Geibel, 'Silk Road apples: Collection, Evaluation and Utilisation of *Malus sieversii* from Central Asia' *HortScience* Vol. 36 Issue 2 (2001) pp.225 – 231.

techniques of grafting, which they had learned from the Egyptians and the Greeks. Grafting is essential to keep a variety of apple in cultivation, since an important botanical feature of apples is that they are extremely polymorphous. The seeds inside each apple, were each to germinate and grow, would give rise to apple trees that do not greatly resemble either pollinating parent or their siblings from the other seeds. Therefore, in order to continue supplies of a particularly tasty apple, the growing material from that particular tree, termed the scion, must be taken and grafted onto another tree which provides the rootstock. Roman texts gave complete instructions on how to achieve this, and those texts became available to educated Victorians. Henry Phillips, author of *Pomarium Brittanicum* of 1820 and many other botanical and horticultural works, noted that Pliny described over twenty varieties of apple, and differentiated between those sweet apples which have a tender skin, and the rest. The tender apples had been specifically propagated, so that it was those varieties which, according to Phillips, Pliny declared, 'immortalised their first founders and inventors.'[8]

Phillips and other nineteenth century horticulturalists demonstrated the Victorian awareness that the Romans brought to Britain the technique of grafting to propagate particular fruit varieties or characteristics. Some writers drew on the authority of earlier English horticultural and estate management texts, particularly William Lawson's work of 1618 *A New Orchard and Garden*.[9] This asserted that the Romans brought the sweet apple *M. pumila* to Britain, and that until that period only the crab apple *M. sylvestris* had grown in the British Isles as a wild native tree. However, Dr Robert Hogg, noted horticulturalist, founder of the British Pomological Society and Chair of the Royal Horticultural Society (discussed in Chapter Three) was sure that the sweet apple was also a native plant; the sweetness and different varieties he attributed to natural hybridisation and being 'cultivated and subject to the art and industry of man'.[10] He drew on the etymology of the word apple in Celtic languages, which 'make mention of the apple in the most familiar terms' to show that the sweet apple was 'known to the ancient Britons, before the arrival of the Romans.'[11] Here again is the juxtaposition of the cultural or historic apple with the horticultural apple, its lineage being used to popularise new varieties of fruit.

Hogg also argued convincingly that the apple was not lost to cultivation entirely between the departure of the Romans and the early Tudor period. There is indeed evidence

[8] Henry Phillips, *Pomarium Britannicum* (London: T & J Allman, 1820) p.38.
[9] William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden with the Country Housewife's Garden* first pub. 1618 ed. by Malcolm Thick (London: Prospect Books, 2003).
[10] Robert Hogg, *The Apple and Its Varieties* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1859) p.3.
[11] Ibid.

for this in texts from the Early Modern period that were researched and republished by Victorian scholars. The Franciscan monk Bartholomeus Angelicus wrote in his botanical encyclopaedia, *On the Properties of Things* (*circa* 1240) that 'Malus the Appyll tree is a tree yt bareth apples and is a grete tree in itself […] with good fruyte and noble […] the fruit is gracious in sight and in taste and virtuous in medecyne.'[12] This work was examined and edited by Robert Steele, and republished in 1893 with a preface by William Morris, at the height of the Victorian interest in medieval culture, linking the apple and other medicinal plants into both the folk history of the country and the decorative fashions of the time.[13]

From these early monastic cultivations, orchards spread out into the landscape across much of the country as a source of income, and the ingredient for cider. As discussed in Chapter Two, later Victorians disapproved of cider drinking, despite its history as the foundation of the English character, but Phillips, writing in 1820, quoted from the mediaeval herbalist, Gerard, who wrote in the sixteenth century of the importance of apples and cider across southern England. Phillips quoted Gerard as reporting that:

> The tame and grafted apple-trees are planted and set in gardens and orchards made for that purpose: they delight to grow in good and fertile grounds. Kent doth abound with apples of most sorts; but I have seen in the pastures and hedge rows, about the grounds of a worshipful gentleman dwelling two miles from Hereford, called Mr Roger Bodnome, so many trees of all sorts that the servants drink, for the most part no other drinke; but that which is made of apples. The quantitie is such, that by the report of the gentleman himself, the parson hath for his tithe many hogsheads of cyder.[14]

The apple emerges again as a fruit of importance in early Tudor history. In the texts of this period can be found an increasing number of references to apples and orchards, but the quantity of apples, and the level of skill used in their production, may have been under-recorded since literacy levels were so low and books were few. Fruit cultivation skills would have been passed on orally and through practical demonstrations between influential gardeners and the emerging plant nurseries. A greater number of specific varieties of apples was grown and traded, and some were greatly esteemed. Gardeners were also sought out for their skills in fruit propagation. It was known to the later Victorian era, for example, that Henry VIII specifically sought out Richard Harris, a fruiterer who had learned his craft in the orchards of the French court, to set up a royal orchard of up to a hundred acres in Kent, as

[12] Margaret M. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971) First edn. 1931 p.44.
[13] Robert Steele (ed.), *Mediaeval Lore from Bartolomew Anglicus* (London: Elliot Stook, 1893).
[14] Phillips, *Pomarium Britannicum* p.44.

fashionable Victorian garden writer, Alicia Amherst, recorded in 1896 in her history of gardening.[15]

Many varieties of apple were developed in the subsequent centuries between the Tudor period and the Victorian, including some specifically for cider production, notably the Redstreak apple developed by Viscount Scudamore purposely to rival the superior French cider in the 1640s. Nurseries selling young trees and rootstocks were a profitable business sector, and by 1730 the apple cultivars were the most popular type of fruit tree on offer.[16]

The botanic history of the apple outlined above was one that was known in part to the Victorian botanists and apple enthusiasts. They used the knowledge that they had at the time to weave a particularly patriotic narrative that claimed the apple as British, while acknowledging its Roman ancestry. Throughout this thesis it has been argued that Victorian writers were keen to show that orchards had formed part of the British, especially the English, countryside for centuries. They emphasised this continuity of heritage to give importance to the apple itself, and from these primarily horticultural texts comes the imbuing of the apple with the abstract properties and ideas of Englishness, so that the orchard stands symbolically for the landscape, and thus for the nation as a whole, and must be as carefully tended. This concept is one that has persisted into the current enthusiasm for saving and reviving 'heritage' apples.[17] It is hoped that this thesis will take the economic strengths and the cultural appreciation of the apple into today's specialist and community orchards.

[15] Alicia Amherst, *A History of Gardening in England* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896) p.101. She quotes a pamphlet she describes as 'rare' called *The Husbandman's Fruitful Orchard* by 'NF' (London: Roger Jackson, 1609).
[16] John H. Harvey, 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries' *The Agricultural History Review* Vol. 22 No. 1 (1974) p.22.
[17] Caroline Ball, *Heritage Apples* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019). The East of England Apples and Orchards Project (the inspiration for this thesis) has an orchard of regional 'heritage' varieties and a 'heritage tree catalogue' www.applesandorchards.org.uk [accessed 06/06/2020].

Chapter One: The nineteenth-century orchard as a place of change

Introduction

This chapter demonstrates that there were significant changes in the nineteenth-century orchard in four interconnected areas; agricultural development, landscape management practices, rural labour relations and the quality of the crop itself, all affecting the rates of return and potential prosperity for growers and handlers. It sets the orchard in context within the wider agricultural landscape, and introduces some of the notable apple experts who had influence over how apples were grown and consumed. The cultural influence of these experts will be considered within Chapter Three.

This chapter argues that, to nineteenth-century observers, the material orchard is a less fixed construct than the cultural orchard, where only one type of orchard, the pastoral model, is most often depicted. The commercial, productive orchard in the nineteenth century did not conform to the cultural depictions of pastoral (grazed by livestock) orchards that were prevalent throughout the century. The value of the cultural representation of the apple was higher than and therefore 'overdetermined' that of the economic crop; therefore it was the cultural orchard that was celebrated, where cultural referents were incorporated into descriptions of material, actual apples and orchards.

This thesis overall therefore considers the disjunction between the Victorians' commercial and economic development, and their cultural and social reception of 'progress' and new methods of agriculture. This picture of a pastoral apple orchard has persisted through later economic depressions in apple production and remains evident at the time of writing. It is therefore necessary to put such depictions to one side when considering the economic realities of the apple orchard as a working, productive space, as it will be analysed in this chapter and throughout Part One of this thesis. The cultural reception and transformation of apples and orchards will, however, be considered in depth in Part Two.

Nineteenth century agricultural and landscape management practices

This section examines the status and changes in agricultural patterns affecting orchards during the nineteenth century. The orchard was a place in which the wider drive for agricultural improvement came up against long-standing practices that owed as much to folklore and tradition as to haptic knowledge. This section describes the conditions in which

the orchard growers attempted to improve the orchard and their crop.

Agriculture in the nineteenth century continued the changes made in the late eighteenth, when regional differences in what was grown or reared were beginning to be dependent on local soil conditions, rather than traditional practices.[1] Nineteenth century farmers benefitted from increasing mechanisation, although these machines were often unpopular with their labourers.[2] In the mid-nineteenth century the coming of the railway network and increasing urban population saw an increase in market gardens and orchards along the railways, while other areas of the country remained undisturbed by such changes.[3] By the end of the century the land devoted to orchards seems to have increased, although estimates of the extent vary, and the geographical pattern of crops and landscapes was largely settled.

Lord Ernle's influential narrative of nineteenth-century farming divided the era into the period of 'High Farming' (1850 – 1873) and a subsequent long, slow depression.[4] Ernle argued that High Farming saw increased use of feed, fertiliser and mechanisation and a correlating increase in output, and therefore profits, from farms of all kinds.[5] Depending on the area, there was a shift within mixed farming to concentrate more on growing livestock, rather than grain. This shift, in the areas of the country where it happened, was in response to higher prices for livestock, fuelled by greater demand from consumers for meat and dairy products. The increase in urban and industrial workers led to a slow but long-term rise in disposable income, and those workers had little time and few facilities to prepare and cook food, which in turn led to higher individual consumption of processed and cooked meat, milk and cheese.[6]

However, as more recent rural historians B. A. Holderness, G. E. Mingay and others have emphasised, the term 'High Farming' carried a complex set of meanings in mid Victorian Britain, and was not confined to Lord Ernle's definition.[7] As historians E. H. Hunt and S.J. Pam noted in their paper on Essex farmers, the definition itself has become one of

[1] G. E. Mingay, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol. VI 1750 – 1850* ed. by G. E. Mingay and Joan Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p.16.
[2] Mingay notes that the 'Captain Swing' riots of 1830 came out of a long series of protests by the poor against low wages, before turning to destruction of farm machinery. G. E. Mingay *A Social History of the English Countryside* (London: Routledge, 1990) p.xii.
[3] G. E. Mingay's introduction to *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* sets out these changes pp.5-20.
[4] Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present* (London: Longman, Green & Co, 1936) p.349.
[5] Ibid. p.350.
[6] These changes in diet have been documented by, among others, G. E. Fussell, *The English Rural Labourer* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1949) and P. J. Atkins, 'The retail milk trade in London 1790 – 1914' *Economic History Review* 33: 4 (Nov 1980) pp. 522 – 537.
[7] B. A. Holderness, 'The origins of High Farming' in *Land, Labour and Agriculture 1700 – 1920* ed. by G. E. Mingay (London: A. & C. Black, 1991) p.150.

the variables.[8] Their research asserted that overall wheat acreage stayed constant, or even increased, so the growth in livestock was perhaps not so significant, or was at least confined to certain counties where the conditions were particularly favourable.[9] Essex, the county most dependent on cereal farming, showed hardly any change in land use during the period.[10] F. M. L. Thompson argued that there were three overlapping agricultural revolutions; the first ending in 1815, the second reaching a peak in the 1880s. Thompson argues that tenant farmers got lower returns in the High Farming period than they did under the Corn Laws, suggesting that although at first there was rapid progress, this second agricultural revolution quickly lost momentum, despite that advances in science-based agriculture.[11] The depression following this period of progress has also been found to be more localised, but agricultural profits and output declined slowly until the start of the First World War. [12]

Throughout the nineteenth century there was overall an increase in the acreage of land under production, as better management allowed previously unproductive land to be used for crops or grazing. However, the size of individual farms did not demonstrate a correlative increase. In his social history study, Mingay stated:

> Even in the middle nineteenth century, the 'average' farm (a statistical rather than a realistic concept) was only a little over 100 acres, and a large proportion of all farms, as much as 30 percent, covering nearly a half of the total acreage, fell into the 100 – 300 acre range; such farms employed from two to three to between five and a dozen regular hands, depending on the extent of the acreage that was in pasture as against the much greater demands of the area of arable.[13]

Similarly, in his doctoral thesis, S. J. Pam researched the stability of farm sizes in the era of 'High Farming' and the subsequent 'depression' and concluded that, in areas of arable farming such as Essex, farm size remained stable.[14] Large estate holders consolidated their lands, selling off distant farms that were inconvenient to oversee, but few land holders put

[8] E. H. Hunt and S. J. Pam, 'Essex agriculture in the 'Golden Age' 1850 -73' *Agricultural History Review* 43: II p.160.
[9] Ibid.
[10] B. A. Holderness, 'The origins of High Farming' *Land, Labour and Agriculture 1700 – 1920* ed. by G. E. Mingay (London: A.& C. Black, 1991) p.152.
[11] F. M. L. Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880', *The Economic History Review,* 2nd ser, 21:1 (April 1968).pp. 62-77.
[12] E. J. T. Collins, 'Did Mid-Victorian Agriculture Fail?' *REFRESH – Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History* 21 (Autumn 1995) p.3.
[13] G.E. Mingay, *A Social History of the English Countryside* (London: Routledge, 1990) pp.95 – 96.
[14] S.J. Pam, 'Essex Agriculture; Landowners and Farmers' Responses to Economic Change 1850 – 1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London School of Economics, 2004) particularly pp.150 – 168.

land up for sale, leading to very little movement in the land market, where most farmers were tenants rather than land owners.

Assessing accurate rental values of farmland is essential in order to calculate any profits that could have been made from orchards, and in determining why farmers would have increased their acreage of fruit. However, economic historian Gregory Clark has noted, 'Determining the rental value of farmland is not easy, since in early years much farmland was not rented for its current rental value. Instead land was held on a bewildering variety of tenures – customary leases well below market values, leases for lives where the current rent has little relation to current market conditions, renewable leases with low annual rents but large entry fines and so on.'[15] His detailed analysis used Charity Commission reports and Property Tax listings to calculate the average rent in each area. From this information he argued that agricultural productivity doubled between1860-69, although the productivity growth was fairly evenly spread from 1500 - 1900, and was much slower in the years 1760 to 1860 than some accounts of the effects of the Industrial Revolution may have suggested. Clark concluded that 'contrary to expectation, the source of productivity growth before 1869 is overwhelmingly growing yields as opposed to growth of labour productivity.' As regards land rents, Clark's analysis of Charity Commission reports yielded an average farm size of 60 acres. According to his calculations, the average rental and tithe value of agricultural land was £1.2s 6d per acre in England in 1888. Using the comparisons of the value of a pound at that time gives an approximate 2018 income value of £888.80.[16]

Tenants on short-term leases had no incentive to plant orchards, since they were not certain that their lease would be renewed, and feared that the next tenant, or the landlord, would reap the harvest of fruit. From the papers delivered at the 1888 Apple and Pear Conference (see Chapter Three) it is evident that the growers were concerned about the short-hold tenancies, citing examples of lack of compensation for investment in trees.[17] William Paul from Waltham Cross in Hertfordshire spoke of the lack of stability of tenancy and the extra investment required for fruit. He explained that after planting fruit trees a good harvest could not be expected for four years 'although rent charges on land and expenses in

[15] Gregory Clark, 'Land rental values and the Agrarian Economy in England and Wales 1500 – 1914 *European Review of Economic History* 6:3 (December 2002) pp.281 -308 p.307.

[16] hwww.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/explains the different ways of arriving at an equivalent figure. The cost of land may also be compared to the cost of property. Renting an average urban house has been estimated at £25 per year in 1888. www.victorianweb.org/economics/wages4.html.

[17] A. F. Barron and Rev. Wilks, 'Report of the Apple and Pear Conference held in the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens at Chiswick Oct 16 – 20 1888' *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* Vol. 10 (1888). The material relating to the 'reading of papers relating to Hardy Fruit Culture' (p.9) was prepared by Rev. W. Wilks, who has an apple named after him.

cultivation are going on and have to be met. Then when his crop brings him a larger return than ordinary produce would bring, the charges on the land are raised!'[18] Although such issues must have seemed urgent and prevalent at the time, statistically today there is little evidence that it widely influenced what tenant farmers chose to grow. David R. Stead, for example, has found that there was relatively little mobility of 'rack rate' tenants during this period, and farms were often passed down through the family. Stead surveyed the literature on the mobility of rack rent farmers, and incorporated new data, and was able to conclude that most tenants stayed longer than their lease documents may suggest and that there was little enforced mobility.[19] Nevertheless there were periods of agricultural depression (1873 - 1894 has been labelled the Great Depression), during which land prices fell to a third of their previous value in the South Eastern counties, making tenancies unstable. Such instability, together with the difficulty of getting, and paying for, extra or suitable land, should have made other crops with a much quicker and rising rate of return seem more appealing than apples.

There are further inconsistencies in attempts to calculate the acreage of land given over to orchards during the period. Arable fields and dairy pasture are clearly defined and have survived clearly marked in maps and other records. However orchards, best described as fruit trees grown deliberately for their harvest, are not so easily defined or recorded. Fruit farming, as recorded during the nineteenth century, sometimes included soft fruit as well as orchards, since the two were often farmed concurrently on the same area of land. Most recent rural and horticultural historians have agreed that the acreage of orchards, and their number, increased throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, consistent with the increase in the number of market gardening businesses, which will be detailed in Chapter Two. Historian Alun Howkins has concluded the growth in orchard acreage was due to the growth of urban consumers demanding fresh fruit and jam, while Mingay noted how they followed the railways 'eastward from London into north Kent and new orchards were planted in the Vale of Evesham to supply growing markets in the west.'[20] Howkins also attributed the growth to better farming methods, so that '[…] the area under orchards increased from 155,000 acres in 1875 to 226,000 in 1898 and continued to rise until the Great War.'[21] Howkins obtained his base figures from the agriculture section of Mitchell and Deane's

[18] Barron, 'Apple and Pear Conference' 1888 pp.25-26.
[19] David R. Stead, 'The mobility of English tenant farmers 1700-1850' *Agricultural History Review* 51 II pp.173 – 189.
[20] Mingay and Thirsk, eds. *Agrarian History* p.18.
[21] Alun Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England* (London: Routledge,1992) p.147.

Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1968) but commented that 'mapping these figures locally is an endless task'.[22] It is one that is still being attempted by supporters of historic orchards across the country.[23]

Environmental historian Brian Short, writing in 2012, used the *Report of the Departmental Committee upon the Fruit Industry of Great Britain* (1905) to conclude

> Already by 1883 the agricultural expert Charles Whitehead could look back on some years of definite progress in fruit farming in southeast England. In 1873 the national orchard area had been 141,000 acres but by 1904 this had risen to 236,000 acres and to 245,657 by 1907 […] Holdings of less than one acre were excluded from government figures. Overall, between 1875 and 1895 the recorded area of orchards in England and Wales increased by 40 per cent and by 1900 the value of fruit production exceeded that of wheat.[24]

This is a higher rate of growth, from a lower starting figure, than that given by Howkins. It is clear that, despite the work of Short, Howkins and others, finding reliable evidence for the extent of orchards in nineteenth-century England is not straightforward. This investigation, therefore, has considered both primary and secondary sources, recognising that many are partial and incomplete. Some contemporary sources are most relevant for the weight of economic importance they give to apples and orchards – for the appearance of abundance (or decline) of fruit crops as a commodity, although they may not consider acreages at all. Sources considered during this study have included maps and contemporary sources; both text and images. In certain areas of the country, particularly in the West Country and more rural areas of East Anglia, relic orchards have survived, while partial orchards linger as hedge boundaries or commemorated in street names across southern England. Since an apple tree lives about ninety years in a garden, and nineteenth-century commercial trees were thought to have a maximum productive life of thirty years, material evidence such as local varieties growing in gardens, or surviving commercially planted

[22] Ibid. p.148.

[23] At the time of writing there are many parish and county-level projects using tithe maps to record lost orchards and give status to surviving ones; these are being fed into a survey of traditional orchards held by PTES (People's Trust for Endangered Species) (http://ptes.org/get-involved/surveys/countryside-2/traditional-orchard-survey/orchard-maps/) This survey uses a mixed methodology including Ordnance Survey maps, aerial photographs and 'ground truthing' - sending volunteers out to assess what they can see of the orchard. All of which demonstrates that the search for accuracy in orchard acreage continues, and that any figures from either the nineteenth or the twentieth century must be taken as provisional.

[24] Brian Short with Peter May, Gail Vines and Anne-Marie Bur, *Apples and Orchards in Sussex* (Lewes: Action in Rural Sussex and Brighton Permaculture Trust, 2012) pp.90-1. Charles Whitehead, referred to in the quote, is the author of (among other works) *The Progress of Fruit Farming* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1885).

orchards, is becoming increasingly sparse, but increasingly relevant.[25]

Ian Rotherham's work has confirmed this investigation's conclusion of the lack of attention given to orchards in the major works on landscape history.[26] It has recently been noticed that a similar lack of awareness of the significance of orchards can be found in horticultural and garden histories.[27] Rotherham has argued that most, if not all, small orchards were multi-functional, and therefore often misclassified or overlooked from official records. There are no contemporary estimates of the numbers of small orchards attached to small farms or cottages, since the data collected in the government survey into land use from 1890 only included orchard sites larger than one acre. Many semi-commercial orchards were smaller than this, and the data did not include fruit in other locations such as allotments or gardens. Rotherham stated;

> It was suggested that in around 1873 there were 148,221 acres of orchards in Great Britain and this increased to 250,686 by 1911[…] [of which] there were 170,154 acres of apples […]. These figures are huge, but exclude the smaller or more complex occurrence of fruit trees in smaller sites, in hedgerows, and as components of other wooded landscapes.[28]

Rotherham was referring to figures from the governmental agricultural returns into land use, in the Agricultural Census of Great Britain, first attempted in 1865.[29] Coppock, in his paper on using these returns, gave 1892 as the date on which the acre was settled as the minimum size of return.[30] He also noted the difficulty of using what remains of the return data, the Parish summaries, for investigating smaller areas such as orchards, the figures for smaller areas being produced 'not as ends in themselves, but incidentally in the collection of the national totals. In a country such as Britain with its great variety of natural conditions, in which relief, soil and climate show considerable contrasts within a small area, attention must necessarily be focused on […] the parish and the county, yet figures for these areas are least

[25] Jackson, *Biology of Apples* notes that trees on a dwarfing rootstock (including the 'Paradise' rootstocks popular in the nineteenth century) are under stress, and are likely to 'induce precocious and heavy fruiting at the expense of vegetative growth' (p.148), which is a further reason for the lack of old commercially grown trees.
[26] Ian B Rotherham, 'Orchards and Groves: a misunderstood and threatened resource' *Landscape Archaeology and Ecology* 7 (2008) p.133.
[27] Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019) notes that nearly all garden histories fail to appreciate the role of money in gardening (p.4). This may be the reason why decorative but productive orchards in domestic settings have been overlooked.
[28] Rotherham, 'Orchards and Groves' p.133.
[29] B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) p.76.
[30] J. T. Coppock, 'The statistical assessment of British agriculture' *Agricultural History Review* 1956 4:1 and 4:2 pp.66 – 79.

reliable and most difficult to interpret.'[31] Coppock set out the difficulties in differentiating orchards from other market garden activities, since, as Rotherham and others have agreed, and contemporary accounts demonstrate, land was used for more than one purpose. Coppock also thought it probable that the acreage under orchard and market garden was underestimated, so that 'in 1885 part of the increased acreage of orchards was attributed to the proper return to orchards of land previously returned as permanent grass.'[32]

Nevertheless, valuable information and evidence of orchard cultivation at a local level can be extracted from the returns as well as other primary sources, including tithe maps. After the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, which commuted tithe payments in kind to a monetary payment known as a 'corn rent', tithe Commissioners were sent out to map the boundaries of every district in which tithes were paid separately across England and Wales. These boundaries usually, but not entirely consistently, followed parish borders. Tithe district maps survive for about three quarters of the parishes surveyed. Again, however, there were differences of interpretation of land use when the maps were drawn up. The surveyors recorded what they found in cultivation on the land at the time, and had a category for 'orchard' but some orchards could have been rated (and rented to the tenant farmer) as pasture, or as other crops. [33]

The Parliamentary Select Committee on the Fresh Fruit Trade (1839), chaired by Mr John Parker, heard evidence on this issue. The Committee had been established to enquire into the state of the fresh fruit trade, and to see what the consequences had been for the English trade, when the duty payable on imported fruit was reduced. The Committee heard from 'numerous and highly respectable petitioners' that the removal of duty was harming the domestic trade, but nevertheless reported that 'the natural impediments to the importation of Foreign Apples, in addition to the duty now payable, constitute a sufficient protection to the home growers, regard being had to the adequate supply of the Public, and more especially of the middle and poorer classes of the Metropolis, in an important article of domestic consumption.'[34]

These Select Committee proceedings are a significant primary source for evidence on mid-century apple production, the distribution and sales of apples primarily in London and labour relations in commercial orchards. The orchard owners who were interviewed by the

[31] Coppock, 'Statistical Assessment' p.66.
[32] Ibid. p.76.
[33] H. C. Prince, 'The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-nineteenth century' *Agricultural History Review* Vol. 7 No 1 (1959) p.14.
[34] *Report from the Select Committee on the Fresh Fruit Trade* (London: House of Commons 12 July, 1839) pp. iv, iii. Hereafter referred to as *Report on Fresh Fruit.*

committee were recovering from a bad harvest that year, as the Committee acknowledged.[35] The growers were often anxious to show that they were losing money on apples under both the old regime of duty on foreign fruit and when it had been removed. Whilst acknowledging the agenda and emphasis of the growers, their statements provide in-depth and reliable economic details as well as personal testimony. The testimony of the growers also provides an insight into the working practices on fruit farms of various sizes, and on the complexities of the nineteenth-century trade in apples and fruit, both foreign and domestic. The witnesses demonstrate a high level of knowledge of their own sector of the trade and of how that may relate to others, which is also to be found in much of the press coverage over the question of whether or not to buy imported apples, to which this chapter will return.

Evidence given to the Committee demonstrated that the orchard was a variable construct on a farm, due to varying regional agricultural practices, and therefore not easy to survey or record. One landowner from Kent stated to the Committee that the surveyor attending his farm had not been aware of the local practice of growing apple trees among hops, and had therefore ignored the orchards:

> I have a return here, sent to me by a person who went over the parish to take an account of the number of acres in cultivation. […] wherin (*sic*) he states that in some parts, where the fruit had recently been planted among hops, which is the practice, they took them as hops; and that they did not take the fruit when there were hops, unless the trees were of a great many years' growth. Our system of raising orchards in West Kent is this, that we plant our orchards in hop grounds, and grow hops at the same time; the culture of the hops improves the culture of the trees, and when the trees get sufficiently large to drive the hops out of the ground, it is then converted into orchard.[36]

Although agricultural historian H. C. Prince defended the accuracy and completeness of tithe surveys, noting that they were considered accurate enough in 1959 to be used in legal cases, where orchards are concerned it is still necessary to use them in conjunction with other evidence, such as aerial photography, archaeology, maps and textual evidence.[37] The conclusion is that that the amount of orchard land was, and is currently, under-recorded.

Like the tithe maps, other contemporary sources provide tangential evidence that an 'orchard' was a fluid definition for a pocket of land containing crop-bearing trees. An orchard

[35] 'After the deficient crop of 1838 there were imported about 120,000 bushels of Apples into the Port of London, and the average price of Apples in London for the season 1838-9 was 4 s. 9 d.' *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.iv.
[36] The witness was Mathias Prime Lucas, a grower from Mereworth. *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.49.
[37] Prince, 'Tithe Surveys of the Mid-nineteenth century' p.14.

was not always given that status even by those who knew and used it, which accounts partly for the under recording in more official documents. The flexibility of the definition of an orchard is clear in the following Old Bailey court record. It is from a case unconnected with orchards (it was juvenile arson) but it serves to show how, when trying to find evidence of orchards, they are not always neatly described on maps or in texts. Here 'a few apple trees' are growing in a space called an orchard, a field or a meadow.

> Brockwell came up as soon as I got off the ground; that was twenty-five yards from the gap—he came into the orchard to me—it is a field, part of it is a meadow, but there are a few apple-trees in it, and they call it the orchard—when I speak of the orchard I mean the same place as I called the field before.[38]

Having established, therefore, that the increase in orchard acreage is more difficult to quantify than it is to see in its results, orchard increase and productivity must be set in context against improvements in agricultural practices for arable crops.

In contrast with other areas of agriculture, in the orchard there was little in the way of progressive methods or innovative products to apply to the trees. There was insufficient space, in a close-grown nursery, to use steam powered machinery for ploughing between the rows of trees, and the fruit cannot be picked mechanically without damage. (Twenty-first century eating apples are still picked by hand and floated in water during the sorting and grading process). Apple tree health was thought to be largely down to the pruning regime and method of growth, and many techniques such as root pruning and lifting would have spurred the tree into putting out more shoots in response to stress, but probably at the expense of its overall health and lifespan.[39]

Until the end of the nineteenth century, farmers had few branded pesticides, often making up mixtures of their own or asking the chemist to do so. Late nineteenth-century commercial pesticides for use on top fruit were often proprietary mixtures made by each nursery, so there is less evidence from Britain for the two best known 'brands' (manufactured by several firms) 'Paris Green' and 'London Purple', both of which were mixtures of arsenic and copper, and both widely used across America from the 1860s

[38] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 25 February 2015), January 1851, trial of John Price (t18510106-430).

[39] The Apple and Pear Conference of 1888 discussed many pruning and training regimes, which are not now practiced and which must have entailed a good deal of extra work in the orchard. See Shirley Hibberd's paper and the subsequent discussion in Barron's *Report* pp.32-38.

onwards.[40] That these preparations were known to British fruit growers is demonstrated by the article in the *Gardener's Chronicle* giving the correct proportions, but this article comes from the University of Michigan, so it is possible that these brands were an imported novelty, most gardeners preferring to use tar wash or nicotine solutions.

Victorian consumers and food producers were increasingly cognisant of the serious effects of food adulteration, especially after the investigations of Dr Arthur Hill Hassall, whose subsequent articles in *The Lancet* (1851-1854) listed hundreds of foods that were routinely adulterated all along the supply chain. Apples had not escaped his condemnation, as he found some were being painted to make them more attractive. The press reported his findings with alarm.

> APPLES: Purchased in James Street, Covent Garden. The apples in this sample are coloured yellow, and on one side deep red; the yellow colour extending to a considerable depth in the substance of the sugar. The red consists of the usual non-metallic pigment, and the yellow is due to the presence of CHROMATE OF LEAD in really *poisonous amount!*[41]

However, although arsenic and copper sulphate were known to be poisonous, it was not understood how much of a residue could build up in crops while they were being treated in the orchard, and so it was felt that washing fruit and vegetables would be enough to make them safe and remove the Paris Green. Tests were carried out in America on the toxicity of Paris Green (which was 58% Arsenic) and it was not found to be harmful. Other gardening books noted that it was not harmful to stock in the orchard, even when it was being sprayed. It was not until 1919 that tests showed that washing was not enough to remove residues from the surface of fruit.[42]

The major disease that the apple grower hoped to fight off with sprays was one called 'canker', which caused the branches to stunt and twist, and the whole of a young tree to look like an ancient specimen after just a couple of years. Writing in 1801 the horticulturalist Henry Knight believed that the old varieties could not be saved from canker, and that even if grafted onto new rootstocks the disease would be transmitted.[43] Apple tree canker, as known

---

[40] Peter Jentsch, *Historical Perspectives on Fruit Production* (Cornell University [n. d.]) pp.9 – 10 This report was written by Jentsch for his outreach programme to local growers. See also 'Preparation of insecticides: London Purple and Paris Green' *Extension and Experiment Station Bulletin*: Vol. 1: No. 5 (1888) Article 4. at:http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/bulletin/vol1/iss5/4. See also Robert Thompson, *The Gardener's Assistant* (London: The Gresham Company, 1910) (first published 1859) p.43.

[41] Author unknown, *The Quarterly Review* Vol. 96 (London: John Murrary, 1855) p.248 original emphasis.

[42] Peter Jentsch, *Historical Perspectives* p.44.

[43] Henry Knight, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Apple and Pear* (London: Longman and Rees, 1801) pp.8 – 10.

today, is transmitted by a fungus, *Nectria gallingena* Bres. and is worse on heavy, wet soils.[44] Knight's failures with grafting were probably due to transference of canker spores during the grafting process, with the spores carried over on the grafting knife, and the lack of canker resistance in the nineteenth century rootstocks, since some varieties of apple are more susceptible than others. Canker is particularly easily transferred among young trees in the nursery lines and at planting time, which again was not information known to Knight and other growers. As late into the century as 1888 the gentlemen at the Apple and Pear Conference were still discussing canker, with three speakers on the subject, each pointing out that the authoritative works on apples gave very little guidance or hope on how to treat it, and each suggesting remedies as diverse as draining the soil, root pruning the trees and putting slaked lime around them.[45] All such work would have affected the profits of a commercial orchard, as would removing and replacing the trees with newer, hopefully more resistant, varieties. Although the Victorian orchardist's sprays, such as winter tar wash, would have had some effect against canker, very little they could have done would have eradicated it, and it is still a major disease of orchards.

The influence on orchard profitability of changes in labour patterns and status

Nineteenth-century changes to the status and working conditions of rural labourers also influenced the number and profitability of orchards, and labour relations are therefore an essential consideration for this thesis. In general orchards were part of mixed farms, and they required more labour than either arable or livestock farms. As wages grew and fruit profits were uncertain, orchards did not escape the tensions that arose in the mid-century between rural workers and their employers, however tranquil their depictions in art. This section considers how these wider changes impacted work on the orchard and if labour patterns affected the rate of orchard increase.

In part due to the impact of the 'cultural' and 'material' turns in history, economic historians have moved away from the established narrative of agricultural progress, which held that innovative production methods in the mid-nineteenth century lead automatically to increased food production and so to improved conditions for rural workers.[46] Instead, a more nuanced approach has developed that takes into account both the shorter-term periodic

[44] Jackson, *Biology of Apples* p.459.
[45] Barron, *Report* 1888 pp.39 – 53.
[46] Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, eds. *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010).

depressions in the rural economy, and the substantial regional differences. For example, Barry Reay called his study of labouring practice and culture *Rural Englands*, the plural reflecting the significance of regional identity and differing lived experiences.[47] Reay also foregrounded the intermingling of town and country life, showing how urban and rural communities were more blended than divided. Reay maintained that the varying environments of the country's rural workers were 'far more wide-ranging than the archetypical southern village of agricultural labourers' thatched cottages around the village green', since many farm labourers commuted out from new sources of accommodation around the market towns, while others, especially women, were walking from their village homes into towns to work in service, in retail or in specialised crafts.[48]

The connections which labourers had with their rural environment and their fellow workers also altered. The nineteenth century saw the dissolution of traditional rural working practices, including farm hands 'living in' with the farmer and his family, sharing social occasions as well as labour. Therefore not only customary working practices but also leisure and community activities and traditions were being less often observed. Fewer farm workers were housed in 'tied' cottages, where the accommodation was conditional to the work, and were instead renting rooms and cottages away from the supervision of the farm owner. This led to fewer restrictions but also more uncertainty of tenure. In *Captain Swing*, their ground-breaking study (1968) of the rural protests of the early 1830s, Hobsbawm and Rudé concentrated on this restructuring of the relationship between land, capital and work.[49] They argued that rural dissent was an inevitable reaction to the change in this relationship, since rural society 'was transformed into one in which the cash-nexus prevailed, at least between farmer and labourer. The worker was simultaneously proletarianised – by the loss of his land, by the transformation of his contract' and deprived of his 'modest customary rights.'[50] The farm worker, who used to get food from his own land, alongside accommodation and cash (and often beer or cider) from working for the farmer, became a day labourer; 'a hired man, a rural proletarian' paid only for the hours worked, rather than throughout the year, and with no plot of his own to feed the family when there was no work.[51]

The Select Committee on the Fresh Fruit Trade (1839) also considered the importance of the apple crops grown in each cottager's garden. A good crop could allow the cottager to

[47] Barry Reay, *Rural Englands*: *Labouring Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[48] Ibid. p.61.
[49] Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing* (New York: Pantheon, 1968).
[50] Ibid. p.15.
[51] Ibid. p.26.

stay in the village and maintain the established patterns of work. The Committee heard that some of the tenant cottagers in Kent relied on the sale of apples from their small garden orchards to pay off the annual rent on their cottage. A fruit grower stated that in his neighbourhood his eight tenant cottages 'have all gardens attached, and they are under the cultivation of fruit, and they grow a few vegetables between the gooseberries and currants and apples' and this produce they relied upon for their rent.[52] An estate owner said that in a good year one or two trees in a cottager's garden had been enough to pay the rent on the cottage.[53] The crop was more valuable as a commodity traded for cash than as food for the family. Further evidence for the importance of a crop of apples to tenant workers has been uncovered by historian Mick Reed. In his study of English 'peasantry' he provided the examples taken from the papers of Philip Rapson, a small-scale farmer in Lodesworth during the 1830s, to demonstrate that barter was used more often than cash. Rapson rented a cottage to William Leggatt, his son-in-law for years. Reed concludes 'As well as his cottage, Leggatt received from Rapson, over a five-year period, a pig, cider, apple trees, faggots, peas, 10 bushels of swedes, a bedstead, and loans in cash. In addition, Rapson made 72 gallons of cider from Leggatt's own apples, for which he made a labour charge of 6s. He also paid Leggatt's taxes and rates. These items were debited to Leggatt along with his rent. The account was reduced by cash payment occasionally, paid in small amounts, but mainly by casual work or by supplying garden produce […] [including] apples for Rapson's cider making. These features bring the production and circulation spheres into a tangled unity that can only be separated theoretically.'[54]

The amount of labour, in terms of the number of people and of hours, was reducing across agriculture during the nineteenth century, making bartering arrangements of the type described above perhaps more complex but less common, as cash was preferred. The least labour was required on the increasingly mechanised wheat farms and on cattle farms (outside the dairy itself). However there was work throughout the year on mixed farms, and especially those with orchards, since the bulk of tree maintenance and pruning takes place after the fruit crop in the dormant winter months, and some in early summer, when other arable crops require less attention. Women and children could also be employed in orchards and in fruit processing. The contribution of women to farm work is difficult to quantify. In his thesis on

[52] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.46. The witness was Israel Harris Lewis from East Farley, Kent, who owned about 40 acres.
[53] Ibid. p.62.
[54] Mick Reed, 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth-Century England: A Neglected Class?' *History Workshop* 18 (Autumn 1984) pp.61-62.

representations of agrarian labour in British visual culture, Timothy Barringer noted that women and children worked in the fields at harvest-time, but were hardly ever depicted as doing so in art or popular images.[55] However, idealised representations of orchard work often showed women and children gathering apples informally, and women were the majority of the workforce picking cherries in Kent at the end of the nineteenth century and until the 1960s.[56]

Here again the Select Committee heard evidence as to the amount of labour used in fruit farming, since the Committee was concerned with the effect that lowering the duty on imported, foreign, apples was having on the domestic fruit industry. It was stated by more than one witness that fruit farming used about four people to each person required when growing arable crops, with female workers being required at specific times of year. One witness when asked to calculate 'the difference of hand labour required in an acre of orchard ground compared with an acre of corn' arrived at the following calculation.

> We will take 100 acres of fruit land, if you please, that is the quantity in our parish; we conceive the expenditure upon that to be about 5*l.* an acre annually, which would be 500*l.*; that will employ 14 families; and those families therefore, exclusive of hop-picking, receive 35*l.* each; the hop-picking they receive besides. 14 families [refers to] Fourteen labourers; a man and his wife and three children […].The men are employed the whole of the year; the women are employed in cherry-gathering and one little thing and another till the end of October; hop-picking generally comes before the apple-gathering.
> [The Committee asks] If those fruit plantations can be no longer maintained, in consequence of the apples not paying, what will become of them?
> [He answers] I do not conceive that we shall grub up all the plantations; I do not want to overstate it, but we suppose that eight of those families will be thrown out of work.[57]

Keeping labourers in employment may have been a factor in farmers' decisions to turn previously unproductive corners of the farm over to orchards, if labour was available and otherwise under-occupied on the farm. However at various times, as they stated to the Committee, fruit growers also considered grubbing up their orchards, since the return on a long-term investment was so low, and some had already begun to do so. For example Mr Israel Lewis told the Committee that he was reducing his orchards, although he feared what

[55] Timothy John Barringer, 'Representations of Labour in British Visual Culture 1870 – 1875' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1994) p.80.
[56] Tom Richardson *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* ed. by Alan Armstrong (Woodbridge: Kent County Council and The Boydell Press, 1995) p.241.
[57] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.17.

this would mean for his tenants who depended on the work. He said; 'In the year 1837 the price was low; and the duty being taken off in 1838, I considered the price would not answer, and I cut down some of my trees.' He also remarked that the gentlemen who farmed around him were disheartened and 'talked of grubbing.'[58]

The changes both to the farmed landscape and patterns of rural work had a further effect of changing the diet of the rural working class, no longer immediately dependent on the produce from their own cottage plot to eat, but rather to sell it in the market if they could, to enable them to buy food sourced from across the country and beyond. The changes in working class eating patterns in both urban areas and country had been observed with alarm and interest in previous decades, during both the 'golden age' of agriculture and the subsequent depression. As early as 1816 the horticulturalist William Salisbury, who had studied under Mr Curtis, founder of the Chelsea Physic Garden, linked the poor diet of the working classes to 'the bad state of our apple trees at this time.'[59] He explained;

> For if we travel in a stage-coach, or mix with company at an inn, or call at a farm-house, the conversation is found generally to turn to this point […] that there is no chance of seeing again a general hit of fruit; or that cider will ever again be made in this country as it used to be; and I have in several instances heard farmers declare, […] that the apple trees in their present state are little more than an incumbrance (*sic*) on the ground as, by preventing a due circulation of atmospheric fluid, they render what would otherwise be good pasturage sour and unfit for the food of cattle.[60]

Salisbury published these thoughts in a pamphlet which he sold at the London Botanic Garden in Sloane Street, which he had founded and laid out, and where he gave lectures to gentlemen. The garden contained a conservatory and greenhouses, but not, it seems, an orchard. However, Salisbury had purchased fruit trees from another expert pomologist, Mr Knight, and those must have been planted somewhere to observe their progress. Salisbury stated that his observations were the result of tours he took around the 'cider countries' in the previous four summers before his book was published.

Another concerned commentator and apple expert was Charles Roach Smith, who, after a celebrated career as a numismatist and antiquarian, retired to the countryside and turned his attention to local apple trees. He was in correspondence with the nurseryman Thomas Rivers, who quoted from one of Roach Smith's letters to him in River's best-selling

[58] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.46.
[59] William Salisbury, *Hints to Proprietors of Orchards* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816) p.vii.
[60] Ibid.

book *The Miniature Fruit Garden*, describing Roach Smith as 'the archaeologist'.[61]

In 1863 Roach Smith wrote an open letter, subsequently circulated as a pamphlet, entitled *On the Scarcity of Home Grown Fruits in Great Britain, with Remedial Suggestions*.[62] It is clear that Roach Smith did not consider there had been any progress since Salisbury's publication. In the opening paragraphs he emphasised the importance of the apple to a healthy diet, saying, 'Nature intended that fruit and vegetables should constitute at least the chief support of man.'[63] He then drew on the particularly English heritage and antiquity of the apple, mentioning with regret the decline of the 'pagan superstition' of wassailing;

> That [apples] were cultivated everywhere in the middle ages there can be no doubt. Brand's "Popular Antiquities" contains an immense number of references to the Apple. The old custom, of "wassailing" the Apple trees at Christmas to make them fruitful (a relic of pagan superstition) was universal throughout England and is not yet quite extinct. But the trees no longer exist to be "wassailed." 'Even within our memory, where large orchards were cultivated we see now only a few old, cankered stumps, producing nothing and cumbering the ground. From some cause or other the general cultivation of this valuable fruit has become more and more neglected, while the population has gone on rapidly doubling and re- doubling itself.[64]

Roach Smith also describes the high costs of apples, having seen that 'even in Kent, (a reputed fruit county) it is nothing uncommon to find Apples towards the month of January fetching from 2s to 3s a gallon; and I have known them supplied to a nobleman's family in the spring, at the rate of from 4d to 6d per Apple!'[65] Roach Smith asserts that for this reason, apples were not often consumed by rural families, where they lacked apple trees of their own. Among his remedial suggestions, Roach Smith hoped that all landowners should be required to plant trees for their tenants, and that apple trees be planted along railway embankments 'at a thickness of 250 trees per mile', so that poor boys who would otherwise be starving in the winter could be encouraged to 'steal' these apples.[66] His pamphlet ran to several editions and was referred to in other publications, showing that these concerns over the lack of apples in the rural diet were not entirely as eccentric as they may seem.[67] In fact this anxiety about the

[61] Thomas Rivers, *The Miniature Fruit Garden* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer 1870) p.58.
[62] Charles Roach Smith, 'On the Scarcity of Home Grown Fruits in Great Britain with Remedial Suggestions' *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (New Series Vol. III Session 1862-1863) The pamphlet seems to have been widely re-printed; this is the best extant copy found during this investigation.
[63] Ibid. p.129.
[64] Ibid. p.131.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid. p.132.
[67] William Henry Smyth, *Aedes Hartwellianae, or notices of the manor and mansion of Hartwell* first published 1844 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) p.94 refers to Roach Smith's work.

lack of home grown, English apples to the working class diet continued throughout the Victorian era, voiced in very similar terms. A letter to the *East Anglian Times*, from their 'regular correspondent on orchards', The Rev. Abbay, shows this clearly.

> Sir-I trust you will allow me to appeal to the owners of property to assist in increasing the supply of hardy fruit, especially apples, in Central Suffolk. […] No one can have lived for a few years in this district without coming to the conclusion that it is poorly supplied with the most useful of English fruits – apples – as any part of England, and no one can have tried to grow apples on its stiff, clay soil without being convinced that, with care, it is admirably adapted for producing the finest fruit.[68]

This letter was published in the paper in January 1892 and is one of a series on the subject. Rev. Abbay's letter is particularly interesting in that he goes on to list carefully the reasons for the lack of apples in the working-class diet, having noticed the change from locally sourced foods to imported oranges, rice and tea. What he captures as a 'feeling of unsettlement' is his description of the short-term nature of many tenancy agreements, even for smallholdings, that would make the tenants reluctant to plant trees when they may not be there for the harvest, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

> The cause of the scarcity is that very few apple trees have been planted during the past 20 years, whilst many have died, and others have been destroyed as being worn out and useless. Any feeling of unsettlement in regard to residence makes both farmer and cottager disinclined to plant trees from which there is a large chance that he will reap no benefit, and the work of re-planting, if done, must be done by the owners, or by the friends of the poor. The cheapness of groceries, such as rice and sugar, has made the housewife indifferent about apples; whilst their value for purposes of health, especially in families, has never been brought home to them. One result is that children of the poor rarely taste an apple after October, when the fruit is most beneficial; and oranges, grown thousands of miles away, are cheaper and more common in the very heart of rural districts than the fruit which is specially suited to our soil and climate.[69]

Rev. Abbay concludes with detailed costings of a project to provide the tenant cottagers with fruit trees. His easy supposition that 'a Squire has a village of 100 cottages,' demonstrates the persistence and stability of the old landowning structures in East Anglia.

> May I appeal then to the landlord to supply his tenant with such standard trees as he requires for his orchard; and to the cottage owner to supply bushes or standards,

[68] Rev. R Abbay, *Our orchards: Letters to the East Anglian Daily Times 1892 – 1920 with notes by the Rev. R Abbay, Rector of Earl Soham and Hon Canon of Norwich* (Ipswich: The Ancient House Press, 1920).
[69] Ibid. p.3.

> according to the size of his garden, up to six in number[...]. As to the cost to the owner: suppose a Squire has a village of 100 cottages. Every cottage can be supplied with a bush apple, as a trial, for £4 4s. Messrs. Daniels (Norwich) and, I believe, other nurserymen supply such trees at the rate of 25 for a guinea. […] The price of standards is 18s a dozen, and such a village might be supplied with standard trees in six years by an outlay of £7 10s a year.[70]

Two years later in 1894 another concerned member of the clergy, The Revd E. Bartrum, was writing on *The Present Distress, especially in Essex,* in a pamphlet sold for threepence, where he suggested some remedies for the hardships caused by 'the continued and persistent decline in the price of cereals' due to foreign imports and Government Duties, which he claimed had hit Essex hardest, as cereals were its primary crop.[71] Bartrum set out the deficiencies in 'skills and energy' that he saw in all branches of agriculture in the county, and as regards fruit culture he quoted 'a lady' who points out that the orchard is the first thought of the American farmer, and 'in England it is the Farmer's last thought.' Bartrum wanted to offer prizes for the best cultivated orchards, and to train teams of men to go about pruning all the local orchards. He noted that he will be told 'fruit culture does not pay' and admitted it cannot be relied upon for an income 'but if a choice of sorts is made with judgement, and if the trees are properly planted and cared for, some good results are sure to follow; "Every little helps."'[72]

However, if the aim were to give the most nourishment to the poor during times of agricultural depression and unemployment, these gentlemen might have urged landlords to provide tenants with chickens, and the railway embankments could have yielded a good harvest of potatoes. There is more behind these anxieties over the loss of orchards and English apple crops than the economic and nutritive value of an apple; the writers are equally concerned with the loss of orchards as part of the traditional landscape, and their loss within the changing agricultural patterns to the rural farm worker, who is changing into a day labourer, trudging back to a rented room on the edge of town to live off imported rice and tea.

There were other centralised attempts to intervene against this trend, although they were sporadic, and lacked the support and funding to make an impact. As more workers migrated to the towns, it was feared that the countryside would be emptied and left to fall back into wilderness. According to historian Michael Bunce, in 1887 the Mansion House

[70] Rev. Abbay, p.4.
[71] The Revd E. Bartrum, *The Present Distress, Especially in Essex: Some Remedies Suggested* (Colchester: Essex County Standard, 1894) p.12.
[72] Ibid. p.13.

Inquiry into the Condition of the Unemployed considered settling urban unemployed families onto vacant farmland, and the Salvation Army also attempted to set up farming camps.[73] However, such initiatives failed to take hold, not least because a different set of skills was required from new farmers, as well as for any who attempted to convert from wheat to fruit. Rider Haggard noted in his popular survey of the country at the end of the nineteenth century, *Rural England,* that 'a good fruit farmer in his way is something of an artist, and though these skills were plentiful in specialist districts such as the Vale of Evesham, they were absent in many wheat-growing counties.'[74]

In concluding this section it may be repeated that these changes and instability in rural working lives are little reflected in Victorian art or literature, except by the simultaneous increase in the culture of nostalgia, depicting rural practices that were already receding into folk lore and tradition. This tension in depictions of apples, orchards and the rituals, such as wassailing, that occurred around them is the primary theme of the second half of this thesis.

Orchard profits and crop development

Investigating the economic and material importance of the nineteenth-century orchard requires some attempt to calculate how profitable and productive English orchards may have been. Since so many orchards were very small, it may be thought that they were for local or domestic use only, but there is evidence which indicates that small orchards of approximately an acre could have local commercial viability. This section considers the evidence for the profitability of the crop of apples, both for the farmer and for the various trades involved between the field and the consumers. The last stage of that journey, the apple in the urban marketplace, is considered in the next chapter.

Evidence for the quantities of apples produced from a defined acreage can be found in contemporary accounts of the development of market gardens growing crops for London. The reports of the Fruit Conference of 1888 also touch upon expected yields. Nineteenth-century accounts of the production and sale of the apple crop are sparse, particularly at the beginning of the century, but give some useful figures, allowing a tentative calculation as to the extent of the demand for apples particularly from urban consumers. Again, with the exception of the evidence of the Select Committee on Fresh Fruit, there is little information as to how much of a profit apples could make for the grower, wholesaler and retailer along the chain to the

[73] Michael Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1994) p.84.
[74] Lilias Rider Haggard, *Rural England* (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1905) p.339.

customer. The evidence that is available has been extrapolated from an examination of a wider range of sources, including press reports, advertisements and books of instruction for orchard growers, many written by influential and enthusiastic nursery owners and fruit experts – pomologists – whose high public profile was one of the major influences on the growth of orchards, and whose impact and works are considered in detail in Chapter Three.

The increase in influence of existing, successful growers of fruit trees and rootstocks, including those growers like Thomas Rivers and the pomologists attending the National Apple Conferences, made fruit growing a more attractive and modern proposition for the small-scale farmer. Historian John Harvey's paper on early plant nurseries provides evidence that from 1670 onwards there were commercial plant nurseries around London, with the apple even at that time being the most popular fruit tree grown. By the nineteenth century hundreds of nurseries competed for the custom of home gardeners and commercial orchard growers alike, drawing on endorsements from the experts to advertise their trees.[75] The Select Committee on Fresh Fruit heard the evidence of Mr Joseph Kirk, who described himself as a nurseryman 'all my life' in Brompton. He may have worked at Brompton Park Nursery, which covered approximately 100 acres in Kensington, London and had been established in the seventeenth century.[76] Kirk described how he had sold 'many thousands of trees for the last fifty years' to orchard growers in Kent, and had been constantly improving the varieties offered, particularly moving to trees grown on a dwarfing rootstock, which would come into a productive fruit crop after fewer years than a large, standard tree.[77]

Another influential nursery was that run by Thomas Rivers, one of the most prominent figures among nineteenth-century nurseryman and fruit growers. Rivers inherited the family nursery, at Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire, from his father where he developed new varieties of plums and apples. The original Thomas Rivers was his grandfather who set up the nursery in 1725. The name of Rivers, therefore, was already influential in the profession and known to amateur gardeners. Rivers wrote a great number of articles and books, setting out many of his ideas on how to maximise an apple crop in *The Miniature Fruit Garden*.[78] Written in 1852, by 1870 it had run to seventeen editions, each amended and updated. It was aimed at the aspirational or hobby fruit-grower with enough land for a commercial orchard, but it was popular with home gardeners as well, especially because it set

[75] John H. Harvey, 'The stocks held by early nurseries' *The Agricultural History Review* 22:1 (1974).
[76] Roderick Floud, *Economic History* pp.131-133.
[77] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.39. Kirk may, however, since he said he lived 'near' to Brompton, have been one of the many small independent nursery growers who benefitted from their famous neighbour.
[78] Rivers, *The Miniature Fruit Garden* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1870).

out how to grow dwarfed trees, and how to train them into espaliers or cordons against a garden wall, making the most of the space available in a domestic garden. Rivers advocated the use of dwarfing rootstocks and even growing apples and other fruit trees in pots and under glass. Glass became cheaper during the middle decades of the nineteenth century so that a glasshouse fell within the means of a well-off suburban gardener, rather than something only the largest gardens could use. Rivers himself was constantly striving to improve not only apples, but the gardener's knowledge about growing fruit on any scale.

Rivers described market gardeners, as 'very deficient in their knowledge of fruit tree culture', and their usual practice as planting standard or half standard trees in rows, 'some twenty or thirty feet apart.'[79] By a standard tree, Rivers was referring to an apple that is not grown on a dwarfing rootstock, so will reach its full height of 15 – 20 feet, if not pruned. A half standard tree would now be called a 'semi dwarfing tree' and will reach a height of 8 – 12 feet. His estimate of the spacing used by market gardeners was extremely generous, but he wished to emphasise that trees could, and should, be grown more profitably when planted as much as ten times closer. Surprisingly Mr Kirk told the Select Committee on Fresh Fruit that orchard spacing varied according to county, with 27 – 35 trees per acre being usual, which does not seem possible for a profitable orchard under any system, where even the generous spacing would give over a hundred trees per acre.[80] Between the trees in the usual market garden would be intercropping of fruit, perhaps gooseberry or currant bushes, but also strawberries or cherries, or even flowers or potatoes. Rivers wrote against this practice, described as the usual practice in Kent, and instead advocated his experimental acre containing nothing but Cox's Orange Pippin apple trees:

> These trees in the season of 1864, the third of their growth in their present quarters, and the fourth of their age, gave an average of a quarter of a peck from each tree, so that we might have from 4840 trees, growing on one acre of ground, 302 bushels of fine apples worth 5s. per bushel, or £75. In 1866, the trees then averaging half-a-peck each, would double this sum, and make an acre of apple trees a very agreeable and eligible investment.[81]

The first time Rivers mentions this acre, he states it has been planted with one hundred trees. How he has now arrived at 4840 is not entirely clear, but his point is that these trees are extremely dwarfed, and planted 'only four foot apart'. (Figure 1.) In fact the total of 4840

[79] Rivers, *Miniature Fruit* p.82.
[80] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.39. As he then says 'all counties do not agree on distance' it may be possible that Mr Kirk was referring to the distance in feet between trees, rather than number per acre, and was mis-reported.
[81] Rivers, *Miniature Fruit* p.84.

trees can be arrived at by assuming the trees are planted even closer together, at one tree per square yard (or three feet apart). Rivers answers the readers' question of the cost of buying nearly 5000 young trees by replying that 'stocks costing only a small sum per thousand may be planted and grafted where the trees are to grow permanently, and, secondly, that a large demand which my method of planting will create, will also create a cheap supply.'[82] The large demand would of course benefit nurseries like his own. Rivers's work reflects his confidence that there were sufficient fruit nurseries nationally with enough supplies of young, grafted trees, which could, at least in theory, fulfil such orders.

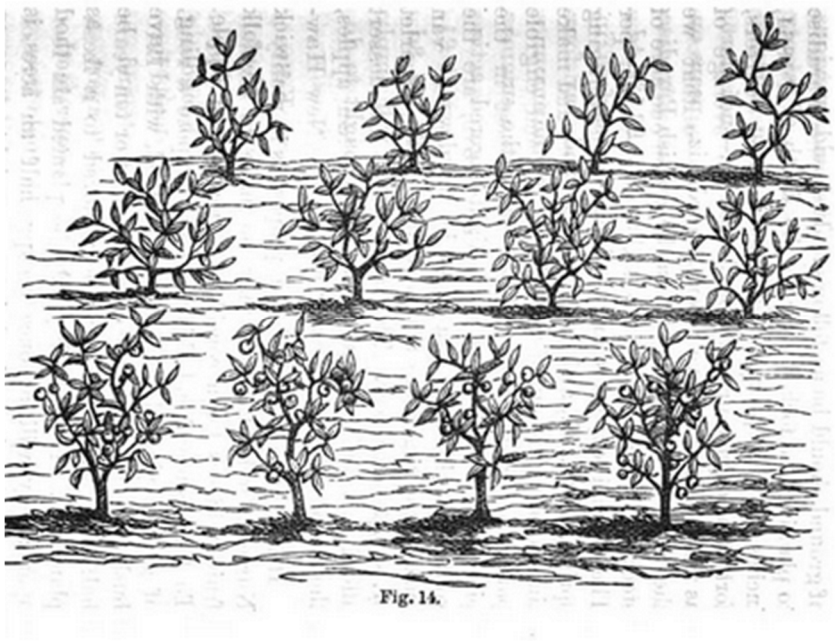


Figure 1. Thomas Rivers, *The Miniature Fruit Garden,* p.85 (rotated from original) showing closely planted orchard.

Rivers goes on to describe how to prepare an acre of ground for a market garden apple orchard, and gives the costs of the enterprise.

> The preparation of an acre of ground should be as follows : — It should, previous to planting, be forked over to the depth of twenty inches […] this ought to cost £6 13s. 4d., The annual expenses are, forking the surface in spring, £1 6s. 5d., and hoeing the ground, say four times during the summer, £1 4s. I give the amounts paid here for such work. Then comes the summer pinching of the shoots by a light-fingered active youth, and this may, at a guess, be put down at £1, making the aggregate annual

[82] Ibid. p.85.

> expenses, £3 10s. 8d., or, say, £4 per acre. The large return will amply afford this outlay, even adding, as we ought to do, the interest on capital, and rent.[83]

To achieve the £75 profit Rivers mentioned earlier this orchard must become highly productive quickly, ideally reaching a full crop in its third year. Rivers contrasts his orchard again with 'the usual old-fashioned mode' where large apple trees 'are planted in orchards at 20 feet apart, or 108 trees to the acre; if the soil be good and the trees properly planted, and the planter a healthy middle-aged man, he may hope at the end of his threescore and ten, to see his trees commencing to bear.'[84] Here Rivers, to strengthen the arguments for his close cultivation method, is exaggerating the length of time a large apple tree takes to fruit, since it is usually no more than five, even on a non-dwarfing rootstock. The tree will fruit while it is still growing.

The work of Rivers and other nurserymen alerted farmers to the varieties that were available and made a profit seem possible, albeit after a high initial outlay and a delay of a few years before a crop could be taken to market. However those growers who had been in the business for many years were not at all optimistic, as this eloquent statement to the Select Committee on Fresh Fruit made clear;

> In my humble opinion there is not a single article of consumption, either in agriculture or horticulture, that requires so much outlay of capital, time, and trouble, as apples, pears, and cherries, to bring to perfection. The farmer gets an annual return for his capital, outlay, and skill; and when his crops are housed he has nothing to fear from the effects of frost, and is protected by a duty. The hop-planter can raise a plantation in two years comparatively at a trifling expense, after which - he gets his annual return; and when his crop is bagged, he may sell the whole of his year's produce in one day, and is protected by a duty. The horticulturist, planting an orchard, is obliged to purchase his trees at a very considerable expense, which are liable to numerous casualties; and after paying the greatest attention to them, at an expense of at least 50 *L* per acre, he cannot get them into profitable bearing in less than from 14 to 20 years, and a very large portion of his produce he is obliged to put into storehouses to supply the market during the winter and spring months; and on the same produce there is merely a nominal duty. I have no doubt, that if it were possible to ascertain the whole of the profit and loss sustained by the fruit growers in this country for the last seven years, it would show that the produce, even with the protecting duty, has not paid the rent, cesses and tithe, which may principally be attributable to the increase of plantations, which produce a most abundant supply for the markets at very low prices.[85]

[83] Ibid. p.86.
[84] Ibid. p.87.
[85] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.104.

The profitability of orchards was also discussed by the Horticultural Society at the Apple and Pear Conference of 1888. Attendees to the conference addressed the on-going issue of how to make a living from selling apples. Both large commercial growers and those with small orchards shared their outlay and expected profits in order to discuss how fruit production could be increased. The conference proceedings provide a good counterpoint to the optimism of Rivers, while also demonstrating the open and collaborative nature of many of those involved in apple production, who were willing to share what may now be termed 'best practice' in apple cultivation. The records of this conference show how the trend for intensive growing of apple trees had been taken up by experienced apple growers, such as Mr William Paul, F.R.H.S., who shared his experience of his harvest from two hundred Ecklinville apple trees, planted on a mere quarter of an acre four years earlier.[86]

> [The trees] grew well. The third year they produced five bushels, the fourth year seventeen bushels, which sold on the ground at 5s. a bushel. They were planted about 6 ft. by 6 ft., but strong growers might be planted 9 ft. by 9 ft., and small fruits or vegetables might be grown between the trees for a few years. I estimate the expenses of planting and cultivating […] as follows :—
> Cost of trees, 200 at 50s. per 100 £5
> Planting and digging 15s
> Four years' cultivation, at 15s. per year
> Rent, rates, &c, at 10s. per year
>
> [total costs] £10 15s
>
> Returns in 1888 :
> Twenty-two Bushels of Apples sold on the ground, at 5s. per bushel £5 10
> Next year I expect to get the outlay back, and look to the future for profits.'[87]

Even intensively grown, therefore, this apple orchard cannot yield a profit within six years, although this orchard is only a quarter of an acre of a larger farm, thus mitigating some of the risk.

George Bunyard of Maidstone, Kent, delivered a paper on 'Apples for Profit' to the 1888 Conference. Bunyard's eponymous nursery was one of the largest commercial nurseries of fruit trees and rootstocks, and he also published popular books on the subject. His method of getting profit out of an orchard was to interplant the large standard trees with the newer,

[86] The Ecklinville apple is a large culinary variety, still in garden cultivation, that was bred in Northern Ireland, and esteemed by the Victorians for use in apple sauce. See www.fruitid.com.
[87] William Paul, 'Fruit culture for profit in the open air in England' in 'Report of the Apple and Pear Conference Held in the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens at Chiswick October 16 – 20 1888' *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* Vol. X (1888).

fashionable dwarf trees, as Rivers recommended, but Bunyard also incorporated the fashionable commercial idea of underplanting with short-lived crops, which Rivers thought took all the goodness from the soil. Bunyard recommended laying his orchard out as follows:

> The ground should then be set out, and standard trees, on the crab or free stock, of the following sorts, planted 24 ft apart, requiring 75 to an acre […]. So far for the top crop, the space between being utilised by placing three two or three year old dwarf trees between each standard, others at six feet apart, which, less 75 for standards, will be 1,135 per acre, until the plantation is filled up. These dwarfs will produce the best fruit from trees on the Paradise or surface rooting stock […].
> After the sixth season the orchard should be left with a permanent crop of dwarf apples, and standards at 12ft. apart. The dwarfs at some future time could be cut away, and the standards, which would then be established and strong, should be laid to grass, and thus fodder for sheep and a top crop of apples could be secured annually. Until the six-feet trees cover the land, potatoes may be grown between the rows, or lily of the valley, or daffodils. […] Such a plantation as described would commence to bring a return from the dwarfs in two years, and the fruit, with a little care in thinning, would command a ready sale, because, when grown in this manner, it is cleaner in appearance and much larger in size. In three or four years the standards would commence to fruit, and a much larger return would annually be made, and if properly managed, at the end of fourteen years the crop would buy the fee simple of the land outright.[88]

Again this demonstrates that an apple orchard, while it could be profitable if skilfully worked, was a long-term investment. This was another reason why apple orchards were kept small, to minimise the outlay and the labour costs. As another nurseryman wrote when sending in his apples to be exhibited at the conference;

> There are only two market orchards exceeding two acres, our own and one of twenty acres on the Roupell estate, but considerable quantities of fruit are sent to market from cottage gardens, and trees planted in accommodation paddocks on grass.[89]

Almost fifty years earlier the Select Committee on Fruit of 1839 had heard that cottagers relied on the sale of apples to pay their rent, sending fruit to the major markets rather than just selling it locally from the doorstep. It would appear that despite the improvements made in large commercial orchards, the majority of the crop was grown on a small scale, and the profits, when they could be made, were essential to the immediate economy around the orchard as well as to the wider network of sales people.

[88] George Bunyard, 'Apples for profit' in 'Report of the Apple and Pear Conference.'
[89] Messrs Paul and Son, Nurserymen, Cheshunt. 'Exhibitors' notes' in 'Report of the Apple and Pear Conference.'

All of the examples given above, from River's more aspirational orchards to Bunyard's well practiced methods, show that even without the benefits of mechanisation that served other crops, a nineteenth-century commercial orchard would have been a highly productive regulated space, where something could have been brought to market every year, and often in every season. Set against that, the sources also demonstrate how long a fruit grower would have expected to wait to recoup their outlay and turn a profit. The growth in orchard acreage throughout the nineteenth century, therefore, cannot be attributed to farmers wanting to turn a quicker profit or needing a cash crop to offset the rise in grain prices.

The East of England can be used as an example that demonstrates the complexity of orchard management and the potential for profit. Information about the extent of fruit growing in the East of England has been studied locally by historian Patsy Dallas, by this author and by other local groups now committed to preserving older varieties of fruit tree. The East of England is not an area that has retained the sense of being orchard country, partly because so many orchards were grubbed up at the turn of the twentieth century and the land converted to wheat or sugar beet production, but throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries East Anglian orchards were producing fruit for London as well as for their local towns and markets, by successfully adapting what they grew and how they grew it to suit local conditions. In the 'High Farming' era in particular there were extensive orchards. The whole of the area around Wisbech, in the Cambridgeshire Fens, was producing far more apples than could have been consumed locally. Patsy Dallas noted how established the orchards were.

> The concentration of large areas of fruit trees around Wisbech in the 1880s can, in part, be attributed to the availability of rail transport from the town to major markets. […] However, tithe apportionments show that this area was already growing extensive areas of fruit in the 1840s. For example at Walsoken the apportionment of 1843 recorded 38 hectares of orchard […] The commissioners described some of the pieces as *orchard and pasture* and some as *orchard and arable* whilst others were just orchard. Even allowing for the intermingling of arable with fruit trees there was still a substantial fruit growing industry in West Norfolk in the 1840s. Prior to the advent of rail transport it is likely that produce was shipped along the inland waterways […] or around the coast.[90]

A 'fruit note' in the *Gardener's Chronicle* from August 1881 provides an indication of the different varieties of apple, both for cooking and eating, that were grown in the East of

[90] Patsy Dallas, *Orchards in the Norfolk Landscape: historic evidence of their management, contents and distribution* (Norwich: University of East Anglia, 2010) p.35.

England at the time. This article also made clear that the apples were grown for the commercial market, in 'extensive' orchards, rather than local consumption, and that this was an improving trade.

> In that district of the country stretching from Northampton away to the east coast, where Apples are largely grown for market purposes, a variety named Perkins' Seedling finds great favour. It is one of the earliest in cultivation, is in the style of White Juneating, but flatter, and a very free bearer. Other varieties that have already, and are still being planted largely, are the Red and White Juneating, Keswick Codlin, Lord Suffield, Lord Grosvenor, or Jolly Beggar, of the type of Lord Suffield, but a more robust grower and a very free bearer – a first-rate early cooking Apple, and a variety that is being very largely planted in the more extensive market gardens; New Hawthornden, Court pendu-plat, a dessert Apple highly esteemed in this part of the country; Cellini Pippin, Blenheim Orange, Normanton Wonder, King of the Pippins, and Wyken Pippin. Those who propagate Apples largely for market planting are found asserting that the planting of Apple trees in the particular district named is being so extensively followed that the supply fails to keep pace with the demand; it would, therefore, seem that English grown Apples will largely increase during the coming years.[91]

Joan Thirsk has commented that the Victorian reliance on a wide range of varieties was partly to get around the problems of long-term storage, as different varieties of apple ripen in different months, and some store longer than others.[92] In the varieties given above, those described as 'early' will be in the market as soon as mid-July. This gives the regional, commercial growers an advantage in the market, albeit one that was soon cancelled with the arrival of imported apples, despite the optimism of the writer quoted above. With the twentieth-century introduction of refrigerated transport, robustness in handling and resistance to spoiling from cold became more important characteristics than the taste or appearance of different varieties. Thirsk also notes that market gardening at the end of the nineteenth century benefitted from a convergence of developments in transportation, refrigeration and food preservation, and all these factors benefitted the apple, while also providing challenges to its share of the fruit market. From the 1890s in the East of England, Bramleys became the main apple variety grown, with the orchards undercropped with gooseberries to make the

[91] Author unknown, 'Fruit note: Apples for Market' *Gardener's Chronicle* (13 August1881).
[92] Joan Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture: A History from the Black Death to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) p.175.

most of the space.[93] The crop was first taken to London by boat, across the Broads or down The Wash and then along the coast to London, but later Wisbech's railway (partially a tramway, in fact) seemed also to have been built on the promise of goods trading with London and the North, rather than on passenger fares or mail.[94] The example of the East of England demonstrates that profitable orchards were to be found across the country, even during the times when agricultural output in cattle or wheat was depressed.

The Free Trade Apple

Outside the orchard, two important linked influences on the declining or uncompetitive sales of British apples were the high quality of foreign imports and the effect of the Free Trade policies. Fruit historian Joan Morgan has noted that the development of English commercial apple growing was erratic compared to that in America, because, since apples were grown in mixed farms and market gardens, not only were the best varieties not being cultivated, but the growers were not formed into an organised trade body.[95] This affected how English growers could respond to foreign competition, and how they could take advantage of new developments in agriculture.

Throughout the nineteenth century apples were imported from France, and in increasing quantities towards the end of the century from Canada and America. William Salisbury, one of the instigators of the Botanic Garden now at Kew, wrote about this in 1815 or1816, with memories of the Napoleonic Wars and the trade blockade very fresh in his mind. He noted the vast supply of apples from France, on sale in Covent Garden wholesale market;

> I have this evening, 20th November 1815, passed through Covent Garden, and seen upwards of 1000 casks of apples that have been imported from France, and not less than an equal quantity heaped together in warehouses near Fleet Market, containing in the whole not less than 40,000 bushels […] The fruit I have this evening seen is, at a moderate calculation, worth twenty thousand pounds […] and this has been paid for in hard cash, to those who are our political enemies.[96]

[93] Laura Mason and Catherine Brown, *From Norfolk Knobs to Fidget Pie: Traditional Foods from the Midlands and East Anglia* (London: Harper Press, 2010) p.2.
[94] Still in operation in the 1960s, the Wisbech 'Growers' Special' was an important means of getting goods to the mainline depots. In this archive film http://www.eafa.org.uk/catalogue/139644, it is clear how the different methods of transportation have fared over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
[95] Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *The New Book of Apples* (London: Ebury Press, 2002) p.98.
[96] William Salisbury, *Hints Addressed to Proprietors of Orchards* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816) p.110.

Covent Garden market remained the centre of the wholesale fruit trade in London, throughout the nineteenth century, and many fruit growers and sellers across the country took an interest in the index of its prices for home grown and imported fruit as a guideline to setting their own rates. Therefore *The Gardener's Chronicle* (founded in 1841 as a horticultural and agricultural trades journal) gave weekly reports of what was doing best at Covent Garden, and some indication of the prices fetched.

> The weather still continuing favourable, trade has been pretty brisk […] Apples are as yet plentiful. Among them are nice examples of the American Newtown Pippin, and we also observed Lady Apples very fine, as from 1s 6d to 2s per dozen.[97]

By the 1880s the reports were by-lined to James Webber from the Wholesale Apple Market. His accounts were laconic, but give an idea of the apple trade fluctuations against foreign imports. For example he reported in December 1881, 'Our market has been very dull, and all classes of Apples have receded consequent upon the arrivals of Canadian and American consignments'[98] The prices Webber listed show that apples were selling for 1 shilling to 3 shillings and 6p per half sieve (equivalent to half a bushel) on 1st December 1881. This compared with lemons which were fetching from 4 – 6 shillings per hundred, making the imported fruit much more attractive.

At this point another difficulty in quantifying the economic importance of the apple as a commodity becomes apparent. Apples were traded in bushels, sieves, baskets and barrels, but the number or weight of apples that constituted each measure was not a fixed quantity. Aashish Velkar's significant doctoral thesis on nineteenth-century measurements does not address apples directly, but does consider the problem of measuring quantities of potatoes, which were traded in the same way as apples.[99] He has determined that a nineteenth-century bushel, when used to measure fruit, was equivalent to 33 quarts or four pecks. However, the bushel varied regionally, so that in Lancashire it was equivalent to 90lb, but in Middlesex around 56 lb. In addition bushel baskets could be heaped, and thus weighing up to ten percent more, or 'stricken'; defined as being filled only to the top of the basket and not beyond it. Nine heaped bushels was equivalent to ten stricken, legal weight bushels. After the introduction of the Act for Ascertaining and Establishing Uniformity of Weights and

[97] Author unknown, *The Gardener's Chronicle* 1 January 1853.
[98] James Webber, *The Gardener's Chronicle* 3 December 1881.
[99] Aashish Velkar, 'Markets, Standards and Transactions: Measures in Nineteenth-Century British Economy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London School of Economics, 2008).

Measures of 1824, a bushel was supposed to be eight gallons in capacity, or four pecks. [100] Therefore, if a half sieve was equivalent to half a bushel, it can be supposed that a sieve of apples was equivalent to a bushel volume, but perhaps a different weight. A barrel, often used to pack and transport imported apples, was in earlier centuries held to be equivalent to three bushels.[101] The Committee on Fresh Fruit, grappling with calculating how many apples had been sold and at what price and duty, learned that the difference between a sieve and a bushel was about a peck, or the difference between a heaped and a stricken measure, and were informed by Mr Godwin, a wholesaler, that superior English apples were sold by the bushel, but American apples were sold by the barrel, 'but sometimes they come out of a barrel so badly that you do not get more than two or three dozen to a barrel.'[102] Therefore, given the variability of weight and volume of apples in every source that lists them, all descriptions of the quantities of apples traded must be considered as broad estimates, and it is not possible to measure, for example, the supposed weight of apples sold against quantities of lemons, or any other similar commodity.

The Gardener's Chronicle's occasional 'fruit notes' of the 1881 season, probably also written by Webber, carried the following musings on the lack of profit in apples.

> Those who, at the instance (sic) of Mr Gladstone and of well-stocked nurserymen, are largely planting fruit trees may well read - with all the profit they will ever get – my account of last Saturday's sales in Covent Garden: [the remainder of the list is of pear prices]1 ½ bushels Ribston Pippins 10s 6d.
> I may add that the sales were not made on commission or by auction, but at my own stand, and with long endurance. […] No finer English fruit than mine goes to Covent Garden […] When the price of fruit was at its best, and I was comparatively young and sanguine, one of our leading nurserymen observed to me –"Ah sir, it pays a long way better to grow the trees than the fruit, even when you can get it." Twenty-five years I have now been a fruit grower, and in only one season has the produce paid the wages, let alone manure, repairs, interest on capital &c. […] signed *A Victim to Pomona.*[103]

Pomona's Victim was referring back to, and refuting, a speech on the subject of growing apple trees, made by Gladstone in 1879 at the flower show held on his estate at Hawarden, where, *The Spectator* reported,

> Mr Gladstone told his audience that a gentleman on the Hudson River, in the Northern States of America, has got an apple garden of 200 acres, and all of these, apples which are direct descendants of English apples of former generations. Yet these apples are

[100] Ibid. pp.26 -29.
[101] Ibid. p.35. The measure was determined in the reign of Charles II.
[102] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.8.
[103] 'A Victim to Pomona' in 'Fruit notes' *The Gardener's Chronicle* 26 November 1881.

> now sent back to England. If, at the high rate of wages paid for labour in America, it paid this gentleman to send us his apples, would it not pay English cottagers to grow such apples for the English market themselves?[104]

Since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the effects of the country's free trade policies had been to increase low cost food imports from America. Gladstone continued to remove duty on many imported items, believing that free trade would stimulate market growth and prosperity, while reducing state expenditure.[105] These free trade policies affected the price of home grown, as against imported, apples. Agricultural historian David Harvey noted that 'the tariff on apples, for example, was reduced from 4s. per bushel to a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty which was equivalent to between 3d. and 7d. per bushel.'[106] Also affected was the cost of sugar. Previously a scarce luxury, when the import tariffs on sugar were reduced after 1846, the demand for fruit of all kinds increased. It is difficult to gauge the impact of the policies on apple orchards overall, especially when set against the general trend for a growth in orchard acreage during the same period. David Harvey used his study of the growers in Kent to show that the policy was seen as a positive or negative force depending on political allegiance as much as on prices.

> William Harryman wrote to the *Maidstone Journal* in 1841 that 'by repealing the duty on foreign fruit, they rendered valueless the orchards which had taken all my life to raise and upon which I have expended large sums of money'. The editor of the *Maidstone Gazette,* true to his free trade colours, maintained on the other hand that the 'prediction of ruin, low rents and land thrown out of cultivation' had not been borne out by events. But even the *Gazette* reported in 1842 that 'the fruit growers are now scarcely able to get a market for their fruit', while Lord Torrington voiced the opinion that 'the sooner Kent is without an apple tree the better'.[107]

Free trade policies, together with the development of steamships that lowered transportation costs and speeded up shipping, certainly increased the amount of wheat and many other goods, including apples, coming into the country. At the same time, England's apple growers faced difficult trading conditions exacerbated by a series of bad harvests due to unseasonal weather from 1877 – 1881. Gladstone must have been speaking during what Lord Ernle described as the 'sunless, ungenial summer of 1879' and therefore his admonitions seem

[104] Author Unknown, *The Spectator* 30 August 1879.
[105] Peter Cain, 'British free trade 1850 – 1914 economics and policy' *REFRESH* Autumn 29 (1999) p.1.
[106] David Harvey, 'Fruit growing in Kent in the nineteenth century' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 79 (1964) p.96.
[107] Ibid. p.96.

particularly brave.[108]

Gladstone returned to his concerns over the imported foods at another Hawarden speech in 1884, during his second term as Prime Minister, when he lectured his tenants about the dangers of buying foreign jam.

> He showed how vastly the amount of food imported for every member of the population had increased in the last generation. […] Mr Gladstone remarked that English farmers ought to compete with the Continent more strenuously than they do in the supply of poultry, eggs, butter, fruit etc and especially as regarded fruit, he pointed out that the high price of butter was leading to a very large consumption of foreign jam, which could be bought for from 7d to 9d a pound, while butter costs from 1s 3d to 1s 8d a pound. He thought that this foreign jam ought to be more or less undersold by the English jam, and that the farmers should cultivate fruit with a direct view to the supply of good, wholesome jams, either better than those sent from abroad, or equally good at a cheaper rate.[109]

The latter half of the nineteenth century, therefore, saw anxieties about foreign competition impact on both home grown apple consumption and the reception of new, well packed varieties from America and France. These anxieties continued to the end of the nineteenth century, and indeed beyond. In his account of a year on his own Kentish fruit farm in 1897, George Bunyard also listed what was being bought and sold each week in Covent Garden, from his first hand experience. As a very astute grower and trader, Bunyard had an eye on the market at all times but often found that he was unable to compete on price. Here he gives a knowledgeable and practical insider's analysis of the reasons behind the attraction to the consumer of the imported fruit.

> Just after Christmas [apples] went down to ridiculously low values, and all the Americans and Canadians which had been kept over had to be almost given away. […] Buyers have been, and are, used to the barrels of Americans, which are always infinitely better packed than English goods; and if they can be persuaded to give long prices for our home grown apples, it must be for something that is good and looks taking. For quite the best, many buyers would not hesitate over sixpence or a shilling per bushel; but, failing really good samples, such buyers will give preference to the Americans, even though they may have to pay more than double the price of medium English fruit.[110]

---

[108] Lord Ernle, 'The Great Depression and recovery' *British Agriculture 1875 – 1914* ed by P. J. Perry (London: Routledge, 2006) p.3.
[109] Author Unknown, *The Spectator* 12 January 1884.
[110] George Bunyard, *A Year's Work on a Kentish Fruit Farm, by a Practical Man* (Maidstone: G. Bunyard and Co.,1898) Entry for 19 January 1897 p.6.

Bunyard was also aware of the seasonality of English apples, competing with out of season imports, as he recorded.

> Our British home grown apples are getting very scarce. The stocks in the country are very low indeed, but I do not anticipate seeing our apples go any dearer, as there is no doubt the Americans will be with us until the Tasmanians come. Thus we have always a foreigner to reckon with, no matter what season it may be.[111]

However the view from America, as described by J. G. Thompson, an apple grower in Kansas, was naturally more optimistic. Thompson noted

> During the week ending December 11, 1897, there were exported from the United States to Europe 25,447 barrels of apples; of these, Liverpool got 3335, London, 2580, Glasgow, 3567, Hamburg, 5264; equalling 14,756. The total export to Europe this year […] is 586,906 barrels, bringing this country over one and a half million dollars. We packed, last fall, 1000 boxes of Willow Twig and Ben Davis; these were packed in pear boxes, each apple wrapped in paper; the boxes (filled) would weigh about forty pounds. The apples are placed in layers […] ninety six apples to the box, putting the finest apples on top. […] One thousand boxes make a good car-load, weighing about 40,000 pounds. […] These cases of selected apples are expected to sell readily for eight shillings (or $2) per box, and packed in this careful manner should go through in perfect condition. If they bring satisfactory prices, I predict that next year more than one Kansas orchard will be packing apples for foreign export.[112]

Here is the English apple, considered a home grown delicacy and a food capable of improving the health of the urban working classes and the prosperity of small rural producers, represented as something at war with 'a foreigner' whatever the season. This has been represented , by Morgan, in particular, as an organised campaign against foreign imports, but it seems to have been more of a mood that caught on with certain growers and apple traders. For example, this advertisement from the *Kilburn Times* in 1896 proudly states 'We have never sold a foreign apple.'[113] (Figure 2.)

[111] Ibid. Entry for 2 February 1897 p.9.
[112] William Barnes, ed. *The Apple: The Kansas Apple* (Topeka: Kansas State Horticultural Society, 1898) p.13.
[113] Advertisement, *Kilburn Times* Friday 26 September 1896.

(Figure 2. *Kilburn Times* 1896 Apple advertisement.)

However, other advertisements from the same period talk of the fine quality of their 'Canadian assignment' of apples or of those from America, as in this example from the *East Anglian Daily Times* where 'Wm Bennett, Family Grocer' announced that he 'has just received a Consignment of Fresh Canadian Apples for Dessert.'[114]

Therefore, the orchard grower faced as many obstacles as incentives when starting off an orchard and trying in subsequent years to get a profitable crop from it. The last difficulty came in getting a fair price for the crop in the wholesale market, as has been discussed above. One factor influencing the wholesale price was how much of the crop could then be sold on to the retail market of shops, stalls and apple barrows, since very little of the crop went to commercial food production. The complexities of the urban apple trade will be discussed in the following chapter.

[114] Advertisement, *East Anglian Daily Times* Saturday 7 June 1879.

Chapter 2

From the orchard to the kitchen – nineteenth-century urban apple supply and consumption

Introduction

Once the apple was harvested, it had to reach the consumer. Apples were often sold and eaten locally, at the cottage door or village market, but, as this investigation has previously demonstrated, apples were a nationally, and internationally, traded commodity with a fluctuating price. This chapter considers the end-links in the chain between grower and consumer, before the apple is processed and actually eaten. It investigates the economic importance of the apple in the nineteenth century by focussing on the street traders or costermongers and the urban fruit trade. Information on their way of life helps to inform a determination of the economic and social importance of the apple as an item of everyday, and luxury, consumption. The chapter then considers the social and cultural significance of those selling apples on the street; the costermongers and apple women, and how their reception and representation may have affected the economic worth and status of the apple. Finally the chapter takes the apple into the kitchen, both grand and domestic, and the public house, to consider how apples were consumed and what might be the added value of the raw apple when it was processed.

The apple's place in the retail trade

This investigation has used a variety of contemporary and secondary sources, since there is little written explicitly on the subject of the trade in apples, even into the early twentieth century. Historians of urban provisioning, retailing and distribution have largely overlooked the fruit (and vegetable) trades. Retail historian James Jefferys, in his aggregation of large-scale retailing trends from 1850 onwards, noted that fruit and vegetables continued to be sold by small independent retailers and therefore, he maintained, did little to influence, and were little affected by, the so called 'retail revolution' of that period.[1] Janet Blackman, studying the food supply of Sheffield, argued that the growth in the number of fixed shops was the most important change to retailing in the early nineteenth century. Therefore in her study the role of the street fruit seller – the costermonger or their provincial equivalent - was

[1] James B. Jefferys, *Retail Trading in Britain 1850-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.244.

downplayed, since they were not part of the expanding stationary retail nexus.[2] Gareth Shaw considered the distribution network from the geographer's perspective and noted that both Blackman and Jefferys's arguments were simultaneously valid, since Blackman was concerned with changes in the material retail structure and Jefferys with the overall organizational trends of the period.[3]

In accordance with Shaw's methodology, therefore, it is necessary to view the distributive system for any product in its entirety over the period to gain a clear picture of how the distribution functioned, and how this affected the product's economic worth. In addition, recent research has looked at more facets of the retail process, including the spatial geography of markets and other retail spaces to see how this influenced consumer patterns.[4]

Within the developing discipline of the economic history of food, historians have investigated the networks of distribution for single products. For example, P. J. Atkins's study of the retail milk trade in London aimed to show that 'studies of individual trades in their urban setting can contribute to our understanding of how the Victorian city economy behaved in the important everyday function of supplying retail goods.'[5] Studies of consumables within the nineteenth-century foundational economy have demonstrated more than the economic weight of staple produce, since the investigation of the scope and frequency of trade has revealed changes in cultural preferences, and how new products have arisen. This is especially important to food history, where historians have been engaged in tracking changes in diet and eating patterns as well as the cultural changes in the foodstuffs that were consumed, and in how and where they were eaten.

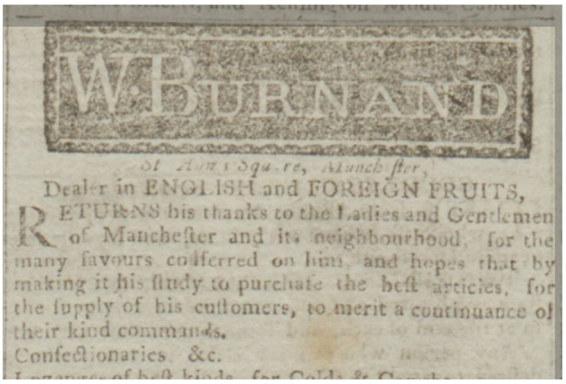
Throughout this thesis, consideration of how the apple was perceived as a commodity has been set against the changes in the nature and motivation of the consumer. Focussing on the apple in this context has provided an original insight into how fresh food was transported, consumed and eaten in large towns and cities, as well as demonstrating how the apple was received and perceived by its urban consumers, and how that affected its economic value. Historian Reginia Gagnier has noted that during the nineteenth century the concept of 'economic man'; one bounded by his labour and production, transformed into the 'universal

[2] Janet Blackman, 'The Food Supply of an Industrial Town: a study of Sheffield's public markets 1780 – 1900' *Business History* 5:2 (1963).
[3] Gareth Shaw, 'Changes in Consumer Demand and Food Supply in Nineteenth Century British Cities' *Journal of Historical Geography* 11:3 (1985).
[4] Colin Smith, 'The Market Place and the Market's Place in London c1660 – 1840' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 1999.)
[5] P. J. Atkins, 'The retail milk trade in London 1790 – 1914' *Economic History Review New Series* 33: 4 (Nov 1980) p.522.

man of insatiable consumer desires'.[6] This consumer, made newly aware of products' levels of 'relative scarcity' only through knowledge of all that is put before him/her to consume, must demonstrate taste, class and their 'level of civilisation' through purchases.[7] This shift from production to consumption as a moral impetus may seem removed from such a mundane purchase as an apple, but as this chapter, and the subsequent discussion in Part Two of the thesis on the cultural significance of the apple will demonstrate, the transaction made to purchase an apple was one that could indeed demonstrate the class and cultural perceptions of the purchaser.

Historians Roger Scola and Janet Blackman have traced the changes in food arriving to feed the urban populations of Manchester and Sheffield, respectively. Within their discourses on retailing and food distribution the apple has been given little attention. This may be due to fruit not being a staple crop. The apple, like other seasonal fruits, occupied a space in the nineteenth-century diet between essential daily staple and imported luxury, and therefore has not been given the academic attention paid to either. Scola's work however implies that the apple was an important commodity and a food that the consumer actively sought out. He noted that throughout the nineteenth century Manchester's fruit market was known as 'the apple market' and that apples came into the city not only from local orchards but from Worcestershire and Kent, and, later in the century, at a premium price from America.[8] Scola's sources included advertisements and articles in the local press as well as agricultural reports, which demonstrated that agricultural writers of the time believed that 'commercial fruit growing was poorly developed in the surrounding area.' [9] Scola noted that most of the apples came into Manchester from a distance, especially after the development of the surrounding canal network, although local small-scale farmers took surplus product to market when they could. The advertisements from the major Manchester paper, *The Mercury,* do indeed show dealers in imported and local fruits, such as W. Burnand, 'Dealer in English and Foreign Fruits', who in 1800 was already advertising 'Golden Pippins and Nonpareil Apples, very fine.'[10] (Figure 1).

[6] Reginia Gagnier, 'On the insatiability of human wants: economic and aesthetic man' *Victorian Studies* 32: 2 (Winter 1993) p.126.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Roger Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: Food supply of Manchester 1770 - 1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992) p.120.
[9] Ibid. p.121.
[10] Advertisement for W. Burnand in *The Mercury* Manchester, Tuesday 4 March 1800. Considering the month in which these apples were advertised they were likely to be imported.


W. BURNAND

Dealer in ENGLISH and FOREIGN FRUITS,

RETURNS his thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Manchester and its neighbourhood, for the many favours conferred on him, and hopes that by making it his study to purchase the best articles, for the supply of his customers, to merit a continuance of their kind commands.

Confectionaries &c.

Figure 1.
Heading for W. Burnand's regular advertisement in *The Mercury* Manchester, Tuesday 4 March 1800.

These varieties were the top-quality dessert apples and were often imported, although, as the previous chapter has shown, there was some hostility towards foreign apples later in the century. However, Scola's comprehensive survey cannot allow space to include more information on the apple, beyond his conclusion that local pollution depressed nearby crops, and that 'as a major commercial undertaking, fruit growing for the Manchester market was almost non-existent.'[11] Janet Blackman considered the retail trade in Sheffield in order to counterbalance the concentration on London; she noted that in Sheffield there was also trade with other large, local towns such as Rotherham. Despite the growth in demand for fresh fruit and vegetables, Sheffield 'was largely dependent on the seasonable foodstuffs grown in a fairly narrow locality around the town […] supplemented by water and land carriage from Goole, Thorne and Doncaster' until the arrival of the railway expanded the sources available.[12] Sheffield merchants petitioned for a covered market, similar to those in Newcastle, Liverpool and Birmingham. Blackman noted that the granting of this petition, by establishing markets close to the centre of the city, demonstrated the changing retail structure and increasing importance of fruit and vegetables for sale. [13] Blackman's conclusions are similar to Scola's; that markets have grown to meet local circumstances, without any organisational structure. Comparisons between these major cities and London, where the Guilds influenced the nature of the retail and market trade, are therefore hard to draw.

London's market gardens

The distributive network for fruit in London was often studied and commented on during the nineteenth century itself, since the expansion in population and the subsequent

[11] Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City* p.122.
[12] Janet Blackman, 'The Food Supply of an Industrial Town; a study of Sheffield's public markets 1780 - 1900' *Business History* 5:2 (1963) p.92.
[13] Ibid. p.94.

growth in fixed retail outlets was so obvious to residents and social commentators, and many journalists were based in London and able to examine the nearby market gardens. The articles and commentaries produced from that period form part of the discourse on production, process and the progress of individual commodities that were popular in middle-class periodicals throughout the second half of the century, and which influenced the way in which those commodities were received, as historian Peter Gurney has recently documented.[14]

The nineteenth-century growth in market gardening is, throughout the period, viewed by those within the industry, and by cultural commentators, in a positive light as an example of economic progress. They comment on the amount of land given over to market gardening, as have historians. Recent estimates as to the extent of the area covered by market gardens therefore vary; Floud uses Malcolm Thick's figures from his study of Neat House to estimate a total of 13,000 acres at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[15] Contemporary accounts put the total rather lower, especially since, as horticulturalist C. W. Shaw observed in 1879, the total land given over to fruit cultivation decreased during the century 'for the land is high rented, and old orchards are being yearly cleared off to make room for the builder, and few care to speculate in a very large way in orchard planting.'[16]

In 1820, at the start of the boom in market gardening, horticulturalist Henry Phillips published his master work *Pomarium Britannicum*.[17] Prefaced as 'the first historic account of fruits, which has been attempted in the English language,' Phillips brought his history up to date with a description of the production of fruit around the capital. He described the extent of the market gardens, and quoted other contemporary sources, presumably other nurserymen, to give an estimate of the scale of the enterprise; 'Stevenson informs us, that 3,500 acres of ground in Surrey alone are employed as market gardens; and Middleton observes, that from Kensington to Twickenham, the ground on both sides of the road for seven miles composes the great fruit gardens, north of the Thames, for the supply of the London market.'[18]

Phillips also wrote a description of the production of fruit around the capital, where night soil was 'so carefully removed to manure the ground occupied by gardeners in the environs, which are now calculated to exceed six thousand acres within twelve miles of

[14] Peter Gurney, *Wanting and Having; popular politics and Liberal consumerism in England 1830 – 70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).
[15] Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* p.138.
[16] C. W. Shaw, *London Market Gardening* (London: [n. pub.], 1879) p.119.
[17] Henry Phillips, *Pomariam Britannicum* (London: T and J Allman, 1820) p.iv.
[18] Ibid. p.v.

London […] in constant cultivation.'[19] Floud has calculated that the city produced 'about 300,000 tons of human waste and horse dung' each year in 1800. He commented 'presumably the citizens of London knew – but did not care – that the fruit and vegetables they bought at Covent Garden Market had been nourished by human and equine waste.'[20] Phillips obviously saw the use of night soil as an advantage for London and its crops.

Market gardens and plant nurseries alike were distributed around the capital in close proximity to the Thames, so that produce, and other supplies such as night soil, could be moved easily along the river to the markets, also close to the Thames shore. The orchards were integrated into the whole fruit and vegetable growing business, and any land with fruit trees was itself cultivated on horticultural, market garden models, where every single plant has to earn its keep all year round. Apples were one crop crammed into this highly productive and efficient business.

Phillips also commented on the number of market garden employees, which he found 'gratifying' since 'even during the six winter months, it is computed that it affords work to five persons an acre, and at least double that for the summer months, who are principally female.'[21] This is a comparable figure to that given to the 1829 Select Committee on Fresh Fruit by several witnesses, as discussed in the previous chapter. Phillips did not give an indication of how such high labour costs would impact the profits of the market gardens.

George Dodd, a journalist and writer on statistics and industrial process, first published his best selling work, *The Food of London*, in 1855. In it he sought to give, as he said, 'a sketch of the chief varieties, sources of supply, probably quantities, modes of arrival, processes of manufacture, suspected adulteration, and machinery of distribution of the food for a community of two millions and a half'.[22] He also sought to answer the question 'where does London end?' in an effort to define the population, and noted that 'our green fields are departing; our trees and shrubs, herbs and wild flowers, are being swallowed up in the wilderness of new streets and squares exhibited by the metropolis on all sides; and were it not for the market-gardens, the suburbs would be still more wearisome'.[23] The second half of this thesis considers the importance of urban gardens as a force for moral good and a space that improved the emotional, even the spiritual health of the working classes, but within the context of the economic or material value of the apple, it should be noted that writers such as

[19] Ibid. p.iv.
[20] Floud, *An Economic History* pp.138 – 139.
[21] Phillips, *Pomarium* p.v.
[22] George Dodd, *The Food Of London* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1856) p.ix.
[23] Ibid. pp.10 – 11.

Dodd were aware of, and in favour of, the access to parks and public and private gardens and green spaces as benefitting the capital as a whole. Even the intensive market gardens had a recognised aesthetic appeal.

Dodd celebrated the extent of fruit cultivation within these market gardens, still geographically within the residential centre of London, with this description of the very intense cropping of a productive space in Fulham, where the apple trees were kept heavily pruned, and thus shortened. This maximises the crop, the ease of picking and the use of space.

> When the onions are gathered, more cabbage or colewort is put in; and then come cauliflowers, gherkin cucumbers, French beans, or scarlet runners. So the gardener proceeds, never allowing his ground to remain idle for a single day, and acting upon the well- assured maxim that the enormous expense of manure and labour will be more than repaid by the enormous returns per acre per annum. It is said that, in the month of November, this garden contains more than twenty acres of London greens: every hole and corner under trees, and every bit of spare space, being filled with them. There are fifty acres of apple, pear, and plum plantations; the trees are pruned after the manner of currant bushes; and the ground under them is cropped with rhubarb, currants, and gooseberries in summer, and with colewort and cabbages in winter.[24]

Here, Dodd is describing a very profitable enterprise, one where 'enormous expense' quickly yields 'enormous returns', but only if the gardener works every single day. The imagery is of an active, progressive space, giving a sense of movement and growth. The passage has similarities with descriptions of the newest factory lines, popular in the press throughout the nineteenth century as items familiarly made by hand became mass produced. For comparison, this passage by Richard Phillips from 1817 describes a recently mechanised shoe factory in Battersea: 'All the details are performed by ingenious applications of the mechanic powers, and all the parts are characterized by precision, uniformity, and accuracy'.[25] In Dodd's commercial Eden the fruit trees are one crop among many, and the cultural image of the orchard as a serene, pastoral place is at odds with this fast-paced enterprise.

The type of market-garden orchard that Dodd describes was the usual model for the southern and eastern counties with access to the London market, and one that remained popular, and as discussed above, could prove profitable throughout the period. Fourteen years later an article in the periodical edited by Charles Dickens, *All the Year Round,* describes in idealised and romantic tones a similarly productive scene in Kent, and sketches in the

[24] Ibid. p.374.
[25] Richard Phillips, *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew* (London: Souter, 1817) p.47.

distribution chain of the apples which will go to a 'salesman' who is in the role of a wholesaler, rather than a retailer.

> From Tunbridge to Maidstone - fourteen miles - through Hadlow, Peckham, Mereworth, Wateringbury, Teston, and Barming, there are hops and orchards all the way. The prettiest orchards are those in which rows of apple-trees are mixed with filberts, cherries, and other low-growing trees. Filberts and cob-nuts do not want so much sun as the larger fruits; they need shelter, and they do not suffer from a little shade. The apple-trees, therefore, are planted wide apart, as tall standards, and are allowed to grow to a considerable height; under them, grow smaller trees, filberts, cherries, plums, damsons, and sometimes currants and gooseberries. The lower trees are kept small, and the filberts are pruned as bushes. They are all planted in rows, but a mixed orchard in full bearing looks like one mass of foliage and fruit. Inside, it is a busy scene. The orchards are often secluded within high hedges and close gates, and when picking is going on a merry humming is heard from within. The cost of picking a good crop of apples is from twopence to threepence a bushel. They are sent to London in bushel and half-bushel baskets (sieves). These belong to the salesman, who often sells and delivers the fruit, without unpacking it. […] But in growing fruit for market there must be economy of labour and space; there must be no fancy work. […] The apple-trees of Kent are five or six stories high, and produce five or six times as many apples, on an equal space, besides leaving room for a harvest of filberts and cherries beneath.[26]

This article has been quoted at length since it is not only a source of information about nineteenth-century commercial orchards, but it demonstrates how the cultural and material significance of the apple are blended together, in a manner which is the primary theme of this thesis, showing how the readers and the writer responded to the apple as a commodity, but one with more than an economic value; the orchards were prized for being pretty, and the workers were represented as happy within them.

All the Year Round began in 1859, as a replacement for *Household Words*. Both publications included serialised fiction, travelogues, and sometimes contained articles that described the cultural and material history of various commodities.[27] However, this description of the orchard also has similarities to the travelogue, describing an unfamiliar and often 'hidden' place to which the author has privileged access. The article (author unknown) makes explicit the romanticised view of hard labour, and both this piece and the earlier one

[26] Author unknown, 'English Hop Gardens' *All the Year Round* Vol. II (3 July1869) p.103.
[27] For example: *All the Year Round* Vol. II (12 November 1859) 'English Mutton', which is concerned with changes to the countryside and the loss of knowledge; `Strawberries' by Edmund Saul Dixon, *Household Words*, Vol. XVI I I No.432 (3 July1858), which sees the introduction of new varieties as a mark of progress; `Economic Botany 'by Edmund Saul Dixon, *Household Words*, Vol. XI I, No.319 (3May1856), which describes many plants that most of the readers would never have encountered in plant form but were used in drugs and spices; 'Cherries', *All the Year Round* Vol. VII No.167 (5July1862) which starts with the Roman General, Lucullus, who supposedly introduced the cherry tree.

have bought into the symbolic innocence of the fruit and those who worked with it; the women whose 'merry humming' can be heard, like bees, rising above the enclosing hedges. Those selling apples and other fruit and vegetables; the wholesalers, the costermongers and the women with baskets on the street, had to rely on the attributes of the apple as being innocent and safe to eat, as a foodstuff that had come in fresh from the country. It served a vendor well to play on the rurality of the fruit, flowers and vegetables on offer, and link them to a section of society that was particularly celebrated in genre art by the mid and late-Victorians – the unmodernised rural labourer, the 'apple cheeked' country maiden. Periodicals, such as the *Illustrated London News*, showed portraits of particular kinds of workers, and included an example of an apple harvester, pretty, healthy and happy in her work. (Figure 2.)

Figure 2.
'Apple Gathering'
Illustrated London News
1 October 1881. 'For it is pleasant, she feels, perched in fearless ease upon a step twenty feet above the ground, to bask in the sunshine and the breeze of a fine autumn day.'

Sellers and consumers alike wanted to conspire in this fantasy, that fruit and flowers were collected and sold by shy country girls who skipped into town every day. The cultural

representation of the rural-based apple seller and grower in popular art will be considered in the second section of this thesis, while the following section in this chapter will consider the material and cultural representation of the urban trader, the costermonger, since they were an integral part of the economic life of the apple as a traded commodity.

The author in *All the Year Round* may be over-emphasising the happiness of the orchard workers, but the article is also exaggerating the productivity of the apple trees within this mixed orchard. This is an instance where some practical knowledge is required in order to extrapolate the author's intentions further. Apple trees cannot reach 'five or six storeys high' if the comparison is to the storeys of a house. A productive tree will not get much above twenty-five feet, even on its own rootstock. Assuming eight foot per storey, an apple tree could reach to the roof of a three storey house at most. It is likely that the author is, if not simply exaggerating for effect, referring to the number of extending branches coming off the main trunk. Considering the sources referring to the various methods of planting an orchard, discussed earlier in this thesis, it seems that these Kentish orchards would have had a trunk height in the region of ten feet to allow for dwarfing cherry trees and fruit bushes to be planted underneath, before the branches are allowed to develop in a ladder-like pattern. The height may have been particularly striking in comparison to the dwarfed trees of the market gardens around London, described by Dodd. There is also evidence in art and, at the turn of the century, in photography, that Kentish fruit pickers worked up ladders. This system of mixed planting is referred to, or self-publicised as, part of the 'The Kentish System' by George Bunyard in one of his many popular books, *Fruit Farming for Profit*, first published in 1881, where he suggests all manner of crops that may be grown between the apple trees, including potatoes, lily of the valley flowers or daffodils to make better use of the available land.[28]

Once these apples were picked, they were packed up, usually by women, and brought to London by cart or by train. The Select Committee on Fresh Fruit of 1839 asked the growers what the effect of 'railroads' might be on their business. One answered that since apples were a luxury item, the expansion of the distribution routes would open 'new fields of speculation.'[29] At the same time, however, the growers acknowledged that apples could now be brought to London in fine condition from Scotland and the continent, as well as from other counties that would previously have only sold to the local market. As Roger Scola noted, it

[28] George Bunyard, *Fruit Farming for Profit…with detailed instructions for successful commercial culture on the Kent system* (Maidstone: Vivish and Baker, sixth edtn1911) p. 69. C. W. Shaw, *London Market Gardening* (1879) recommends roses, wallflowers and lettuces under the apple trees p.115.
[29] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.152.

was the introduction of the railway around Manchester that allowed more apples to be sent to market there from Herefordshire and Worcestershire.[30] Historian Claire Masset believes the railway in turn 'led to the planting of new orchards in Herefordshire […] A few large orchards ran their own trains, and Lord Sudeley's 1000 acre Toddington Orchard Company in Gloucestershire even had its own terminus.'[31] However some growers and particularly the wholesalers in Covent Garden complained to the Select Committee on Fresh Fruit that the 'carriage was too heavy to receive much fruit from further away in the British Isles.[32] By the end of the nineteenth century, cargoes of refrigerated fruit were arriving in London from America, New Zealand and the West Indies. This cold storage did not prove popular with European wholesalers, or consumers, as food historian Susanne Friedberg has documented. Wholesalers were concerned that consumers would fear that chilled produce was old, and not fresh, while consumers continued to prefer to shop for whatever was best or cheapest in the market each day.[33]

London's fruit markets, the costermongers and their customers

Once the apples arrived in London, they were sold off through the network of 'salesmen' ready to meet them. The exact structure of this network, and how much money could be made from it, is difficult to ascertain with accuracy. Mr J. Godwin, giving his evidence to the Select Committee on Fresh Fruit in 1839, explained that he bought apples directly to sell, and also received consignments from 'proprietors' which he then sold on for a commission. He appears to have had many individual customers; he explained that he could only know what kind of crop of English apples to expect 'from persons writing to me and stating that they have apples and enquiring what the price is and whether it is worth their while to send them.' [34] Once these large cargoes of apples were received by fruit salesmen such as Mr Godwin, they were sold on, as barrels, bushels and 'sieves' of individual apples to the produce markets across the city, especially Covent Garden, and from there they were sold to the retailers, the shops and, more frequently, to the penultimate buyer in the chain; the

[30] Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City* p.123.
[31] Claire Masset, *Orchards* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2012) p.17 The Sudeley Orchard was extremely ambitious, and included an order to George Bunyard for half a million trees. However Lord Sudeley was made bankrupt in the 1890s before the orchard really came into full fruit, and the extent of the area under orchard varies according to the source. See http://stablecurrencies.org.uk/forum/backgrnd/lsudeley.htm for Merlin Sudeley's somewhat partial account. The legacy from the orchards is the Lady Sudeley apple, still grown today.
[32] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.5.
[33] Susan Freidberg *Fresh: a Perishable History* (London, New York: Harvard University Press, 2009) pp.26 – 27.
[34] *Report on Fresh Fruit* p.5.

costermongers and so-called ‘apple women’ who sold apples on the streets. The habits of the costermongers, as they were described in contemporary accounts, may have affected the reception of the apple into the middle class home, as well as increasing its cultural significance. Costermongers, the fruit and vegetable traders of London, were the subject of intense social and cultural attention in the nineteenth century, it seems because they represented a particular strand of working class life that was part condemned and part celebrated by their peers and by middle class observers. The costermongers themselves are a much-studied ‘tribe’, both by contemporary social commentators (and by historians), yet still remain part of the undervalued, less explored sub-class of retail workers. This section, therefore, considers an overlooked aspect of their lives, their relationship to the produce they sold, and how the nature of their goods affected how they were viewed in turn. The costermongers can be seen, like the apple, as operating on the intersection between the cultural and the material marketplaces.

However, in economic terms, concentrating on the possible profits of the costermongers serves to illustrate not only the precarious nature of each individual livelihood, but also the number of men and women who were involved in the supply chain from orchard to kitchen. The fruit trade was among the last to become part of the nexus of factors, salesmen and wholesalers operating across London’s markets and the country, possibly because of its intensely seasonal nature, until that season was extended by foreign imports. Many farmers still took their own crop to market, rather than rely on middlemen, but the salesmen were certainly interested in the fruit trade, and they took on more dealings in apples as the century progressed. As Colin Smith summarised it in his study of markets, ‘at Covent Garden, there were two levels of exchange: 'all articles of common consumption', it was noted in 1813, 'have constantly been sold twice in the market, first by the grower to the wholesale dealer and again by the wholesale to the retail dealer. The town could not be supplied in any other way''.[35] The retail dealer either sold directly to the consumer or else sold the produce on again to smaller scale retailers, primarily the costermongers, and, finally, to other street sellers, such as the vendors of hot apple fritters or baked goods.

Although all classes used markets, the costermongers, street sellers and hawkers were used regularly only by the very worse off, who purchased the cheapest, inferior produce whenever they had a spare penny. Smith described how street markets minimised interaction between the classes by making themselves more suitable for certain types of consumer at

[35] Colin Smith ‘The Market Place’ p.45.

certain times, saying that on 'Saturday evenings the working classes were out in force in the markets, when cash was at hand and stocks were sold off cheap. During the day, however, the middle ranks would be more prominent, even in a place like Clare market, a district unsavoury in reputation if not in provisions. Above a certain level of income, a household would send servants to market.'[36]

There were also retail shops specialising in the very best out of season produce, such as winter fruit, but many of these shops were situated within Covent Garden Market itself, and the rent was too expensive for the costermongers, who found what customers they could from roaming the streets of the residential neighbourhoods. Smith notes that for many classes fruit was 'income elastic – spending on it rose faster than incomes in general' and higher quality produce on sale increased the popularity of fruit and vegetables to the middle and working classes.[37] The sheer number of vendors at Covent Garden, around two hundred gardeners in the 1820s and double that towards the end of the century, reflects the competitiveness of such markets.

In his in-depth study of Covent Garden, Ronald Webber has detailed the improvements that the landowner, the Duke of Bedford, made to the market.[38] The area had a reputation during the eighteenth century for lewd behaviour and illegal activities, and this must also have tarnished the reputations of the fruit sellers, particularly the women. The new Charter Market, built in 1830, was an effort to increase trade and deter those seeking nightlife. It had a conservatory for those selling potted plants, a glass roof over the sellers of imported fruit, a marble terrace and an indoor fountain. The costermongers and 'higglers', however, were still working from uncovered stalls around the market's edges.

During the late-eighteenth century books were published that purported to be directories of the sex workers of the Covent Garden area, while Hogarth had made that side of the street life infamous in his Rake's Progress, copies of which were widely distributed in the popular press.[39] Therefore, when Victorian journalists, writers and reformers began to write about the working class districts of London, including Covent Garden, they were sure of a receptive audience for their accounts, one that had already formed an unfavourable opinion of the costermongers, apple sellers and other traders making a living in the area. In 1872 the Methodist reformer and writer, Godfrey Holden Pike, published a description of life in Clerkenwell, or 'Jack Ketch's Warren' where he noted that 'descriptive accounts have

[36] Ibid. p.132.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ronald Webber, *Covent Garden: Mud Salad Market* (Letchworth: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1969) pp.70-122.
[39] Ibid. p.74.

repeatedly appeared of London rookeries [slum districts], apparently composed for readers who love a dish of literary horrors'.[40] Depictions of life in the rookeries kept middle-class readers both appalled and interested in equal measure, and were published from a number of motives, varying from the charitable to the sensationalist. The slum districts of London were not, however, inhabited entirely by thieves, drunks and those whom Victorian moral commentators perceived as workshy, or 'the undeserving poor'. Many families worked hard to pay the rent on a couple of rooms, and selling whatever produce they could was one way to make a few pence.

The colourful descriptions of costermonger life were not confined to the sensationalist periodicals. Rev. William Rogers, a curate living among them in the East End, had so many street traders in his flock that he referred to his parish as 'Costomongria'.[41] He was invited to give a talk about his parishioners to the Royal Society for the Arts in 1857, rather in the manner in which an explorer would report back on the 'tribes' he had found in the wilder places of the world. Rogers began by defining the costermongers in terms of their very ordered 'class' structure, which they determined by their assets and income.

> A costermonger then, is, properly speaking, one who sells apples, but the name is not confined exclusively to the dealers in this kind of merchandise alone, but it is applied to all those who, as it is technically termed, get their living in the streets - who hawk about fish, vegetables, &c. The most aristocratic possess a cart and donkey, the next class a truck or barrow, the lowest have their little all contained in a basket. Their earnings are necessarily most precarious. Vendors of watercresses, onions, oranges, apples, and fried fish, generally carry their stock in a basket, and their profits vary from 2d. to 2s. or 3s. per day.[42]

It is significant that Rogers uses the term 'aristocratic' for the better off traders, since this gives credence to the sense of history and lineage that was associated at least with the term costermonger, if not with individuals so trading. The name 'costermonger' is thought to come from the large apple, the costard, (now lost to cultivation) which medieval fruit traders were described as selling. Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861) uses quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher and Dr Johnson to illustrate the Costermonger's lineage and long history, emphasising for his readers their claims to some historical nobility as a

[40] Godfrey Holden Pike, ('A Rambler') *The Romance of the Streets* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872) p.114.
[41] Rev. William Rogers, 'On the trade, habits and education of the street hawkers of London' *Journal of the Society of Arts* 3/4 (1857) p.98.
[42] Ibid.

trade.[43] However in his 1886 biography of Lord Shaftesbury, Edwin Hodder noted that the costermongers themselves did not think much of their ancient associations with apples, quoting one who responded to Dr Johnson's definition of a costermonger as a seller of apples as ''all gammon', and explained to Hodder that 'a Coster is a cove wot works werry 'ard for a werry poor livin'' [44]

Costermongers became a particular study of social reformers including Shaftesbury and Mayhew, because they formed a large distinct, independent group. Mayhew estimated that in the summer, during the fruit season, there were 2,500 costermongers every day in Covent Garden, sometimes twice that number, to say nothing of the men unable to attend market due to 'dissipation' and an army of small boys who worked for them.[45] This 'tribe' while not conforming to bourgeois moral codes, appeared to have rules of behaviour of their own. Henry Mayhew went 'down among' the workers of the East End of London, intending, through his articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, to draw attention to the terrible conditions in which the poor of London struggled to survive. Lord Shaftesbury went as far as buying a costermongers' barrow and donkey and trying out the life for himself, albeit only for a day. (Figure 3.)

COSTERMONGER'S BARROW PURCHASED BY LORD SHAFTESBURY WHEN HE WAS ENROLLED AS A COSTERMONGER, 1875

(Figure 3. 'Illustrated Biography of Lord Shaftesbury', *The Graphic* 10 October 1885.)

However the Earl made it his business to help the costermongers as much as he could, and there seems to have been a rapport between them. Hodder noted, 'In a very remarkable

[43] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor Vol.1* (London: Griffin, Bohn and Company, 1861) p.8.
[44] Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K G* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) p.269.
[45] Mayhew, *London Labour* p.5.

manner, Lord Shaftesbury threw himself into the work among these strange people, and very speedily gained their entire confidence.'[46]

Henry Mayhew's motives were to interview, investigate and bear witness. Barringer's work on visual representation of labour draws attention to Mayhew's attempts to ground his project in the natural sciences and to deliberately use the language of ethnography in order to give a factual basis to his new analysis of labour, one that would 'undermine political economy's stranglehold on debates surrounding labour.'[47] Eileen Yeo noted that through his writing for the *Morning Chronicle* and beyond, 'Mayhew emerges as a self-conscious investigator whose survey of industrial conditions in London and attempts at economic and social analysis entitle him to an important place in the history of social investigation.'[48] However, he was writing commercial pieces designed, in part, to attract readers, and therefore his writing is immediate and vivid. Mayhew's use of ethnographic terms emphasised the distance between himself, and his readers, from his subjects, referring to the costermongers and the other 'street-folk' as a 'wandering tribe' in the contents list of the book and throughout the text, categorizing them even apart from the 'settled' poor. [49] Mayhew took his readers into the hidden world of the costermongers, at their London labour, when they were working hard on the streets, and at their leisure, for Mayhew dared to enter into the garish world of 'penny gaff' theatres, where 'the stage is turned into a platform to teach the cruellest debauchery.'[50] Here the sellers of wholesome fruit such as apples are linked with temptation and sin. Not surprisingly such highly-coloured reports drew a salacious interest from the middle-class readers, and costermongers as a class gained renown for their 'immoral' family arrangements, their lewd leisure pursuits and rough manners, especially those of the women. While Mayhew had braved the penny gaff, in 1858 the journalist James Ewing Ritchie had experienced a similar entertainment, called a 'free and easy'. This was a night of 'turns' and of singing and drinking, which, in contrast to Mayhew, Ritchie seemed to have enjoyed. He reported;

> Costermongers are not remarkable for keeping all the commandments; their reverence for the conventional ideas of decency and propriety is not very profound; their notions are not peculiarly polished or refined, nor is the language in which they are clothed,

[46] Mayhew, *London Labour* p.270.
[47] Timothy John Barringer, *Representations of Labour in British Visual Culture 1870 – 1875* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1994) pp.254-258.
[48] Eileen Yeo, 'Mayhew as a social investigator' in *The Unknown Mayhew* ed. by E P Thompson and Eileen Yeo (London: Merlin Press, 1971) p.51.
[49] Mayhew, *London Labour* contents page and passim.
[50] Ibid. p.40.

nor the mode in which they are uttered, such as would be recognised in Belgravia.'[51]

Within this account there is a sense of mockery of the refined habits of Belgravia, as much as condemnation of the costermongers, but again there is also the sense that these people are 'other', some type of distinct and different or 'strange' tribe, as Mayhew describes them. Holden Pike calls all such street folk 'Arabs' and Rev. Rogers also called the costermonger's way of living 'Arabian.'[52]As Barringer noted, the illustrations in *London Labour* were intended to show representatives of the various 'types' that Mayhew interviewed, but instead serve to draw attention to each person's individuality, and their own awareness of their social standing within the costermonger hierarchy. Barringer concludes 'these contrasts undermine the easy duality of self and other, middle-class consumer versus proletarian-"nomade"-costermonger, and indicate the infinite readings of body, clothing, posture and also of voice and language which effected the production of class difference during each individual encounter.' [53] The city's uncanny, Gothic character 'intensifies throughout the century', wrote literary critic Alexandra Warwick, 'gathering further associations in post-Darwinian thinking about issues of degeneration, race and empire.'[54] Erika Rappaport's study of Victorian female consumers explored the physical and moral perils of a woman out shopping alone. She concluded; 'Perhaps nothing was more revolting than the spectacle of a middle-class woman immersed in the filthy, fraudulent, and dangerous world of the urban marketplace.'[55] This sense of otherness and of a place of danger must have affected the significance of buying apples on the street, with the consumer wondering if the apple and the seller could be trusted.

Rev. Rogers said that he hoped that his flock would spend their earnings sensibly, build up some savings and thereby earn a reasonable living. This would pull them away from their social freedoms and place them within the socially accepted ways of working-class, Christian living. However, even as he painted a colourful picture of the costermongers' home lives, he seems to have conceded that their social and material conditions were against them. He noted,

---

[51] James Ewing Ritchie, *The Night Side of London* (London: William Tweedie, 1858) p.223.
[52] Rev. Rogers, 'On the Trade' p.298.
[53] Barringer, *Representations of Labour* p.292.
[54] Alexandra Warwick, 'Gothic, 1820-1880', *Terror and Wonder: The Gothic Imagination*, ed. by Dale Townshend (London: The British Library, 2014) pp.94-123 (p.102).
[55] Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) p.16.

> A costermonger may do very well indeed in his business if he is only prudent and temperate. But for the most part their habits are the very opposite of this, and are so from the nature of their business, which consists in hanging about public-houses and markets, wandering over the town, and walking for miles through the streets. Men, women, and children are all engaged in the business, and acquire such wild and Arabian habits from their occupation, that it is almost impossible to get any hold upon them at all[...]. Their homes, too, are most wretched, generally in low courts and alleys, because here there is standing room for their barrows, and consisting of one room in which they live, work, sleep, and manufacture their goods; that is, steam their oranges, boil their winkles, fry their fish, smoke their sprats, polish their apples, and make their toys. Men, women, and children, all huddled together in one room; the state of morality can be conceived but not described.[56]

Within this text the economic realities of the apple trade were set against the author's moral judgement of the costermongers. These texts, and the conditions they described, demonstrate the dual nature of the apple's representation and status in nineteenth-century culture. The apple was an innocent, honest fruit, sold by untrustworthy, coarse mannered vendors. Apples from the countryside were taken into the city, and absorbed within it, ending up under the squalid beds of the costermongers, before being polished up and made presentable for sale. Both Mayhew and Holden Pike described apples being stored under the bed, with a sense that the innocent fruits are witness to whatever might happen around them. Mayhew described how 'a cheap red-skinned fruit, known to costers as " gawfs," was rubbed hard, to look bright and feel soft, and was mixed with apples of a superior quality. "Gawfs are sweet and sour at once," I was told, "and fit for nothing but mixing." Some foreign apples, from Holland and Belgium, were bought very cheap […] and on a fine morning as many as fifty boys might be seen rubbing these apples, in Hooper-street, Lambeth.'[57] If the narrative of the country apple, polished up and falsely presented for sale, has echoes of stories of the fate of young country women coming to find work in town, it is an echo that may not have been conscious, but was so much a part of the cultural fabric that it would have resonated with the contemporary reader. This narrative is explored further in the second half of this thesis.

Indeed, there was particular alarm about the lack of morality among the female costermongers or 'apple women' selling apples from their barrows or baskets. In cultural representation, and presumably in life, they lacked the romantic appeal of the girls selling milk or posies; apple women were older, bigger and brawnier, mainly because of the weight of the apple carts that they had to lug around and, it seems, the toughness required to make a

[56] Rev. Rogers, 'On the Trade' p.298.
[57] Mayhew, *London Labour* p.61.

living on the street markets. Webber noted 'they drank like men, swore like men and were just as strong'. Some carried out feats of strength for a bet.[58]Mayhew described them as wearing 'straw pads on their crushed bonnets, and coarse shawls crossing their bosoms, [they] sit on their porter's knots, chatting in Irish and smoking short pipes. Every passer by is hailed with the cry of 'want a baskit, yer honor?'[59]

Figure 4. 'The Coster-Girl' from Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 1861.

Costermongers themselves were pragmatic about their morality, at least in relation to deceiving their customers. One apple woman admitted to Mayhew that she stuffed bad apples in the bags with good ones, but she had to do so because consumers demand to buy apples for less than they cost. Mayhew reported; '"If we cheats in the streets," a young woman said, "I know we shan't go to Heaven, but if we didn't cheat we couldn't live. Why, look at apples. Customers want them for less than they cost us, and so we are forced to shove in bad ones and if we're to suffer for that, it does seem to me dreadful cruel."'[60]

Mayhew also interviewed an Irish woman who told him that she had turned to selling fruit to get away from the sexual dangers of being in domestic service. Mayhew seemed less shocked by the danger she had been in than he was by her solution, stating that an English domestic servant would instead try for any other position in service, rather than working as a street trader, and thereby again emphasising the 'otherness' of the code by which these (Irish) apple traders lived.[61]

[58] Webber, *Covent Garden* p.90.
[59] Mayhew, *London Labour* p.82.
[60] Ibid. p.46.
[61] Ibid. p.459.

Literary critic Catherine Gallagher has used the work of Malthus and Mayhew to examine 'the social and economic significance of the vigorous body.'[62] She stated that Mayhew's fascination with costermongers (and that of his readers) is because of what they raised to the middle class consciousness, the transactions that were taking place in every building across the city, embodied by what takes place in the open air. The Irish fruit seller 'is a visible and audible emblem of the sexual and economic exploitation that goes on behind closed doors and has driven her onto the street. [Costermongers] are embodying and hence raising to the surface of consciousness a ruthless struggle for marketplace advantage that Mayhew thinks is going on everywhere unseen.'[63]

Costermongers held a particular place on the edge of both the formal, expanding produce trade and on most societal norms. Victorian texts describing their lifestyles were written or constructed to give advice and to educate the reader about changes in urban society, and to warn them of the dangers of being outside societal norms and approval, far more than they were concerned with describing the functions of the trade in apples and other foodstuffs. Mayhew, Rev. Rogers and others were also concerned with the plight of the street traders – Mayhew established a Friendly Society for them, to encourage them to save for the future.[64]

However, these texts arose from, and were a function of, the urban trade in apples, from the orchard to the street cart. As such, they influenced the perceptions of the consumers of apples, as did the behaviour of the costermongers with whom the customers came into direct contact. The 'otherness' of the street traders, with their pride in their produce and their willing separation from the genteel suburbs, was acknowledged and played upon by the writers and the costermongers themselves. One costermonger proudly reminded Mayhew and his audience of other sellers that 'notwithstanding their degradation in the eyes of some, the first markets in London were mainly supported by costermongers. What would the Duke of Bedford's market in Covent Garden be without them? This question elicited loud applause.'[65] Nevertheless, the anxiety over the relationship between the low class seller and the (slightly) higher class buyer was certainly implicit in the reports of their sales techniques. There is some evidence that this cultural alienation was transferred to the actual goods on sale. Apples were perceived as being a simple, relatively wholesome pleasure, the consumption of which

[62] Catherine Gallagher, 'The body versus the social body in the works of Thomas Malthus and Henry Mayhew' *The Making of the Modern Body: sexuality and society in the nineteenth century* ed. by Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laquer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) p.83.
[63] Ibid. p.101.
[64] Mayhew, *London Labour* p.101.
[65] Ibid. p.104.

would only bring benefit, even though the thought of where the apples had been since they left the orchard may have been less delightful.

The particular relationship between the costermonger, their customers and the apple embodies several anxieties of the Victorian era, and are embedded in the materiality of the trade in apples, which in itself points towards the cultural significance of the apple, and why it was grown and celebrated, even when there was an uncertain profit to be made along the supply chain. This will be explored further in the second section of this thesis concerned with the culture of the apple. The material apple as sold by the costermongers still retained the associations that linked it to the concept of country, as experienced by the Victorians, and expressed by Raymond Williams as 'the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue.'[66] The costermongers may not embody all the positive ideas of the city as listed by Williams, but they certainly represented 'the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition.'[67] In the figure of the costermonger, at the point of sale, is where these two concepts came together, where buying an apple on the London streets was a material act with surprising levels of cultural symbolism.

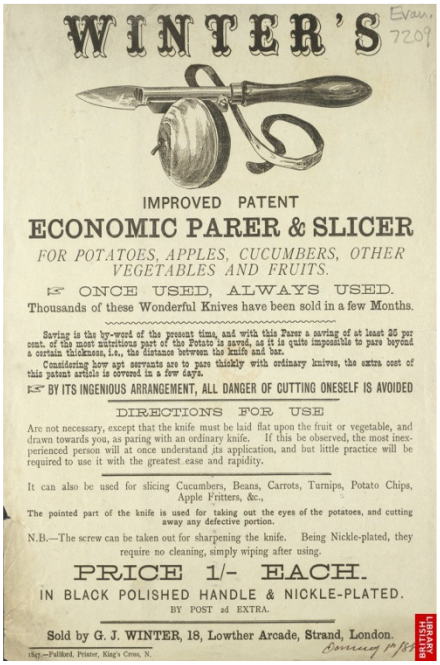
The apple in the kitchen, the palace and the public house.

The final step in tracking the economic journey of the apple is to consider what happened after it had been purchased by the consumer. The apple was primarily bought and eaten as it was, unprocessed, with no added value, but the Victorian consumer had increasing access to recipes and ideas to transform the apple through cooking, and even to make it part of a fashionable dinner party. This section first considers the apple as a 'thing', placing it within the context of other 'things' and ingredients studied by historians of food and of material culture. Following on is an investigation into the ways in which apples changed in fashion and status during the Victorian era, before considering how the same issues affected the economic value of the cider industry during the nineteenth century.

The apple is of course a consumable good, a commodity that is perishable and has a short life, destined to be eaten. In that sense it is not possible to handle, or to have as part of our material culture, an edible apple that has been in a nineteenth century fruit kitchen. There is also a scarcity of apple-related kitchen paraphernalia, since they need no particular preparation other than coring and peeling, which can be done with any kitchen knife.

[66] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, (London: Vintage Classics, 2016) p.1.
[67] Ibid.

Purpose-made apple peelers, an American invention, were not imported to England until the 1870s, and did not become a kitchen essential.[68] (Figure 5.) Some eighteenth and nineteenth-century large-scale cider making equipment is still extant; for example the Cider Museum in Hereford displays presses, as well as cider cups and bottles.[69] Aspall's Cider in Suffolk show on their website that they have retained their original eighteenth century 'cyder house'.[70]


WINTER'S

IMPROVED PATENT

ECONOMIC PARER & SLICER

FOR POTATOES, APPLES, CUCUMBERS, OTHER VEGETABLES AND FRUITS.

☞ ONCE USED, ALWAYS USED.

Thousands of these Wonderful Knives have been sold in a few Months.

Saving is the by-word of the present time, and with this Parer a saving of at least 25 per cent. of the most nutritious part of the Potato is saved, as it is quite impossible to pare beyond a certain thickness, i.e., the distance between the knife and bar.

Considering how apt servants are to pare thickly with ordinary knives, the extra cost of this patent article is covered in a few days.

☞ BY ITS INGENIOUS ARRANGEMENT, ALL DANGER OF CUTTING ONESELF IS AVOIDED

DIRECTIONS FOR USE

Are not necessary, except that the knife must be laid flat upon the fruit or vegetable, and drawn towards you, as paring with an ordinary knife. If this be observed, the most inexperienced person will at once understand its application, and but little practice will be required to use it with the greatest ease and rapidity.

It can also be used for slicing Cucumbers, Beans, Carrots, Turnips, Potato Chips, Apple Fritters, &c.,

The pointed part of the knife is used for taking out the eyes of the potatoes, and cutting away any defective portion.

N.B.—The screw can be taken out for sharpening the knife. Being Nickle-plated, they require no cleaning, simply wiping after using.

PRICE 1/- EACH.

IN BLACK POLISHED HANDLE & NICKLE-PLATED.

BY POST 2d EXTRA.

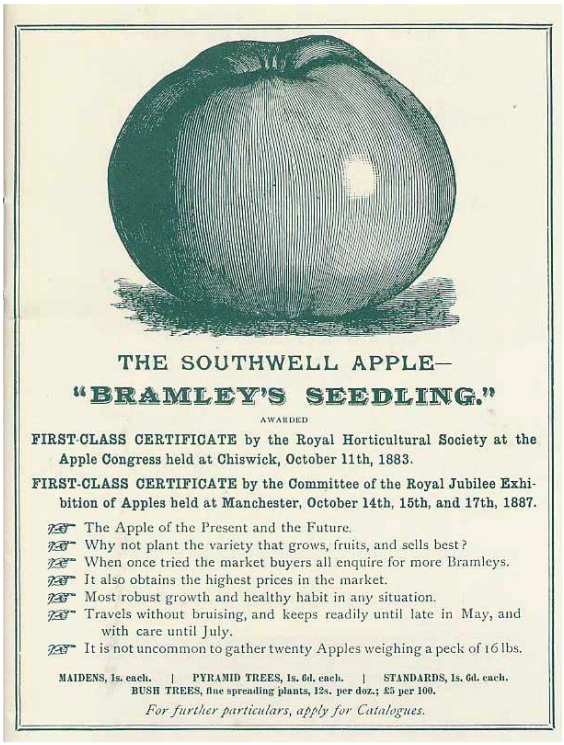
Sold by G. J. WINTER, 18, Lowther Arcade, Strand, London.

Figure 5. Winter's improved patent economic parer. *London Evening Post*, image held by British Library.

While at the end of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth, American apple growers began to advertise with decorated apple boxes and illustrated labels, no such movement occurred in Britain.[71] Each variety of British apple was grown in any number of orchards across the country, with the result that, although certain varieties became particularly popular, there was no major grower's brand name associated with them, and very little growers' or processors' branding found its way into the Victorian kitchen. Apple-related advertising was limited to advertisements from retailers, giving named varieties of apple or sometimes a delicacy such as the partly baked apple , the Norfolk Biffin, (discussed in the following chapter). Even the dishes in which apples were cooked and served were not of necessity differentiated from other kitchen dishes. It is perhaps part of the popularity of the apple that it did not require any particular size or type of dish, allowing it to be cooked in the most modestly equipped kitchen as well as in the most up- to-date.

[68] Don Thornton, 'Apple Parers: a slice of American history' *Gastronomica* 2:1 Winter (2002) pp.58-61.
[69] http://www.cidermuseum.co.uk/index.php/collections/ [accessed 29/02/2020].
[70] www.aspall.co.uk/our-story/place/cyder-house [accessed 29/02/2020].
[71] Susanne Freidberg, *Fresh* pp.138 – 147.

Some apple varieties were advertised in gardening periodicals, but in these the adverts were from nurseries, attempting to draw the attention of the gardener to a particular new variety to grow in the garden or hobby orchard, rather than advertising how to use the apples. (Figure 6.) The information contained in these adverts provides a point at which the material nineteenth century apple itself can intersect with the twenty-first century. Since apples are propagated through grafting, and, as many nineteenth century varieties have survived, it is possible to enjoy an apple from a tree that is a scion of one of the original trees of that variety, very similar in taste and appearance to one grown in its original Victorian orchard. This includes two of the currently most commercially successful and popular varieties, the Bramley Seedling and Cox's Orange Pippin. (Figure 6.)



THE SOUTHWELL APPLE—

"BRAMLEY'S SEEDLING."

AWARDED

FIRST-CLASS CERTIFICATE by the Royal Horticultural Society at the Apple Congress held at Chiswick, October 11th, 1883.

FIRST-CLASS CERTIFICATE by the Committee of the Royal Jubilee Exhibition of Apples held at Manchester, October 14th, 15th, and 17th, 1887.

☞ The Apple of the Present and the Future.
☞ Why not plant the variety that grows, fruits, and sells best?
☞ When once tried the market buyers all enquire for more Bramleys.
☞ It also obtains the highest prices in the market.
☞ Most robust growth and healthy habit in any situation.
☞ Travels without bruising, and keeps readily until late in May, and with care until July.
☞ It is not uncommon to gather twenty Apples weighing a peck of 16 lbs.

MAIDENS, 1s. each. | PYRAMID TREES, 1s. 6d. each. | STANDARDS, 1s. 6d. each.
BUSH TREES, fine spreading plants, 12s. per doz.; £5 per 100.

For further particulars, apply for Catalogues.

Figure 6. Advertisement for the Bramley apple. *Gardener's Chronicle*, January 1888.

These apples provide sound examples of how the named variety took on the attributes of a brand. There are few apples, in the nineteenth century or the present day, that have a marketing association with a nursery or retailer. Although the commercial apple breeders cannily named new varieties after themselves, for instance the Charles Turner apple or Laxton's Superb, while in the case of the Bramley and the Cox the naming honours were retained by amateurs, as had been the tradition among amateur breeders of all kinds of plants.

The Bramley Seedling is a culinary apple that was grown from a tree raised from seed planted by Miss Mary Anne Brailsford between 1809 – 1813 in her garden in Southwell, near

Nottingham.[72] By 1857 the apple tree and the cottage belonged to Mr Bramley, the village butcher, and it was producing good harvests of large apples that cooked well. A local nurseryman, Mr Merryweather, admired the tree at that time and took away fruiting wood to graft, finally exhibiting this new apple in 1883. After the apple was greatly praised at the National Apple Congress of 1883, it became extremely popular, displacing a wide range of other culinary varieties of apple, and is now the only culinary apple grown in large scale commercial cultivation. Sadly Miss Brailsford did not get the credit at the time, although some records state that as she was related to Mr Bramley she was happy for his name to become the variety's name.[73]

The other most popular apple of the time, the Cox's Orange Pippin, was also raised by an amateur grower, Mr Richard Cox of Colnbrook Lawn, Buckinghamshire in around 1825. Grown commercially in the nurseries and orchards of Thomas Rivers and Charles Turner, it was also exhibited at the National Apple Congress in 1883 where it was awarded 'best dessert apple.' Approximately 100 apple varieties now have Cox's Orange Pippin as one of their parents.[74] The Cox and the Bramley are apple varieties that are well known today, available in supermarkets and farmers' markets, and to eat one is to share an experience with the Victorians in a way that even cooking from a nineteenth century recipe, with all its variables, cannot equal.

However, the apple in the nineteenth century, separated by time and distance from its tree, or lying on a Victorian table top, is a 'thing' that cannot be experienced directly by the historian. Material and cultural history is undertaking a dialogue around the centrality of the 'thing', and the interdependence of society and things has been acknowledged among food historians, tracing the actions and influence of a particular 'thing' or ingredient through time and across the world. As historian Ian Hodder has noted, in order to keep our world of things functioning effectively, 'a massive mobilization of resources, humans, dependencies is involved. Things have lives of their own that we get drawn into, and society depends on our abilities to manage this vibrancy of things effectively, to produce the effect of stability.'[75] This is particularly visible in the story of the apple, where there is a clear interdependence between all the things (and processes) associated with apple growing, and the people using

[72] Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *The New Book of Apples* (London: Ebury Press, 2002) p.194.
[73] For a recent account of a visit to Southwell, home of the Bramley, see Pete Brown, *The Apple Orchard* (London: Particular Books, 2016) although the dates he gives are at variance with nineteenth-century sources. pp.222-232.
[74] www.fruitid.com lists cultivars by their parentage, where known.
[75] Ian Hodder, 'The Entanglements of Humans and Things: A Long Term View' *New Literary History*, 45: 1 (Winter 2014) p.21.

those things to earn a living from the apples themselves.

If edible 'things' can be explored by historians of material culture, then the influence of apples and other such ingredients should be tangible in the realm of food studies and food history. The historiography of food studies is one of the most quickly developing areas for study, and therefore it is necessary to consider it at this point in this thesis, both in order to contextualise the decisions made within this work, concerning what aspects of the apple as a food have been included, and to develop the argument that an ingredient can be worthy of academic study, since even the most basic of eating or food-related decisions have a whole slew of social and cultural motivations and associations behind them. Food studies, or food history, has developed in academic rigour since the 1990s, when Jennifer Ruark described food studies as still 'puttering along' somewhere between folklore and anthropology for decades, while the activity of 'recipe studies', although taken up by historic re-enactors and practical historians, was rarely allowed to step out of the kitchen into debates on modern historiographic issues such as gender, material history and class.[76] According to Ruark, the notable food historian Sidney Mintz described food scholars as having been 'distained and patronised' but, thanks in no small part to the academic rigour of his own work on sugar, food is now considered one of the most suitable subjects for exploration.[77] Ken Albala, writing ten years after Ruark's article, describes how the discipline has largely settled into food history, researching the 'social, economic, intellectual and cultural parameters of consumption' and culinary history, which 'focuses on ingredients, cooking methods, recipes and the history of the cookbook'.[78] In practise most recent books, and indeed this study, pick up elements from both these categories. However, there are still very few peer reviewed publications on food history studies. *Food, Culture and Society*, the journal of the Association for the Study of Food and Society, is one such but the emphasis is primarily on contemporary rather than historical studies. Culinary history, in Albala's terms, concentrating on recipes and the methodology of describing and working with recipes as texts, is not yet sufficiently academically rigorous for it to stand alone as a discipline within history, although there are projects that are looking to find or describe academic methodologies. Certainly, as food scholarship becomes more rigorous, integrating further with other academic disciplines such as social history and anthropology, there will be more that can be uncovered. Sarah Pennell, co-editor of the essay collection *Reading Recipe Books*, commented on the

[76] Jennifer Ruark, 'More Scholars Focus on Historical, Social, and Cultural Meanings of Food, But Some Critics Say it's Scholarship-lite' *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (9 July 1999) p.17.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ken Albala, 'History on the Plate: the Current State of Food History' *Historically Speaking* 10:5 (2009) p.6.

differences in the methodology and motivation of the collection's contributors, which highlight both the strength and the difficulties of studying in this area. 'While one contributor might use a Hannah Woolley text in *this* way, another gloss a recipe for a glister just so, and a third unpick the poetic resonances of the recipe form, the possibilities of reading recipes differently, so differently, are wholly manifest […]. It bears out the suggestive call to arms by Susan Leonardi in 1989, that recipes have an active cultural relationship with the 'reading, writing mind' that we cannot leave to one side when we study them, any more than when we use them.'[79] Recipes are coming to be 'read' as a source of information about the lifestyle, beliefs and cultural context of the writer or compiler and the readers or users of the recipes, as well as about the ingredients or cooking methods or anything more concerned with the technicalities of cookery. Like any other text, recipes can be deconstructed such that the form and language of the recipe can be given preference over the information in the content. Such readings, while sometimes obscuring the idea of a recipe as something intended to lead to the production of a material object – such as an edible apple dumpling – are allowing 'recipe studies' to have increasing scholarly influence in the wider field of food studies.

Within this chapter, therefore, recipes have been considered as a source for what they can reveal about the wider context of the domestic use and cooking of apples, and for any insights into the economic value of the apple, how it was appreciated as an ingredient and as part of Victorian culinary culture and fashion. This chapter does not include any in-depth textual analysis or comparison of nineteenth century apple recipes. Although such an exercise may yield interesting results, it would be difficult to test it against other previous studies or to use it to extract further data on the wider cultural or economic context of the apple and the orchard. However, some comparison of recipes across history is relevant here, because it demonstrates the long lifespan of an apple recipe, and demonstrates how the fruit has been appreciated across changing class and social structures.

The recipe chosen for this investigation is the apple dumpling – a whole, cored apple covered in dough, and boiled, steamed or baked. This has been a popular dish for centuries, being cooked in England long before Thomas Tryon listed it as one of the finest puddings in 1691, stating 'Apple Dumplins eaten with Butter, or Butter and Sugar, hath the first place of most sorts of Puddings; they are easie of Concoction, and afford a friendly nourishment.'[80] Tryon, a vegetarian, also describes apple pies as 'friendly to nature' which presumably refers

[79] Sarah Pennell, https://recipes.hypotheses.org/author/sarapennell referring to her editorship of *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550* – 1800 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013) [accessed 28/02/2020].
[80] Anne O'Connell, *Early Vegetarian Recipes* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2008) p.180.

to the pastry not containing lard, as well as 'friendly' to the digestion. Following through from this early mention, a recipe for apple dumplings can be found in many recipe collections through the centuries including, of course, Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, (1861) where the apple dumpling would be recognisable to Thomas Tryon, although in Beeton's recipe the pastry is made with suet (animal fat) rather than the much more expensive butter. The succinct recipe states:

> Baked Apple Dumplings (a Plain Family Dish).
> INGREDIENTS. — 6 apples, 3/4 lb of suet-crust, sugar to taste.
> *Mode*. — Pare and take out the cores of the apples without dividing them, and make 1/2 lb. of suet-crust by recipe No. 1215; roll the apples in the crust, previously sweetening them with moist sugar, and taking care to join the paste nicely. When they are formed into round balls, put them on a tin, and bake them for about 1/2 hour, or longer. Should the apples be very large, arrange them pyramidically on a dish, and sift over them some pounded white sugar.[81]

The description of this as a 'plain family dish' indicates that it would already be familiar to the *Book of Household Management*'s intended readership. The level of the familiarity of Victorian consumers with apple dumplings is shown by the use of the dumpling's suggestive shape to give extra sauciness and humour to this music hall song of the same period:

> Her sleeves were turned up on her arm, an' apron round her waist,
> The apples lay before her, she was moulding of the paste;
> She looked so gentle and so nice, so full of kindly feeling,
> You'd scarce have thought she had the heart those apples to be peeling.
> She rolled her eyes, I mean the paste, then put an apple in,
> She looked just like a fairy, as she used the rolling pin;
> Her pretty fingers looked so nice, as she rubbed in the dripping.
> And as she worked them into shape, I wished myself a pippin.[82]

The appeal of this song is that the listeners of all classes, familiar with the process of making apple dumplings, could easily picture the scene described in such apparently innocent terms. These dumpling-related texts illustrate the changing, and yet familiar nature, of the apple as an ingredient in dishes that are still recognisable today, although health concerns may have removed dumplings from the present-day menu. Eaten by the working classes from medieval times, the apple dumpling, with its suggestive shape, texture and name, was ubiquitous enough to be the inspiration for the naughty nineteenth-century ditty quoted above, yet many

[81] Mrs Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: S.O. Beeton, 1866) p.621.
[82] 'Dumplings' a 'laughing song' performed in London music halls by 'Jolly John Nash' in the 1860s. http://monologues.co.uk/musichall/Songs-D/Dumplings.htm. For details of Jolly John Nash and Arthur Lloyd, who wrote the song, see http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/JollyJohnNash.htm [accessed 2/04/2020].

recipe books of the period, including Mrs Beeton, chose to repeat at least one apple dumpling recipe in publications which were created to be read by polite, middle-class housewives. The apple dumpling was too much a taste of the familiar to be excluded.

By comparing other nineteenth-century texts including recipe books, menus and advertisements, as well as illustrations, it can be seen that recipes using apples cross all social classes and occasions. Apples were sold to the urban poor on the street as fritters or baked apples, yet there was no opprobrium against serving even these same dishes as part of a banquet or at any respectable household dinner party. Many other ingredients, such as cuts of meat, were viewed as suitable only for particular classes, and not solely because of their cost. Apples were suitable for different types of consumers, including women, children and convalescents, in the privacy of the home, but they were also suitable for public occasions or dinner parties. As part of the display of fruit at the end of a meal, apples were appreciated for their appearance as much as their taste. When these apples had been grown in the host's own orchards, they were a status symbol and a sign of economic plenty. Joan Morgan describes how 'discerning Victorians of the 1890s discussed the flavour of their apples as passionately as they debated the finer points of wine' since the changes in the way in which food was served allowed room on the table for a display of the finest fruit, including apples.[83] The appearance of such delicacies as pineapples alongside the russets and non-pareils signified 'the splendour and generosity of the occasion at the outset. […] Mere city dwellers who had to buy in their own fruit could not begin to match this paradisiacal plenty, which put even the finest sweetmeats in the shade.'[84] Of course the city dwellers bought fruit of all qualities, and expensive, finest quality apples were one of the items they chose. As transport improved, the range of apple varieties increased, and the gap between a town and a country dessert course narrowed.

When used in impressive recipes, apples could star in a complicated dessert such as Charles Francatelli's 'Apples à la Portuguaise' where they are made into a 'marmalade'(a stiff puree), covered in custard and enrobed in meringue before being decorated with apple jellies.[85] Francatelli was chef to Queen Victoria, and his cookery book allowed readers to share in, or at least read about, some of the recipes that the Queen herself enjoyed. Less elaborate and within the reach of any cook in service was Mrs Beeton's 'Rich Sweet Apple

[83] Joan Morgan, *New Book of Apples* p.83.
[84] Ibid. p.84.
[85] Anne Currah (ed.), *Chef to Queen Victoria: The recipes of Charles Elmé Francatelli* (London: William Kinber, 1973) p.280.

Pudding', a dish for a family meal or dinner party, at a cost of 2 shillings per pudding.[86] The apple itself may have been reasonably cheap, but it was an excellent ingredient for putting alongside, and making the most of, more exotic and expensive flavours that were becoming regular items in the Victorian diet, such as nutmeg, almonds and fine or powdered sugar, as used in the Rich Sweet Pudding. Mrs Beeton in particular made much use of the apple, and from her notes and recipes in the *Book of Household Management* aspects of the importance of the apple in the middle-class Victorian kitchen can be seen.

The extent of Mrs Beeton's authorship of her recipes and text has been the subject of academic enquiry, particularly by her recent biographer, Kathryn Hughes, and by historian Margaret Beetham. Beetham also considers the mixed nature of the readership for different editions of *The Book of Household Management*, and if it is possible to know how often the readers of the book actually cooked the recipes, noting that there were leather-bound editions of the entire text that could be given to a new bride, and which may never have been used, but that the various 'shilling' editions of the recipes alone were more likely to find their way into the kitchen.[87] A large portion of the text of *The Book of Household Management* is didactic, giving instruction to those who ran a home, and those who aspired to do so or worked within a larger establishment. The choice of the recipes, therefore, can be considered part of the didactic process, and the whole work emphasises that same concern with moral improvement that has been discussed throughout this thesis. Like all the others, the many apple recipes were compiled from many sources, which again demonstrates the popularity of the apple as an ingredient and its status within the kitchen as something wholesome.

In Mrs Beeton's work is another point at which the economic apple, in this case held within the form of a text to be bought and sold, meets the cultural representations of the fruit. In her penetrating biography of Mrs Beeton, Kathryn Hughes begins with the significance of the 1861 frontispiece. As Hughes notes 'You do not have to get very far into the *Book of Household Management* to realize that one of its main preoccupations is the loss of Eden.'[88] The coloured frontispiece plate, as Hughes describes it, 'shows an extended family group from the early nineteenth century, clustered around the door of a tiled cottage at harvest time.'[89] There is nothing of modernity, urban living or even progress for women in this

[86] Mrs Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* p.624.
[87] Margaret Beetham, 'Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36:2 (2008) pp.391-406.
[88] Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs Beeton* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006) p.39.
[89] Ibid.

illustration by a popular genre artist, Myles Birket Foster, captioned with a line from a sentimental poem by Mrs Hemans, 'the Free, Fair Homes of England!'(Figure 6.)

Figure 6.
Frontispiece and title page
Mrs Isabella Beeton, (ed.), *Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London: S.O. Beeton, 1861).

As Hughes puts it, 'here is a time before industrialization scarred the land, cut a generation of town dwellers from its gentle rhythms, and replaced convivial kin groups with edgy strangers.'[90] As the final chapter of this thesis will discuss in detail, it was the necessity of sharing the public, urban realm with edgy strangers that led to the transformation of communal, open-air rites such as wassailing, into home-based, family-centred, cosy traditions. Margaret Beetham also draws out the importance of Mrs Beeton to the changing Victorian home. She notes that in Mrs Beeton's use of the terms 'household' and 'home' a boundary is drawn 'between "the happy home" and the world, between inside and outside, whether that outside is seen as the public world of the streets and the market, untamed nature, or primitive and savage humanity. All these partake of similar qualities and it is the task of the woman to ensure that home is where the difference is maintained'.[91] The anxiety here is again in interacting with the economically-driven, public world of the market, where food must, of necessity, be purchased, and it is this same anxiety over boundaries and trust that

[90] Ibid.
[91] Beetham, 'Good Taste' p.400.

was manifest in the cultural representations of costermongers.

Mrs Beeton appears to have shared the anxiety of her age over the growing sense of loss of connections to rural ways and foods, as demonstrated in the frontispiece, and in some of the notes between the recipes that describe an ingredient's heritage. On the other hand she was also, as Hughes says, 'a sharp-edged daughter of the industrial age', who knew that while her readers may not be picking apples from their own orchard, (although she expects or hopes that they will have a 'fruit room' for storage) they are interested in the connection between the recipes and the ingredients available.[92] Interspersed with the apple recipes in *The Book of Household Management* are passages about apple history and traditions, paraphrased mainly from the works of Dr Hogg, and while the apple is described there as a 'native' fruit, and 'excellent and abundant' in England, the passage goes on to state that 'immense supplies are also imported from the United States and from France. The apples grown in the vicinity of New York are universally admitted to be the finest of any.'[93] Mrs Beeton and her publisher were in tune with consumer demands and fashions, incorporating adverts for the latest household gadgets into the various editions of her book, so although advocating English fruit might be expected from her other musings on bucolic traditions, she knew what fashions her readers would aspire to have at home, and that a foreign apple could be a marker of discernment.

As discussed earlier, the change in status of the foreign apple was the exception. The domestic apple was a product that could come from any number of sources and growers; there was nothing in its origin to make one Bramley preferable, or able to command a higher price, over another from a different orchard. The various salesmen and wholesalers could come to expect quality from a certain grower, but even that was dependent on the weather and other factors largely outside the orchardist's control. The other difficulty for the apple grower attempting to turn a profit was that the apple did not lend itself to much 'added value'. It is clear from recipe books of the period, including Mrs Beeton's, that the readers or users of the books were expected to be able to recognise, or at least ask for, different varieties of apple for different purposes. For example *Cassell's Dictionary of Cookery* recommends 'the Wellington, or Dumeloro's Seedling' (sic) when making blackberry jam. [94] Any processing, therefore, was done in the kitchen itself; the apples came into the kitchen in the same state as they had left the orchard, with no additional processing, packaging or branding. However,

[92] Hughes, *Short Life* p.40.
[93]Mrs Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* p.622.
[94] *Cassell's Dictionary of Cookery* (London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1892) p.69.

demand for fruit and fresh produce was rising during the nineteenth century, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. In *The Food of London* (1856) George Dodd commented on the amount of fresh produce for sale in Covent Garden Market. 'One would almost imagine, looking at the formidable array, that Londoners had nought else to do but eat sacks of vegetables and bushels of fruit.'[95] It is useful to note the importance given to fresh produce in these nineteenth-century texts, balancing the work of D. J. Oddy and others into the working-class diet. The perception has been that the diet was of bread, bacon, cheese and a few overcooked vegetables, with only a little fruit cooked in puddings. Oddy noted that 'the nineteenth century Briton restricted his choice of food by prejudices and preferences about which we today know little: but it seems clear that attitudes of distrust towards fruit, vegetables and milk remained strong until the very end of the nineteenth century.'[96]

Instead, from the texts considered here such as the descriptions of the costermongers' poorest customers, it seems that eating fresh fruit and vegetables was attempted whenever it could be afforded, and that insufficient or irregular consumption was more to do with available income for food, rather than lack of desire or suspicion. Francatelli published a small, cheap volume; *A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Classes* in 1861, in which there are recipes for salads with cos lettuce, for onion soup, and baked haricot beans. He prefaces a recipe for 'economical vegetable pottage' with the observation that 'in France, and also in many parts of Europe, the poorer classes but very seldom taste meat in any form; the chief part of their scanty food consists of bread, vegetables and […] their soup, which is mostly made of vegetables.' The recipe consists of any herbs and vegetables simmered together, but he does concede that it is a recipe for those 'who may have a little garden of their own.' [97]

For all classes, baked apples were seen as especially good at aiding the digestion. Mrs Beeton noted that 'In a roasted state [apples] are remarkably wholesome, and, it is said, strengthening to a weak stomach', and that , 'apples, when peeled, cored, and well cooked, are a most grateful food for the dyspeptic.'[98] Francatelli informed his working-class readers that 'baked apples or pears, with bread, form a cheap, wholesome and proper kind of supper for children.'[99] Mayhew, however, had earlier pondered the decline of the roasted apple being sold in the street, noting that baked potatoes had taken their place. A street seller told him that

[95] Dodd, *The Food of London* p.387.
[96] D. J. Oddy, 'Food in nineteenth century England; nutrition in the first urban society' *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 29:1(1970) p.150.
[97] Charles Elme Francatelli, *A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Classes* first pub. 1861 (Whitstable: Pryor Publications, reproduction 1998) pp.47 – 48.
[98] Mrs Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* p.622.
[99] Francatelli, *Plain Cookery* p.57.

in her youth (possibly around 1830) 'roasted apples was reckoned good for the tooth ache in them days, but, people change so, they aren't now.'[100]

Eating fresh fruit and vegetables was also encouraged among the literate classes to promote good health and beauty, as in this article in *The Lady's Home Magazine* of 1860, which devotes a whole paragraph to the praise of the apple, particularly to its curative properties.

> There is scarcely an article of vegetable food more widely useful and more universally loved than the apple […] The most healthful dessert which can be placed upon the table is the baked apple. If taken freely at breakfast with coarse bread and butter […] it has an admirable effect on the general system, often removing constipation, correcting acidities and cooling of febrile conditions more effectually than most approved medicines. If families could be induced to substitute the apple, sound, ripe and luscious, for the pies, cakes, candies and other sweetmeats with which their children are too often indiscreetly stuffed, there would be a diminution in the sum total of doctors' bills in a single year, sufficient to lay in stock of this delicious fruit for a whole season's use.[101]

By 1896 in America apples were being recommended in periodicals as one way to prolong life.

> The apple is such a common fruit that few persons are familiar with its remarkably efficacious medicinal properties. Everybody ought to know that the very best thing they can do is to eat apples just before going to bed. The apple is excellent brain food because it has more phosphoric acid, in an easily digestible shape than any other fruit known. It excites the action of the liver, promotes sound and healthy sleep, and thoroughly disinfects the mouth. It also agglutinates the surplus acids of the stomach, helps the kidney secretions and prevents calculus growth, while it obviates indigestion and is one of the best preventives of diseases of the throat. Next to lemon and orange it is also the best antidote for the thirst and craving of persons addicted to the alcohol and opium habit.[102]

It should be remembered that another popular remedy for a bad complexion and ill health was the arsenic wafer, promoted by quack doctors in England and America, advertisements for which promised, 'One box of Dr Mackenzie's improved harmless arsenic wafers will produce the most lovely complexion that the imagination should desire; clear, fresh, free from blotch, blemish, coarseness, redness, freckles or pimples.' [103] The same hyperbole found its way into recommendations for every type of health-promoting food or

[100] Mayhew, *London Labour* p.90.
[101] Author unknown, *The Lady's Home Magazine* 16 December 1860.
[102] William Kinnear, 'How to prolong life' *The North American Review* 163: 477 (August 1896) p.251.
[103] Caroline Rance, *The Quack Doctor: Historical Remedies for All Your Ills* (Kindle Edition: History Press). Loc 242. [accessed 28/02/2020] A box that held arsenic wafers is shown here: https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_1339217 [accessed 28/02/2020].

product. Eating apples would probably have had a better result than most of the bottled remedies, with considerably fewer side effects.

A short article in *The London Journal* of 1898 shows the persistence of the idea of apples as a beauty aid throughout the century, where 'a recipe for beauty' and a soft complexion turns out to be eating 'three large apples just before retiring to bed' as recommended by 'a celebrated beauty'.[104] However, even this article has to cite medical authorities to allay the 'visions of nightmare and dyspepsia' at the thought of eating these raw apples, and these same caveats are also earlier expressed in an American book, *The Market Assistant* (1867) which includes this undated quote from *The Journal of Health* 'Be it remembered that the eating of ripe fruit does not imply the necessity of swallowing the skin and stone or seed, as many are in the fashion of doing. Certain it is - to say nothing of the labor to which the poor stomach is put on the occasion - nature never intended those parts of the fruit to be eaten.'[105]

The added-value apple

There could be no monetary gain from recommending apples as an aid to health and beauty, unlike the profits from arsenic-laden products. The one non-kitchen product which was originally said to contain apples was 'pomatum' or 'pomade' used to keep hair in place and looking glossy. However by the nineteenth century apples had disappeared from the recipe entirely and commercial pomade was mainly lard mixed with scented oils. In economic terms there was less value in a single ripe apple (aside from the most sought-after varieties) than there was if it could be made into some other product. Selling apple products would also even out the income from the crop throughout the year. However, the primary value of the apple to the cook was that it could be relatively easily transformed at home and kept for long term storage by drying, turning into fruit leathers, jams, relishes or pickles. Prepared apple products were not often shop-bought until the end of the Victorian era.

There was some use of apples as a bulking agent in jams and bottled fruit, but the apple was unable to compete with imported fruit such as oranges or bottled apricots or even with sweeter home-grown seasonal fruit such as strawberries or plums. All of these fruits had the added advantage of surviving the new canning process much better than apples, which turned to an unattractive grey mush. Mass-produced apple sauce was beginning to be a branded item in America, but the product was not popular in Britain, its use being confined to

[104] Author unknown, 'The Toilet Table: A Recipe for Beauty' *The London Journal* 1 January 1898 p.8.
[105] Thomas F. De Voe, *The Market Assistant* (New York: [n. pub.], 1867) p.369.

a condiment for roast pork.

Apples were used in jam, to bulk out more expensive or fragile fruit. Jam gained popularity as the wholesale price of sugar decreased, particularly after the removal of the Duty on sugar in 1874, and even ten years before that Crosse and Blackwell were using 450 tons of fruit for jam production each summer. As mechanisation increased, the cost of jam was reduced, and a pot of Crosse and Blackwell jam that cost 2s. in 1840 cost just 9d. in 1857, although this was still too expensive for the poorest consumers.[106]. Much of the jam fruit was imported as pulp from Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which again worked against any great increase in domestic fruit production or orchard growth.

However, it has been argued that the increase in fruit production from the 1870s can be attributed to the popularity of jam, resulting from, as Peter Atkins explained in his study of jams and pickles, 'demand from jam and bottling factories, met especially by smallholders in their immediate locality and by the expansion of production in the traditional fruit-growing regions. Examples include Chivers of Histon, near Cambridge, and Wilkin of Tiptree Heath in Essex.'[107] Stephen Chivers bought an orchard near the new railway line in 1850 and later noticed that the bulk of their crop went to jam manufacturers, so the Chivers sons began their own jam production in a barn in the orchard in 1873. There is an apple variety called Chivers Delight that was bred on the orchard in the 1920s and is still popular today. Locally many seedling trees can still be found in areas that are known to have been Chivers's land.

It seems to be around the turn of the twentieth century that the saying 'an apple a day keeps the doctor away' came into common use in America and, with a few variations, in Britain.[108] The perception of the apple as full of health-giving properties stands in contrast to its cultural reputation as the 'forbidden fruit.' However, growers could only profit from the healthy reputation of the apple if they sent top quality fruit to market, and even then there was no way of getting their particular apples to be favoured by the consumer above any other. It seems as if English growers saw that end of the supply chain as beyond their control, since there is little evidence of growers putting forward strategies for marketing or advertising dessert apples, either individually or collaboratively, beyond each grower's individual publicity. The strongest promotion of apples during the nineteenth century came about as a result of the articles in the gardening periodicals, and events such as National

[106] Peter Atkins, 'Vinegar and Sugar: The Early History of Factory-made Jams, Sauces and Pickles in Britain' *The Food Industries of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* ed. by D. J. Oddy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003).
[107] Ibid. p.9.
[108] The February 1866 edition of *Notes and Queries* magazine has this anonymous snippet: 'A Pembrokeshire proverb. Eat an apple on going to bed, /And you'll keep the doctor from earning his bread.'

Apple Congress of 1883, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Cider

One way in which the apple could be transformed into another product was by fermentation, turning it into cider. This was a product with a longer shelf-life than fresh apple juice or fresh apples, and, considering the cultural references to the popularity of cider in rural areas,cider making carried the potential for a sizeable profit. However, the mid and late-nineteenth century increase in apple production, made visible in quantities for sale in the markets and streets, applied only to 'eating' and 'cooking' apples. In contrast to the bustling market gardens around the urban centres, cider apple orchards fell into decline during the early part of the nineteenth century, and did not strongly revive until the craft cider boom of the late 1980s.

Cider making in England can be traced back to Norfolk during the reign of King John (1199 – 1216), but orchards grown specifically for cider apples were initially established across the south and west of England, especially after the introduction of the Redstreak or Red Strake cider apple, brought from France by Viscount Scudamore around 1650.[109] By the nineteenth century there was also some cider production in Norfolk, Suffolk (where Aspalls cider is still in production) and the Home Counties. As mentioned in the first chapter, cider orchards on the whole were not intensively managed, and the best crops came from varieties that grew large apples on tall trees, so the trees were therefore much larger and further apart than in dessert apple orchards. This is one reason why cider was not a major product in East Anglia, where the exposed, windy sites and soft Fen and Brecklands soils did not allow cider apple varieties to grow particularly large or tall trees, and thus the crop yield was decreased. Instead, East Anglian cider was originally made from any mixture of dessert and cooking apples, rather than from the high tannin apples grown specifically for the purpose of being turned into cider.

Cider orchards have a long history of being regarded as uncultivated, wild groves where the trees do as they please. In 1664 John Evelyn in his *Pomona* (an annexe to his great work, *Sylva*) referred to the 'red strake' as 'a pure Wilding' and described a cider orchard as 'but a wild plantation.'[110] He recommended planting trees 32 feet apart for a grazing orchard,

[109] Barrie Juniper and David Mabberley, *The Story of the Apple* (Portland: Timber Press, 2006) pp.165-166.
[110] John Evelyn, *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees…to which is annexed Pomona, or an Appendix Concerning Fruit Trees in Relation to Cider* (London: Martyn and Allestry,1664) p.7 and p.18 of the *Pomona* annex.

but acknowledged that trees can be closer if the orchard is ploughed every year. It is this pattern of orchard planting, practised successfully only in the West Country, that can be seen in paintings and illustrations from Evelyn's time, throughout the nineteenth century and into contemporary depictions. Cider orchards are shown in art with full-size trees (grown on their own roots rather than rootstock) with wide, spreading branches and, often, sheep grazing underneath, or even sheltering a reclining maiden or two. Once again, the cultural depiction of the apple is at odds with the reality of a progressive market garden style orchard.

Cider went through periods of popularity and then into a slow decline, so that during the nineteenth century apple growers and social commentators alike perceived both the apple orchards and the cider industry to be very much diminished. Dr Robert Hogg's contribution to the *Herefordshire Pomona* (1878) included a long list of cider apple varieties which were 'formerly very highly esteemed' but now could not be cultivated.[111] Thomas Knight, writing in 1800, believed that no variety of apple could be kept in cultivation for more than two hundred years, and Hogg and other growers concurred with his earlier findings, partly believing that the fungal disease of canker was killing off these old varieties, which were not responding well to be being grafted onto new, dwarfing rootstocks.[112] There seemed to be little incentive to create new varieties of cider apples, due to the decline in demand. However, Hogg was prepared to try, and put forward a plea for a revival:

> The profits of agriculture from the growth of cereals, and the production of cattle, threw the Orchards into a state of neglect from which they have yet to recover. In these days the changes of commerce have again brought Apple culture into consideration, and it has become a matter of importance to attend more carefully to the Orchards, and to bring Science to the aid of individual effort as derived from experience.[113]

As well as the changes to agricultural trends, there were a number of other societal reasons for the 'state of neglect' of the cider orchards. The West Country farms had long observed a custom of paying seasonal workers at least partly in cider, usually that made from the second pressing of the apples and therefore considerably less alcoholic. This custom had begun to decline during the mid-nineteenth century, as it was becoming socially less acceptable, and workers preferred cash as more consumer goods were available for sale. The practice was finally made illegal by the 'Amendment to the Truck Act of 1887', which

[111] Robert Hogg, *Herefordshire Pomona* 1878 p.iv.
[112] Thomas Knight, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Apple and Pear* (London: Longman and Rees, 1801) p.6.
[113] Robert Hogg, *Using the Apple and Pear as Vintage Fruits* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1886) p.v.

extended the remit of the Truck Act of 1831 to include food and drink, although cider payments may have continued informally into the early years of the twentieth century. However, in his history of 'cyder', R. K. French put the start of the decline in cider consumption much earlier and more geographically widespread than just the West Country. He noted that cider gradually came to be seen as a working-class drink, and therefore less socially acceptable among the aspirational workers and rising middle classes, during the period when wine was favoured and made fashionable by the middle and upper classes. As he has argued:

> When the Board of Agriculture commissioned reports on the state of agriculture in the counties of England towards the end of the eighteenth century, they found that cyder fruit was no longer the important crop it had been. The orchards were suffered to remain while they needed no attention and still served to provide the labourers with their gallon a day; but the old varieties were losing their vigour and becoming diseased[...]. Moreover, since cider was increasingly identified with the working class, it became easy to disapprove of it and the orchards that produced it.[114]

Although cider had once been drunk in 'cyder houses' at the same prices as wine, the mid-century professional classes began choosing wine to drink at mealtimes, and the social drinking of cider declined, particularly swiftly in urban areas. In their studies of drinking habits in the nineteenth century, both Brian Harrison and John Burnett charted the growth in sales of tea and coffee and the rise in visibility of the temperance movement as further reasons for cider's decline.[115] Perhaps more importantly in rural districts, festivals such as 'harvest home' were slowly transformed away from an opportunity to drink to excess into a more abstemious Church and family-based event. The extent and cultural implications of these types of changes to rural communities are discussed within the context of wassailing, in the last chapter of this thesis. Due, presumably, to the decline in cider's popularity, nineteenth-century information on specifically cider orchard acreage and profitability is scarce.

One source that provides some figures on cider orchards is Dr Robert Hogg, as primary author of *Using the Apple and Pear as Vintage Fruits,* (1886) who extols the benefits of growing apples particularly in order to produce cider, and in retaining the old varieties. He

[114] R. K. French, *The History and Virtues of Cyder* (Robert Hale: London, 1982) p.31.
[115] John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999). Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815 - 1874* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994).

uses the agricultural returns, discussed in Chapter One, to show a slight increase in fruit tree acreage in the cider counties of Herefordshire, Devon, Somerset, Kent, Worcester and Gloucester between 1877 and 1883. Although he uses these returns to argue that cider orchards are not diminishing everywhere, the returns on which his figures are based do not differentiate between cider orchards and those growing eating apples. Moreover, even as Hogg is promoting cider apples, his calculations demonstrate that only a very small profit can be made from an acre of cider apple trees, and then only if the costs are kept low. Growing dessert apples, other arable crops or livestock would almost certainly produce a greater return even on a small acreage. Hogg calculated that,

> Using the figures for Herefordshire, taking five-sixths of the crop for the production of Cider and Perry (pear cider) would yield on a very low average two Hogsheads of 100 gallons per acre; and this at the low price of 3d a gallon would give £564 17s 10d., and thus at this computation purposely made so low, the yield from fruit for this County would be at the rate of £3 per acre of Orcharding annually.[116]

Therefore it can be concluded that mid to late-nineteenth century cider production was a localised industry that had little impact on the overall economic value of dessert apple orchards across England. Fruit growers and nurseries were not devoting resources to developing cider varieties of apple, and the cider orchards were either lost or neglected. Perhaps this sense of loss is one reason why the large pastoral cider orchards were so picturesquely depicted in popular and fine art, as Part Two of this thesis will discuss.

[116] Hogg, *Vintage Fruits* p.74.

Chapter 3: Apple growers, developers and opinion makers

Introduction

In order to understand how the apple came to occupy its prominent position, above the many competing horticultural and cultural objects and symbols of the Victorian era, it is important to consider the work of the men and women who planted orchards, developed cultivars and published books about apples. This chapter will provide context to those texts that have been referred to in the earlier chapters. The apple experts functioned and flourished, particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century, because horticulture was becoming recognised as a profession, a science and a profitable industry, while amateur gardening was seen as both a fashionable and a beneficial pastime. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief summary of the discourse around horticulture as one route to the improvement of the knowledge, and behaviour, of the working man and woman, through the role played by the increasing number of gardening periodicals. This change in gardening's status is then considered in relation to one of the themes of this thesis, that of how the desire for moral improvement changed both the material and the cultural landscape in which the orchard was situated. Within the context of these changes, the activities of the pomologists, including the major Apple Congresses, are situated within the cultural and economic network around the apple. This chapter then describes the primary inhabitants of that network and considers their significance within Victorian society. Finally this chapter will focus on the major works from those expert writers about apples, in particular the pomonas, using them as the primary example of how the desire for improvement, order and knowledge of the natural world was represented in text and image.

The results of increasing expertise and literacy within working-class gardening

This section considers the role of gardening as an agent of material and social change. This discourse of improvement had an impact on the work of most professional horticulturalists and writers, including those writing about apple development and domestic growing of fruit trees, since their work also appropriated the language of improvement. The elite apple growers interacted with a range of gardening clubs and societies, and this spread of knowledge was an impetus for the growth of horticulture.

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century there was a great deal of cultural comment as to how to improve the standards of living, and modify the behaviour, of the urban and rural working poor, in particular on the suitable use of leisure time. What has been

termed the 'rational recreation' movement emerged, although it was not an organised body, but more a school of thought, influential in the sporting world but also across the classes and their use of free time. According to the rationalists, leisure activities for the working class should be the opposite of idle pursuits such gambling, drinking and various blood sports. Even the newly created public parks were intended as places for (literally) sober reflection. Influential Victorian garden writer John Loudon recommended visits to parks, botanic gardens, 'commercial flower-gardens and public orchards' for those with limited gardens in the new London suburbs.[1] Historian of leisure, Hugh Cunningham has noted that, in public parks, the intention was that 'The careful display of individual trees, shrubs and plants would arouse people's interest and innate love of nature, and would both uplift them from their day-to-day concerns and dispose them to be sober, orderly and reflective.'[2]

As a response to this cultural shift, many local horticultural societies for working men were formed across the country, as part of a growth in clubs that included sports groups, cycling societies, reading groups, libraries and the Mechanics Institute. For example, in 1850 the Much Wenlock Olympian Class was formed, to 'promote the moral, physical and intellectual improvement' of the local inhabitants 'and especially of the Working Classes, by the encouragement of outdoor recreation.'[3]

There were other cultural influences behind this interest in urban and suburban gardening and other such organised and wholesome leisure activities. Social historian Brian Harrison has documented the rise of the teetotal movement, which sought to use abstinence as a way towards solving wider social ills by setting up activities and venues that provided an alternative to the public house.[4] Its influence in the rural parishes, particularly the cider-drinking, wassailing counties of the West Country, however, was weak. Various branches of the church also became more involved in education and charitable work in the cities, as the change in Christian practice, as Harrison describes, 'eventually replaced theological and liturgical concern by preoccupation with moral and social reform.'[5] The doctrinal influence of the Church was further threatened by what Thomas Huxley called the 'culture of scientific naturalism', which sought to classify, understand and, for some scientists, remove the links

[1] John Claudius Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838) p.29.
[2] Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution 1780 - 1880* (London: Routledge, 1980) p.95.
[3] Stephen Halliday, *Amazing and Extraordinary Facts: The Olympics* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 2012) p.24.
[4] Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815 – 1872* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994) p.112.
[5] Ibid. p.113.

between religion and the Christian story of creation and the natural world.[6] This interest in the science of the natural world is demonstrated in the work of creating new apple varieties, and in 'improving' on nature.

Within this trend for self-improvement, therefore, it is not surprising that both the science of horticulture and the activity of gardening were championed as suitable middle- and working-class pursuits. While the garden itself, as both a material and an imaginary space, will be discussed in the second part of this thesis, the rise of horticultural and flower societies can be seen as an expression of the middle-class desire to provide working men with an alternative to alcohol and other vices, including that of laziness. The influence of experts and the sharing of knowledge through clubs and societies promoted good living as well as good gardening. The press reports of the Norfolk and Norwich Horticultural Society's first ever annual show of 1829 emphasised the desire for the moral improvement of the new society's members. The local paper opined 'Most truly do we desire to see this Society flourish, and exercising that salutary influence it is calculated to have,' and reported how the Chairman had stated that one of the objectives of the newly formed society was to 'raise the moral character of the poorer classes of the community […] reviving the character of the good old English peasantry.'[7]

Even in the most deprived urban areas, cultivation of flowers or green space was seen as an expression of an improved mind and soul. For example, auriculas were the favourite flower of cutlers in Sheffield, silk weavers in Lancashire and weavers in the London district of Spitalfields. Here the weavers organised their own flower shows and worked hard to breed new forms. Henry Mayhew wrote in depth about the life of the weavers, and commented that 'a love of flowers went along with a clean and orderly household, of good moral habits'.[8] In 1840, Edward Church, who lived in Spital Square in the centre of the area of the East End where the weavers lived, commented that 'the weavers were almost the only botanists of their day in the metropolis.'[9]

Of course, conditions in city centres were not conducive to growing anything much larger than an auricular, and many households were on short-term tenancies. However, developments in fruit tree rootstocks meant that more varieties could be successfully grown

[6] Bernard Lightman, 'Science and culture' *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.14.
[7] *Norfolk Chronicle* Saturday 28 November 1829.
[8] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor, Vol. I* (London; Griffin, Bohn and Company, 1861) p.132.
[9] *http://spitalfieldslife.com/2015/04/09/auriculas-of-spitalfields* See also Patricia Cleveland-Peck, *Auriculas through the Ages* (Malborough: Crowood Press, 2011).

in pots, while the growers in provincial towns had a growing network of allotments which often permitted fruit trees to be established. Apple cultivation, therefore, was both materially and culturally one aspect of the discourse of improvement through gardening, and of improved gardens across the country.

Within the network of gardening clubs and horticulturalists, there were different levels of expertise, and of interest in such aspects of 'science' as apple breeding. In her doctoral thesis on the development of gardening as a nineteenth century leisure activity, Anne Wilkinson was careful to note the distinctions drawn in the period between the professional gardeners' associations, the horticultural and naturalist societies formed by gentlemen, and the increasingly specialist shows of the 'florists'; those who grew particular flowers (such as auriculas) for competitive display. [10] The professional horticulturalists embraced the public's new enthusiasm for their work and expertise, and called for higher standards of knowledge and skill within their profession. The International Horticultural Congress, held in London in May 1866, was a public platform for their profession and may have been the inspiration for the Apple Congress later in the century. The opening address came from the taxonomist and French apple expert M. De Candolle. He lectured his audience that 'Horticulture has been pushed to an extra ordinary degree of perfection, and Science has been greatly advanced. What Science wants, above all, is liberty — not only political liberty, which is to a certain extent very necessary, but, above all, that liberty which is accorded to each individual by public opinion'.[11] By the end of the century it was noted that the amateur gardener had as much influence, and as much access to 'science' as the professionals, with gardeners of all classes working to 'improve' any number of plant species. In this environment where almost every plant in the garden and field was a subject of experimentation, and where horticulturalists felt at liberty to develop traditional crops and cast aside traditional favourites, apples were grown and studied for interest, as well as for commercial profit. Indeed, two of the most well-known varieties of apple today, The Cox's Orange Pippin and the Bramley's seedling, originated from trees grown by amateur growers. The apples were then 'approved' by the experts at the Apple Congress discussed below.

Gardening and flower clubs used their members' increasing literacy to benefit from the expertise and opinions of the professional horticulturalists, growers and garden enthusiasts who wrote articles and books to guide them, and to become part of that discourse.

[10] Anne Wilkinson, 'The Development of Gardening as a Leisure Activity in Nineteenth Century Britain and the Establishment of Horticultural Periodicals' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 2002) pp.30-31.
[11] *Report of proceedings of the International Horticultural Exhibition and Botanical Congress held in London May 22 to May 31 1866*. (London: Truscott Son and Simmons, 1866) p.14.

When considering the impact of the spread of popularity of gardening and horticulture, it can be seen how much this was influenced by the synchronous growth in the number of weekly and monthly periodicals with lower cover prices that were aimed at the cottage and suburban gardener. These periodicals, columns in newspapers and books offered practical advice for the new gardener in Victorian suburbs or the expanding towns. Many of these publications, such as Loudon's works on suburban gardening, started to include content aimed at female gardeners, or at least at female readers. Expertise, however, was still situated outside the urban parks and in the practices of the country. Head Gardeners of large country estates were cited as authors, even if others may have written the articles. The authority and expertise of the gardener to the nobility on the large country estate added status to these publications, as it did when an aristocrat provided or endorsed the introduction to a longer work. For example in 1847 *The Gardener's Monthly* devoted two volumes to 'The Apple', carefully noting the authors as 'George W. Johnson and R. Errington (Gardener to Sir Philip Egerton, Bart)'.[12] George W. Johnson was a well-known gardener and author/editor, in particular of *The Cottage Gardener* periodical or part-work which sometimes listed Dr Robert Hogg as one of the 'proprietors' and later became, under Hogg's joint editorship, the *Journal of Horticulture*. The market for such periodicals was strong enough to support weekly publications, such as *The Gardener's Chronicle*, which began in 1841. This was aimed at the owner of a small suburban garden, but also contained notes of the state of the commercial trade in various crops, as discussed in the previous chapter. Apart from the reports from Covent Garden's apple trade, references to apples grown in gardens occur often in its pages, usually in the form of a note from a reader or contributor, enquiring about their apple tree and its health. There is discussion over the nomenclature of varieties and descriptions of various trees, along with questions of practical horticulture, such as feeding or pruning. All of which served to publicise new cultivars of apple, and to share knowledge about the best ways of growing the trees and maximising a crop. *The Gardener's Chronicle* was earnest in sharing information, often very technical, about new horticultural techniques and the science behind them. For, as it opined; 'whenever a man learns new fundamental scientific truth, he becomes to this extent more intelligent in the practice which rests upon this truth'.[13]

Pomology, the gardening press and its readers benefitted from the increase in accessibility of botanical illustration. As printing costs were reduced, it was possible to

[12] George W. Johnson, and R. Errington, 'The Apple: Culture, Uses and History' *The Gardener's Monthly* Vol. 1 (November 1847) and Vol. II (December 1847). In the same year the pair had published similarly titled works on the gooseberry, the cucumber and the potato.
[13] *The Gardener's Chronicle* 23 Feb1895 p.232.

include more coloured illustrations in the magazines or to sell them as prints. However, the accuracy of the colours depicted in these prints was disputed, usually by the writers of rival publications. Accurate colouration is particularly important when illustrating apples, since their colour is often one of the primary distinguishing features of a variety, but it was not a priority for the periodicals, trying to entice new readers with vivid floral illustrations. As Ray Desmond noted in his study of Victorian gardening magazines, 'during the first wave of cheap literature in the 1830s most publishers and editors were understandably obsessed by costs and value for money.'[14] Getting good colour was expensive and came at a cost of reduced readership for a higher priced publication. Joseph Paxton, in his role as editor of *Paxton's Magazine of Botany and Register of Flowering Plants*, complained that the price of some of the better periodicals 'places them beyond the reach of most flower cultivators.'[15] Therefore, they could not reach the readership that would benefit the most from studying these prints. On the other hand, he regretted that 'cheap periodicals, although unobjectionable in respect to price, are manifestly defective in other points of greater importance; the plates they contain bearing but little resemblance to the plants they are intended to represent'.[16]

Even at the high-quality end of the market, the poorly paid work of colouring prints by hand, once the lines had been printed, was performed by women and children. Desmond quoted the famous landscaper Humphrey Repton, who expressed his satisfaction with the colourists' treatment of the aquatints in his *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803). 'The art of colouring plates in imitation of drawings has been so far improved of late, that I have pleasure in recording my obligations to Mr Clarke, under whose directions a number of children have been employed to enrich this volume.'[17] During the early years of the nineteenth century printers worked on a factory basis, with the workers on piece rates. 'The children and women engaged to do the colouring would sit around tables, usually each applying a single colour to each print, having before them a specimen coloured print as a guide. A master colourist would add the finishing touches to the better-quality prints.'[18] Works about apples, including the expensive pomonas with their many coloured plates, were popular for their decorative nature, as well as for the information they contained. Line drawings and coloured illustrations in the more affordable publications helped the general gardener to choose apple varieties by appearance, as well as to appreciate their

[14] Ray Desmond, 'Victorian Gardening Magazines' *Garden History* 5:3 (Winter 1977) 47 – 66.
[15] Ibid. p.47.
[16] Ibid. p.59.
[17] Ibid. p.58.
[18] Ibid. p.53.

identifiable characteristics. This move from text to image may have been the start of the attraction to apples that were more colourful, in particular red toned, and having a more rounded shape and shinier skin. Apples in horticultural publications, like those in works of art, were relying on their appearance to make an impact.

As more examples of botanical illustration were shared through these publications, many middle-class women were inspired to take up botanical illustration as a hobby and a few were able to make a career from it. The art of illustrating fruits and flowers was considered suitably ladylike. John Claudius Loudon remarked in 1831, 'To be able to draw Flowers botanically, and Fruits horticulturally, that is, with the characteristics by which varieties and subvarieties are distinguished, is one of the most useful accomplishments of young ladies of leisure, living in the country.'[19]

However, as historian of science Londa Schiebinger has noted, although women may have been permitted, and paid, to illustrate botanic publications, the texts in pomonas and gardening periodicals, with their taxonomic investigations, were primarily written by men. She has described the discrimination in the way in which the subject was approached. 'Botany, when prescribed for women, was to provide pleasure and instil virtue.'[20] Men studied botany to increase their knowledge and to make discoveries. Botany, and by extension the study of horticulture and gardening, was, as this chapter has shown, a very popular subject at the amateur level for both men and women, helped by the network of local clubs and societies and the mass market publications. The exact nature of botanic studies, however, was at the centre of tensions and ambiguities as to what was suitable for women to write about and illustrate. English Literature scholar Caroline Jackson-Houlston has traced how women botanists and artists were affected by the adoption of the Linnaean system of plant classification. This system classified plants according to their sexual structures, using comparisons with animal, and therefore by implication human, reproductive organs and methods. Jackson-Houlston notes that although it revolutionised botany, 'it had turned the single barrier of Latin language into a double one for female students; not only a difficulty of access to a classical education, but also a problem of sexual decorum.'[21]

Loudon's wife, Jane, was also a writer on gardening and botany. In her popular book

[19] Brent Elliott, 'English Fruit Illustration in the Early Nineteenth Century. Part Two' *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library* Vol. 7 London: Royal Horticultural Society (March 2012) p.46.
[20] Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993) p.36.
[21] Caroline Jackson-Houlston, '"Queen Lilies"? The Interpenetration of Scientific, Religious and Gender Discourses in Victorian Representations of Plants' *Journal of Victorian Culture,* Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring (2006) p.85.

Botany for Ladies (1842) she describes the Linnean system as 'excessively repugnant' and uses an alternative 'natural system' by M. De Candolle instead.[22] Studies of Victorian botany have found that women were brought into science and botany to some extent, but that efforts were made, as historian Anne Scherter describes it, to 'de-feminize' the study of plants and thereby take it from an improving amusement to a serious science, not suitable for women of any class. With the result, she claims, that 'the vocabularies of early and mid-nineteenth-century gender ideology shaped [women's] scientific practices, and thus their botany was for the most part located in the breakfast room rather than the scientific society.[23]

Even these limitations were not sufficient for Ruskin, who, argues Ruskin scholar Jonathan Smith, found the same corruption and moral decay in the flower bed as he did in contemporary fiction, and in society.[24] In *Proserpina*, Ruskin's rambling investigation of 'the vulgar and ugly mysteries of the so-called science of botany', he declared he would have nothing to do with 'the recent phrenzy (*sic*) for the investigation of digestive and reproductive operations in plants' and also warned his 'girl-readers' in particular against 'all study of floral genesis and digestion.'[25] Nevertheless, the work of female botanic artists was used in periodicals and books on plants and gardening, including the outstandingly beautiful and accurate plates in the pomonas, discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

Pomological experts and the National Apple Congress

The various gardening publications were written and produced by a small group of experts including Loudon, Johnson and Hogg. Within that expert cohort the nexus of apple enthusiasts was a relatively small one (then as now) but they had significant influence. Charles Darwin, the most influential among the newly eminent scientists of the natural world, studied apples, grew his own from grafts and corresponded with the fruit nurseryman Thomas Rivers. In a later adjunct to *On the Origin of Species*, which was first published as a complete work in 1859, Darwin wrote about variation in those 'plants and animals under domestication', (publishing this title in 1868) and in this he specifically studied apples. However, the notable characteristic of apples – that they do not grow true from seed – made Darwin almost dismissive of them, since his theory of evolution depended on the

[22] Jane Loudon, *Botany for Ladies* (London: John Murray, 1842) p.iii.
[23] Ann B. Shteir, 'Gender and "Modern" Botany in Victorian England' *Osiris: Women, Gender, and Science: New Directions* Vol. 12 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) p.36.
[24] Jonathan Smith, 'Domestic Hybrids: Ruskin, Victorian Fiction and Darwin's Botany' *Victorian Hybridities: Cultural Anxiety and Formal Innovation* ed. by U. C. Knoepflmacher (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010) p.123.
[25] John Ruskin, *Proserpina: Studies of Wayside Flowers* Vol. I (Kent: George Allen 1879) p.5; Vol. II (New York: John Wiley, 1888) p.5, p.35.

predominance of hereditable differences and similarities. He noted, 'In the catalogue of apples published in 1842 by the Horticultural Society, 897 varieties are enumerated; but the differences between most of them are of comparatively little interest, as they are not strictly inherited. No one can raise, for instance, from the seed of the Ribston Pippin, a tree of the same kind'.[26] Darwin was interested in how apples (and other species, of course) inherit the characteristics of their parents, so that later he described incidents where apple trees produced 'fruit of two kinds, or half-and-half fruit; these trees are generally supposed to be of crossed parentage […] and […] the fruit reverts to both parent forms'.[27]

The inclusion of the apple among other domesticated plants in Darwin's work perhaps gave the apple some extra credibility as an object of study and worthy of scientific attention by others, seeing it as something more than simply an agricultural or cottager's crop. The concept of evolution, as widely received in the nineteenth century, can be described as progress and improvement from the most primitive life forms through to human beings, so the natural, and the deliberate, selection of apples from the wild to the sweet made the apple an apt species for inclusion, where progress could so clearly be seen and where every grower might attempt improvements. Particularly important, therefore, are Darwin's citations of other books on the subject of pomology, and his references to other contemporary apple experts.

Darwin corresponded with, and used the work of, apple experts including Thomas Rivers. In 1863 Thomas Rivers sent Darwin apple wood shoots to demonstrate variation in fruit from different buds. Darwin's letters show that he was a practical horticulturalist, trying various bud grafting and growing experiments, which Rivers was aware of.[28] When Rivers wrote again to Darwin, Rivers's mind was on the application of natural selection as observed in his own nursery:

> You should live near a large nursery & your mind would find abundance of food. When I first read the "Origin" I was amused at what I had observed with regard to "selection". A patch of seedling trees if not transplanted seems to illustrate this (but perhaps I am taking a wrong view) the first year they are all equal in two or three years several will have pushed up—not confined to the outside of the patch which is easily accounted for by their finding more food— at the end of five or six years one or two or three will have smothered nearly all their brethren & then one alone will often

[26] Charles Darwin, *Complete Works*: *Variation of animals and plants under domestication Vol. 1* (New York: New York University Press, reprint 2010) p.325.
[27] Ibid. p.350. Half and half apples are known as 'chimera' fruit and are now understood to be caused by cell development from the rootstock into the embryonic apple.
[28] Darwin Correspondence Project letter DCP-LETT-3906 www.darwinproject.ac.uk. [accessed 01/06/2020]

be left.[29]

This demonstrates that Rivers was willing to learn from and apply Darwin's arguments to his practical work. There is a concern for progress and for the improvement of the apple, here and across this network of growers, a state of mind that is scarcely found in m the cultural representations of the apple, most of which are markedly nostalgic in their symbolism and mood.

The most influential national organisation that channelled this drive for horticultural progress among the growers was the Horticultural Society of London, founded in 1804 and becoming the Royal Horticultural Society (the RHS) of Great Britain in 1861, when Prince Albert awarded it the Royal Charter and rescued the Society from serious financial difficulties. One of the reasons for the difficulties was the Society's attempts to maintain its elite status, not permitting non-members into any of its gardens, and discouraging the mainly working-class 'florists' from taking part in its shows.[30] By the 1880s, however, the RHS had changed its attitudes, doing much more to encourage working-class amateur gardeners. However perhaps this initial hauteur is behind the hostile tone of comments about the RHS in popular gardening periodicals such as *The Gardener's Chronicle* whose contributors, many of whom must have been members, recorded the Society's activities across the years while employing tones ranging from criticism to scorn.

In 1823 the Horticultural Society of London established an orchard on its own land in Chiswick, following on from one of the first research programmes of the Society; 'resolution of synonymy in fruit varieties', begun in 1815 and prompted by the increase in the number of new and improved cultivars and the growth of commercial orchards.[31] This orchard became what is now the National Fruit Collection at Brogdale, Kent, which consists of an orchard of specimen apple, pear, plum and cherry trees, growing at least one of each known and established cultivar. In her history of the National Fruit Collection, Joan Morgan noted the international reach of this research from its formation, since 'in these studies the Society acted as the focal point for Europe and served as an entrepôt distributing scions of the latest introductions, sending them even across the Atlantic to its American sister societies under the energising presidency of Thomas Andrew Knight, a Herefordshire squire and acclaimed fruit

[29] Darwin Correspondence Project letter DCP-LETT-3965 www.darwinproject.ac.uk. [accessed 29/04/2020]
[30] Anne Wilkinson, 'Development of Gardening' p.31.
[31] Brent Elliott, *The Royal Horticultural Society: A History 1804-2004* (London: Phillimore and Co., 2004) pp.25 -67.

breeder.'[32] Thomas Andrew Knight made his name with a paper on grafting fruit trees, becoming a founder member of the Horticultural Society of London, and then President from 1811 every year until his death in 1838. He gave the impetus to much of the society's research into apples, having published his *Treatise on the Culture of the Apple and the Pear* in 1797. The horticulturalist in charge of growing the Society's orchard at Chiswick was Robert Thompson, and his catalogues of fruit were particularly useful in terms of reducing synonyms. Thompson's 1831 catalogue recorded the names, details and synonyms of 1,400 apple varieties, although not all of these were in cultivation at Chiswick. However when the Society went through a period of decline in the 1850s it no longer focused on fruit growing. This meant that the Chiswick fruit collection failed to include new cultivars, and therefore was of less use to commercial growers and nurserymen, and was not able to influence or to benefit from the enthusiasm for apple breeding that was in the air at that time.

In order to redress this, the Pomological Society was formed. This organisation, independent of the Horticultural Society, had a brief existence from 1854, until it was subsumed into the Horticultural Society and became the Society's Fruit Committee in 1858. The Pomological Society had Sir Joseph Paxton, designer of the Crystal Palace and of the Gardens at Chatsworth, as its President; John Spencer, the head gardener at Bowood House, a stately home in Wiltshire, as its Secretary, and Dr Robert Hogg as its (intermittent) Chairman. Robert Hogg was a botanist and nurseryman who had been working for Hugh Ronalds, another London nurseryman, since 1836. Having toured Europe extensively and studied apple growing in detail, he had produced the first volume of *British Pomology*, detailing the apples in cultivation, in 1851. As such he was acclaimed as the foremost apple expert in the country at the time.

Contemporary reaction to the formation of the Pomological Society was favourable, even in the *Gardener's Chronicle.* As Brent Elliott records in his history of the RHS, 'The gardening press greeted the new society as a tonic, acknowledging that there would have been no need for it had the Horticultural Society maintained its former level of fruit-directed activity:'[33] The Pomological Society considered all fruits, not solely apples (a meeting in 1856 was concerned with assessing the best varieties of strawberry) and it is unclear why it did not continue, since in August 1857 it declared at its AGM that it was 'steadily, surely and

[32] Joan Morgan, 'Orchard Archives: The National Fruit Collection' *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library: Studies in the History of British Fruit* Part 2: Vol. 7 (March 2012) p.5.
[33] Brent Elliott, *The Royal Horticultural Society: A History* p.60.

firmly established, and increasing in usefulness.'[34] However, perhaps its success as an independent organisation persuaded the Horticultural Society to pay more attention to fruits, since in 1858 the Horticultural Society's Fruit Committee was formed, and once this was established the Pomological Society ceased.

The Fruit Committee membership also included Hogg and Spencer and therefore when its first meeting took place on 5th July 1858 it was greeted as a further favourable development. The positive reaction in the gardening press shows how much the Horticultural Society was looked to for direction and authority, with very few influential voices standing outside it for long, even during its periods of difficulty. Having a central authoritative organisation, practicing gardening in its own trial beds, certainly influenced the focus of the horticultural trade, as to which plants or varieties were considered suitable for commercial and domestic gardens. Awards and prizes given to the finest and best-performing plants gave publicity to the nurserymen and stimulated the demand for new cultivars. What is now the RHS Award of Garden Merit carries a great deal of weight. Its Victorian equivalent may, perhaps undesirably, have swayed which apple cultivars were available to the domestic and the commercial grower. One of the stated aims of the Horticultural Society's research into apples was to decide on a few varieties that were worthy of being grown commercially. These research aims show that the Society was concerned with improving, rather than with preserving or restoring the apples of the past. Gardeners and commercial growers alike were looking for the newest, most improved, most attractive varieties.

The high point of the Horticultural Society's interest in fruit was the National Apple Congress of 1883, held from 5th – 25th October, during the peak of the apple harvest. The Society acted as host and provided the venue, the first public exhibition held on its Chiswick site. As the Congress began *The Gardener's Chronicle* described the preparations for the Congress as being handled 'half-heartedly', as though the Society felt 'it was departing from its dignity in applying itself with an exhibition of Apples, even in its own gardens.'[35] However, the Society had been discussing fruit varieties and related questions as a regular part of its transactions, and the preparations for the Congress were in fact both swift and effective. There may have been concern that holding an open exhibition might attract unwelcome visitors, but this does not seem to have been a serious consideration, as horticultural shows were seen as events that would encourage good behaviour among the working-class attendees, as this chapter has earlier discussed. Fortunately, 1883 was a very

[34] *The Florist, Fruitist and Garden Miscellany* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857) p.284.
[35] 'Chiswick As It Is' *The Gardener's Chronicle* Saturday 6 October 1883 Vol. 20 new series p.423.

good year for apples, with thousands of sample fruits sent in by gardeners and nurserymen across the country. As Chiswick Gardens Superintendent, Mr A. F. Barron noted, in his official report on the congress '[apples] were of such an exceptional and remarkable character as to attract the notice and command the special attention of all those interested in the cultivation of this, the most important of our national fruit.'[36] Weather conditions in previous years had not been so favourable for apple crops, so this was a particularly notable harvest.

Fruit historian Joan Morgan has argued that the Congress was in direct response to the quantity, and organised promotion, of American and other imported apples, but this motivation is not mentioned in the official records. Press coverage around the event did refer to American apples, in that American growers benefitted from the poor British harvests, and had been efficient at taking advantage of it. As *The Standard* noted when reviewing the Congress, 'Cultivators of apples in this country are thus, like cultivators of grain, brought face to face with American competition, and English growers have had sufficient experience of the enterprise of Transatlantic farmers to be assured that […] they can only be fairly met by the superiority of home-grown produce'.[37] This concern about foreign produce, however, had been expressed by growers throughout the decades preceding the Congress, as Chapter Two has demonstrated, and is unlikely to have been the primary impetus for this particular event.

Instead, it is likely that the push to hold the Congress came from Dr Hogg, who made research trips to France each year, and was aware of the work on cider apples happening in Rouen, including the series of Congresses endorsed by the French government and held, as Hogg described 'successively in the leading cider districts of France' with the results being published as *Le Cidre* in 1875. Hogg noted, 'This work is of a highly scientific and comprehensive character. It is thoroughly practical, and has rendered great service to the Orchards of Normandy.' Hogg, who always advocated that the RHS be of use to the practical, working gardener, would have been keen for domestic apples to have the same status and recognition. However the formal 'originator of this great national assemblage of apples' was Mr Barron, who also wrote the report of the results.[37]

The request for apples went out via regional horticultural clubs on 11th September 1883, asking that each basket of apples be fully labelled with as much information as possible. The call for entries stressed that the purpose was to reduce synonyms and gather

[36] A. F. Barron, *British Apples: Report of the Committee of the National Apple Congress* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1884) p.2.
[37] Henry Graves Bull and Robert Hogg, *The Apple and Pear as Vintage Fruits* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1886) p.vi.

more information, and that prizes would not be awarded. Members of the Fruit Committee would act as agents in the various regions. Before long many samples arrived, and the quantity 'far exceeded the most sanguine of anticipations, promises of support and consignments of fruit[...]completely filling the Conservatory' in the Horticultural Society's land at Chiswick, as Barron described.[38] The apples were laid out on plates in the Conservatory, the Chiswick Garden vinery and other marquees. The Conservatory alone was a large building, as can be seen from the illustration of it when open to the public. (Figure 1)

THE GREAT CONSERVATORY IN THE GARDENS OF THE HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY, AT CHISWICK.

Figure 1. Illustration of the Horticultural Society's Conservatory at Chiswick, *Illustrated London News* Saturday 15 June 1850 p.8.

Viewing of the apples was opened to the public and the press as well as the fruit growers. *The Illustrated London News* gave the number of visitors as 'over five hundred each day' which does not perhaps imply great crowds, but the Congress remained opened some extra days to meet demand, and the press coverage records that railways offered cheap excursions and fares to the members of the working class attending the event.[39] The humorous illustration that appeared in *The Illustrated London News* to celebrate the National Apple Congress shows a variety of visitors from the respectable working and middle classes, including several women. (Figure 2.)

[38] Barron, 'British Apples' p.6.
[39] *Illustrated London News* Saturday 15 October 1883 p.6.

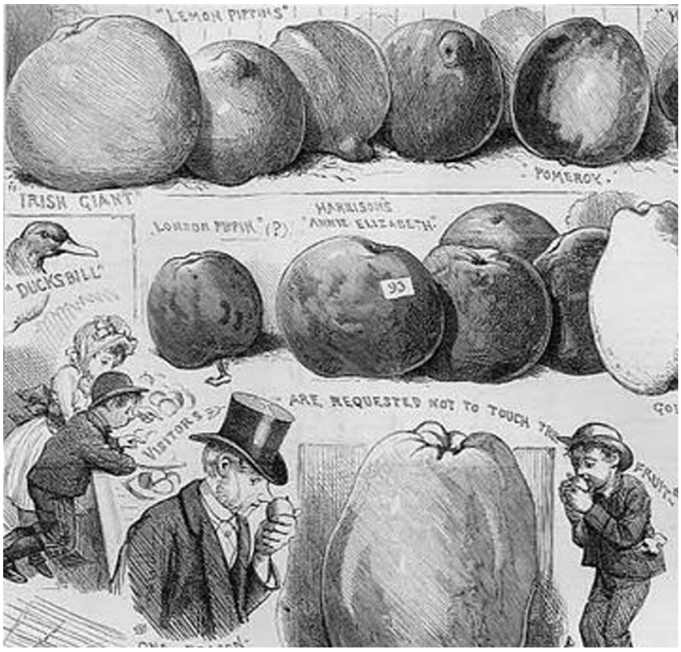


Figure 2. Detail from the illustration of events at the Apple Congress. *Illustrated London News*, 20 October 1883 p.4.

The Daily News commented, 'Whatever "poor men's politics" may be, the apple is the poor man's fruit, and it is pleasant to see its interests duly considered in the highest horticultural circles.'[40] Such was the popularity of the exhibition that it was transported from London to Manchester's Town Hall, where the apples made a celebrity appearance, along with others from the region, from 2nd – 9th November, complete with evening viewing and an organ recital.[41] The local press reported a full list of the exhibitors, noting that 'a show of so many varieties as have been brought together […] must be fraught with deep interest to all - to the general public as well as to the horticultural specialist.'[42] The press advertising for both events – the London Congress and the Manchester Apple Show – was placed in the local and London press among adverts for concerts, operas, lectures and other middle class and aspirational activities. The larger apple shows were something to attend for improvement, not mere amusement.

The horticultural aim of the Congress was to improve the recording of apple varieties and unravel the synonyms used by nurserymen and growers in different regions. The Congress also aimed to arrive at a consensus among the exhibitors as to which were the best commercial cultivars. Although no prizes were offered, as *Berrow's Worcester Journal* put it, 'exhibitors, while contributing their quota of particulars may find a reward for their pains in the increased value every addition to the data will give to the generalizations it may be

[40] *The Daily News* Saturday 6 October 1883 p.5.
[41] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* 23 October and 1 November 1883.
[42] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* 3 November 1883.

possible to record about the conference.'[43] As a result of the publicity from this conference growers of the recently introduced Cox's Orange Pippin and Bramley's Seedling were able to profit from these being named among the best apple varieties.

As well as the exhibition of apples, the Congress included a series of talks and conference sessions where growers shared their experiences. Excerpts from these have been used in Chapter One to illustrate the Victorian debate over how to achieve profitability from an apple orchard. Many older varieties were considered to be unsuitable for commercial growth, and so the Congress may well have decreased the number of apple varieties grown for sale as trees. The aims of the Congress were to reduce the number of synonyms and achieve positive identification of varieties, but it was not concerned with holding onto all the rare varieties, those which would be today marked as valuable 'heritage' apples. Thomas Knight had been influential in spreading the idea that apple varieties had a limited life, and growers often agreed that the old varieties were hard to keep in cultivation, and that newer ones must be better. The success of the Apple Congress led to the National Pear Conference in 1885, (at which Thomas Rivers won first prize with his 'Conference' pear, being too alert to a double entendre to wish to call it 'Congress') and one further combined Apple and Pear Conference in 1888. In total the experts identified some 1,500 apple cultivars in 1883 and over 600 pear cultivars in 1885.[44]

These fruit conferences were reported and discussed within the gardening periodicals, the national and local press, giving publicity to the work of the Horticultural Society, the study of pomology and the work of the fruit growers, but produce shows were by no means rare. The National Apple Congress was simply the largest of other fruit, flower and vegetable shows that had been held across England throughout the nineteenth century by various gardening societies. For example, the long-standing show held in the Dog and Partridge, Woodhouses, (Great Manchester). This delightful-sounding event was considered as a holiday by the locals, where alongside the display of culinary apples there was 'the model of a villa worked in flowers' with 'a piece of mechanism, worked by steam, of a figure dancing.'[45] In this context, the societies and their shows provided examples of moral and physical improvement that could be gained through the pursuit of gardening, which is why

[43] *Berrow's Worcester Journal* Saturday 13 October 1883 p.7.
[44] Joan Morgan, *The Book of Apples* p.91.
[45] *The[Manchester] Reporter* Sept 30 1871.

they were so often reported in religious publications with an agenda of self-improvement, such as the *Day of Rest*.[46]

Pomonas

The popularity of the Apple Congress indicates that there was a desire to experience the beauty and variety of forms of apples. Another way in which these qualities of apples could be experienced was through the high-quality illustrated books of apples and fruit, known as 'pomonas'. The texts of the pomonas were written by the same group of pomologists behind the national societies and shows, and the language these experts used to describe apples, and the aesthetic qualities of the illustrations, brought the apple into prominence as something to be admired for its beauty and connections to the unspoilt past, as well as for its taste or utility. Pomological periodicals and pomonas can be used as a measure of the apple's popularity as a crop and as a subject for study since it is clear to see how much effort and money was used in producing them. The text of the pomonas also highlights the continuing problems of taxonomy, which again affected the continuity and popularity of many of the older varieties.

There follows below an annotated list of the major pomological publications of the late-eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth century in order of date of publication of the first edition. This is a very partial list, concentrating only on those pomologists and illustrators who have been mentioned within this thesis. The most comprehensive review of fruit literature was produced in 1996 by H. Frederic Janson, whose book *Pomona's Harvest* is the result of his life's work, describing every text on the subject from antiquity to the early nineteenth century.[47] Many of the details below are substantiated by his book. The purpose of the list below is to demonstrate how many extensive, and expensive, publications on apples (or apples and tree fruits) were produced in just a few years. Also apparent are the recurring names of a very few authors; the output and influence of Dr Hogg in particular is extraordinary.

1768 John Gibson, *The Fruit Gardener, Containing the Method of Raising Stocks for Multiplying of Fruit Trees by Budding, Grafting Etc.* (London: J. Nourse, 1768) – referred to by nineteenth century pomologists.

1797 Thomas Andrew Knight, *A Treatise on the Cultivation of the Apple and Pear and on the Manufacture of Cider and Perry* (Ludlow: H, Proctor, 1797) – this ran to at least four

[46] Margaret Willes, *The Gardens of the British Working Class* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014) p.166.
[47] H. Frederic Janson, *Pomona's Harvest: An Illustrated Chronicle of Antiquarian Fruit Literature* (Portland Oregon: Timber Press, 1996).

subsequent editions demonstrating the influence of Knight's work.

1810 George Brookshaw, *Pomona Britannica: The Most Esteemed Fruits at Present Cultivated in this Country* (London: White, Cochrane & Co.,1810) - the book contained ninety beautiful aquatints, by Brookshaw's brother Richard, of many fruits including exotic pineapples.

1811 Thomas Andrew Knight, *Pomona Herefordiensis* (London: The Agricultural Society of Herefordshire, 1811) Discussed further below.

1818 William Hooker, *Pomona Londiniensis; Containing Coloured Engravings of the Most Esteemed Fruits Cultivated in the British Gardens* (London: published by the author; sold by J. Harding, 1818) Probably authored by Salisbury with Hooker's illustrations, although as Janson notes, Hooker was 'his own publisher, author, delineator, engraver, colourist, pomological expert and sales manager.'[48] Published as a part work but discontinued after part seven.

1826 Robert Thompson, *A Catalogue of the Fruits Cultivated in the Garden of the Horticultural Society of London* (2nd edition London: W. Nichol, 1831)

1828 – 1830 John Lindley and Robert Thompson, *Pomological Magazine*: *Figures and Descriptions of the Most Important Varieties of Fruit Cultivated in Great Britain* (London: James Ridgeway, 1828 – 1830). Re-issued as *Lindley's Pomologia Britannia* (London: Bohn, 1841) The illustrations were provided by Mrs Augusta Withers, described by Janson as 'the leading lady of fruit painting and the tutor of the aspiring daughters of some fruit nurserymen', and Charles Curtis. [49]

1831 George Lindley, edited by John Lindley, *A Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831) – George Lindley, John's father, was a nurseryman near Norwich.

1831 Hugh Ronalds, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis or a Concise Description of Selected Apples* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831) Notable for its illustrations by Miss Ronalds.

1838 John Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruiticum Britannicum, or; The Trees and Shrubs of Britain* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838) This also grew into subsequent 'collected' editions. The chapter on apples (Vol. II chap. XLII pp. 891- 908) includes a list of apples recommended by Robert Thompson, a section on how to make cider and a section on myths and folklore associated with apples.

[48] Ibid. p.299.
[49] Ibid. p.306.

1847 David Taylor Fish, *The Apple: Its History, Varieties and Cultivation* (London: The Country Office, 1847) This pamphlet contains a list of varieties, including those for 'a particular purpose' and an illustrated guide to pruning, grafting and training.
1851 Robert Hogg, *British Pomology: Or the History, Description, Classification and Synonymes of the Fruits and Fruit Trees of Great Britain Vol. 1: The Apple* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1851) Intended to be the first of a series covering all British fruits.
1859 Robert Hogg, *The Apple and Its Varieties: Being a History and Description of the Varieties of Apples Cultivated in the Gardens and Orchards of Great Britain* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1859) Largely a re-issue of British Pomology
1860 Robert Hogg, *The Fruit Manual: Containing the Descriptions and Synonomes of the Fruits and Fruit Trees Commonly Met With in the Gardens and Orchards of Great Britain, with Selected Lists of Those Most Worthy of Cultivation* (London: Cottage Gardener Office, 1860) Subsequent editions were released without major changes in 1862 and 1866.
1862 Robert Hogg, John Spencer and Thomas Moore, *The Florist and Pomologist: A Pictorial Monthly Magazine of Flowers Fruits and General Horticulture* (London: Journal of Horticulture Press, 1862) Previously *The Florist* (1848), this occasional periodical emphasised fruit culture under Hogg's ownership. It ceased in 1884.
1872 John Scott, *Scott's Catalogue of Orchard Fruits* (London: H.M.Pollett, 1872) Re-issued as *Scott's Orchardist* in 1873, (London: H.M. Pollett, 1873) withdrawn after Hogg sued for plagiarism ,as discussed below.
1875 Robert Hogg, *The Fruit Manual* (London: Cottage Gardener Office, 1875) Revised with new material, especially historic background to the cultivars, it was over 600 pages long.
1878 Robert Hogg and Henry Graves Bull, *The Herefordshire Pomona* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1878) Published in annual instalments from 1878 – 1884, on a very small print run of approximately 600 hand-coloured copies.
1884 Robert Hogg, *The Fruit Manual* (London: Journal of Horticulture Office, 1884) Final edition of 759 pages, including a section on cider apples.

The pomological publications that pre-dated the Apple Congress of 1883 all shared the aims that were publicised at that event; to classify the apple cultivars and explain how best to grow them. The first notable attempt at this was made in 1847 when David Taylor Fish published *The Apple, its History, Varieties and Cultivation*. Fish was a Scottish gardener and horticultural scholar, only twenty-three when this work was published. It was thoroughly researched and gave more information on a great number of cultivars, making it more

extensive than either the previous catalogues of fruits, or the pomonas, limited to one county. However, Fish's work was not pre-eminent for long, since in 1851 Robert Hogg outdid Fish with his *British Pomology*.

In the introduction to this work, intended to be the first in a series of volumes about every British fruit, Hogg acknowledged his sources, notably George Lindley's *A Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden* (1831) and the *Catalogue of Fruits* compiled by Mr Robert Thompson, Fruit Superintendent at the Horticultural Society, and last updated in 1842. Hogg did not include Fish in his list of sources, presumably because Hogg's work would have been almost complete at the time of Fish's publication. Instead Hogg noted that there had been such growth in the number of available varieties of apple that both Lindley's and Thompson's work required updating.

In their respective introductions both Lindley and Hogg romanticised about the apple. Hogg's opening sentence, 'There is no fruit, in temperate climes, so universally esteemed and so extensively cultivated, nor is there any which is so closely identified with the social habits of the human species as the apple' sets the tone of his text, demonstrating the importance of the apple, and the importance that he saw of its relationship to culture.[50] In Lindley's catalogue of apple varieties, which forms over half of his text, he describes them in terms that could be applied to children; St Padley's Pippin is 'a very neat and excellent dessert apple' while the Nonesuch is 'handsome' and the Pomme de Neige is 'beautiful and singular.'[51] Both works, and the other major pomological works listed above, describe the origins of each variety. An apple's 'parentage' is important in horticultural terms, in that it helps to determine the characteristics of the apple, but these descriptions also add to the reader's impression of apples having personalities. Their breeding and heritage is as much a part of the description of the apple as its taste or how to cultivate it, and is included by nearly all the pomology works, showing it was considered to be of interest to their readers.

Hogg's history of the apple in cultivation concurs with that outlined in the section on the long history of the apple at the start of this thesis. Hogg's version has been proved through the works of later fruit historians such as Joan Morgan to be the most reliable and accurate of the nineteenth century versions. Hogg provided evidence to dispel the popular idea that the Romans introduced the sweet apple to England; whereas Fish, for example, was vague about the history and could only say 'it is generally supposed' that the Romans were

[50] Robert Hogg, *British Pomology; Or the History, Description, Classification and Synonymes of the Fruits and Fruit Trees of Great Britain Vol. I The Apple* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1851) p.1.
[51] George Lindley, *A Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden* ed. by John Linley (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green 1831) 'Pomme de Neige' p.22.

responsible.[52] Hogg also provided textual evidence to show that the apple was not lost to cultivation entirely between the departure of the Romans and the Tudor period. In these pomological works the apple is described within the discourse of evolution; showing how it developed from a primitive, sour apple into the improved sweet apple. However, for the writers of the pomonas, this is due not to natural evolutionary pressures, like those described by Rivers observing his seedlings, but by the improving, guiding and far-thinking actions of expert growers throughout the centuries.

Hogg, Lindley and Fish comment on the confusion of names for apples. Synonyms are listed for almost every variety, and local pronunciations and spellings add to the mix. One example that illustrates the complexities that Victorian pomologists faced is the history of the Norfolk Beefing apple. This is an apple that was extremely popular during the later nineteenth century as a culinary apple until it was superseded by the Bramley's Seedling. The Norfolk Beefing, (still grown today under that name) was listed by Lindley as the 'Norfolk Beaufin' and 'undoubtedly a Norfolk variety' in origin. Lindley noted that 'many thousands of these apples are dried by the bakers in Norwich, annually, and sent in boxes as presents to all parts of the kingdom, where they are universally admired.'[53] Hogg, however, described the apple as German in origin, recording similarly that the apples 'are baked in ovens, and form the dried fruits met with among confectioners and fruiterers and called 'Norfolk Biffins.' He believes Beefing to be the correct name, 'from the similarity the dried fruit presents to raw beef.'[54] 'Beaufin', to Hogg, erroneously implies a French origin for this variety. The Biffin is the apple delicacy mentioned in Dicken's *Christmas Carol* as one of the delicacies on offer for the festivities. 'Norfolk Biffins, squab and swarthy, setting off the yellow of oranges and lemons, and in the great compactness of their juicy persons, urgently entreating and beseeching to be carried home in paper bags and eaten after dinner.'[55] Here again is an apple with a distinct personality. 'Biffin' therefore, seems to have been most often the name under which the apples were sold in London, in their cooked form. An advert in the *Morning Post* in 1820 claimed that 'families may be accommodated with real dried Norfolk Biffins […]. Those at one shilling per dozen are of an excellent flavour.'[56] Biffins remained popular as a Christmas and winter delicacy throughout the nineteenth century; R. F. Ladell in

[52] D. T. Fish, *The Apple: Its History, Varieties and Cultivation* (London: The Country Office, 1847) p.2.
[53] Lindley, *A Guide to the Orchard* p.56.
[54] Hogg, *British Pomology* p.147.
[55] Charles Dickens, *A Christmas Carol: A Ghost Story of Christmas* (Bungay: The Reprint Society 1950) First edn. 1843, p.62.
[56] Advertisement, *The Morning Post* Tuesday 4 January 1820.

Norwich was still advertising them in 1885.[57]

This etymological discord makes tracing the origins of any apple now extant a difficult undertaking; today the increasing use of DNA tests at the National Fruit Collection is likely to result in a reduction in the number of genetically distinct varieties. What remains from Hogg and Lindley, however, is a sense of the desire, the need, to classify every apple tree according to its variety. Hogg lists 942 different named varieties. Both authors claimed that they have made extensive tours of the country studying the different growing conditions and local varieties. Hogg made an attempt to classify apples in a scientific manner by their characteristics. He noted that 'a great desideratum in pomological science is a system of classification for the apple, founded on characters which are at once permanent and well defined.'[58] Hogg summarised the work of German botanists, before using a similar classification of shape, colour, season of ripening and growth habits. These categories, put together with the work of John Bultitude and other fruit taxonomists in the twentieth century, are still in use for apple identification in the orchard, with DNA more frequently providing the final answer.[59]

Lindley lists 214 separate apples, saying, in defeat, that the variety of apples is 'far too numerous to attempt any thing (*sic*) like a complete description: even to enumerate them would be a most difficult task, owing to the great uncertainty of their names among nurserymen, gardeners and orchardists, and the multiplicity of names under which they are known in different parts of the kingdom.'[60] Lindley, as a conscientious nurseryman himself, blames the growers and nurserymen for not checking the origins of their stock, and so leading gardeners to perpetuate the errors.

As well as the factual information on the development of the apple as a crop and a favourite tree for gardeners, what is notable in Hogg and Lindley is the tone of enthusiasm for the apple, and the pride in the fruit and its growers, both amateur and commercial. Hogg gave his volume extra authority by citing the work of the Horticultural Society, with which he was so closely involved, and his work requires the reader to understand both Latin and French. For example, his discussion of the origins of the Api variety, an apple with origins which may go back to the seventeenth century, if not to the Roman Empire, includes

[57] Advert for R. F. Ladell, *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette* 24 October 1885.
[58] Hogg, *British Pomology* p.7.
[59] Bultitude divided apples into groups according to their size, shape and season of ripeness. John *Bultitude, Apples; A Guide to the Identification of International Varieties* (*London: Macmillan Reference Books,*1989).
[60] Lindley, *A Guide to the Orchard* p.115.

paragraphs in both languages and an evaluation of the textual evidence.[61] Deconstructing and evaluating Hogg's work as a text, therefore, as well as reading it for the information contained in the content, is enlightening. It conforms in structure to other earlier works on the apple, beginning with the history of the fruit and leading into lists of varieties. The language has a tone of certainty, and the use of Latin passages perhaps indicates the level of education that Hogg expects from his readers, but such inclusions also demonstrated to the reader the amount of research and the level of erudition that Hogg himself had obtained. The reader was left in no doubt that the apple is a species worthy of study.

The influence of Hogg's writing is demonstrated by the plagiarism case between Hogg and John Scott, over the text of *The Orchardist*. Hogg brought the case in 1874, having realised that large sections of the text of the second edition were taken directly from *British Pomology*. Scott's defence was that Hogg's descriptions were so good, it was unnecessary to re-write them. As it was reported, Scott's method was that, 'Where such description was found exact and true, and corresponded accurately with his specimens, he did, to save the useless labour of writing an entirely new description for the sake of rewriting (and which might besides expose him to the imputation of colourably altering), adopt the description already at his command.' Although it is clear, as Janson has proved, that each pomona or descriptive catalogue relied heavily on the textual matter of the previous ones, Hogg won the case. The Vice-Chancellor judging it was recorded as stating that, regarding Scott's 'contention that the same fruit could only be described in the same words, he thought that the English language must be very poor indeed if it did not allow of different expressions being used in this respect.' [62] Hogg later went on to win a similar plagiarism case against William Robinson, editor of *The Garden* magazine. Hogg was defending not only his expertise, but the particular way in which he used the language of pomology. The use of his language by others shows that he had refined the art and science of apple description to the extent that it was taken for a standard text.

The effort, time and expense given to writing, printing and distributing such works demonstrates that the Victorians perceived apples as much more than a humble ingredient of pies or cider, but as a suitable fruit for scientific study or horticultural experiment, as well as enjoying apple trees as decorative elements in even the finest and most fashionable gardens. The economic importance of the apple was enhanced by these texts, which all encouraged

[61] Hogg, *British Pomology* pp.24-25.
[62] Brent Elliot, 'Hogg's Fruit Manual, its Rivals and Successors' *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library* Vol. 4 (October 2010) pp.11 -15.

domestic gardeners to grow more fruit. In the introduction to his pomona, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis*, Hugh Ronalds declared 'there seems no reason why a fancy should not be indulged in Apples as well as in Tulips, Ranunculuses &c., as they present the greatest and most beautiful variety of any species of fruit, and so eminently combine the useful with the agreeable.'[63] Here Ronalds was referencing the various flower societies established by working class groups, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

The plates in pomonas show apples arranged as things of beauty, as Ronalds wished, and not entirely for scientific clarity, which is further acknowledgement of the aesthetic appeal of the material as well as the cultural apple. The illustrator's art is to combine the necessary accuracy and detail with aesthetic appeal, and pomonas are among the finest nineteenth-century demonstrations of their talents. Pomonas, as illustrated catalogues of fruit, have a long history. The first in English with illustrations, in this case line drawings, was the *Pomona, or the Fruit Garden Illustrated* by Batty Langley, published in 1729. 'The whole illustrated with above Three Hundred Drawings of the several fruits, Curiously Engraven on Seventy-nine large Folio Plates' drawn by Langley himself.[64] E.A. Bunyard (son of George Bunyard, the Victorian fruit nurseryman who gave a presentation at the Apple Congress) described it in 1915 as a folio volume, in which the line drawings 'show a real appreciation of the characters of the fruits.'[65] As pomonas became more specialised, cataloguing fruits rather than including large sections of generalised growing advice, the illustrations in pomonas came to be considered as equal in importance to the text. Later pomonas were produced in very small editions, because of the expense of the lithographs and hand-drawn and coloured illustrations.

The first pomona of the nineteenth century was brought out by George Brookshaw, his *Pomona Britannica* appearing in parts between 1804 – 1808 before being produced as a complete volume in 1812. Richard Brookshaw was the principal artist, and his coloured plates (between seventy and ninety of them, depending on the edition) have little accompanying text from George. The subtitle tells us that he used the fruits growing in Hampton Court Palace orchards for his subjects.[66] At the same time, Thomas Knight

[63] Hugh Ronalds, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis, or, a Concise Description of Selected Apples* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831) p.vi.
[64] Batty Langley, *Pomona, or, the Fruit Garden Illustrated* (London: G Strahan etc., 1729) title page.
[65] E. A. Bunyard, 'A Guide to the Literature of Pomology' *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* Vol. XL Part III (1915) p.421.
[66] George Brookshaw, *Pomona Britannica: A Collection of the Most Esteemed Fruits Cultivated in Great Britain, Selected Principally from the Royal Gardens at Hampton Court…* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Browne, 1812).

produced the *Pomona Herefordiensis*, a pomona which is still in use today among apple identifiers, so clear are the illustrations and the text.[67] This depicts the cider apples and perry pears of Herefordshire, often drawn from trees in Knight's own orchards. The preface attributes the engravings to William Hooker, the most expert of fruit painters, however only one plate is signed 'W. Hooker fecit'. Although Hooker had been drawing and engraving plants and fruit for the *Transactions of the Horticultural Society* since at least 1807, he was not asked to draw the fruits for the book, but only to engrave them. In Knight's introduction he states that the paintings, from which the plates were prepared, were done by 'Miss Mathews of Belmont' who produced the 'most excellent drawings.'[68] Knight's own daughter, Frances, described by him in the introduction as 'a very young and inferior artist of my own family' contributed three plates when Miss Mathews was not well enough to finish.[69] Frances, later Mrs Stockhouse Acton, became an artist in a variety of fields and contributed a plate to the *Herefordshire Pomona*, seventy years later.[70] The plates in the *Pomona Herefordiensis* are not only clear, but beautiful, and the apples are shown with scabs, spots and blemishes particular to each variety. The apples are shown on the bough, the leaves are shown so that both the top and underside can be seen, and the leaves have holes, the twigs are adorned with lichen. (Figure 4.)

Figure 4.
'Golden Pippin' from Thomas Knight, *Pomona Herefordiensis*, 1811.

[67] Thomas Knight, *Pomona Herefordiensis* (London: The Agricultural Society of Herefordshire, 1811).
[68] Ibid. p.viii.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Brent Elliott (ed.), 'English Fruit Illustration. Part 1, Knight and Reynolds' *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library* Vol. 4 (October 2010) p.41.

This is both a romantic and a realistic depiction of apples, where the fruit is something worthy of being drawn from life like the most exotic of blooms. It follows the tradition of the way fruit was illustrated in European pomonas such as Duhamel du Monceau's *Traité des Arbres Fruitiers*, (1768) giving a full portrait of each variety with blossom, bud and fruit. Hugh Ronalds's pomona of the apples of his nursery in Brentford, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis*, contains 42 coloured plates, made from drawings 'drawn from nature on stone', that is, by lithography, by Ronalds's daughter, Elizabeth (Figure 5.).[71]

(Figure 5. Plate from Hugh Ronalds, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis* 1831)

Ronalds's nursery provided the specimens for her. John Loudon's description of the business demonstrates how many varieties would have been available to her, the scale of the top commercial nurseries, and the expertise of the staff.

> Mr. Ronalds has, for many years, paid great attention to the culture and improvement of the apple, and has collected above 300 sorts, all of which have borne fruit for several years. The quantity of fruit grown on his specimen trees this season is estimated at upwards of 800 bushels; and it will easily be conceived, from this circumstance, that the trees are of such a size and age, and Mr. Ronalds's experience

[71] Hugh Ronalds, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831) p.vii.

> respecting their individual character and habits of such an extent, as to enable him to determine fully, and with confidence, the merits of every variety.[72]

The plates in Ronalds's pomona were printed by Charles Hullmandel, an important lithographer. However it was Elizabeth herself, who, as she signed, was drawing the apples 'from nature and on stone', that is, she was drawing directly onto lithographic stone, rather than making the original drawings on paper for another artist to copy onto the stone. Sadly her original lithographic stones have not survived.

The most ambitious of the Victorian pomonas was the *Herefordshire Pomona*, collated and written by Dr Henry Graves Bull and Dr Robert Hogg.[73] It was inspired by research from the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club into the cider orchards of their local area of Herefordshire. Clubs like this were also a product of the mid-century enthusiasm for natural history discussed earlier in this thesis; Woolhope Naturalists' was founded in 1851. The Woolhope club had noted traditional varieties of apple were in decline in their area and were keen to record the trees and their fruit. Their pomona had chapters on the history of apples and some folklore, contributed by Dr Bull, and details of over 200 different cultivars, with the text largely based upon Hogg's *Fruit Manual*. The *Herefordshire Pomona* was created in seven parts during 1878 – 1885. These were bound together and produced in two volumes in 1885, sadly just as Dr Bull died. The illustrations used the new process of chromolithography, (drawing onto lithographic stones with colour) and the plates were taken from hundreds of watercolours drawn by Alice Blanche Ellis, a Gold Medallist water colour artist from the Bloomsbury School of Art who had recently moved to Hereford, and Dr Bull's daughter Edith Elizabeth. Many of the apple subjects were brought in to local shows and horticultural exhibitions, so there are more laid out single specimens, with several apples on each plate, and fewer in life, hanging on the bough, since there was less opportunity for the apple trees to be observed throughout the year. (Figure 6.)

[72] J. C. Loudon, 'The London Nurseries' *Gardener's Magazine,* Article XVIII Vol 5. 1829 p.736.
[73] Robert Hogg and Henry Graves Bull, *Herefordshire Pomona* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1876).

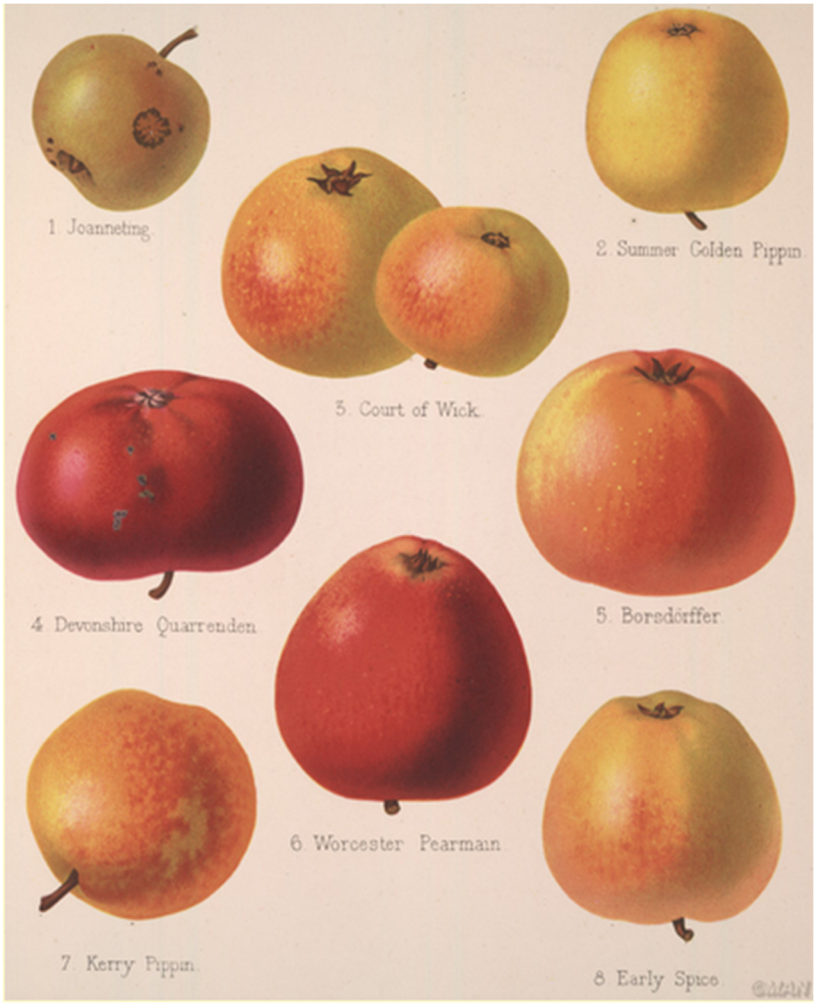


Figure 6.
Herefordshire Pomona Plate 3 'Miscellaneous dessert apples' From the CD reprint, Marcher Apple Network 2005.

Alice and Edith drew over four hundred varieties of apples and pears during the autumn seasons, while Dr Bull drew the fruit outlines that give a guide to identification of each variety. Alice and Edith appear to have left little other evidence of their lives behind, whereas Dr Bull (posthumously) and Dr Hogg received all the acclaim possible as botanists and 'pomologists' of this new work. However, Alice and Edith were later presented with a miniature of Dr Bull and a hundred guineas in appreciation of their work. Only six hundred copies of the pomona were ever printed, paid for by subscription (£1 per annum for those who were not members of the Field Club), and now they are highly sought after and extremely valuable.[74] The wider benefit of this pomona in particular was that the work of Dr Hogg and Dr Bull prompted a nationwide survey of apples and the subsequent National Apple Congress of 1883 and its successors.

Although not many apple lovers could afford to buy a pomona of their own, cheaper

[74] Richard Wheeler, introduction to the *CD Edition of the Herefordshire Pomona*, (Hereford: Marcher Apple Network, 2005)

books on fruit and fruit growing increased in number during the nineteenth century. In 1867 a paperback edition of *The Orchard and Fruit Garden: Their Culture and Produce* was printed. The author, Elizabeth Watts, was described on the title page as the 'author of *Flowers and the Flower Garden* and *Vegetables and How to Grow Them*', but there appears to be no other information on her, apart from the content of her books.[75] In the introduction to *The Orchard*, she clearly, and somewhat pointedly, positions her book away from the artistic pomonas from her first sentence. 'We have so many excellent large and expensive works on fruit culture, that I should never have thought of writing this one, if its peculiar place had not stood vacant, waiting to be filled. It is the first *cheap work* on the Orchard and Fruit Garden.'[76]
Even with the cheap editions of books, not all would-be gardeners could afford to purchase them, or the weekly magazines, or the seeds and soil needed to grow anything. This was another reason for the popularity of horticultural societies, which often lent out books and shared seeds and plants. On a cultural level, participation in gardening and horticulture, in particular in the various societies devoted to its enjoyment, seems to have been a mark of working class respectability, even to be the cause of it. A letter in *The Cottage Gardener* in 1848 is positively joyful about the wider benefits of horticulture. 'The public house is giving way to the reading room, and the cock-fights to the [horticultural] shows. And all this, I believe, to have been caused by the establishment of a horticultural society.'[77] It is not surprising, in this context, that the growing of apples was encouraged, since waiting for the crop required planning, foresight and a long-term outlook that was lacking, it was felt, among the poorer classes. As gardens and orchards improved, so too would cleanliness and moral standards. These expectations informed attitudes towards the urban costermonger, discussed in Chapter Two, as well as the cultural importance of the apple more widely.

To conclude this chapter, therefore, it was through the rise of gardening clubs, the establishing of national horticultural societies and the network of experts that the apple increased in popularity as a fruit that could be developed, studied and admired. It was not just food for the poor, but nor was it a fruit that could only be grown by the elite gardeners with the resources of a country house at their disposal (unlike the pineapple). The apple was a democratic, wholesome crop. The study of the apple and its prominence in horticultural shows and publications may have given it extra economic worth, although there is insufficient evidence to prove a direct correlation. However, the apple displays would

[75] Elizabeth Watts, *The Orchard and Fruit Garden: Their Culture and Produce* (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1867).
[76] Ibid. preface.
[77] Willes, The *Gardens of the British Working Class* p. 238.

certainly have added to the popularity of the newer varieties that were granted mentions at the National Apple Congress and in the gardening press. The central argument of this thesis, that the apple had more cultural than economic value, is upheld by this chapter's study of the Congress, the gardening press and the writers and illustrators. In disseminating their knowledge through a range of texts, these experts also shared the innovations of the nineteenth century orchard and the difficulties that fruit growers faced. This chapter has demonstrated that, as well as their interest in the material apple, pomologists were also concerned with the mythology of the apple, its history and its cultural symbolism. This thesis now investigates this half of the apple, looking beyond the material orchard to the apple of the imagination.

Chapter Four

The Christian apple: the cultural significance of the apple to ideas of Englishness, and the apple's place in Victorian Christian iconography

Introduction

This chapter looks at three aspects of the cultural significance of the apple. The first considers how representations of the orchard displayed a set of values that were associated with aspects of 'Englishness', in particular a strong connection with a cultivated landscape of small farms, provincial towns and clean cottages, all of which were further implicitly associated with strong community ties, stable families and productive leisure time. These images of contented rural workers were consumed across classes, and reproduced on products that were sold in towns and villages alike. The apple, the orchard and the well-dressed rustics were ubiquitous, yet meaningful. The apple was a familiar object that could be placed in many settings, unlike an exotic fruit which would require some background narrative as to why it was in a particular work of art.

The second aspect of the cultural significance of the apple is its cultural value within the domestic garden. Gardens, and the particular plants within them, became status signifiers in the new suburbs and planned urban housing, while also harking back to the 'lost' peace of the countryside. Apple trees moved from the orchards into domestic gardens, where although they might have been trained into odd shapes or grown in pots, they still retained the symbolism of both the countryside, and the apple from the Garden of Eden.

Continuing that theme of the Biblical apple, the third aspect of the cultural significance of the apple is its role within nineteenth century Christian iconography. The final section of this chapter describes the gardens associated with Eve and with Mary, and how images of each deploy the apple with different symbolic values. Finally it looks afresh at four well-known Victorian paintings, to focus on the apples that are within each scene, and what they can reveal about the painting's personal and societal meanings.

Throughout this chapter, and in Chapter Five, Victorian art is used provide evidence of the cultural ubiquity but importance of the apple, showing that it is never painted without a purpose. Of course, the nature of Victorian art and its artists have both been extensively studied in the past, and therefore the biographies of those artists working within the various movements will not be detailed within this thesis, nor is there space here for formal

description of their working methods.[1] The methodology used within this thesis to discuss orchard images has been a gentle appropriation of relevant, current visual culture and art-history methodologies, applying them to consideration of artworks that are largely representational, narrative, genre pieces. Art history has, like other branches of history, grown increasingly interdisciplinary. Professor of Art and Archaeology, Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, summarises the changes that began in the early 1970's. 'As the discipline awakened from its theoretical somnolence (at least in English), debates moved on and through questions of the relation of art to society, culture, race, class, gender, and psyche, and began utilizing a host of concepts, related to the universe of discourse of poststructuralism, postmodernism, and beyond.'[2]

The study of the visual has also shifted to include any object, art-work or image that was intended to be looked at, that could be included in the 'visual culture' of the period. As the earlier chapter on nineteenth-century pomonas has discussed, the Victorian era was saturated with images. It has been estimated that the nineteenth century produced more printed pictures than the total of all printed images before 1800.[3] Images are a parallel to texts, and can be critiqued in a similar way, allowing their intended and unintentional narratives to unfold against the social and linear narrative of events and culture of the time. Images are also cultural objects, where the intended setting, ownership and place of the object, and the status of the painter, must be acknowledged. Indeed the status of the painter was, as art historian Julie Codell has neatly summarised, part of the culture of Englishness during the nineteenth century. She notes that Victorian readers of periodicals identified with the artists whose romanticised biographies were featured within, both as daring and as 'representative of Englishness, a concept embracing individualism, self-help, nationalism, domesticity, manliness and the work-ethic.' Artists' lives, as well as their work, became public property 'in order to allow them to shape the culture that everyone breathed and inhabited.'[4] It is the apple's part in this inhabited culture that will be considered here.

[1] See Christopher Wood, *Victorian Painting in Oils and Watercolours* (London: BCA, 1996) for a summary of the artists of the period.
[2] Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, 'Periodization and its Discontents' *Journal of Art Historiography* (June 2010) online journal: https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/number-2-june-2010/. [accessed 28/04/2020]
[3] William Ivins, quoted in Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeanne M. Przyblyski 'Visual Culture's History' in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Cultural Reader* p.9.
[4] Julie F. Codell 'Constructing the Victorian Artist' p.287. This relationship, however, only benefitted those artists able, or prepared to, conform within that culture. It made the life of artists such as Simeon Solomon unbearable.

The orchard in genre art as a metaphor for English values

This section explores the depiction of orchards and the cultural associations of the orchard with English values in genre art. English orchards, apple trees and apple pickers were popular subjects for pastoral paintings throughout the nineteenth century, but particularly during its latter half. The material impetuses for this were the development in printing presses, leading to easier, faster and cheaper reproduction of images, and the rapid development of the art market during the 1860s. The cultural impetus for the rise in pastoral and genre art has been seen as due to the resistance to industrialisation on one hand, and simultaneously the growth of patriotic sentiment and confidence in the values of Englishness. Images of orchards from this era support the argument of this thesis that the apple's cultural ubiquity gave it a value above that of the economic crop of the apple, and that it retained status as a metaphor for aspects of Englishness.

The first half of this thesis has argued that the apple had value as a crop, but was also particularly valued because of the orchard's contribution to the English landscape, both urban and rural. Representations of material Victorian orchards placed them as part of the familiar, cultivated landscape of provincial farms and urban-edge market gardens, as shown by the example of the description of such productive spaces in Chapter One, while apple trees formed part of the landscape of ideal domestic gardens, discussed in Chapter Three. In general these productive, commercial orchard plots were portrayed as positive indicators of scientific progress, with associations of self-improvement.

This section considers the representations of orchards and apple production depicted in genre art, in order to advance the argument that the use of an apple or an orchard in art always carries some kind of extra association, and to demonstrate the disconnect between the busy, controlled atmosphere of a commercial nineteenth-century orchard and the nostalgic representation of orchards in art. The associations within an orchard image extend from overt Christian symbolism, discussed in the subsequent section, to the imbued values, or affects, of domesticity and nostalgia within much genre art.[5] In particular, the orchard of genre art can be identified as not just one landscape within an idealised England, but as representing it entirely.

Genre art is usually defined as depictions of scenes of everyday life, but these are often idealised or 'generic' rather than represented with realism or fidelity. Genre art was not

[5] Christine Berberich, Neil Campbell and Robert Hudson, 'Affective Landscapes: An Introduction' *Cultural Politics* Vol. 9 No. 3 (2013). The 'affective turn' in the humanities recognises the power of the relation between the material and the virtual landscape.

highly regarded by most nineteenth-century artists, who had been taught to see paintings of historical subjects as the highest form of artistic expression.[6] It should be acknowledged that there is a scale, although not always directly relational, in the quality of artistic vision from the 'high' art exhibited at the Royal Academy or Bond Street galleries, down through the genre illustrations reproduced on prints, tin plates and sweet boxes. Popular paintings were quickly turned into engravings and prints, which were used to illustrate books that were marketed to those in towns and newly created suburbs. However, in accordance with the premise of the study of visual culture, outlined in the introduction to this chapter, this thesis does not discriminate, seeing all relevant works of art as capable of contributing to the primary discourse of Englishness that provides the central narrative argument of this section, and to other discourses discussed throughout.

The qualities that make up 'Englishness' have been of interest to historians since the nineteenth century, and those qualities have been explored through a focus on interactions with, and representations of, the landscape. Historians, social scientists and geographers have considered how the development of the culture of landscape has influenced the concept of 'British' and 'Englishness.' As rural historian David Lowenthal has noted 'Nowhere else [than England] is landscape so freighted as legacy. Nowhere else does the very term suggest not simply scenery and *genres de vie*, but quintessential national values.'[7]

Those national values are explored in genre art, particularly by an insistence on representing an ordered yet rustic landscape with its familiar accoutrements of orchards, cottages and gardens, even as the pressures of city life intensified. In 1903 George Simmel's influential essay on the psychological effects of city living considered the effects of the change of pace between the rural and the urban lifestyle, something that late-Victorians appear to have felt acutely, and that was discussed in popular culture as well as by the cultural elite such as Ruskin.[8] Literary historian Michael Bunce has considered how urbanisation itself produced the conditions necessary for this idealisation of the rural landscape to flourish. Urbanisation, he argued, 'produced the social structures and experiences within which attitudes towards the country and the city could develop. It created a political economy which redefined rural-urban relationships. It sustained the intellectual and cultural climate in which ideas about the city and the country could flourish. And, finally,

[6] Carolyn Burdett, 'Review of 'Victorian Sentimentality' at Tate Britain' *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 42 No. 1 (2013) 153 – 158. Investigates why Victorians 'valued art that provoked tender emotions' p.155 and discusses the hierarchy of art.
[7] David Lowenthal, 'British National Identity and the English landscape' *Rural History* 2:2 1991 p.213.
[8] George Simmel, extracts from 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* ed. by Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przyblyski (London: Routledge, 2004) pp.51-55.

it forged the landscapes and living environments around which differential values have formed.'[9] For Bunce, then, the dislocations of urban life 'virtually guaranteed the emergence of sentimental and philosophical reverence for nature and rural life.'[10]

Literature scholar Roger Ebbatson has also explored this state of dislocation, which he describes as a 'crisis of representation', where there is a rift between the self and the experienced environment, as well as between the past and its ways of living, and the present.[11] He emphasised the importance of an imaginary, stable landscape underlying the changing economic one, noting that the English landscape, and, it could be argued, representations of it, 'acts as a 'carrier' of cultural authority through the operation of a complex set of visual or verbal conventions. If modernity and the industrial revolution cut humanity off from persistence and continuity, creating a rift between the self and the environment, in favour of mobility and dynamism, any imagined return to a place is fraught with a sense of the ghostly or the archaic.'[12] The concept of Englishness is something that is produced from trauma, and therefore, the representations of orchards and gardens as unchanging, peaceful and healing are an expected reaction to the trauma of the wounds of deforestation, quarrying and urban growth that had been visited on the landscape.

An example of a typically peaceful orchard scene, one that appears to ignore any traumatic changes in the landscape, is *In a Devonshire Orchard* (1896), painted by John Maler Collier, an extremely capable artist who often worked within the rural genre (Figure 1.).

[9] Michael Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American images of landscape* (London: Routledge, 1994) p.9.
[10] Ibid. p.30.
[11] Roger Ebbatson, *An imaginary England: Nation, Landscape and Literature 1840 – 1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) p.3.
[12] Ibid.

Figure 1. John Maler Collier, *In a Devonshire Orchard* 1896, oil on canvas, Southwark Art Collection.

Although this painting is a decorative genre scene, there are deeper associations arising from the choice of setting. The orchard is bathed in golden light, giving rise to feelings of nostalgia as we watch a rustic young woman gathering a few windfalls into her apron. The young woman is in no danger of being 'tempted'; she is no rural Eve, but is simply intent on taking apples home for others in her family. The apple trees are large and unpruned, with at least three different varieties displayed. The state of the trees provides the viewer with a route to consider the melancholic mood of the work, since the orchard is declining through neglect and lack of rural labourers. Collier summons up nostalgia for the lost orchards of Devonshire, and for the loss of simpler, innocent ways of life (another Eden lost through industrialisation). The sun is setting and the country girl must soon go home. This painting demonstrates the sense of loss that infuses much late-Victorian genre art in particular. Recently Elizabeth Helsinger has maintained that in the last decades of the nineteenth century the feeling of loss of the English rural landscape 'acquires […] a new ubiquity and a new note of finality. Both the economic and the symbolic uses of rural land to the nation must be re-imagined […]The new symbolic uses are almost wholly compensatory: a new life and function for the rural as

representation when it is understood to have outlived its old uses.'[13] The 'old uses' of the rural landscape included its cultural importance as a marker of social stability, and 'new' representations – those of the late nineteenth century - were often just as deferential of that old order, while acknowledging its slow passing, as Collier's painting demonstrates.

However, it must be noted that the regret for the decline of country customs had been present in cultural representations of the country and rural life for centuries preceding the Victorian era, as Raymond Williams discussed in 1973, noting that each cultural commentator looked back to the previous time, to what the poet John Clare called 'the happy Eden of those golden years.' As Williams remarked, that Eden is to be found 'just back, we can see, over the last hill.'[14] This sense of regret for country customs falling out of favour is explored in Chapter Six, through the example of the practice of wassailing West Country orchards, such as those depicted by Collier.

Collier's painting depicts some informal orchard work, and genre art usually acknowledged the influence of cultivation, of rural work, on the landscape depicted, since the trees and cottage garden plots depicted are always productive and artificially occurring. Helsinger argued that by definition a depiction of rural life, or the rural scene, in art and literature 'always signifies a countryside both inhabited and cultivated. Fields, footpaths, villages and groves that may appear obscurely or distantly in the maps and landscapes representing other conceptions of Britain are here of primary interest, and "scenes" of the generic activities that take place in these largely agricultural landscapes are as much the focus as the land itself.'[15] The rural scene in this type of genre art 'involves real rural inhabitants including labourers, not simply court or urban visitors in disguise.'[16] Lowenthal, looking at the material landscape, stated that 'like the archetypical sacred garden, the English landscape is not natural but crafted', and in particular that 'few features of lowland Britain lack embedded links with those who have held and tenanted and tilled it'.[17] Archaeologists John Terrell and John Hart have also unpicked the distinctions that tend to be taken for granted between natural and domesticated landscapes, showing that there are few landscapes that have not had constant human intervention and interaction.[18] This interaction has been

[13] Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain 1815-1850* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2014) p.6.
[14] John Clare quoted in Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) pp.9-10.
[15] Ibid. p.6.
[16] Ibid. p.7.
[17] Lowenthal, 'British National Identity' pp.215-216.
[18] Bruno David and Julian Thomas, 'Domesticated Landscapes' in *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* ed. by John Edward Terrell and John P. Hart (London: Routledge, 2016) p.338-342.

represented by the genre orchard, where the images show a cultivated scene, with associations to the 'sacred garden' of Lowenthal's landscapes, while often depicting those who were tenants of the land, working in the orchard.

Genre scenes that show workers intervening and interacting with their orchard are common, but the depictions of labour are usually stylised. Examples of happy labourers can be found in the orchard scenes of Frederick Morgan, a prolific, and still popular, painter of rural life and childhood.[19] Morgan produced several works of apple pickers, including *An Apple Gathering,* (also known as *The Apple Gatherers*) from 1880.[20] (Figure 2.)

(Figure 2. Frederick Morgan, *An Apple Gathering,* 1880, oil on canvas, private collection.)

This shows a family group, holding a sheet under an apple tree to catch the crop as a small boy up a ladder shakes the branches. The children are well dressed and smiling. The oldest girl, perhaps the mother, is dressed mainly in white, and the sunlight shines down directly onto the white sheet already laden with apples, and onto her face, giving her a serene and sacred expression. There are plenty of apples in this orchard for all to pick. There is no suggestion of an organised labour force or of a supervisor of any kind, although this seems to

[19] Morgan's best-known painting today is *Feeding the Rabbits* which is widely reproduced. He exhibited at the Royal Academy.
[20] There is evidence that this was painted while Morgan was in Normandy, but there is little evidence of this in the work itself.

be a large enough orchard to be farmed for profit. Here the emphasis is on the sacred, fertile, pastoral apple. In the same style Morgan also painted the winsome work, *A Heavy Load,* showing three clean and happy children carrying a basket of apples across a field. John Oldcastle, looking back on Morgan's work in *The Windsor Magazine* in 1905, acknowledged that 'the art that is idyllic may have its weak point in ethics' but bravely declared that Morgan's work was an eloquent 'declaration of the child's right to happiness.'[21] Morgan saw out the end of the fashion for idealised depictions of childhood and rural work, as artists changed and challenged their interpretation of genre art towards more realistically showing their own day to day life.

This change in interpretation of the values of English work and Englishness is exemplified in the rural naturalist work of Henry Herbert La Thangue, an exhibitor of the New English Art Club in the 1890s, who influenced many Edwardian painters.[22] Although his work is not considered to be what is now termed 'realist' art, La Thangue attempted to distance his paintings from the sunlit work of Morgan and others. La Thangue's orchard scenes often showed apple pickers, young men or older boys, hard at work, not smiling at the artist or each other. (Figure 3.)

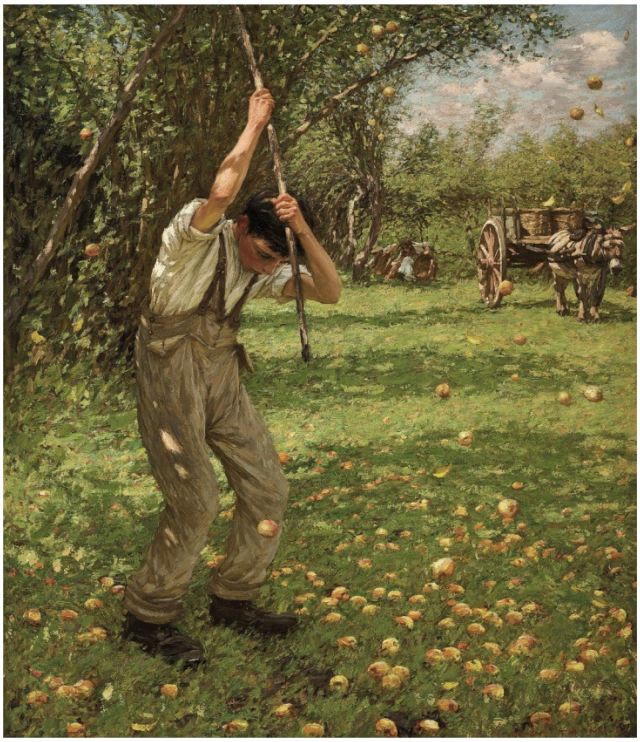


Figure 3. Henry Herbert La Thangue, *Shaking Down Cider Apples,* 1909, oil on canvas, private collection.

[21] Jon Ardcastle, 'The Art of Mr Fred Morgan', *The Windsor Magazine* (June 1905) p.18.
[22] See the lot essay for sales of his paintings at Christies -https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/henry-herbert-la-thangue-1859-1929-sussex-apples-6154058-details.aspx [accessed 23/05/2020].

La Thangue lived in a small fenland village in Norfolk, and later Suffolk, and spent most of his career painting *en plein air*, in all manner of agricultural locations, seeking to find and record authentic farming practices that were already in decline.[23] Despite a similarity in the subject matter of rural workers and their families, much of his work is not soaked in the same nostalgia, or optimism, as earlier genre paintings. Nor did he usually depict orchards as feminised work spaces. One painting, *In the Orchard* (1894) is an impressionistic study of his wife and a companion in a small orchard, but the trees are not bearing fruit and they are winding wool and relaxing. Only in this case did La Thangue associate orchards with positive female attributes such as family bonds, beauty or abundance. However, although his depiction of farming scenes was more realistic than sentimental, even La Thangue's works do not show the type of larger scale, low-growing commercial orchard that would have been familiar to the nineteenth-century itinerant labourers of his local area in East Anglia. He was interested in representing the traditional way of apple farming, concentrating on the small-scale orchard and the intimacies of working by hand, and in doing so making explicit the work of the rural labourer.

The work of both Morgan and La Thangue can be used to consider what their content and reception can reveal about the working conditions of those depicted. Outside genre art, such 'rustic' activities were often considered incidental to a scene. John Barrell's investigation into the visual and poetic expression of the concept of landscape and agricultural labour has plotted the eighteenth and nineteenth-century fashion for including rustic figures as a decorative element of pastoral landscapes, in both high art and genre painting.[24] Barringer's thesis on representations of labour in visual culture has explained how, even when agricultural workers were included in the scene, they were simply 'read' as one of the decorative elements in the composition, included to give scale or a splash of colour, and often overlooked completely in contemporary critical reception of the work.[25] Very seldom were their labours depicted realistically, or noted by commentators on the painting, before the turn of the twentieth century. Within these constraints, therefore, the depiction of realistic orchard work (or any other kind of rural labour) would be a radical departure from the accepted form of landscape painting, whether genre or high art.

However, many genre images of the orchard included workers picking apples, not

[23] *Painters and Peasants: Henry Herbert La Thangue and British Rural Naturalism, 1880-1905*. Exhibition catalogue (Bolton: Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, 2000).
[24] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[25] Timothy John Barringer, 'Representations of Labour in British Visual Culture 1870 – 1875' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex 1994).

only because this made a dynamic and interesting composition, but because of the values that could be encoded within such a scene, including the values around rural, manual labour. Codell has documented how artists became enmeshed in the Victorian emphasis upon the work ethic, which was reflected in many of the works that were produced.[26] Meaningful work was held to be necessary for moral improvement, but the definitions of such work often did not include working for social advancement or even riches. Manual labour, therefore, especially within a setting that was considered clean and natural, such as an orchard or a field at harvest time, was a suitable subject for pedagogical art, but only when the physicality of the work and the extreme poverty of the itinerant labourers were excluded from the narrative. Representations of the orchard functioned as decorative reminders of those tenant farmers and of their agricultural work without having to show the realities of it.

The reality of life for tenant farmers was rarely included in genre art, which was a product of a certain discourse around the values of Englishness. Those values included recognition of the benefits of manual work, but also a sensitivity to the loss of the opportunities for meaningful rural labour and an awareness of the increasing poverty, both material and spiritual, of English life. This split between values and representation has now become part of the discussion of Englishness and the landscape. The earlier prevailing narrative had been that the nineteenth century's emphasis on imperialism gave homogeneity to national identity and a consensus on cultural representations of the British character and landscape. However, the rise of material history and gender studies have allowed the recognition of overlapping discourses around the treatment of landscape that have demonstrated a wider cultural diversity during the Victorian era. Historians are bringing to the foreground the stories of smaller communities within which the national narrative of progress was contested. Recently attention has turned to consider how the changes in Christian practice and theology affected interactions with the natural world, as will be discussed in detail in the subsequent section of this chapter. A relevant example for the treatment of rural communities is *England's Lost Eden*, by social historian Philip Hoare. Hoare unpacked the history of Mrs Girling and her new religious sect of 'New Forest Shakers', whose attempt to create a new kind of Christian community, and an earthly Eden within the forest led ultimately to destitution and homelessness.[27] Hoare linked this small community to a wider desire in society to found and find utopias and to connect with the

[26] Ibid.
[27] Philip Hoare, *England's Lost Eden: Adventures in a Victorian Utopia* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006) pp.139 – 194.

innocence of natural places. Elizabeth Baigent has studied the Commons Preservation Society, and its campaign to preserve Epping Forest, and concluded that 'Christianity however was a significant motivation for some open space campaigners whose theology explained *how* nature was to uplift those who experienced it.'[28] She noted that analyses of the Victorian open space movements either consider it founded on anti-modernism and nostalgia, or, as Hoare does, a progressive and democratic movement. She noted 'Many from each camp agreed that the preservation of significant landscapes, which were overwhelmingly rural, was linked to a changing understanding of national identity.'[29] Historian Stephanie Barczewski considers that this changing understanding led to a more consolidated, mythic narrative of Britain's past. In her work on the importance of the figure of King Arthur in shaping national identity, she has noted that in popular historical fiction, paintings and texts, 'a more romanticised and overtly nationalist history emerged' as 'Britain turned to the past as a potential source of unity in the present'[…] an effort which 'required considerable manipulation and at times blatant fabrication.'[30]

In his influential text, *English Culture and the Decline of the English Spirit* (1981), Martin Wiener argued that England's industrial power declined after the 1850s because of the continuing cultural influence of the landed elite, who had also turned to the myths of the past, including King Arthur, to influence how they constructed their own narratives, which also included some fabrication.[31] The ideal of living like a country gentleman was too appealing, even to those aspiring to suburban villas with only a garden to be lord over. The English education system stressed out of date gentlemanly values through a 'Classical' education that did not include entrepreneurial and technical skills. Wiener argued that 'the values of the directing strata, particularly in a stable, cohesive society like modern Britain, tend to permeate society as a whole and to take on the colour of national values.'[32] Wiener provided many quotes from primary sources to support this argument, but without the deep contextualisation that would have prompted acknowledgment of the advances in cultural studies and social history, which have considered the significance and role of communities outside the 'directing strata' of society. However, he drew attention to the use of 'rustic

[28] Elizabeth Baignent, ''God's Earth Will Be Sacred': Religion, Theology and the Open Space Movement in Victorian England' *Rural History* 22:1 (April 2011) 31 – 58.
[29] Ibid. p.32.
[30] Stephanie Barczewski, *Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p.1.
[31] Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850 - 1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[32] Ibid. p.5.

imagery' across the period to support what he termed 'the countryside of the mind', a place that was 'everything industrial society was not – ancient, slow-moving, stable, cosy and "spiritual".[33] This cultural countryside forms the landscape of much imagery of orchards, while even apple trees that have taken root in urban gardens are often portrayed with something of the ancient and spiritual about them.

In 1996 Peter Mandler surveyed the literature that had anatomised Englishness since Wiener, and, in his essay 'Against 'Englishness', sought to contradict the prevailing definition of Englishness as a late-nineteenth century construct, holding modernism at bay.[34] Mandler maintained that the popular interest in English history outstripped that of the elite and landed classes, who were not taught their own history at school, but that of an idealised Classical world, particularly during the late-Victorian Classical revival. For Mandler, the Classical education produced the opposite result, so that those apparently schooled in English values were 'philistines,' careless about preserving their houses and the treasures within. Therefore, he saw the cultural shift 'towards a swooning nostalgia for a rural past' as confined to 'a small, articulate but not necessarily influential' section of the cultural elite, rather than spreading throughout the landed class.[35] As Chapter Five will discuss, the values that these 'articulate' Victorians transferred from the Classical texts were those that fitted in with the Christian values with which they were comfortable. Representations of Classical landscapes also took symbols and values from English rural landscapes.

However, it is the argument of this thesis that the nostalgia for a rural past registered across society more widely than Mandler has argued. The growth in popular art, which was popular with the less-articulate consumers, and the increase in writing about the plants and gardens of stately homes and previous ages, pushed the yearning for, and representations of, rural landscapes and lifestyles into strata of society far from the cultural or moneyed elite. Mandler's argument undervalues the importance of the cultural, imagined landscape to all classes (and genders), and also requires updating in light of the more complex intersections between urban and rural which have recently been traced by eco-historians.

Mandler and Wiener perhaps paid insufficient attention to genre art and popular culture, which would have balanced their reliance on the experiences of the educated elite. As Barringer has noted, the agrarian images so popular with Victorians have been the subject of very little scholarly investigation, and most were rarely exhibited in the twentieth century.

---

[33] Ibid. p.6.
[34] Peter Mandler, 'Against Englishness: English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia 1850-1940' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Vol. 7 (December 1997).
[35] Ibid. p.160.

Victorian art was out of fashion in the art market until the 1980s, but many of the genre works retained popularity when printed onto greetings cards, jigsaw puzzles and similar products.[36] Historian Christina Payne has closely studied what she has termed these 'scenes of idyllic cottage life'.[37] She argued that they should be taken seriously for their social function and for what they can tell us about attitudes to town and country. She admired their artistic skill, noting that 'These artistic devices help to focus the viewer's attention on the meaning of the paintings, and their demonstration of a set of interlinked virtues which were seen as particularly desirable in the working class of this period: piety, contentment, cleanliness, thrift, industry and family affection. As a result of their industry, frugality and faith, we are led to believe, these families are blessed with health, good food and security.'[38] Payne argued that such paintings therefore offered a didactic image to the urban working classes (who consumed them as prints and illustrations), contrasting the urban worker or the landless, rural day-labourer, radicalised at the alehouse, with the healthy, family-based life of the conservative cottage dweller.

It could also be argued that these images were intended to be didactic to the rural classes, many of whom were not living in the comfort and stability displayed in the prints. Such images appropriated rural working-class culture and, having sanitised it, sold it back to the folk displayed in the images. This was not a process that occurred in the cities, where the images of the London poor, such as the costermongers in Mayhew's work, were printed in periodicals that were not intended to be read or otherwise consumed by those portrayed. The reality of life in the poorest rural areas was acknowledged by concerned reformers, but less frequently in culture. While there was a fascination with looking at the darker side of the city in the works of Gustav Dore and others, rural poverty held less visual appeal, perhaps because it was accepted as the natural order of country life.[39] In 1863 the editor of *Punch*, Tom Taylor, wrote a series of poems to accompany illustrations of English rural life by Myles Birket Foster, an extremely popular watercolourist and illustrator with a sentimental

[36] Ibid. p.9.
[37] Christina Payne, 'Rural Virtues for Urban Consumption: Cottage Scenes in Early Victorian Painting', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 3:1 (1998) p.45-68.
[38] Ibid. p.46.
[39] See Christina Payne 'Rural Virtues' for a fuller discussion pp.60 – 64.

style.[40] (Figure 4.)

Figure 4. Miles Birket Foster (engraving by Dalziel Bros) 'The Cottages of England'
Tom Taylor and Myles Birket Foster, *Birket Foster's Pictures of English Landscape with Pictures in Words by Tom Taylor* (London: Routledge Warne and Routledge, 1863).

In one instance, Taylor's tone is at odds with the rural idyll as he takes a harder look at the life inside. In 'Old Cottages' Taylor begins by acknowledging how picturesque they look, with the moss on the roof and the age-whitened stone, but he notices how the flowers growing around the cottage mask the odour of decay and of 'the foul miasma of their crowded rooms/ unaired, unlit, with green damp moulded o'er' So that he wishes 'the picturesqueness less/ and welcome the Utilitarian hand' that erects new, clean cottages that are not so interesting to look at, but healthier to live in.[41] This poem begins with the phrase 'the cottage-homes of England' which echoes the popular poem of Mrs Hemans, 'The Homes of England' which includes the lines 'The Cottage Homes of England/by thousands on their plains/they are smiling o'er the silv'ry brooks/and round the hamlet lanes./ Through glowing orchards forth they peep/each from its nook of leaves.'[42] As discussed in Chapter Two of this

[40] Tom Taylor and Myles Birket Foster, *Birket Foster's Pictures of English Landscape with Pictures in Words by Tom Taylor* (London: Routledge Warne and Routledge, 1863).
[41] Ibid. Poem 18 no page no..
[42] Felica Hemans (Mrs Hemans) *The Poetical Works of Hemans, Heber and Pollok in One Volume* (Philadelphia: John Grigg, 1832) p.305.

thesis, Heman's poem is also quoted on the frontispiece to Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, below the illustration of a rural cottage, painted by Birket Foster himself.

Many examples of genre art, in particular Birket Foster's scenes and those of watercolour artist Helen Allingham, also display certain values about class, with the assumptions made that the rural working class should be family and community centred, and content with their work and their station in life.[43] (Figure 5.)

(Figure 5. Helen Allingham, *The Apple Orchard* from *Happy England* p.167. The accompanying text by Huish reads 'Painted about 1877. A misshapen tree […] specimens of which are too often to be found in old orchards of this size, whose bearing time has long departed, and who now only cumber the ground, and with their many fellows have had much to do with the gradual decay of the English apple industry.')

Historical geographer Denis Cosgrove has explored this ideological concept of landscape. Cosgrove saw representations of countryside as a way in which 'certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature.'[44] He maintained that in the nineteenth century, through 'the hegemonic establishment of urban industrial capitalism and the bourgeois

[43] Helen Allingham and Marcus B. Huish, *Happy England* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903).
[44] Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) p.15.

culture of property, landscape lost its artistic and moral force and became a residual in cultural production.'[45] However, this section has demonstrated that the frequent representation of the orchard and other rural scenes within both high and popular culture would seem to argue against landscape losing its moral influence. Although it may have become residual in the sense that it was rarely radical in influence, rather becoming increasingly co-opted to display ideologies of the hegemony, these images of familiar scenes carried increasing cultural resonances just as the divide between the landscape and the self widened. The orchard and the apple both have agency in carrying the values of the idealised rural landscape, and therefore of Englishness, into the cultural imagination and values of the later nineteenth century.

From the orchard into the garden: the apple's cultural value within the domestic space

Much of the symbolism of the orchard discussed above was extended to include apple trees in urban domestic gardens. These carefully tended and trained trees also took on a new identity as part of the feminised garden environment, and became a part of the class dynamic, where Victorian virtues could be displayed in aspirational working class and suburban neighbourhoods. Or, as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge put it in 1832, gardening or 'the domestication of plants […] constituted the barrier between civilization and savagery'.[46]

While rural orchards and cottage plot trees represented the lost past, new domestic gardens were spaces that were celebrated and encouraged throughout the nineteenth century, even across rapidly expanding urban districts. The garden became another 'room' in the suburban villa where domesticity could be expressed, and the values of the homemaker displayed, including their taste in gardening commodities. It therefore became a place where women were permitted, and perhaps expected, to refine their innate talents for artistry and nurture in even the smallest outdoor space. Fruit trees could be incorporated into a suburban garden, especially when grown on the new 'Paradise' dwarfing rootstocks and trained according to the latest methods, such as those of Mr Rivers or George Johnson, as discussed in the first half of this thesis. An example of a desirable suburban garden is shown in Figure

[45] Ibid.p.64.
[46] Harriet Ritvo, 'At the Edge of the Garden: Nature and Domestication in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Britain' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 55:3 (Summer 1992) p.366.

6, one of many illustrated on the front of gardening periodicals.

(Figure 6. Cover of gardening periodical c.1880, showing a well ordered suburban garden with flowers, lawn, vegetables and trained fruit trees. Note the lady operating the new, expensive lawn mower.)

The suburban garden itself is worthy of more space than this thesis allows, since it is another 'landscape' that is both contested and overlooked. F. M. L. Thompson's study of suburbs (1982) begins by defining suburbia as 'an unlovely, sprawling artefact of which few are particularly fond', noting how the suburban development had 'an apparently insatiable capacity for devouring land, destroying the countryside and obliterating scenery for the supposed purpose of enabling more people to live in semi-rural surroundings.'[47] He argued that the desire for a 'country' lifestyle came from those who moved in from small towns or villages, and that even as suburban development built over market gardens, the garden was an 'essential attribute' of every suburban home, 'preferably one in front to impress the outside world […] and one at the back for the family to enjoy.'[48] Sarah Bilston's recent study of the suburbs in literature and culture noted that the Victorians found representing their own suburban culture difficult, with 'the past' being a preferred subject for amateur and professional artists and photographers. [49] She remarks that it is hard to find Victorian artists

[47] F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).
[48] Ibid. p. 15.
[49] Sarah Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019) Introduction, Kindle edition. [accessed 12/12/2020]

who made suburbs the focus of their art, but that there were many voices in the conversation about suburban values.

One voice was Ford Madox Brown, in his narrative painting, *An English Autumn Afternoon*. [50] (Figure 7.), which depicts a scene of energetic, ordered, sympathetic suburban life. Tucked within it is the symbolism of the apple tree crossing over from orchard to garden.

(Figure 7. Detail from Ford Madox Brown, *An English Autumn Afternoon, Hampstead – Scenery in 1853* (1852 – 54) Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.)

Painted during October 1852, Madox Brown captures a view across the Hampstead suburbs in a very particular autumn light. There is, therefore, the significance of the word English being used in the title, alongside the view of cultivated, orderly suburban life. Ruskin, who despaired that the suburban houses would 'canker' the 'roots of our national greatness […] when they are thus loosely struck in their native ground' called the painting's view 'ugly' but Madox Brown showed, in this and in his masterpiece, *Work*, that he was interested in, and capable of, ennobling the genre scene or domestic view; that there was a subject worthy of being painted everywhere, without having to go to wild crags or Alpine meadows to find it.[51]

[50] Ford Madox Brown, *An English Autumn Afternoon, Hampstead – Scenery in 1853* (1852 – 54 Oil on Canvas, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery)
[51] Timothy John Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) describes this particular spat between Madox Brown and Ruskin. pp.70-71. John Ruskin's views on the suburbs are from *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849) pp.165-66.

Since Madox Brown was painting an English October afternoon, it is not surprising to find apple pickers in a small orchard in the centre of the painting. They are tucked into one of the 'valleys' through which the painting seems to dip and roll. Although, as this thesis has previously discussed, Hampstead had many commercial market gardens, this orchard is on a domestic scale, and the group of apple pickers is composed of more children than adults. The large trees require the use of ladders to pick the fruit, but this orchard is neither a commercial space, nor part of a constrained villa garden. It is somewhere in between, somewhere transitioning between two worlds, but with just the slightest reminder of a lost Eden as it may soon be incorporated into the land around another housing development.

Madox Brown's painting shows the varied styles of early suburban gardens and some of the anxieties around them, as his residents attempt to retain a country style of gardening with orchards and chickens on the edges of the city. Despite the wealth of primary source material, including paintings, available to depict villa gardens, they have not been extensively studied by historians of art or horticulture, and very little attention has been paid to them by social historians.[52] Until recently histories, and historians, of the English garden have tended to concentrate on larger, 'important' gardens, their works taking the reader on a tour through the ancient Persian paradises, into medieval walled gardens, Tudor orchards, the landscapes of Capability Brown and usually finishing up with the vividly coloured borders of Gertrude Jekyll.[53] Such histories seem to have an underlying narrative of progress and advancement, where each iteration of a garden must lead necessarily into the next. Interest in the plants, the designs and the gardeners has been at the expense of setting gardens in their wider cultural and social context, although representations of gardens in art and literature are abundant, while comments on gardens can be found throughout the newspapers and periodicals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, social historians are now considering what insights smaller gardens can provide on the discourses of class, gender and moral values, among others, whilst acknowledging the cultural literacy of the many gardeners who themselves took an interest in garden history.

The gardens of the late Victorian period demonstrate many of these discourses on class, particularly in regard to taste, fashion and what plants were suitable for a particular type of household. In domestic horticulture, as in agriculture, innovation in plant breeding

[52] Sarah Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs* challenges this with a chapter on the role of women in creating suburban gardens.
[53] See, for example, Roy Strong, *The Artist and the Garden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), particularly for the early garden history. Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, *The Story of the Garden* (London: The Medici Society, 1932) is a charming example of the tour-through-time garden history.

became fashionable, leading to plants with larger, more colourful and more robust flowers becoming available and desirable. The nurseries and florists took advantage of the new publicity opportunities available in media including periodicals, seed packets, catalogues, advertising hoardings and at flower shows, to display these new plants and fruits, often in full colour. (Figure 8.) Colourful planting schemes of tender annuals or 'bedding plants' were also to be seen in the flowerbeds of the new urban parks and gardens, which made the flowers on public display seem particularly desirable for private gardens.[54]

Figure 8. Lithographic print for Carter's Seeds catalogue, 1892. From the collection of the Garden Museum, London.

Somewhat predictably, this style of modern, progressive garden design was not usually admired by the cultural elite.[55] Ruskin saw nothing to be admired in the manipulation of 'nature', stating in *The Poetry of Architecture,*

A flower-garden is an ugly thing, even when best managed: it is an assembly of unfortunate beings, pampered and bloated above their natural size, stewed and heated into diseased growth; corrupted by evil communication into speckled and inharmonious colours, torn from the soil which they loved, and of which they were the spirit and the glory, to glare away their term of tormented life among the mixed and incongruous essences of each other, in earth that they know not, and in air that is poison to them.[56]

[54] David C. Stuart, *The Garden Triumphant* (London: Viking, 1988) describes the different types of 'bedding out' in detail.
[55] Nor by all gardeners. William Robinson, champion of the natural style, described bedding as 'repulsively gaudy'. William Robinson, *The Wild Garden* (London: John Murray, 1870) p.5.
[56] John Illingworth, 'Ruskin and Gardening' *Garden History,* Vol. 22 No. 2 *The Picturesque* (Winter, 1994), 218-233. p.222.

It is possible to suggest that here Ruskin is describing the newly urbanised inhabitants of the modern villas, just as much as the flowers. However despite his reservations about flower beds, Ruskin was among a movement of concerned cultural commentators who championed the morally improving benefits of taking leisure in, and working in, a productive urban garden. As he made particularly clear in *Proserpina*, he saw England as a garden, and therefore every garden as a potential Eden. He warned audiences in inner Manchester of the evils of being prepared to give up their gardens, and advocated city allotments to keep workers in touch with the countryside.[57]

Although the morally improving aspects of gardening were emphasised by Ruskin, some urban planners acknowledged the physical benefits of gardening. Catherine Alexander has unpicked the mix of moral and practical reasons behind the inclusion of gardens in urban housing developments.

> The particular stress laid on the health-giving properties of open spaces came about in direct opposition to "dark, enclosed, fetid spaces" as part of an environmental and medical debate promoted in Paris from the 1820s onward, resulting in a series of reports on urban sanitation, disease, and crime […] Certainly, the positive social and moral overtones of the countryside still play a part in contemporary environmental discourse. These were almost certainly given an initial impetus by the reports produced by the Select Committee for Public Walks in early nineteenth-century England that pointed to the civilizing and humanizing qualities of outdoor spaces within the city. These moral overtones were also associated with lower- and middle-class gardens from the eighteenth century onward.[58]

Similarly, Zoe Crisp's study of private and shared vegetable or allotment plot distribution across five towns in the nineteenth century also points to the necessity of answering the demands for 'ventilation' from the various committees on public health. The early Victorians believed that disease was spread through foul air, and therefore each new house built should be surrounded by enough open space to remove the threat of disease through good air circulation in and around each dwelling. While this was not, of course, put into practice everywhere, Crisp has shown that a proportion of lower-class housing was built to include

[57] Ibid. p.230.
[58] Catharine Alexander, 'The Garden as Occasional Domestic Space' p.865.

back yards that were large enough to be functional, productive gardens.[59] In addition to the need for fresh air, the moral and social benefits of gardening, and its associations with productive leisure rather than idleness, ensured that, as Crisp noted, these housing recommendations 'were seized on by moralists as well as sanitarians. A back yard and good ventilation would encourage the man of the house to stay at home and use his leisure time constructively rather than visiting the ale house.'[60] However, once gardens had been provided, there was the question of what could be grown in such a polluted environment, and for a minimal cost. More pertinently, asked Crisp, how, 'in an age when profit was paramount, overcrowding intense, and urban land at a premium, could most English houses have at their backs an essentially non-productive and non-profitable open space of their own?'[61] The dwarfed apple tree, and other orchard fruits, provides a partial answer to her question. They were 'green stuff' that was hardy enough to produce a decent crop, even on poor soil, and the crop was held safely above the unsanitary night soil or other possible fertilizer used around the trees. The tree's crop could provide nourishment for the occupants of the house and any surplus apples could be stored or sold.

Historian Martin Gaskell has looked at the wider societal impetus for supplying gardens. He has seen early Victorian factory owners as consciously choosing to provide gardens to support the desired social order. He noted 'The allocation of gardens had […] been recognized as one of the possible means of control over the moral and physical lives of the labouring population. Gardens were to continue to offer the means of such control, just as much as the tied house, the school, the chapel, or the institute.'[62] Gaskell uses Bournville Village, constructed in 1893 by the Cadbury family for their factory workers, as a further example of the power of gardening in behaviour modification. As Gaskell describes, 'when the first occupants moved in, they found that 'the garden was already dug over and hedges, creepers, and fruit trees planted before the house was occupied.[…] Newcomers to gardening were guided by the management's plans for dividing the individual gardens into three sections: the front area for flowers, the rear for vegetables, and the end part for fruit trees. This pattern secured a pleasing aesthetic appearance for the front and privacy and economy

[59] Zoe Crisp, 'Housing and private outside space in nineteenth century England' *CWPESH* 3, (*Cambridge Working Papers in Economic and Social History*) March 2012 http://www.econsoc.hist.cam.ac.uk/working_papers.html [accessed 29/04/2020].
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Martin S. Gaskell, 'Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure' *Victorian Studies* 23 4 Summer 1980 (Indiana University Press) 479-501.

for the rear'.[63] (Figure 9.) It has been recorded that those fruit trees included eight 'apple and pear trees, assorted according to the nature of the soil', which were also intended to provide privacy between the back-to-back houses.[64]

Figure 9. Linden Road, Bournville in the 1920s. Bournville Village Trust.

By the 1880s the attitude to the most desirable outdoor space for the working classes had incorporated belief in its moral purpose, but also in the need to provide some kind of aesthetically pleasing (if not to Ruskin) garden. As Crisp notes, 'the 1882 Select Committee on Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvements refers to back plots as 'gardens – places for pleasure – for the first time; reflecting, in part, a later-century rekindled desire for the rural and the vernacular'.[65] During the same period the education of ordinary people in the values of gardening became a continuing commitment of *The Gardener's Chronicle*, and in 1887, at a conference of the Agricultural and Horticultural Cooperative Association Limited, these values were itemized as: 'increasing food, providing a refining occupation, serving to brighten people's lives, and stimulating a higher influence which would develop from contact with nature.'[66] Nineteenth-century private gardens, therefore, were considered to be a boundaried space where the cultivation of productive and aesthetically pleasing plants could, or should, lead to better health, moral uplift and decency within the home, particularly the homes of the working classes.

However, for some social commentators and many professional gardeners there was concern over how many practical gardening tasks should be performed by women. Jane Loudon's very popular book on gardening for ladies (1840) began with the science behind digging, and she asserted that 'a lady, with a small light spade may, by taking time, succeed

[63]Ibid.
[64] Margaret Willes, *The Gardens of the British Working Class* (London: Yale University Press, 2015) p.291.
[65] Crisp, 'Housing and Private Outside Space' p.16.
[66] Gaskell, 'Gardens for the Working Class' p.497.

in doing all the digging that can be required in a small garden.'[67] However, most of the increasing number of gardening publications that addressed women readers concentrated on the aesthetic, decision-making aspects of gardening rather than the heavier practical tasks. Gardening was considered primarily a male pastime, and trade, where gardens may be created for the enjoyment of women, but the hard work was necessarily performed by men, partly in order to improve them morally.

There are now hundreds of accessible images of nineteenth-century paintings of domestic gardens. Many of them show women at leisure in their garden in some way, such as strolling past the flowers, or taking tea.[68] The ladies are usually unsuitably dressed for any gardening work. In the work of late-Victorian illustrator Helen Allingham, the women cottagers are resting in their gardens, chatting to neighbours, or doing light work such as shelling peas. The hard work of gardening – digging, pruning, watering and so on, is far less frequently depicted in English art, and rarely if ever shown being performed by women at all.[69]

For modern historians, therefore, the garden has the properties of being part of the domestic realm of which middle class women may have had oversight, but in which most of the labour was performed by a hired gardener. This division along class as well as gender lines may account for the idealised depictions of women in garden spaces, and may be considered within the context of the role and work of the women in the house, being a safe, enclosed, exterior room. The feminisation of the garden is one reflection of the changes in the role of women, or the values associated with that role, during the later nineteenth century. The cultivated, enclosed and feminine garden also had obvious Christian associations, utilised by artists and writers throughout the nineteenth century, which is why a discussion of how those associations affected both the representation of women and the treatment of the apple is pertinent at this point.

The apple and the apple tree within Christian iconography

In order to be truly accepted in the suburban garden the apple also had to reduce the strength of its cultural associations with the fruit that tempted Eve in the Garden of Eden. This first

[67] Jane (Mrs) Loudon, *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies* (London: John Murray, 1840) p.8.
[68] The Royal Academy's exhibition, 'Painting the Modern Garden' (2016) provided examples of gardens without gardeners across art. https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/exhibition/painting-modern-garden-monet-matisse [accessed 22/05/2020].
[69] Christina Zaat, 'virtual curator' has a vast collection of images on her Facebook page. See album 'it's all about gardens and parks' for many examples of how gardens in nineteenth century art are depicted as leisure spaces. www.facebook.com/christa.zaat/media_set?set=a.10153781625667151&type=3 [accessed 24/05/2020]

orchard had become identified with the perfect garden of Paradise. As Delumeau's *History of Paradise* stated, the Old Persian word from which 'paradise' was formed means 'an orchard surrounded by a wall'.[70] The enclosed orchard formed the setting for the encounter between Eve, the serpent and the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. This association allowed for representations of the orchard as a place of loss and danger It was also, in visual art, an achievable version of Paradise, one that could be gazed upon, and populated on canvas with men and woman, on equal standing with the pre-lapsarian Adam and Eve. The hunt for Eden as a material, physical location had once sustained much exploration, but by the nineteenth century, when more of the world was being mapped and named, and finding Eden on earth seemed increasingly unlikely, this first orchard retreated into metaphor, and art.

Central to the nineteenth-century importance of the Eden story was the increasing cultural prominence of the role and characters of Adam and Eve. There was debate over how much responsibility they could be said to have had for their actions and therefore whether the fate of all mankind was a matter of unavoidable original sin or the responsibility of the individual and the choices they took. By the mid-nineteenth century Eve in particular, after centuries of cultural and folkloric representation, had acquired a personality and agency of her own, far beyond the few passages devoted to her in the Bible. The Old Testament verses concerning Adam and Eve do not, however, provide the origin of the apple's long and close cultural association with disobedience and sin. The fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, from which Eve takes a bite, is not described with the Hebrew word for apple. The King James translation, the standard text during the nineteenth century, describes the fruit of the tree as 'good for food and pleasant to the eyes.'[71] The word for apple is used in other passages throughout the Old Testament, such as in the Song of Solomon, where again an orchard or enclosed garden with fruit trees is associated with the female form and love. The poet sings 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so [is] my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit [was] sweet to my taste.'[72]

Early Christian art from the Roman Empire, therefore, depicted Adam and Eve eating and covering their nakedness with many varieties of local fruits and foliage, including palms and dates. However, as Christianity spread across Europe the artists in the more northern countries settled on the apple as the fruit of temptation, probably because it was recognisable

[70] Jean Delumeau, trans. Matthew O'Connell, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition* (New York: Continuum, 1995) p.4. There are alternative translations but all retain the sense of an enclosed and productive garden.
[71] K.J.V. Genesis 3:6.
[72] K.J.V. Song of Solomon 3:2.

to the illiterate congregations who were looking at representations of the biblical stories in cold, dark, smoke-filled churches, and also because artists borrowed aspects of Classical myths with which they were familiar. E. H. Gombrich has suggested that the explosion of church frescoes and woodcarvings with representations of Bible stories was due to the itinerant preachers in the thirteenth century. He stated that 'It was the friars who took the Gospel story to the people and spared no effort to make the faithful relive and re-enact it in their minds' and that Pope Gregory the Great believed that 'painting was to serve the illiterate laity for the same purpose for which clerics used reading.'[73] The figures of Adam and Eve were carved into confessionals, misericords, ceiling trusses and headstones in Gothic churches across Europe, painted onto the walls and captured in stained glass. With each iteration the fruit came to be more obviously, and more often, an apple. The apple was also favoured because it linked in with the indigenous stories and folklore familiar to these new Christians. In the early mediaeval period, a time when artistic representations of Christian themes were in flux, the link between Eve and the apple was determined very quickly, and has remained constant.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Eve gained importance as a symbolic character, taking the blame for the expulsion from Eden and all subsequent woes.[74] As gender roles became more defined, Eve became a reminder of the fate of females who did not conform. By the nineteenth century, as women's roles were becoming both codified and contested, Eve had acquired attributes never ascribed to her originally, including sensuality, lust, inconstancy and unfaithfulness. A few nineteenth-century female writers attempted to rescue Eve from the judgement of Milton, for example the Unitarian and historical writer Lucy Aikin, writing as Mary Goldolphin, called Milton's Adamic hierarchy 'blasphemous.'[75] However in popular culture the association between Eve, the apple, and guilt was inseparable. Instructive manuals on female behaviour often quoted Milton and took his theology as a foundation text. Novels reworked *Paradise Lost* and used its themes as a warning to independently thinking girls and women. The influence of *Paradise Lost* (and embedded Edenic images) has been traced in canonical nineteenth century novels such as *Middlemarch*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Frankenstein*, along with girl's fiction such as *Little Women* and

[73] E. H. Gombrich, *The Uses of Images* (London: Phaidon,1999) p.29.
[74] Philip Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[75] Ana Acosta, *Reading Genesis in the Long Eighteenth Century: From Milton to Mary Shelley* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006) p.67 and Rebecca Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2016).

What Katy Did.[76]

The posture of Eve and the setting and action in which she was placed also changed over time. By the nineteenth century Eve's nudity had become more sexualised, her pose more self-aware. She was often represented alone, without Adam, and with none of the significant trees, Eden's animals or even the serpent beside her. It was enough to simply paint a nude female in a pastoral location with an apple, as did Anna Lea Meritt, in *Eve Overcome By Remorse*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1885.[77] Valentine Cameron Prinsep managed to do away with the apple, or even apple blossom, entirely, painting an innocent but rather solid Eve beside an English hedgerow as she first awakens after her creation (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1889).[78] (Figure 10.)

(Figure 10. Left, Anna Lea Merritt, *Eve Overcome by Remorse* 1885, oil on canvas, private collection. Right, Valentine Cameron Prinsep, *The First Awakening of Eve,* 1889, oil on canvas, private collection.)

Any consideration of the reception of Eve, and of depictions of women generally in nineteenth century art, should rightly reference Laura Mulvey's term, 'the male gaze.'[79] Her phrase has been appropriated across art forms to neatly describe the way in which the female body in art and literature is displayed for the delectation of the (heterosexual) male. Female

[76] Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (eds), *The Mad Woman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).
[77] Anna Lea Merritt, *Eve Overcome by Remorse*. Her painting won a medal, and was commended in the press for its originality, with 'A Lady' approving that 'women artists are venturing to paint the nude figure' (*Hampshire Telegraph* Saturday 16 May 1885 p.11 and syndicated).
[78] Valentine Cameron Prinsep A.R.A., *The First Awakening of Eve* 1889. Prinsep was taught to draw by George Frederick Watts, and was associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement.
[79] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema' *Screen* Vol.16 Issue 3 (Autumn, 1975) 6-18

figures in art are there to be the decorative element of the scene, often wearing fewer, or more decorative, clothes than the setting or the action might require. Eve is necessarily nude, gaining admission to 'high art' by her status as a sacred warning to women. Eve's admission ticket to the Academy is usually the apple beside her, since without this she is not a nude Biblical figure, but a naked woman.

Eve may have brought sin into the world, but Mary, the Virgin, the Mother of God, was the carrier of the world's redemption. Therefore it is not surprising to find the apple and the fruit garden making a symbolic background to the presence of Mary in Christian sacred art, and in secular art that carried a redemptive message. From the early Modern Era onwards, there are examples in art and sculpture of the Virgin and Child, where either the child Jesus or his Mother is holding an apple. (Figure 11.) Until the early twentieth century apples were given to teething infants to chew on, so there is a pleasing mixture of the familiar and the sacred in this use of the imagery of the apple. The apple is also a discreet metaphor for the breasts of the Virgin, sustaining the Christ child. When either Mary or Christ is depicted with an apple, the fruit becomes a symbol of redemption, or life, rather than of sin or temptation. For example, William Holman Hunt's painting *The Light of the World* (1851-53) shows Christ emerging from the darkness of a neglected, rotten orchard, or Eden, with windfall apples beneath his feet.[80] Here, Christ is associated with the love he is offering to the world, or the soul, behind the closed garden door, and the apples underfoot are symbols of the sin being cast out, or literally stamped on. They, like the lantern He carries, also represent redemption and new life.

Eden, therefore, was associated with the Virgin's innocence from the early centuries of Christian worship, and early writers and folk traditions retained the myth of a lost, peaceful garden; somewhere always just out of sight, to where man could never return. Delumeau described how the links between the lost garden and happiness became fused.

> In the mentalities of earlier times a quasi-structural link existed between happiness and garden; this link was the result of an at least partial fusion, beginning in the Christian era, of Greco-Roman traditions with biblical memories of the orchard in Eden. Inside a favoured area, the generosity of nature was joined to water, pleasant fragrances, an unvarying springtime climate, an absence of suffering, and peace between human beings and animals.[81]

[80] William Holman Hunt, *The Light of the World*. (1851-53) The orchard in the background was at Worcester Park Farm, Ewell, also the site for *The Hireling Shepherd,* discussed later. This painting became so popular he painted two versions of it, and prints were hung in many Sunday Schools and school rooms (including the author's).
[81] Ibid. p.6.

This mythical space was known as the 'locus amoenus' (a pleasant place), and representations of it began to appear in art from the thirteenth century onwards, sometimes identified as Eden and sometimes as the 'hortus conclusus' or the enclosed garden in which the Virgin walked. Gardening historian John Prest has asserted, 'this identification of the Garden of Eden with the earthly Paradise, of the Virgin with Paradise, and of the enclosed garden of the Song of Solomon with the Virgin, leading to the equation of the enclosed garden with the Garden of Eden, was to have important consequences for the history of gardening.'[82] Prest has argued that representations of Paradise led to changes in real gardens, since 'all the ideal qualities associated with the Virgin Mary and with the earthly Paradise thus came to be identified with the small, contemporary, enclosed garden from which the animals were excluded altogether.'[83]

This association of gardens with Paradise was already strong in the mediaeval period, when gardens were a luxury that were only for the wealthy, but gardens referred to as 'Paradises' were maintained in monasteries, where the monks walked in contemplation of the Virgin.[84]In images from the Early Modern era Mary is often shown in an enclosed, walled garden, the 'hortus conclusus', filled with allegorical flowers and symbolic of her innocence and her virginity, also recalling the Garden of Eden. (Figure 11.)

Figure 11. Stefan Lochner, *Madonna in the Rose Garden* (c. 1448) colour on wood, Wallraf Richartz Museum. The Christ Child holds an apple, while roses grow behind Mary.

[82] John Prest, *The Garden of Eden* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1981) p.21.
[83] Ibid. p.23.
[84] Carole Rawcliffe, "Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles': Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,' *Garden History* 36 No. 1 (Spring 2008) 3-21, p.6.

In this sacred space, the apple, sometimes separate from its tree, is present as a reminder of original sin, but also to show the possibility of redemption. The symbolism of plants associated with the Virgin grew in complexity, and the Virgin herself was sometimes depicted as embodying or using these plants to heal.[85] At the Feast of the Assumption, celebrated on 15th August, flowers and fruits are brought to church, blessed with holy water and dedicated to Mary. Early representations of Eden, Paradise and Marian gardens survived in sacred paintings, frescos and tapestries, particularly in Catholic countries. Some of these images and rituals were seen by those Victorian artists who toured Italy or France, and may have influenced their work.

The visually appealing image of the 'hortus conclusus' persisted throughout the centuries in both gardening and art, so that in Victorian art depictions of the Annunciation often take place in a cloistered space or garden, symbolising Mary's purity and setting her apart from the secular world.[86] Surviving 'Mary Gardens' themselves, with roses and lilies surrounding a shrine to Mary, were seen as quaint manifestations of Catholicism, but the mid-century revival of interest in Medieval art, and in the cult of the Virgin, brought them once more into fashion, so that plants seen as sacred to the Virgin Mary, in particular the lily and the rose, were once again used in works of art such as paintings of the Annunciation, while floral symbolism became increasingly important in paintings of and about women, and an increasingly popular subject for women to study. This thesis earlier discussed the nineteenth-century growth in the hobbies of botany and natural history. One aspect of these hobbies pursued by some was the natural history of the Bible and the flora of biblical lands. This was considered a suitable topic for ladies, and although the study of plants associated with the Virgin and the Saints was considered more as folklore than either devotion or botany, the interest in the place of plants within a sacred landscape grew. Also feeding into this fashion was the more frivolous craze for the 'language of flowers' or 'floriography'. This became a particularly popular hobby for middle class young ladies, who were the main consumers, and

[85] Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 'The Virgin in the *Hortus Conclusus*: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul' *Mediaeval Feminist Forum* Vol. 50 No. 1, 2014. Online journal https://ir.uiowa.edu/mff/vol50/iss1/ [accessed 20/05/2020].

[86] The Annunciation was not such a popular subject from the mid-nineteenth century onward, as tastes and Christian worship changed, but Burne Jones and Rossetti painted the scene, both using the Virgin's floral symbolism of the lily.

illustrators, of sentimental flower books.[87] Through both these routes the symbolism and hidden meanings of flowers found their way into art of the period, including that of the Pre-Raphaelites.

In these flower dictionaries every bloom in a bouquet carried meaning, and 'floriography' was a complicated language. The flowers associated with Mary, the rose and the lily, seem to be the most frequently painted. However apple blossom is also prominent. In the dictionaries of flowers apple blossom did not carry the negative associations of the fruit, but instead usually meant good fortune or preference, as in this postcard, where preference is made very clear (Figure 12.)

(Figure 12. Postcard c.1900. Dunbarton Archives. Apple blossom means 'I prefer you before all'.)

The beautiful apple blossom was one reason for the popularity of planting fruit trees within the urban garden. The blossom was so transient and so pure each year against the blackened landscape, and the 'floriology' meanings attached to it added to its suitability. Ruskin increased the art world's interest in blossom in 1858, when he wondered in his *Academy Notes* why no Pre-Raphaelite had yet attempted to paint it.[88] Perhaps in response, three

[87] Beverly Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012) pp.3 – 29.
[88] John Ruskin, *Notes on some of the Principal Pictures Exhibited in the Rooms of the Royal Academy No. IV* 1858 (London: Smith, Elder & Co.,1858) p.13.

painters exhibited works including fruit trees in full blossom in 1859; Arthur Hughes, John Callcott Horsley and Millais. Hughes's *In the King's Orchard* is an odd composition of three children dressed in Tudor styles, squashed awkwardly together on the trunk of an old apple tree, with the orchard in full bloom behind them.[89] Apart from the association of childhood with the fleeting life of the apple blossom, it does not appear to carry many layers of meaning. John Callcott Horsley exhibited *Lovers Under a Blossom Tree*, a sentimental work where the undefined blossoms are a decorative background, laden with the meaning of choosing one lover, and would not have met Ruskin's demands for truth from nature. [90] For Ruskin, blossom represented purity and a sacred appreciation of the garden, more important than the promise of the harvest to come, and this belief is one that has been transformed into symbolism within the painting by Millais known as *Apple Blossoms*, which was the third 'blossom painting' to be exhibited in 1859. (Figure 14.) Here, the blossom and the orchard setting are an integral part of the atmosphere and meaning of the painting. Millais used the apple blossom to represent purity but also transience and mortality, demonstrating that the meaning of flowers could be very personal to the artist, as well as taking on both religious and secular associations, and the trends of fashionable art.

(Figure 13. John Everett Millais, *Apple Blossoms,* 1859, oil on canvas, Lady Lever Gallery)

[89] Arthur Hughes, In the King's Orchard (1858) oil on canvas, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
[90] John Callcott Horsley, *Lovers Under a Blossom Tree* (1859) oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum.

Apple Blossoms (also known as *Spring*, and exhibited under that title at the Royal Academy in 1859) depicts a group of girls and young women relaxing in an orchard, surrounded by the blossom and seated on a bed of wildflowers. Their only activity is to make curds and whey; the three stages of the process being shown from left to right on the painting.[91] However, they do not seem to be particularly bonded by this activity and one girl on the far right, Alice Gray, seems to be waking from sleep, or perhaps succumbing to it, as she is reclining on her back with one knee bent in an unguarded pose. Propped against the low wall behind her, so that in the composition it points alarmingly at her heart, is a scythe. The use of this symbol was discussed by art historian Allan Staley:

> [The scythe] suggests […] the famous 14th- century fresco of The Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo of Pisa, ascribed in the nineteenth century to Andrea Orcagna, which shows an elegant group in a garden and a scythe-wielding figure in black bearing down upon them. Millais's scythe blade is only a vestigial echo of the personification of death in Pisa, but it constitutes enough of an intrusion into this idyllic scene to convey the same message, and it points ominously directly at the heart of Alice Gray, who is the figure in the painting most at leisure, and the one figure who, by making eye contact, addresses us instead of sharing unheedingly the pleasant activity of her friends.[92]

Ruskin had a very intense, almost violent reaction to the painting's orchard setting. For him it showed a place, 'carpeted with ghostly grass, a field of penance for young ladies, where girl-blossoms, who had been vainly gay, or treacherously amiable, were condemned to recline in reprobation under red-hot apple blossom, and sip scalding milk out of a poisoned porringer.'[93] This surprisingly cruel imagery echoes the punishments found in fairy tales for false behaviour, as well as the Classical myths of women transformed into trees or flowers. The relationship between cultivated apple varieties, blossom, girl and scythe has been penetratingly analysed by Melissa Elston, who saw the scythe as 'as much a symbol of anthropocentric alteration of a landscape as it is a symbol of phallic social "policing,"' that gives the message that emergent female sexuality is to be 'culled' or perhaps pruned back, in

[91] This is the author's interpretation of their activity, which appears to have puzzled many commentators but, having experience of the process, it seems quite clear.
[92] Allan Staley,'Pre-Raphaelites in the 1860s: III' *The British Art Journal* 5: 2 (Autumn 2004) p.4.
[93] John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin Vol. XIV* 'Academy Notes' ed. by E. T. Cooke and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904) p.26.

the way in which the apple trees are contained and managed within the enclosed orchard.[94] The vitality of the orchard in spring may seem part of the charm of the painting, but when it was first exhibited the attitudes and direct gaze of the girls in the orchard provoked disgust. The *Daily Telegraph* critic described them as 'a parcel of girls inconceivably ill-favoured. One girl sprawls on the turf and leers at the spectator, with her head upside down, as if to say 'Here we are! All alive! What do you think of us?'[95]

However valid these modern interpretations of the orchard scythe may be, the object also deserves to have its shock value, as a gothic and melodramatic symbol, restored. It is reminiscent of the 'spirit' objects that were made to manifest onto early photographs, and it is a deliberately obvious 'memento mori', that even these lovely girls will, like the blossom, fall and die. It should be kept in mind that this painting was exhibited alongside *The Vale of Rest* in which Millais shows two nuns digging a grave. One nun stares out at the viewer in a similar fashion to Alice Gray in *Apple Blossoms*, and the nuns are similarly without a male in view. Although these paintings were not companion pieces, Ruskin, and others, considered them together, and both were unsettling enough to be unpopular when exhibited; *Apple Blossoms* remained unsold at Millais's death. Victorian culture was familiar with death and surrounded it with rituals, both to keep the loved one constantly in the memory, such as lockets of hair, and also to emphasise the loss, the distance and the otherness of the dead one, such as elaborate tombstones. The orchard is important as a gothic background that emphasises the incongruity of the scythe and the poses of the girls, and their blasé or even gloomy reaction to the life affirming, blossoming orchard gives extra importance to the setting in a circular relationship between the elements in the painting.

Christina Rossetti's poem 'An Apple Gathering' also uses the symbolism of apple blossom. This poem was one of the shorter poems included in *Goblin Market*, Rossetti's first book of poems, published in 1862. In this short poem, the speaker mourns her loss. That may be of love, or the opportunity to marry and be a mother, or perhaps of her virginity and reputation. Where other girls come back from gathering apples with full baskets that 'jeer' at the speaker, she has missed the harvest and found nothing. Her admirer, Willie, whom she addresses or calls to in the poem, thought her love 'less worth than apples with their green leaves' and was perhaps faithless or otherwise fell short.

I plucked pink blossoms from mine apple-tree

[94] Melissa Elston, 'A World Outside: George Eliot's Ekphrastic Third Sphere in 'The Mill on the Floss'' *George Eliot – George Henry Lewes Studies* (September 2012) pp.62-63.
[95] Gordon H. Fleming, *John Everett Millais: A Biography* (London: Constable, 1998) p.180.

And wore them all that evening in my hair:
Then in due season when I went to see
I found no apples there.
[…]
With dangling basket all along the grass
As I had come I went the selfsame track:
My neighbours mocked me while they saw me pass
So empty-handed back.[96]

But when the apple blossom was out, she had adorned herself with the pink flowers. She certainly seems to have acted as one of the 'girl-blossoms' whom Ruskin tried to warn. Here the apple blossom is subverted from representing purity, innocence and youth to being something that can provide only transient pleasure, its brevity being its attraction. That the blossom made the speaker more sensually or sexually attractive is hinted at by the time of day at which she wore them, since 'evening' carries a suggestion of parties and leisure time, and of course of night. In the title poem 'Goblin Market' with its encounter between Lizzie, Laura and the goblins, it is 'evening by evening' when the girls see the goblin men, and Lizzie warns 'twilight is not good for maidens.'[97] The use of evening in 'An Apple Gathering', both here and in the last verse, where the speaker 'loitered' in the orchard, although the 'night grew chill' adds to the uncanny atmosphere of the poem. Again in 'Goblin Market' Lizzie warns her sister 'you should not loiter so'.[98] Staying out in the countryside or an orchard in the evening, when all the neighbours have gone home, leads to sadness, loss and possibly danger.

I let my neighbours pass me, ones and twos
And groups; the latest said the night grew chill,
And hastened: but I loitered, while the dews
Fell fast I loitered still.[99]

The reader is left to wonder if the speaker a ghost or a spirit, trapped forever in the orchard, doomed to be in an abundant Eden but never to take part in its harvest. Like Millais, Rossetti has taken the apple blossom imagery far from the usual sentimentalism of the language of flowers, and the orchard is no longer the safe, sacred space of Eden or the 'hortus conclusus of the Virgin.

[96] Christina Rossetti, 'Apple Gathering' *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (London, MacMillan & Co.,1862) lines 1-8.
[97] Rossetti 'Goblin Market'. line 32.
[98] Ibid. line 163.
[99] Rossetti 'Apple Gathering' lines 25-28.

The artist has a choice of viewpoints when depicting an orchard. It is possible to stand within it and be enclosed in Eden with its endless blossoms, or beside the Virgin in her power of purity. The other place for an artist, and the viewer or reader, is outside in the Fallen world, looking in. William Holman Hunt was driven by the power of his Christian faith, but very much took the worldly viewpoint. At the height of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, he exhibited *The Hireling Shepherd* (1852).[100] (Figure 14.) Whereas Millais would be concerned with the decorative *memento mori* of apple blossom and youth, Holman Hunt used a lamb and green apples to act as a reminder of the original Fall of man and of the consequences of the loss of that sacred orchard. *The Hireling Shepherd* is all about Eve, not the Virgin Mary. In Hunt's painting a country lass reclines in the centre of the image, her bare feet beside a stream. She is accepting the attentions of an inexperienced shepherd, while looking scornfully out at the viewer and only slightly at her beau, who is trying to show her a deathshead moth. Meanwhile the sheep have got into the corn (and will die from bloat as a result of eating it) and the sickly looking lamb on her lap is eating unripe green apples. Like *Apple Blossoms*, but perhaps more understandably, this work received negative reviews when it was exhibited, with critics disparaging the coarseness and ugliness of the two figures, and their inappropriate realism in what was viewed as an Arcadian landscape.[101] Hunt himself stressed that his intention was to paint a naturalistic scene, with real country folk, rather than the 'painted dolls with pattern backgrounds' of Bouchard, whose *Pensent-t'ils a ce mouton?'* may have inspired the composition of the figures, as art historian John Duncan Macmillan has suggested.[102] Macmillan looked deeply into the many symbolic levels of this painting, and acknowledged that the apples 'are too prominent to be meaningless.' He associated them with the Fall and a symbol of neglect, since they will make the lamb ill.[103] The lamb being the symbol of the Lamb of God, the woman is neglecting her own redemption. She is not yet a fallen woman, but she soon will be. As she looks so knowingly out at the artist (and therefore the viewer), she is not an Eve still unconvinced by the serpent. Given the rest of the symbolism of the painting it must be significant that she is wearing red and white (the two sides of fairy-tale poisoned apple) and not a trace of the Virgin's sacred blue.[104]

---

[100] William Holman Hunt, *The Hireling Shepherd* (1851 – 52) oil on canvas, Manchester City Art Galleries.
[101]Kay Dian Kriz, 'An English Arcadia Revisited and Reassessed: Homan Hunt's *The Hireling Shepherd* and the Rural Tradition' *Art History* Vol. 10 No.4 (December 1987) pp.475 – 491. p.477.
[102] Hunt, quoted in Barringer, p.13, see also Macmillan p.191.
[103] John Duncan Macmillan, 'Holman Hunt's Hireling Shepherd: Some Reflections on a Victorian Pastoral' *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jun 1972) pp.187-197 p.193.
[104] Timothy Barringer (and others) have noted Hunt's explanation that the symbolism also referred to controversies within the Church of England, and Ruskin's metaphor of the Church as a 'sheepfold'. Timothy Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites* pp.12-13.

(Figure 14. William Holman Hunt, *The Hireling Shepherd,* 1851 – 52 oil on canvas, Manchester City Art Galleries.)

Carol Jacobi, looking at sexual symbolism in works by Millais, quoted his affirmation that a picture's advantage over writing is that 'it is all at once put before the spectator without that trouble of realisation often lost in the effort of reading.'[105] Therefore, it is not fanciful or speculative to look for so many symbols, hints and layered readings in any Victorian narrative painting, for it is no less than the educated Victorian viewer would have expected to find. Hunt attached the fool's song from King Lear ('Sleepeth or waketh thou, jolly shepherd ?/ Thy sheep be in the corn') to *The Hireling Shepherd* when he exhibited it, while giving it a title with Biblical associations. The apples in painting help the viewer towards meanings that are put before them, as Millias said, but which require a deeper reading of the painting. Like all the flora and fauna in the composition, they are certainly not meaningless decoration. Indeed, this painting demonstrates that where the apple has been taken out of the allegorical garden or orchard, and into more realistic or recognisable landscape settings, its power as a cultural avatar is enhanced. Eve and the Virgin, the dual nature of woman, are both present in the apple which, as has been demonstrated, carried both

[105] Carol Jacobi, 'Sugar, salt and curdled milk: Millais and the synthetic subject' *Tate Papers* 18 Autumn 2012 https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/18/sugar-salt-and-curdled-milk-millais-and-the-synthetic-subject [accessed 05/06/2020].

risk and reward to the Victorians, as a wholesome food and the symbol of temptation, with the risky nature of a cash transaction in play as well.

An example of some of this duality of imagery being appropriated for a secular painting can be found in one painting that is not overtly sacred art, and does not carry the moral tone of *The Hireling Shepherd*, yet where the apples in the scene are loaded with symbolism. *Kit's Writing Lesson* by Robert Braithwaite Martineau, also exhibited in 1852, shows an episode from Charles Dicken's novel *The Old Curiosity Shop* (published in instalments from 1840-41) where Little Nell is teaching Kit how to read and write.[106] (Figure 15.) Kit is concentrating hard, while Nell, who is sewing, stands next to him looking down at his work with a serene expression. This calm scene is different in atmosphere from Dickens's own description, although Kit's pose is captured exactly.

> When he did sit down he tucked up his sleeves and squared his elbows and put his face close to the copy-book and squinted horribly at the lines - how from the very first moment of having the pen in his hand, he began to wallow in blots, and to daub himself with ink up to the very roots of his hair […]. How at every fresh mistake, there was a fresh burst of merriment from the child and a louder and not less hearty laugh from poor Kit himself - and how there was all the way through, notwithstanding, a gentle wish on her part to teach, and an anxious desire on his learn.[107]

Martineau shows no 'bursts of merriment' from Nell, here she is an idealised portrayal of young nurturing femininity, the quiet and calm 'angel in the house'. Looking at the apples on the table, painted in detail, it is significant that the one in front of Nell is whole, but Kit has taken a bite out of his. Here the apple carries the associations that it is the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Kit, by becoming literate, has taken a bite and has access to more knowledge and information than ever before. There are other associations here, for the viewers of this painting would have been aware of the death of Little Nell, so that showing her as entirely happy and laughing would perhaps have seemed inappropriate. Nell is dressed in blue, the colour associated with the Virgin Mary, and the whole apple in front of her nudges further towards that connection with the apple of redemption.

[106] Robert Braithwaite Martineau, *Kit's Writing Lesson* (1852).
[107] Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1841) Chapter 3 p.22.

(Figure 15. Robert Braithwaite Martineau, *Kit's Writing Lesson,* 1852, oil on canvas, Tate Gallery.)

As Martineau's painting showed, as Victorian artists moved the apple away from the orchard, the apple still carried the associations with Eve and the disobedience of woman, so that even an apple painted into a scene in a Victorian parlour could carry didactic symbolism, as a narrative painting by Augustus Egg from 1858 demonstrated with particular intensity. (Figure 16.) Egg's untitled triptych has at its centre a view of a fashionably decorated Victorian drawing room, in the home of a middle class family.[108] The door to the street is still open; the long window sheds light to one side. But this is a painting of high action, a moment of utter shock, frozen for the viewer peering in through the door, to come to understand slowly. The woman of the house, the wife and mother, lies prostrate, face down, her arms stretched and her hands clasped in front of her. Her husband has a torn note in his hand and an expression that indicates that although he has not struck her to the floor, he has struggled against the impulse to do so.

[108] Augustus Leopold Egg, *Untitled Triptych*. The work was later described or titled as *Past and Present* or *Misfortune*, but the work remained untitled at Egg's death in 1863. The parlour scene is the central panel of the triptych.

Figure 16. Augustus Leopold Egg, *Untitled Triptych* 1858, Tate Gallery. Central panel shown.

The tension in the spatial relationship between husband and wife is a familiar nineteenth-century pose, that of the penitent, fallen woman at the feet of a man who has the power of the masculine authority, but is choosing not to act violently. Melissa Gregory has analysed the use of this pose, which came from melodrama into 'high' culture, and noted that 'the penitent woman tableau illuminates not only the reciprocal relationship between masculine self-control and feminine intimidation within the Victorian domestic ideal but also the difficulty of representing masculine mastery in a society increasingly sceptical of physical violence as a desirable means of domestic discipline.'[109]If Eve is a symbol of original sin, the original penitent woman was Mary Magdelene, and so the penitent woman tableau, used on the stage in melodrama as a moment of stillness to heighten emotion, was permitted as having a moral weight behind it, even more so as the violence was suppressed, the woman falling into submission through the internal weight of her own guilt, rather than through a blow. The melodramatic staging of the figures in Egg's painting may account for Ruskin's rather pointed interpretation (in an unpublished letter to a friend) that the 'ordinary wife' had been 'seduced by a sham Count with a moustache,' since such 'Counts' were also stock characters in melodramatic entertainments.[110]

[109] Melissa Gregory, 'Melodrama and the Penitent Woman Tableau in Victorian Culture: From Tennyson to Conrad' Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net No. 62 (October 2012) https://ronjournal.org/s/1214 [accessed 13/05/2020].
[110] Annabel Rutherford, 'A Dramatic Reading of Augustus Leopold Egg's Untitled Triptych' *Tate Papers* 7 (Spring 2007) https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/07/a-dramatic-reading-of-augustus-leopold-egg-untitled-triptych [accessed 13/05/2020].

The whole scene has been witnessed by their two little daughters, building a house of cards, which is now tumbling, in the rear left hand quarter of the room. The composition is particularly unsettling, catching the viewer off balance, because of the placement of the figures. Husband and wife are on the extreme right of the room, the daughters opposite and further back in the painting's space. The wife is somewhat foreshortened so that she reaches out to the viewer, although her face is hidden. But at the centre of the composition, where convention should have placed the figures, is a table. On the table are the husband's top hat and an apple which has been cut, or stabbed, with a knife. Half of it has fallen to the floor alongside the woman, its vulnerable core uppermost. The other half remains in the man's area of the composition. At the heart of the apple is a worm, showing that the core of the fruit is rotten. (Figure 18.) Within the painting Egg has included, among other symbolic elements, a representation of Durer's woodcut, *Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise*, just below a portrait of the wife, hung on the back wall. This painting within the painting and the fatally divided apple tell the viewer that they are witness to the immediate consequences of female marital infidelity – the husband has found out the deception, the family will be torn apart, and their whole house of cards has fallen down. The worm-eaten apple with a rotten heart stands in for the original sin, for Eve's disobedience in Eden, and the consequences of her actions, or as Milton had it 'what misery th'inabstinence of Eve shall bring on men.'[111]

Figure 17. Detail from Egg, *Untitled* 1858, showing the two halves of the apple.

In conclusion this chapter has demonstrated that, like the material apple, the apple in painting and art crossed over any class or cultural barriers, being understood and enjoyed by consumers of Academy paintings, illustrations and popular art. The type of orchard represented in these works segued between one closer to the material orchard, albeit of an older, wilder type and the more highly imaginary. However, to judge from the negative

[111] John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (Penguin: London 2003) line 476.

reception of both *The Hireling Shepherd* and *Apple Blossoms* it would appear that critics and viewers were not always eager to appreciate the difference. The orchard that was preferred above all was that found in genre art, which was the orchard that represented England; lost, but also waiting to be rediscovered.

The representations of the apple that may have impacted the reception and uses of the material apple were those which linked the apple to sin and temptation, by fuelling distrust of apple sellers. There is however, little evidence of this, since it would have been quite a subtle link for most apple consumers. However the fruit garden was used as moral bulwark against the negative influences of industrialisation and drink. There is also little evidence of the material apple influencing art, since this chapter has demonstrated that there are possibly no images that celebrated modern apple production, apart from the illustrations in gardening works.

Chapter Five: The Mythical orchard – representation of apples and orchards in the Classical and Romantic movements

Introduction

This chapter investigates the depictions of the apple and the orchard in nineteenth-century cultural movements and influences. It first investigates depictions of the grove, the forest and the apple during the nineteenth-century Classical revival. Of course, the representation of the apple in these movements was not entirely separate from the symbolism of the apple discussed in the previous chapter. Christian iconography, and the Christian symbolism of the apple is the underlying visual language in mythical, Classical scenes. This section will also show how the qualities of Englishness, discussed previously, were depicted in Victorian re-imaginings of Classical tales, and how the English orchard as a Classical grove came to be represented in art and in gardens.

This chapter then moves on to determine the apple's significance within Celtic folklore and the Arthurian myths. These stories were all used by the Victorians to compare and interrogate their own culture. As historian Rosemary Barrow says 'from the beginning of the nineteenth century, myths were understood to have an originary explanatory function as an apparatus through which human experience was rationalised.'[1]There was, therefore, cultural affinity between the non-Christian mythology of the grove and the forest and representations of the nineteenth century orchard, which often pulled those ancient associations into a more contemporary, albeit equally mythic, setting.

Finally this chapter considers the orchard as a landscape within the Romantic Movement, which influenced nineteenth century emotional response to wild landscapes, and the symbolism of nature, including the apple. The nineteenth-century reception of the groves and wooded landscapes shows that settings of forests, woodlands and individual trees were chosen deliberately by Victorian artists, and therefore any depiction of an orchard should be considered against its potential mythic significance.

The orchard as Classical grove

The Classical World's landscape mythology and its reception in nineteenth-century culture might seem too far removed from a study of the cultural representations of the nineteenth century orchard, which, as argued in Chapter Four, was often an expression of the English

[1] Rosemary Barrow, *The Use of Classical Art and Literature by Victorian Painters 1860 – 1912* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press 2006) p.1.

sense of place and landscape history. However an in-depth look at the nature of Classical groves and forests in art and literature is informative. These sacred trees were the cultural rootstock of the Victorian English orchard. Their treatment in art is descriptive of how much the landscape of the Classical world and, as shall be discussed further, other imaginary landscapes, influenced the educated Victorian's imaginative thinking and connections in contemporary culture. It is therefore less surprising to find depictions of apples and orchards that have these associations, than to find ones that have deliberately eschewed them. Just as the grove represents a moment of order within the wild forest, so is the orchard a space that is part cultivated, and part untamed; something between the garden and the forest. A productive orchard, however depicted in art, cannot exist without the intervention of humans to plant and tend the trees, but in nineteenth-century art it still carried all the supernatural, wild forest associations of the forest and the grove.

Therefore, a consideration of how the groves of the Classical World were interpreted into art and received during the nineteenth century is an essential strand of this investigation of the orchard in Victorian culture, because of the connections made by the Victorians between their world and the Classical one. Certain figures from Classical literature became heroes to the Victorian elite, showing in particular the effects of (masculine, manly) progress and civilization, while some myths and events from history were depicted as dire warnings of what may happen if Victorian moral codes were not obeyed. A depiction of an apple or a grove of fruit trees in a Classical setting, therefore, said more about the nineteenth century than it did about Greece or Rome, and was partly intended to do so. Traces of these Classical associations also merged with contemporary artistic depictions of English orchards, and thus Classical groves affected the way in which both material and cultural orchards were regarded, and the importance they were afforded.

During the late-nineteenth century there was an increasing interest in Classical writers and their mythology. The world of the ancient Greeks and Romans was becoming more familiar to the Victorians, as the number and quality of translations of classical works increased, alongside further archaeological discoveries and research about the material artefacts. This led to an increase in scholarly works on the period and heightened intellectual debate on the nature of Greek and Roman society and culture and how it was manifest in the nineteenth century.[2] The importance of the neo-Hellenism movement to Victorian culture has been recently re-evaluated by historians. Among them, Rosemary Barrow noted the

[2] G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1913) Chapter 24.

sophistication of the Victorian construction of the ancient world which made 'clear distinctions between representations of Greece and Rome and [was] capable of a strikingly original, and often deeply ironic, use of themes, motifs and allusions'.[3] This refinement, however, was not always demonstrated in popular culture, where turgid historical novels (*The Last Days of Pompeii*, *Ben Hur*, and *Quo Vadis*), and 'toga plays' (often ironic if not sophisticated) jostled with depictions of Classical scenes in popular and decorative art.[4] The ancient world was often considered as a source, not of high minded inspiration for improvement, but of racy dramas and gauzy costumes. To provide one example from many of the genre, consider William Knight Keeling's oil painting of a particularly flirtatious 'wood nymph' in 1861, which was connected to no particular Classical myth or civilization, and which was a divergence from his usual subjects.[5] (Figure 1.)

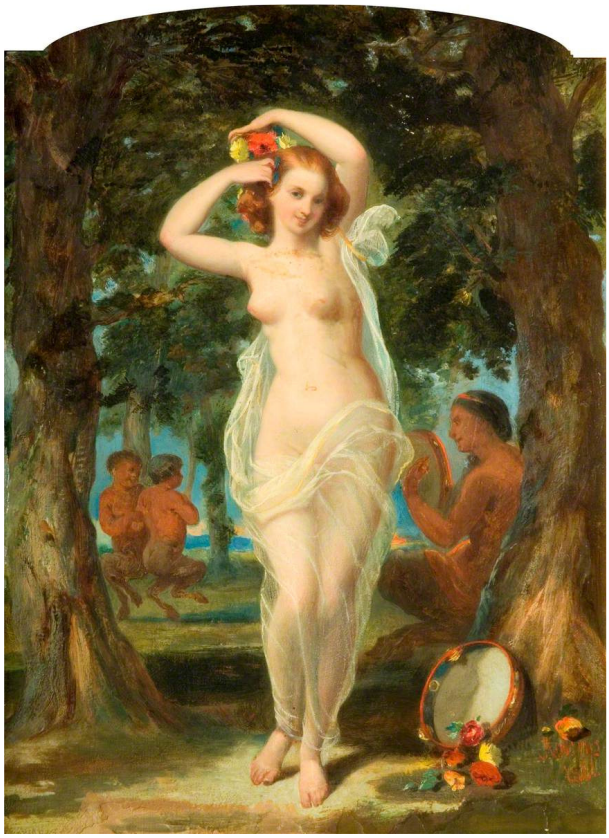
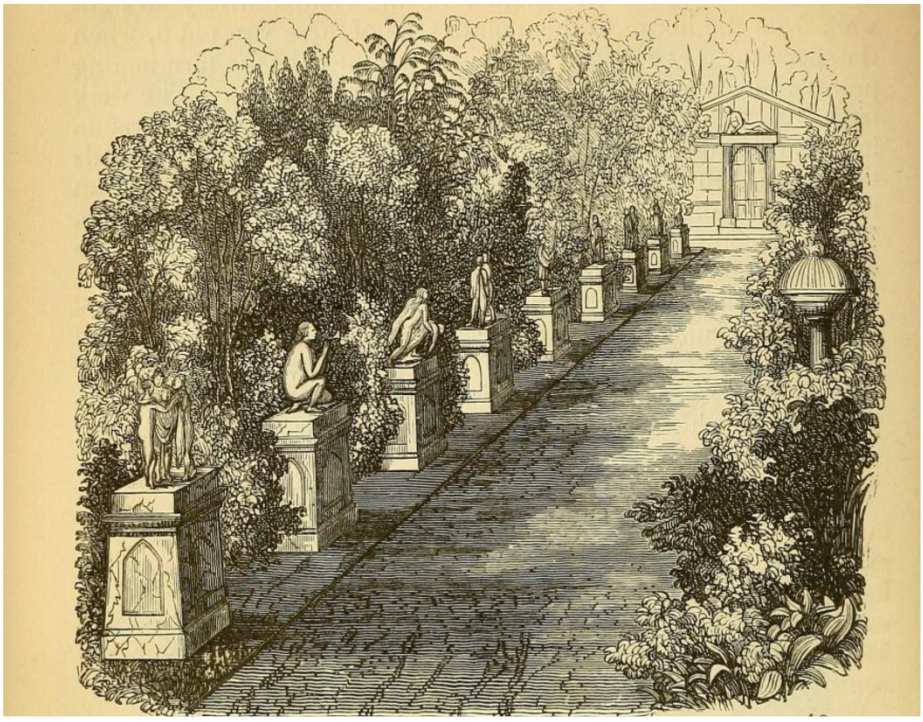


Figure 1. William Knight Keeling, *Wood Nymph,* 1861, oil on canvas, Wolverhampton Art Gallery.

Hellenism also resulted in reproductions of ancient Greek statues, or statues 'in the Greek style' being placed anachronistically in many Victorian gardens, and in the introduction of planted groves, and newly ruined temples, to parks, landscapes and gardens across England. Like any fashion this was often executed with less taste than aspiration. The gardener and writer John Loudon wrote of one fashionable London garden in 1838 'We are

[3] Rosemary Barrow, *The Use of Classical Art and Literature* p.1.
[4] Ibid. pp.21-23.
[5] William Knight Keeling *Wood Nymph* (1861) oil on canvas, Wolverhampton Art Gallery.

aware that there are many persons of a simple and severe taste, who will think that the […] villa is too highly ornamented with statues and sculptures, but allowance must be made for individual taste, for devotion to the subject, and for the limited extent of the space.'[6] (Figure 2.) Where space permitted, the fashionable, newly-constructed temple ruin would be enhanced by a grove of trees.



(Figure 2. Mrs Lawrence's villa garden, showing the statues and faux temple. John Loudon, *Gardeners' Magazine* July 1838)

The nineteenth century understanding therefore, was that a grove of trees was the correct background for Classical temple architecture. This was the landscape represented in art, both 'high' and 'popular'. However, the trees were also sacred in themselves, since groves were places to encounter, through worship or by accident, the other-world of gods, nymphs, fauns, dryads and other mythical beings living within them.

While nineteenth-century understanding of groves relied on textual sources, current scholarship uses more archaeological methods as well to understand the form and function of sacred groves. Jan Woudstra's recent history of groves noted that fruit trees were included in textual references, but that differentiating them is harder, since the Greek words for a sacred

[6] John Loudon, *Gardeners' Magazine* (July 1838) and discussed in David C. Stuart, *The Garden Triumphant* (London: Viking, 1988) p.34. Loudon's illustrations of the statue-lined walk give an indication of how much of the Classical World could be crammed into a large suburban garden. Further information at https://thegardenstrust.blog/2015/09/05/mr-loudon-a-second-rate-suburban-villa/ [accessed 01/06/2020].

grove could also mean garden.[7] The Latin texts, on the whole, use *nemus* for a grove that is created or manipulated by man (and this type is more likely to include fruit trees), and *lucus* for a grove in its natural state within the landscape. Using the few references in Classical texts, and images on coins and vases, Patrick Bowe has produced a composite picture of such a grove, which he described as a space made mainly of trees but with some man-made elements such as a statue or a pool. He noted that early writers such as Homer, Aristophanes and Plato 'tended to refer to sacred groves in poetical, dramatic or philosophical contexts' whereas later writers appeared to be speaking about real groves 'giving relevant details about their location and significant features.'[8] Sappho's fragments of poetry mentioned a grove, uniquely composed of apple trees and roses, so resembling, as Victorian translator and commentator H. T. Wharton described it 'a garden of the nymphs.'[9] Yew, elm and poplar are also named in other Classical texts as grove trees, poplars in particular, since they grow straight up, elegant and distinctive within a wood. They also like proximity to water, which is another important element in a Classical sacred space. The promulgation of romantic myths about the origins of these trees, for example that poplars were weeping nymphs, transformed, helped to increase their popularity to the Victorian readers and gardeners, while the trees were familiar species in the English landscape, which made them particularly popular with painters. To include apple trees in the background of paintings depicting Classical themes was not, therefore, incongruous to a Victorian artist or their public. The interest in Classical groves also provided paintings of English orchard scenes with an extra importance, an allusion for the educated middle classes to savour.

Classical themes also became part of Victorian literature, and in some form the stories of the Ancient World reached the majority of literate households. Many Greek and Roman myths were re-written in a form suitable for the Victorian schoolroom and parlour, reaching an ever wider readership. However abridged or censored these versions may have been, they were retold with the intention of improving, as well as entertaining, their readers and reciters. This desire to educate was shown by writers as disparate as William Morris and Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay. Morris used Greco-Roman myths as one strand within his long poem *The Earthly Paradise*, to knit together an alternative, improved mythology for England.[10]

---

[7] Maureen Carroll, 'The Sacred Places of the Immortal Ones' in *A History of Groves* ed. by Jan Woudstra and Colin Roth (London: Routledge 2017) p.3.
[8] Patrick Bowe, 'The Sacred Groves of Ancient Greece', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 29:4 (2009) pp.235-245.
[9] H. T. Wharton, *Sappho* (London: John Lane Company, 1887) p.74.
[10] Florence S Boos, introduction http://morrisedition.lib.uiowa.edu/Poetry/EarthlyParadise/epintro.html [accessed 26/05/2020]. William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise* (London: Longman, Green, 1890).

Lord Macaulay used the tales of Roman heroes to point out the moral decline that he saw around him. Both authors therefore composed verses in a style suited to recital, and both became popular for middle class domestic reading aloud.[11]

Lord Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, first published in 1842, rapidly became a best selling work of poetry, republished and performed endlessly, with, as Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote, the 'clear, metallic note' of the stirring couplets making the stanzas easily memorised.[12] The poems, or songs, (lays) tell of the greatest moments of Roman history and its heroes. They emphasise the values and virtues Macaulay deemed essential to a Victorian man, and show how Rome was brought down because these virtues were cast aside. The subtext is very clear - how these excellent Roman qualities are rarely to be found in Macaulay's own time:

XXXII

Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the state;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great:
Then lands were fairly portioned;
Then spoils were fairly sold:
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old.

XXXIII

Now Roman is to Roman
More hateful than a foe,
And the Tribunes beard the high,
And the Fathers grind the low.
As we wax hot in faction,
In battle we wax cold:
Wherefore men fight not as they fought
In the brave days of old.[13]

It is obvious that Macaulay has Britain (or at least England) in mind in his every description of the fate of Rome, and the popularity of his vision persisted for a few decades, until Thomas H. Ward, somewhat reluctantly including Macaulay in his five volume collection, *The English Poets*, noted 'great as is still the popularity of the *Lays* with the mass

[11] Thomas Babbington Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome* ed. by William J. Rolfe, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888).
[12] Letter quoted in Thomas Humphry Ward, *The English Poets: Selections with Critical Introductions* Vol. IV(London: Macmillan and Co., 1880) p.540.
[13] Macaulay, 'Horatius' *Lays of Ancient Rome* pp.48-49.

of those who read poetry, the higher critical authorities [he meant in particular Matthew Arnold] have pronounced against them, and are even teaching us to wonder whether they can be called poetry at all.'[14] However, the *Lays* had found its way into the classroom, where 'numerous teaching editions aimed at adolescent males were published', leading to further critical denigration and denial, but an increased, somewhat less elite, readership.[10]

Despite his lack of critical acclaim, Macaulay was one of the primary disseminators of the myths and style of thought that linked the Classical to the Victorian. He is also, therefore, surprisingly relevant when considering the nineteenth century's particular concept of a grove, not least because Frazer's *'The Golden Bough'* (1890), begins with an interesting quote from Macaulay's *Lays*, one which serves to demonstrate both Frazer's initial image and Macaulay's own deep historical expertise:

From where the Witch's Fortress
O'er hangs the dark-blue seas;
From the still glassy lake that sleeps
Beneath Aricia's trees—
Those trees in whose dim shadow
The ghastly priest doth reign,
The priest who slew the slayer,
And shall himself be slain.[15]

Written by the anthropologist Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*; *a study in comparative religions*, is a product of the mid to late-Victorian interest in esoteric philosophy.[16] It was recognised on publication as an important work of scholarship, developing a wide popular readership, and a considerable amount of disapproval, because of the inclusion of Christianity in parallel with other religions. Classicist Mary Beard acknowledged 'the extraordinary authority of *The Golden Bough* in popular imagination during its author's lifetime' but maintained that Frazer, although still in print today, was rarely read in detail.[17] However his influence on late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century art can be traced in the enthusiasms for the art and ritual of other cultures, and in the growing

[14] Thomas Ward, *The English Poets* p.540.
[15] Macaulay, 'The Battle of the Lake Regillus' *Lays of Ancient Rome* p.67.
[16] Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* first published in two volumes in 1890 (London: Macmillan, 1890) and expanded to twelve volumes by 1905.
[17] Mary Beard, 'Frazer, Leach and Virgil: the popularity (and unpopularity) of the *Golden Bough*' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34:2 April 1992 p.213. Robert Fraser's introduction to the Oxford World Classics edn begins by stating 'Few [books] have been perused so perfunctorily, or been so blithely misunderstood.' James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* ed. by Robert Fraser (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009) p.ix.

academic importance of anthropology at the turn of the twentieth century.

Frazer's work traced the congruities in religions, beginning with an obscure, local rite in Italy just before the foundation of the Roman Empire. Frazer opened with a startling image of the priest inhabiting the grove of Aricia, sacred to Diana, near the lake and town of Nemi. That priest is always waiting for the man who will challenge him by breaking off a branch of the most sacred tree within the grove. The challenger will then try to kill the incumbent priest, and thus become priest in his turn.

> In the sacred grove there grew a certain tree round which at any time of the day, and probably far into the night, a grim figure might be seen to prowl. In his hand he carried a drawn sword, and he kept peering warily about him as if at every instant he expected to be set upon by an enemy. He was a priest and a murderer; and the man for whom he looked was sooner or later to murder him and hold the priesthood in his stead. Such was the rule of the sanctuary.[18]

This ritual, only mentioned in one minor Latin text, gave Frazer the starting point, as well as the title, for his whole thesis. The tree of Nemi is supposedly the same from which Aeneas broke the 'golden bough' to keep him safe during his journey through the land of the dead. Aeneas found himself lost within a dark forest, but was directed to the tree by two doves, sent to aid him. He was able to pluck or break off a bough without difficulty, proving his heroic status and the success of his journey, although there is an implication in Virgil's stanza that the tree itself was animate enough to resist.[19] Another influence on Frazer's choice of starting point was Turner's painting of the Sybil receiving the golden bough from Aeneas, exhibited in 1834. (Figure 3.) Frazer's opening sentence asked his readers 'Who does not know Turner's painting?'[20] An engraving of the painting was used as a frontispiece to the first edition, on Frazer's specific instructions.

[18] James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* ed. by Robert Fraser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.11. It should be noted that significant differences of tone exist between the first edition and the final, twelve volume edition. Nevertheless the importance of the sacred grove itself is retained. See Mary Beard 'Frazer, Leach and Virgil' for details.
[19] George Segal, 'The Hesitation of the Golden Bough; A Re-examination' *Hermes* 96 1968 pp.74-79 p.79.
[20] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (2009) p.9.

(Figure 3. Frontispiece to first edn. of *The Golden Bough*, (1890) engraving from the painting of Turner. The Sybil stands to the left, holding the bough aloft.)

Virgil described the bough as shining, golden in the tree 'like mistletoe', (which is not to say necessarily that it was mistletoe) but it was from the description of mistletoe that Frazer drew his title and also the illustration for the cover. The all-important tree which hosted the golden bough is described as 'arbora opaca' a shady tree, and also as an ilex, which has been taken to mean the *quercus ilex* or holm oak, which is an evergreen tree with dark leaves, out of which the golden bough would have shone.[21] However, if a Victorian gardener attempted to replicate Virgil's forest in a villa garden an apple tree would have been a suitable replacement. Apple trees also make good hosts for mistletoe. Furthermore, Frazer describes Diana's annual festival (which Frazer dates as 13 August), which, he says 'was celebrated all over Italy […] Wine was brought forth and the feast consisted of a kid, cakes served piping hot on plates of leaves, and apples still hanging in clusters on the boughs.[22]

Wine, cakes and apples, consumed as a celebratory feast around the other symbol of Diana, the perpetual fire, appears startlingly reminiscent of the wassailing tradition, which

[21] For the relevant verse, and discussion of the species described, see C. M. C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp.159 – 166.
[22] Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (2009) p.14.

will be detailed in the following, final chapter of this thesis, but as yet no evidence has been found linking the two celebrations.

Frazer's great work of anthropology in *The Golden Bough* was to work outwards from this scene of the murderous priest at Nemi to consider the role of the King of the Wood and other sacrificial kings, documenting parallels between earlier and other world religions and Christianity. However, Frazer said to his publisher, 'I make no reference to this parallelism, leaving my readers to draw their own conclusions, one way or the other.'[23] Frazer's text, however, allows space for the reader to acknowledge those similarities between religions and the implications that has for Christian beliefs, a dangerous challenge which begins, if not with an apple, then certainly with a tree.

Frazer's description of the grove of Nemi is of an open space formed within a cluster of a few trees standing alone on a hillside, therefore more like the naturally formed *lucus* described above, although early twentieth-century excavations showed that the site had a substantial temple complex, so the grove would probably have been a cultivated *nemus*. To reach Nemi, the would-be priest had to travel through the forested or wooded hillside, and throughout the Classical and other myths groves, whether natural or formal, retain the potential dangers of the larger forest within them, which is partly why a grove is the natural habitat for murderous religious rites, and for meetings with deities and supernatural appearances.

To the Ancient Romans the forest itself, an area thick with mature but uncultivated trees, was an entity with some degree of sentience, carrying the possibilities of harm and transformation. Trees, ancient and full grown, massed in a dark forest, become something more than vegetation or light and shade, as Seneca acknowledged.

> When you enter a grove peopled with ancient trees, higher than the ordinary, and shutting out the sky with their thickly inter-twined branches, do not the stately shadows of the wood, the stillness of the place, and the awful gloom of this doomed cavern then strike you with the presence of a deity?[24]

Later authors inspired by these Roman texts also gave to forest trees a symbolism and a cultural weight that allows 'the forest' to become an entity in the action, as a single character with its own agency and role in the story. One writer who became particularly popular in

[23] Ibid. p.xx.
[24] Seneca, *The Epistles of Seneca* No. XLI trans. Thomas Morrell, (London: Woodfall and J. Robinson 1786) p.142. Google Books scan [accessed 23/12/2020].

many translations and adaptations during the nineteenth century was Dante, who began his tale with a memory of being lost in a dark forest.

> Midway upon the journey of our life
> I found myself within a forest dark,
> For the straightforward pathway had been lost.
>
> Ah me! How hard a thing it is to say
> What was this forest savage, rough, and stern,
> Which in the very thought renews the fear.[25]

So begins Longfellow's critically acclaimed 1867 translation of Dante's *Inferno*, where Dante recounts how he is led into, and through, the underworld by the wise spirit of Virgil. The forest in the opening lines is a sophisticated metaphor for all things unknown, dangerous, capable of leading a man away from the straightforward pathway. These opening lines also echo the trial of Virgil's hero, Aeneas, himself lost within a forest looking for the light from the tree of the golden bough.

To the ancient Greeks, as received by the Victorians, the forested hillsides and their groves beyond the city were also places of danger, where the rules of civilisation had been overturned, and where decency regressed. This representation of the forest was epitomised by Euripedes's play, *The Bacchae*, which was widely studied during the nineteenth century. In this play the women, the Bacchae, ran wild in the forest under the influence of the god Dionysus or Bacchus. Their actions are described within the play by a herdsman in this translation from 1850:

> [the Bacchae] with unarmed hands, sprang on the heifers browsing the grass. and you might see one rending asunder a fatted lowing calf, while others tore apart cows. You might see ribs or cloven hooves tossed here and there; caught in the trees they dripped, dabbled in gore. Bulls who before were fierce, and showed their fury with their horns, stumbled to the ground, dragged down by countless young hands. The garment of flesh was torn apart faster than you could blink your royal eyes.[26]

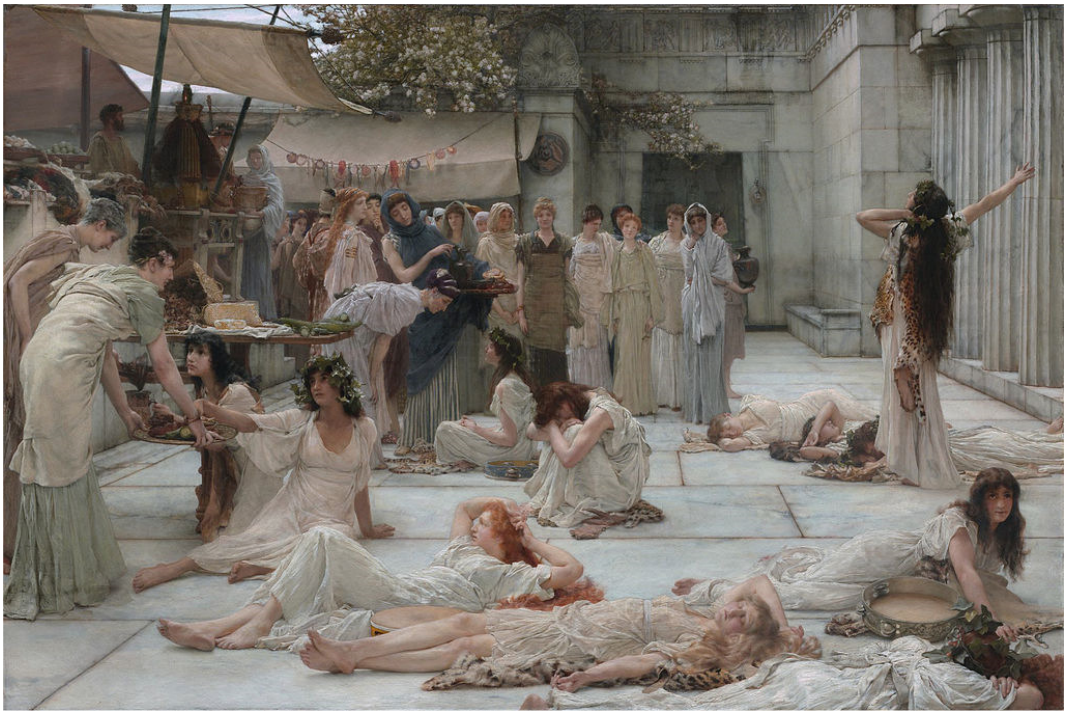
It should also be remembered that in the society of Euripedes meat was seen as the proper food for men, in particular warriors, and not to be eaten by women who were societally encouraged to eat a largely vegetarian diet. The women therefore are transgressing in every

[25] Dante, *Inferno*, trans. H. W. Longfellow (1867), ed. by Pearl (repr. London: Matthew Modern Library Classics, 2003).
[26] *Bacchae*, in *The Tragedies of Euripides*, trans. T. A. Buckley. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850).

way possible. Barrow saw the late-Victorian interest in painting such Dionysian scenes as suggestive of 'the emotionalism and irrationality evocative of the new-found interest in mythic origins and cultic practice' and a cultural remove from clean, pure Hellenism of the earlier Victorian era.[27] This is a compelling argument, although Dionysian scenes were not an interest exclusive to the late nineteenth century; artists from Caravaggio to Rubens had painted the Bacchae and Dionysian excess. Victorian interpretations of the Bacchae often place the women in a landscape that is gendered as male, as wild, untameable and strong. The women therefore behave in ways that are not in keeping with what is 'proper' to their sex. They have been changed by the supernatural influence of Bacchus who represents desire, the effects of wine but also the landscape itself. Bacchus first appears to them as a rural worker at one with the wild and farmed landscape.

There is an obvious erotic appeal in artistic depictions of the Bacchae, representing them as women out of control, and often demonstrating their lack of restraint by being only partially dressed. Victorian artists, however, also used the dangers inherent in following Dionysus through the uncivilised, uncultivated forested hillside to represent a moral lesson, particularly concerning the perceived natural tendency of women to stray, or to become 'fallen' women. Lawrence Alma Tadema painted particularly decorous scenes of Bacchic ritual, where the women are clothed and not apparently dangerous.[28] However, he later painted *The Women of Amphissa* (1887) (Figure 4.) which depicts the moment when the Bacchae are no longer in the grip of Dionysus, and wake in the market square of their enemies wondering what has happened.[29] The women of Amphissa clothed, cleaned and cared for them, despite being at war with the Bacchae's home city of Phocis. Alma Tadema appears to have been making the not too subtle connection between that act and charity towards contemporary 'fallen women', against whom there was a moral war.

[27] Barrow, p.149.
[28] Lawrence Alma Tadema, *A Vintage Festival* (1877) oil on canvas, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.
[29] Lawrence Alma Tadema, *The Women of Amphissa* (1887) oil on canvas, private collection.



(Figure 4. Lawrence Alma Tadema, *The Women of Amphissa,* 1887, oil on canvas, private collection.)

Representations of groves and the wider forests, therefore, carried symbolism from the Classical World and pre-Christian imagery, but conflated with Christian and nineteenth-century virtues, whether the grove was represented as deep within a natural forest or as a tamer mass of fruit trees in the background of a Pre-Raphaelite frieze. This symbolism was altered in ways specific to the Victorian cultural aspirations, to draw parallels and contrasts with the admired Classical world. Of course, many other plants were plucked from Classical gardens and put into Victorian paintings (and indeed vice versa), but the apple tree itself was widely included in Classical-themed landscapes, and rarely, if ever, was it there to stand just for itself. The tree and its fruit are reminders of particular ways of behaviour, especially for women. Women were to be educated and improved by these examples in art, while men were to be judged against the Classical heroes and the Christian story at one and the same time. The apple tree was a consistent symbol drawing both worlds together, holding the imagery within the stability of the orchard.

As has been discussed in Chapter Four, the apple loses none of its symbolism when it is plucked from the tree. Where an apple explicitly appears within a nineteenth century representation of a Classical scene, the environment becomes more feminised, and it is usually a scene in which a goddess will appear. Throughout nineteenth-century art,

goddesses, in particular Venus and female characters from Classical myths, are represented with apples, but often the representation is less sacred than erotic. The apple in Classical myths is used to tempt a woman or to provoke action, and there is usually a moral for nineteenth-century viewers to decode.

However, although apples are described in nineteenth-century translations of myths such as Atlanta being tempted into stopping to pick up a golden apple as she races, or the maidens guarding the golden apples of the Hesperides, it should be noted that various words for 'golden fruit' or 'round fruit' in the Greek were leniently translated. As the nineteenth-century Classical scholar and translator Foster stated, 'The word apple I have ventured to use throughout as a convenient translation […] which may mean almost any sort of tree fruit, except the nut.'[30] Dr Hogg, in the text of the *Herefordshire Pomona*, also explained that the word for apple is also the word for sheep, and that therefore the same word could represent golden fleece, or even fleecy clouds, something far removed from an apple and its attendant symbolism.[31] Hogg used the example of youths unable to make a sacrifice of sheep to Hercules, sacrificing an apple with twigs for legs instead, which then became the custom.

The apple, therefore is a useful symbol for any mythical fruit, but it is likely that it was chosen over others that could have been used (peaches or oranges) because of its familiarity to the European consumers of the artwork. Also affecting its use, however, was the association between Eve and the apple; it must be remembered that to the Victorian artists and the consumers of Classical scenes, a woman with an apple on some level symbolised if not Eve herself, then the Christian allegory around the Biblical story, even when the work of art had a title or a setting that alluded to a Classical myth.

The Christian symbolism of the apple, discussed in the previous chapter, shows through in Classical – themed paintings like an under painting, or the first wash of colour on the canvas. Consider various depictions of the Grecian 'apple of discord' which played its part in starting the Trojan War. Turner exhibited *The Goddess of Discord choosing the Apple of Contention in the Garden of the Hesperides* in 1806.[32] (Figure 5.) Ruskin, champion of Turner's methods, drew attention to the way in which it deviated from more formulaic compositions, although in his later assessment he commented that he was not entirely happy

[30] Foster, Benjamin Oliver 'Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 10 (Harvard University Press1889) p.40.
[31] Hogg, *Herefordshire Pomona* p.2.
[32] Joseph Turner, *The Goddess of Discord choosing the Apple of Contention in the Garden of the Hesperides* exhibited1806, oil on canvas, Tate Gallery.

about the result, in particular the lack of cultivation of the 'garden' and its fruit trees, which were more suggestive of a wild grove:

> Indeed, unless we were expressly assured of the fact, I question whether we should have found out that these were gardens at all, as they have the appearance rather of wild mountain ground, broken and rocky; with a pool of gloomy water; some heavy groups of trees, of the species grown on Clapham Common; and some bushes bearing very unripe and pale pippins approaching in no wise the beauty of a Devonshire or Normandy orchard, much less that of an orange grove, and, least of all, of such fruit as goddesses would be likely to quarrel for.[33]

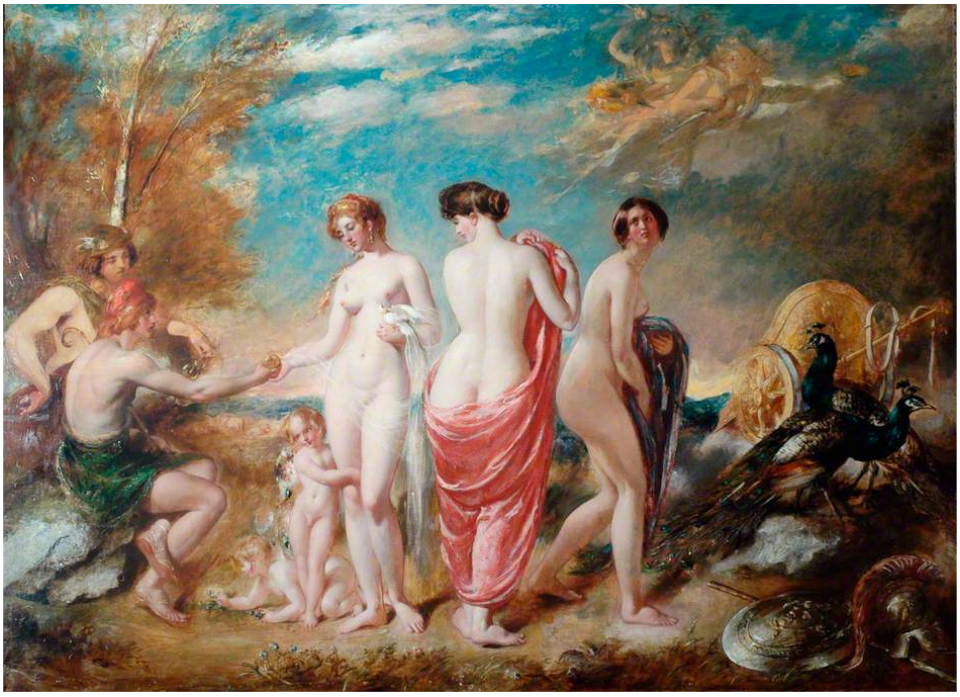
(Figure 5. Detail from Turner, *The Goddess of Discord*, 1806 showing the apples.)

Ruskin had earlier called this painting Turner's first 'religious' painting. Ruskin's allegorical interpretation, that the ruined garden and its sleeping dragon guard stand for the spiritual health of England, may not have been shared by other reviewers at the time, but it ties in once more the depiction of a scene with apples and an apple tree with ideas about England, its physical and mental landscapes.[28] However, most striking in the painting are the similarities with depictions of the Garden of Eden, which can also be seen in other paintings of the Hesperides, where the dragon is much more like a serpent.[34]

The part of the myth of the apple of discord most frequently depicted is the 'judgement of Paris', where Paris, a mortal prince, is forced to choose between three goddesses, giving a golden apple inscribed 'to the fairest' to Aphrodite, who promises him,

[33] John Ruskin, *Notes on the Turner Gallery at Marlborough House1856-57* (London: Smith, Elder & Co.,1857) pp.20-21.
[34] Joan Larsen Klein, 'From Errour to Acrasia' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* Vol. 41. No. 3 (1978) discusses representations of the serpent as an embodiment variously of Satan, sirens, sin and lust173 – 199 pp.175 – 176.

not her own charms, but the hand of the most beautiful mortal woman on Earth, Helen of Troy. Painters including the popular Victorian Academicians William Etty and Solomon J. Solomon were inspired by this moment, their paintings in turn drawing on earlier works by Reubens and Cranach, among others. In this scene, whichever artist has attempted it, all three goddesses are depicted as beautiful according to the tastes of the period, Aphrodite is usually naked, and the viewer, taking the role and viewpoint of Paris, is therefore entitled to gaze upon them. Etty is supposed to have described the nude woman as 'God's most glorious work'; his painting with 'large masses of flesh colour and many naked forms' was considered a success when exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1826, and he painted a smaller version in a less heroic style twenty years later.[35] (Figure 6.) However Solomon's work of 1891, (Figure 7.) exhibited long after the peak of the Classic revival, was dismissed by the *Illustrated London News* as 'three ladies in an orchard with a background of apple-blossoms' which perhaps also shows that the female nude was losing its power to shock.[36] The apple of discord itself, having set the war between the goddesses in motion, is often absent from the painting, or discarded on the grass , as in Solomon's painting, but Cezanne shows it being passed between the goddesses, and in Etty's painting it is still in Paris's hand.



[35] Quote from Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Etty R.A* (1855). The biography is extremely flattering, and the exact quote does not appear in Etty's autobiography: ('Autobiography of William Etty R.A.', *The Art Journal*, (February, 1849), pp. 13, 37–40.) where he says that in painting the female form 'in its exquisite rotundity' he has always had an innocent, moral purpose (p.40). A more balanced bibliography is Leonard Robinson, *William Etty: The Life and Art* (London: McFarland, 2007).
[36] *Illustrated London News* review (Saturday 22 May 1891).

(Figure 6. William Thomas Etty, *The Choice of Paris,* 1846, watercolour, Scarborough Museums and Gallery.)

Figure 7. Solomon J. Solomon, *The Judgement of Paris,* 1891, oil on canvas, private collection.

Allusions to the 'apple of discord' in Victorian newspaper reports about any kind of argument demonstrate that the phrase, at least, was well known across the literate classes, and the myth itself was included in a syndicated regional newspaper column about the history of the apple, aimed at gardeners.[37] The theme was well enough known to end up as an extremely sentimentalised genre work, for example Elizabeth Jane Gardner Bouguerau's painting from 1893 with contemporary, rustic children replacing the mythical figures.[38] (Figure 8.)

[37] A search through the British Newspaper Archives for 'apple of discord' reveals over 1000 uses of the phrase in the London papers alone between 1810 – 1890. For example the report of a Gravesend Council meeting records the Mayor refusing an amendment since 'You only want to throw the apple of discord amongst us again.' (*West Kent Guardian* Saturday 9 May 1840). *The Farmer's Gazette* (Saturday 24 January1846) contains a column by Jacob Thompson Dunne describing the myths attached to the apple, presumably thinking them of just as much interest to his readers as a practical fruit growing subject might have been.
[38] Elizabeth Jane Gardner Bouguerau, *Paris* 1893 oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 8. Elizabeth Jane Gardner Bouguerau, *Paris,* 1893, oil on canvas, private collection.

Two Roman deities in particular were associated with apples, Venus and Pomona. Venus, the Roman equivalent of Aphrodite, was often pictured holding a golden apple, which would have reminded the educated nineteenth-century viewer of the apple of discord, of the dangers inherent in accepting an apple from a woman (Eve) and of the shape of Venus's breasts. Pomona, the Roman goddess of the harvest and of fruits, was a more chaste nymph. Her story was told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, another work studied as part of a Victorian Classical education. Pomona loved to grow fruits and fruit trees, but as she was a very beautiful maiden she became increasingly bothered by the attentions of various gods and satyrs. So much so, that she shut herself up inside a walled orchard, and refused all advances. A young man (or, in some versions, an Etruscan god) called Vertumnus loved Pomona, and he worked in her orchard in disguise but she always ran away from him. Finally, disguised as an old woman, he told Pomona a tale designed to reveal Vertumnus' good qualities, and Pomona fell in love with Vertumnus when he revealed his true identity. Paintings of Vertumnus disguised as a crone, old age set against the youthful and semi clad Pomona, can be found from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, painted by Ruebens, among others. However, despite the literary interest in Ovid, as nineteenth-century painting moved away from the baroque style and towards a more realistic, yet romantic style, representations of Pomona as a goddess seems to have fallen from artistic favour by the end of the nineteenth century. Her youth and sensuality were alluded by Rossetti in a painting of 1864, *Monna*

Pomona.[39] (Figure 9.) Here, one of Rossetti's 'stunners' is portrayed deep in thought, caressing a small apple in her right hand. This is a study of feminine sensuality, not a portrait of the curvaceous and maidenly goddess in her orchard. Nevertheless, the apple is there, and the title of the work means more than 'Lady with an apple'. This is Pomona after her yielding to Vertumnus. It should also be noticed that a similar figure study of 1859 *Bocca baciata* ('the kissed mouth') has an apple as a prominent detail, resting beside the young woman. This apple is fresh, large and brightly coloured, a representation of youth and purity, as well as temptation.

Figure 9. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Monna Pomona,* 1864, oil on board, Tate Gallery.

The last major representations of Pomona in British art were both exhibited in 1882. Burne-Jones designed a tapestry for William Morris and Company, showing Pomona as the representation of Autumn and the harvest. She is alone, with windfall fruits gathered into her skirts, and although she is beautiful she lacks the playfulness and fecundity of many earlier representations. Morris's poem to accompany the tapestry also has a mournful tone:

I am the ancient Apple-Queen,
As once I was so am I now.
For evermore a hope unseen,
Betwixt the blossom and the bough.

Ah, where's the river's hidden Gold!
And where the windy grave of Troy?

[39] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Monna Pomona*, 1864, oil on board, Tate Gallery.

Yet come I as I came of old,
From out the heart of Summer's joy.[40]

Millais exhibited a painting titled *Pomona* in 1882, but his representation was far away from the protective goddess of a Classical walled orchard.[41] (Figure 10.) For Millais, Pomona became a sentimentalised figure, representing the romantic side of the English landscape. As *The Morning Post* noted with approval:

> The subject of this beautiful picture is not a Roman goddess surrounded by the fruits over which mythology gives her domain, but is simply a pretty little English child, apple gathering in an orchard, on whom this name has, with a happy fancy, been bestowed. […] "New Eves in all her daughters came" [Thomas Moore 'the loves of the Angels'] and this tiny damsel is certainly not the least bewitching of the race. […] Harmonising admirably with the bright graceful little figure and acting to it as a foil in a manner which assists the realism and force of the picture are the rich hues of the grass and the fruit-laden trees in the orchard back-ground. It is not too much to say that there is no artist, British or foreign, who could excel this masterly representation, at once vigorous and delicate, of a pretty little blue-eyed girl.[42]

Figure 10. John Everett Millais, *Pomona,* 1882, oil on canvas, National Gallery London.

[40] William Morris, 'Pomona' *Poems By the Way* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.,1896) poem 35.6.
[41] Everett Millias, *Pomona* (1882).
[42] *Morning Post*, Monday 13 November 1882.

Pomona the Classical goddess was transformed into a 'pretty little English child' making apparent again the national affection for apples, and children, and the identification between the fruit and the unspoilt, virginal, English countryside. Even this 'Pomona' in her orchard is significant because of her links to the other female figures associated with apples, Eve and the Virgin Mary. Not just because she is surrounded by fruit, but because Pomona also lived, walked and worked within a garden. Her garden is enclosed, like the 'hortus conclusus' in which the Virgin could be found. The enclosure in both cases is a symbol of virginity and spiritual purity.

The Romantic orchard

Enclosures and increasing industrialisation and agricultural mechanisation during the nineteenth century caused the material landscape of England to be visibly, irrevocably, changed. A large sector of the population was moving into a more urban environment that, of necessity, disassociated them from the rural landscape and its recently familiar traditions. Ruskin, champion of the Romantic Movement and of the mythical Merry England, was saddened that the English landscape, as represented in art, had lost its connection to the sacred;

> Whereas the mediæval never painted a cloud, but with the purpose of placing an angel in it; and a Greek never entered a wood without expecting to meet a god in it; we should think the appearance of an angel in the cloud wholly unnatural, and should be seriously surprised by meeting a god anywhere. Our chief ideas about the wood are connected with poaching.[43]

The Romantic Movement was, in part, an expression of the need to find the god in the grove again. However, natural forests of mature trees in Britain were confined to relatively small areas, much of the countryside having been deforested during the enclosure process and as a result of the first wave of industrialisation.[44] The scarcity of wild woods added to the romance of what was left; unlike Europe, where the forest was still very much in evidence from the cities, the forest in Britain had retreated to the most physically inaccessible

[43] Ruskin, John, *Modern Painters Vol. III* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1857) p.274

[44] It should be noted that for centuries 'forest' carried a strict definition as a place where certain rules apply as to the status of the game birds, animals and other resources within it, and therefore it can contain woodland, fields and even small settlements, rather than being a wild area thick with trees. See Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)

landscapes, and to the mythical past. Under these circumstances getting any sense of the mystery and sacredness of an ancient grove would be a challenge to the poetic imagination. Wilder stretches of landscape, forests and woodland were places where Romantics felt this to be possible; it was during this period that writers began to comment particularly on the emotional resonance and power of an old tree, or of a wild wooded landscape.[45]

Queen Victoria's enjoyment of the Scottish Highlands made such wild places fashionable, even over-emphasising the wild nature of the landscape. Many artistic representations of the Highlands excluded depictions of those who lived and laboured there, and romanticised only the 'noble and rugged scenery.' The Queen's estate of Balmoral was seen to be the epitome of this romantic, wild location, as this gushing newspaper column from 1848 described.

> The forest of Balmoral, which is about 54 miles from Aberdeen, affords a rare combination of mountain, wood, field, and flood. The deer-forest extends to the summit of the far-famed poetical Loch N-Na-gar [sic]. The mosses of this district abound with grouse, and the beautiful mountain itself is the resort of abundance of ptarmigan and the white hare. The whole forest includes an area of from 15 to 20 miles. The castle, which has been recently built, is most felicitously situated on a rich platform, on a winding of the river Dee, possessing in its immediate neighbourhood a most charming contrast to the noble and rugged scenery with which the forest abounds.[46]

Concepts of the forest as place of wonder formed part of the cultural bedrock for the educated and increasingly well-travelled Victorians who were now looking at wilderness and un-farmed nature with fresh eyes, contrasting it more favourably with the urban environment which they judged to be a moral wasteland, far more desolate and dangerous than any natural one. Victorian artists used the images of the retreat to the forest in writing and in art to explore the connected ideas of a refuge, a symbol of the past, the one place in the country where perhaps 'merry England' could still be encountered, and the concept of 'otherness', where the forest became, literally and figuratively, an actual refuge for various bands of people who consciously put themselves outside the Victorian societal norms.

In the mid-Victorian period the novels of Sir Walter Scott, set in an idealised, feudal

[45] For example William Wordsworth, 'Lines Written in Early Spring', (1798) where the poet hears 'the thousand blended notes' of the forest, while reclining in a grove.
[46] Her Majesty's Visit to Balmoral', *Standar*, 5 September 1848, quoted in Sophie Cooper, ''Outlander' and the Victorian Resurgence of Highland Romanticism', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online* 20 July 2015. [accessed 01/05/2020]

past, and in an idealised wild countryside, were best sellers, said to have inspired the Queen's love of Scottish scenery and history. Mandler notes that Scott's popularity was more popular than elite, and that imitations of his style 'infested the widest-circulating magazines, prints and novels of the day.'[47] In Scott's work the forest became a refuge for the good man, the 'gallant outlaw.' His novel, *Ivanhoe*, which tells a tale full of chivalry and passion, is set in the time of Richard the Lionheart, using the enmity between Saxons and Normans for dramatic tension at the centre of the novel's plot. The opening passage sets the scene and recounts the activities that have taken place through the centuries in the idealised, mythic forest.

> In that pleasant district of merry England which is watered by the river Don, there extended in ancient times a large forest, covering the greater part of the beautiful hills and valleys which lie between Sheffield and the pleasant town of Doncaster. The remains of this extensive wood are still to be seen at the noble seats of Wentworth, of Warncliffe Park, and around Rotherham. Here haunted of yore the fabulous Dragon of Wantley; here were fought many of the most desperate battles during the Civil Wars of the Roses; and here also flourished in ancient times those bands of gallant outlaws, whose deeds have been rendered so popular in English song.[48]

William Wordsworth also used the image of the forest that had been lost to explore the themes of mortality, and the sweeping away of history and folkloric heritage. With his poem 'Suggested by a View from an Eminence in Inglewood Forest' he wrote in the introductory note that 'the extensive forest of Inglewood has been enclosed within my memory', drawing attention to the changes that his readers would also have witnessed in their landscape.[49] The poem itself continues this thought:

> The forest huge of ancient Caledon
> Is but a name, no more is Inglewood
> That swept from hill to hill, from flood to flood:
> On her last thorn the nightly moon has shone;
> Yet still, though unappropriate Wild be none,
> Fair parks spread where Adam Bell might deign

[47] Peter Mandler, 'Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850–1940' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 7 (1997) p.159.
[48] Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe: A Romance* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835) p.1.
[49] William Wordsworth, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth Volume VII* (Frankfurt: Outlook, 2008) p.297.

> With Clym o' the Clough, were they alive again
> To kill for merry feast their venison.[50]

Adam Bell and Clym o' the Clough were fictional outlaws who were supposed to have lived in Inglewood Forest, near Carlisle in the late fourteenth century. Their exploits mirrored those of Robin Hood, including an archery contest in which their companion, William of Cloudseley, was renowned for shooting an apple from his son's head.[51] The story was re-fashioned into one of class struggle by the Chartist novelist, Pierce Egan, who wrote and illustrated *Adam Bell: Or the Archers of Englewood*, which was published in 1842. In the poem there is the voice of Wordsworth as the young, radical poet, musing that although the 'unappropriate' or freely owned wild forest has gone, the 'fair parks' where the upper classes keep deer have spread, and perhaps the mythical outlaws should instead go poaching there for their venison. In his sensitivity to landscape and to the influence of the past, Wordsworth was influenced by William Cowper, a poet who deliberately set himself aside from Pope and other urban poets and saw nature as divine. Cowper's aphorism 'God made the country, and man made the town' became a commonplace saying.[52] In his long poem *The Task* (1785) Cowper opined on everything from the origins of the sofa to the evils of slavery, but it is in his thoughts on nature that the poem's reputation was made, and continued throughout the Victorian era. In several sections, as in this early passage below, Cowper contrasts the consolation of solitude spent in nature with the ephemeral delights of the city.

> Our groves were planted to console at noon
> The pensive wanderer in their shades. At eve
> The moonbeam, sliding softly in between
> The sleeping leaves, is all the light they wish,
> Birds warbling all the music. We can spare
> The splendour of your lamps, they but eclipse
> Our softer satellite. Your songs confound
> Our more harmonious notes: the thrush departs.
> Scared, and the offended nightingale is mute.[53]

Cowper wrote of how the silent groves 'secure from clamour' should always be preferred to

[50] Ibid.
[51] https://gesteofrobinhood.com/2020/02/20/adam-bell-clim-of-the-clough-and-william-of-cloudeslie/ has an analysis of the poem. [accessed 1/06/2020].
[52] William Cowper, 'Book One: The Sofa' *The Task* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1878) Illustrated by Birket Foster. p.43.
[53] Ibid.

the smoke made by 'metropolitan volcanoes' of urban industry.[54] By the end of the nineteenth century, those volcanoes had been joined by the smoke of the railways and thousands more household and commercial hearths in every town. This change from peaceful countryside to the clamours of the town was part of the reason why so many artists, including Wordsworth, turned inward to draw on their personal memories and attachments to landscapes, depicting a more aesthetic view of England.

This romantic, and Romantic, view of England persisted throughout the nineteenth century, influencing the depiction of apples and their symbolic weight. A century after Cowper was published, John Liston Byam Shaw painted *Silent Noon,* (1894) which illustrated the Rossetti sonnet of the same title.[55] (Figure 12.) Shaw's painting is an example of the shift in art fashion towards more human-scaled subjects rather than high medievalism or the Classical revival, but the apple in the painting still carries the same significance. It depicts a young couple in a woodland grove, lying on the grass beside a stream. The closing couplet of Rossetti's sonnet, 'this close companioned, inarticulate hour/When twofold silence was the song of love' hints at the intimacy of the young couple.[56] In Byam Shaw's painting the woman holds an apple in one hand, and that of her lover in the other. This little apple, and the idyllic pastoral setting, stirs associations with the Garden of Eden, while the 'Medieval' dress of the lovers, and the lute played by the youth, calls to mind 'Merry England' and courtly love. There is a quiet, erotic undercurrent in the flaming hair of the woman, and her submissive pose, but it is the inclusion of the apple itself that allows this interpretation, although its unbitten state also implies virginity and purity.[57] Like the country lass in *The Hireling Shepherd* she has her feet near a stream, and a young man courting her, but the mood is much softer and the transgression is less severe. The 'antique' dress and style of this painting could also place it within the Celtic and Arthurian revival that took place towards the end of the nineteenth century, and which also saw the inclusion of the apple as a symbol, as the following section will discuss.

[54] Ibid. p.120.
[55] John Byam Liston Shaw, *Silent Noon,* 1894, oil on canvas, Leighton House Museum.
[56] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'Silent Noon' *Ballads and Sonnets* (London: Ellis and White, 1881) p.181.
[57] Compare with the apples beside the sleeping girl in John Roddam Spencer Stanhope's painting, *Robins of Modern Times* ,1861, oil on canvas, Tate Gallery, a much more worrying composition of symbolic elements, but the state of the apple gives hope that she is innocent.

(Figure 15. John Byam Liston Shaw, *Silent Noon,* 1894, oil on canvas, Leighton House Museum.)

The apple in Celtic folklore and Arthurian myth

A cultural movement in stylistic contrast to the Hellenic and Classical revival was the interest in Anglo-Saxon history, Irish Celtic traditions and in Arthurian legends and texts, including those from Welsh Celtic literature. Archaeologist Howard Williams has noted that 'Victorian concerns of nationhood and national origins could have encouraged the increasing focus upon 'national antiquities' and the exploration of the Middle Ages for the roots of Victorian values and institutions. Moreover, the Victorians inherited the romantic antiquarian tradition of seeing medieval graves as a grisly window onto the medieval past, and this may have motivated the specific in graves as evidence for the origins of the English'.[58] From the study of these texts came other ways to represent the apple, looking back to its associations with the early formation of the English story. These legends provided another way in which the apple tree acquired, or revived, its cultural importance, since many of the texts and legends involved 'pagan' or 'druidic' worship of trees, or their use in rituals.

The artistic Celtic revival encompassed everything from styles of furniture to attempts to recreate Druidic practices. It began in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the term

[58] Howard Williams, 'Heathen Graves and Victorian Anglo-Saxonism: Assessing the Archaeology of John Mitchell Kemble', in Sarah Semple (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology & History 13*: (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006) pp.1-18. p.2.

'Celtic art' was first used and coincided with the growth of the Irish nationalist cause.[59] The discovery of beautiful Celtic metalwork including the Tara Brooch in Ireland (acquired by the Royal Irish Academy in 1868). Significant items from the early Iron Age cemetery and salt-mine in Hallstatt, Austria were displayed from 1846 onwards, and these and similar excavations revealed more about the lives, customs and level of sophistication of early civilisations including the Celtic peoples.[60] Druids, meanwhile, became characters within the Romantic landscape, especially after Bellini's opera *Norma* became fashionable in London in 1833. The 'discoveries' of druidic texts in Wales in 1849 (many of them being nineteenth century fabrications) led to an increase of interest in the country's mystical heritage, and the founding of the rituals at Eisteddfods. The Irish literary revival gained popularity throughout the century, with many versions of the country's folk and fairy tales published, but was most influential at the end of the nineteenth century, particularly after W B Yeats published *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* in 1888, and *Celtic Twilight*, a compendium of folk lore and reminiscences from the West of Ireland, in 1893.[61]

Scholars of Celtic mythology drew attention to the worship of trees that had been practised across Europe, and to parallels that they saw with nature worship in the groves and forests of the Greek and Roman gods. John Arnott MacCulloch, a clergyman and scholar writing in 1911, noted that 'the scientific study of ancient Celtic religion is a thing of recent growth'.[62] He praised the earlier nineteenth-century work on Arthurian and Celtic religions by Sir John Rhys, before saying that he disagreed with much of Rhys's findings. Unlike Rhys, MacCulloch was working, he said, 'in the light of the anthropological method', yet still much of what he wrote is a summary of the well-known stories of Pliny and other Classical writers, with little further interpretation. However, in his chapter on tree worship he acknowledged the sacred and dangerous, transgressive nature of Celtic groves.

The Celts made their sacred places in dark groves, the trees being hung with offerings

[59] 'The notion of Celtic Art arrived in 1851 with Daniel Wilson, J. O. Westwood and J. M. Kemble [Anglo-Saxon scholars and archaeologists]. While most ancient Celts spoke what we call Celtic languages (so far as we know), only some Celtic-speakers went in for "Celtic art". Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Languages and Labels.' *Times Literary Supplement* (7 October 2015): p.19.

[60] Frank Roy Hudson, 'Quantifying Hallstatt: Some Initial Results' *American Antiquity* Vol. 42 No. 3 (July 1977). Hallstatt is early Iron Age, but its discovery fed into the interest in later Celtic civilisations. Hudson notes that the site was not well-documented or archived, but that many metal, glass and amber items were found. p.395.

[61] F. Kinahan, 'Armchair Folklore: Yeats and the Textual Sources of 'Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry'' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 83C (1983), pp. 255–267.

[62] J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1911) preface.

> or with the heads of victims. Human sacrifices were hung or impaled on trees, *e.g.* by the warriors of Boudicca. These, like the offerings still placed by the folk on sacred trees, were attached to them because the trees were the abode of spirits or divinities who in many cases had power over vegetation.[63]

This passage also implies that offerings were made to trees during his own time. Other folklore scholars collected evidence of 'fairy trees' being considered both sacred and malevolent in rural locations, particularly Ireland, Wales and Cornwall. The Victorian and current interest in the particular rituals of the wassail tradition is part of this revival of the perceived power of trees.

In the Celtic myths, the predominant tree is the oak, with other trees named far less frequently. The apple tree occasionally takes its place among the sacred and supernatural species, and both are good hosts for sacred mistletoe. The apple tree appears to be often associated with female protagonists or qualities, as in this example, quoted by MacCulloch

> 'A yew sprang from the grave of Bailé Mac Buain, and an apple-tree from that of his lover Aillinn, and the top of each had the form of their heads. The identification of tree and ghost is here complete.'[64]

However, although orchards or the apple tree is not often mentioned, there are several tales of magical, otherworld apples in Early Irish literature. The tale of *Echtrae Chonnlai*, dating from the eighth or ninth century, relates how a *sid*, or fairy, a woman from the other world, traps a mortal man by rolling an apple towards him, which he then eats.[65] The apple remains whole, however often he takes a bite, but his longing for the *sid* is never dulled, and eventually he gives up home and family to follow her into her realm. Aside from the symbolic interpretations of the apple, such stories would also appear to show that the apple must have been a sweet one, rather than the native crab apple, since a crab apple would not be so tempting or of a size to take endless bites. The *sid* and her apple has recently been interpreted as an inversion of the Adam and Eve story, and a tale in which Celtic, Christian and even Classical world uses of the apple have been merged together.[66] Such tales, or rather their re-telling in the nineteenth century, gave the apple some associations with magic, which was also undergoing a revival, albeit with less influence on the mainstream. Nevertheless, as

[63] Ibid. p.198.
[64] Ibid. p.203.
[65] Caroline McGrath, 'The Apple in Early Irish Narrative Tradition: A Thoroughly Christian Symbol?' *Studia Celtica Fennica* VII (2010) pp.18–25.
[66] Ibid. p.20.

psychogeographer Merlin Coverly has recently described, filling in the places left by the decline of organised religion came 'a host of occult alternatives, from Spiritualism and Theosophy to mysticism and the paranormal. Just as it appeared that society was harvesting the benefits of industrial progress, the Enlightenment rationalism that had underpinned these achievements was now under threat from this emerging tide of irrational beliefs.'[67] Some of these irrational beliefs found their way into culture, since many members of the literary elite from W. B. Yeats to Edward Bulwer-Lytton became members of the esoteric organisation The Golden Dawn. This trend in thought and culture fed into the fin de siècle art of the symbolists, and, as with all such trends, down into the popular culture of occult acts in music halls and lurid depictions of séances and witchcraft in penny dreadfuls and cheap prints.

The story of King Arthur was perfect for this blend of high and low culture; with its mixture of magic, Christian virtues and respect for old England it was eagerly picked up by esoteric poets and artists. The nineteenth-century Arthurian revival can be said to have began as early as 1806, when Sir Walter Scott published *Sir Tristrem*, followed by his immensely popular 'romance' novel, *Marmion* in 1808. King Arthur became more widely popular in 1816, when two versions of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* were published. *The History of the Renowned Prince Arthur, King of Britain*, edited by Alexander Chalmers, was the first edition of Malory to have been published for almost two hundred years. Later that year came the heavily expurgated *La Mort D'Arthur*, edited by the antiquarian Joseph Haslewood .[68] Tennyson borrowed the two-volume Chalmers edition from a fellow student, and eventually owned copies of both, together with a copy of the extremely influential and handsome version edited by the Poet Laureate Robert Southey, which was published in 1817.[69] Southey gave a copy of his edition to Burne-Jones. Many editions of Malory followed, including ones adapted for use in the schoolroom. Tennyson's studies of Malory led to his composing his own 'Morte d'Arthur,' finally published in 1842, followed later by the 'Idylls of the King,' and the sheer beauty and drama of Tennyson's works took the Arthurian revival to new heights.

The reception of these works and the mid-century Arthurian revival has recently been explored in depth, by Mark Girouard, Debra Mancoff and others.[70] Medieval and Arthurian imagery can be seen in much nineteenth century art and architecture, especially public

[67] Merlin Coverley, *Occult London* (London: Oldcastle Books, 2017) p.61.
[68] Barry Gaines, 'The Editions of Malory in the Early Nineteenth Century' *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* Vol. 68, No. 1, 1974 1–17. p.2.
[69] Ibid. p.3.
[70] Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New York: Yale University Press, 1985). Debra N. Mancoff, *The Arthurian Revival in Victorian Art* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990).

buildings , such as the Palace of Westminster and Birmingham Museum, and conceptions of noble behaviour were filtered through nineteenth century Christian re-imaginings of the Arthurian tales, just as they were through the deeds of Classical heroes. Tennyson's fellow student, W. B. Donne, lamented in the 1830s that **'**we have long sold our birthright to oblivion and neglect. Our rich fountains of legendary tales and patriotic superstition are sealed up; their echoes have died away on the lips of a manufacturing people.'[71] Tennyson's fellow poets and admirers looked to him to revitalise these old stories, producing ballads that could provide a way to wider social and spiritual reform among his readers.

Many of the exploits and quests of Arthur's knights, as described by Mallory and re-imagined by nineteenth century artists, took place within a forest, again symbolising danger away from the civilised manners of the Royal Court or the castles of their friends. The forest of Brocceliande is where Vivien (or Nimue) entraps Merlin. Merlin's links to Welsh Celtic culture often connect him with apple trees and orchards, and in some traditions Merlin studies in an orchard as a boy. Central to the revived Arthurian landscape is Avalon (or Avilion), first described by Geoffrey of Monmouth as the Isle of Apples. There, as Malory, Tennyson, William Morris and Blake all describe, Arthur was borne after his last battle, perhaps to return again.

In the nineteenth century much antiquarian debate took place over the etymology of the name Avalon. It was important, because various origins demonstrated how much of England and Wales Arthur could have ruled. Sir John Rhys, writing on Arthurian legends in 1891, noted the claims of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth over the meaning of 'Avalon' and also its similarity to the Welsh for apple (aval or afal), concluding 'it is not improbable that Glastonbury was noted for its apples or apple trees, as Malmesbury and others would have us believe' but after more footnotes Rhys decides this is a 'false etymology' and that Avalon is derived from a King Avallo, of whom no more is said.[72]

In the Arthurian revival, the forest was a place of danger and supernatural events, but also somewhere to physically locate the stories which were drawn together from a number of sources and originally took place in a variety of landscapes. The romance of lands of endless forest also served to set the myths in the past, within some version of England that was never real, but which nineteenth century writers and artists were forever reaching towards.

---

[71] Marcia Culver, 'The Death and Birth of an Epic: Tennyson's 'Morte D'Arthur'' *Victorian Poetry* Vol. 20 No. 1 (Spring 1982) 51-61. p.51.
[72] Sir John Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legends* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891) p.334.

Thomas Love Peacock, Romantic poet, linked the meaning of Avalon as the Isle of Apples to the fate of the Glastonbury monastery in his Arthurian re-write, *The Misfortunes of Elphin*.[73] He compares the monks with apples, ripe for the picking in the Dissolution so that by the nineteenth century the ruins of the monastic kitchen are not even covered in picturesque ivy, but visited only by casual lower class tourists whistling tunes. From that image he goes back in time again to Taliesin, the Arthurian bard, seeking sanctuary. The image of the apple – the 'archetype of a Norfolk beefin' - links the mythic age of Taliesin to English history and finally to Peacock's own time.

> The topographers who have perplexed themselves about the origin of the name Ynys Avallon, 'the island of apples,' had not the advantage of this piece of meteoroscopy: if they could have looked on this archetype of a Norfolk beefin, with the knowledge that it was only a sample of a numerous fraternity, they would at once have perceived the fitness of the appellation. The brethren of Avallon were the apples of the church. It was the oldest monastic establishment in Britain; and consequently, as of reason, the most plump, succulent, and rosy. [The ivy's] shade no longer waves over the musing moralist, who, with folded arms, and his back against a wall, dreams of the days that are gone; or the sentimental cockney, who, seating himself with much gravity on a fallen column, produces a flute from his pocket, and strikes up 'I'd be a butterfly.' From the phænomenon of a blushing fruit that was put forth in the abbey gate of Avallon issued a deep, fat, gurgling voice, which demanded of Taliesin his name and business.[74]

Later in the same work Peacock gives us a free, poetic translation of the song 'Avallenau Myrddin', or 'Merlin's Apple-Trees', originally transcribed in the *Black Book of Carmarthen,* the work of a single Welsh scribe in the mid-thirteenth century.[75]

> Fair the gift to Merlin given,
> Apple-trees seven score and seven;
> Equal all in age and size;
> On a green hill-slope, that lies
> Basking in the southern sun,
> Where bright waters murmuring run.
>
> Just beneath the pure stream flows;
> High above the forest grows;
> Not again on earth is found
> Such a slope of orchard ground:

[73] Thomas Love Peacock, *The Misfortunes of Elphin* (London: Thomas Hookham, 1829).
[74] Ibid. pp.180 – 181.
[75] Caroline McGrath, 'The Apple in Early Irish Narrative Tradition.'

Song of birds, and hum of bees,
Ever haunt the apple-trees.

Lovely green their leaves in spring;
Lovely bright their blossoming:
Sweet the shelter and the shade
By their summer foliage made:
Sweet the fruit their ripe boughs hold,
Fruit delicious, tinged with gold.

[…]

Now from echoing woods I hear
Hostile axes sounding near:
On the sunny slope reclined,
Feverish grief disturbs my mind,
Lest the wasting edge consume
My fair spot of fruit and bloom.
Lovely trees, that long alone
In the sylvan vale have grown,
Bare, your sacred plot around,
Grows the once wood-waving ground:
Fervent valour guards ye still;
Yet my soul presages ill.

Well I know, when years have flown,
Briars shall grow where ye have grown:
Them in turn shall power uproot;
Then again shall flowers and fruit
Flourish in the sunny breeze,
On my new-born apple-trees.[76]

Merlin is foreseeing the loss of his orchard and the trees that protected the sacred grove itself, before prophesying that in the future the orchard will return, 'new-born' just as Arthur, the Once and Future King, will return to rule over Britain. Here is the story of deforestation and industrialisation, the Victorians looking at the loss of the countryside and its rural certainties. Here again is the cultural acceptance, by Peacock and his readers, of some form of occult rituals, as Peacock continues 'This song was heard with much pleasure, especially by those of the audience who could see, in the imagery of the apple-trees, a mystical type of the doctrines and fortunes of Druidism'. As has been discussed above, Druidism itself was undergoing a particularly Victorian revival, or more properly a re-imagining, at the time.

Comparisons can be made between Love Peacock's renewed orchard and

[76] Love Peacock, pp.215-216.

Tennyson's beautiful, simple description of an island Avalon, resonant with the imagery of heaven and of Shakespeare's 'precious stone, set in a silver sea.' (Richard II part II) King Arthur describes it with delight, although he has yet to be taken there.

But now farewell. I am going a long way
With these thou seëst—if indeed I go—
(For all my mind is clouded with a doubt)
To the island-valley of Avilion;
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,
Where I will heal me of my grievous wound.[77]

Once again in both poems the mytho-poetic landscape is standing in for Victorian England, and a vision of how it must be under peaceful leadership. Of course Tennyson, already being described as England's Virgil by this time, was drawing on the structure and themes of the *Aenid*, where the *Idylls* presents, as historian Stephen Harrison noted, 'a kind of medievalising *Aenid* for the Victorian Age with some echoes of Homer and Virgil and a mythical heroic plot of a national past which has ideological consequences for the present.'[78]

Occult writer (and possibly the worst poet of the nineteenth century) Edward Bulwer Lytton tackled this theme with his usual lack of subtlety in his epic *King Arthur* (1849) which became exceedingly popular, being reprinted in England and abroad throughout the 1870s.[79] The Lady of the Lake takes Arthur to visit the Lords of Time, who give Arthur three visions of his future. He can either repose peacefully but ineffectively, under rose bushes in a beautiful garden, or he can have worldly riches, admiration and influence, but rule over an impoverished and unhappy populace. Arthur, of course, rejects both of these futures. The final vision shows Arthur dead on the field of battle, and he demands to know how he came to this end. The Lords of Time show him Britain's progress, culminating in Queen Victoria's reign, and good King Arthur chooses this future, sacrificing his life for the Queen and for England's prosperity.

[77] Tennyson, 'Morte D'Arthur' lines 258 – 263. In *The Victorians: An Anthology of Poetry and Poetics* ed. by Valentine Cunningham (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000) p.214.
[78] Stephen Harrison, in *A Companion to Classical Receptions* ed. by Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007) p.115.
[79] Philip V. Allingham, 'Sir Edward G. D. Bulwer-Lytton, A Brief Biography' http://victorianweb.org/authors/bulwer/bio.html [accessed 29/05/2020].

Mild, like all strength, sits Crowned Liberty,
Wearing the aspect of a youthful Queen:
And far outstretch'd 'long the unmeasured sea
Rests the vast shadow of her throne; serene
From the dumb icebergs to the fiery zone,
Rests the vast shadow of that guardian throne.[80]

The Arthurian and Celtic myths pervaded late nineteenth century culture, as the Celtic King Arthur was seen as the noble cultural ancestor to Queen Victoria. As with many of these revivals, the texts and artefacts of earlier cultures were seen as cultural bric-a-brac whose symbols could be reused and re-ordered in the present to give colour to the messages of the strength of a Nation being built through individual virtue. The apple, growing in the wild forest, or a grove, or Merlin's orchard, was one such symbol.

One example of the apple carrying the symbolism of both the Arthurian, magical apple and the Christian apple of Eden is in the painting *Acrasia*, exhibited by John Melluish Strudwick in 1888, and showing the shift in the Pre-Raphaelite movement from narrative art to medievalism and mythical subjects.[81] (Figure 11.) Here, the sorceress Acrasia, a character from Spenser's *Fairie Queen*, and thus from Arthurian myth, has lured a knight into her Bower of Bliss; a garden of earthly, and therefore unholy, impure delights. She is yet another representation of feminine intemperance and duplicity, for she wants to keep her knight (Cymochles, 'whose sleepie head she in her lap did soft dispose') beside her, preventing him from accomplishing his quest and from becoming an active, pure, self-disciplined hero.[82] In the background of the painting the apples are as abundant as the handmaidens partially hidden among the leaves, who seem to be growing from the trees themselves, like transformed Classical nymphs, in a garden that scholar Wendy Beth Hyman describes as being in a state of 'lush stasis'.[83]The composition of the figures in the painting can be compared to those in *The Hireling Shepherd*, discussed in the previous chapter. Here, Acrasia is in the role of the shepherdess, but instead of a rustic lamb she has a noble knight helpless in her lap. At this moment in the story, before he destroys the Bower of Bliss, he is equally as foolish as the hireling shepherd, having been easily enchanted. Strudwick's viewers may also have recalled that Acrasia's bower is part of an enchanted island, like the home of her

[80] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *King Arthur: A Poem* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1871) verse LXXIX p.231.
[81] John Melhuish Strudwick, *Acrasia,* c.1888, oil on canvas, private collection.
[82] Edmund Spenser, Book Two of *The Fairie Queen*. Extract in *Everyman's Book of English Verse*, ed. by John Wain (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1981) p.126.
[83] Wendy Beth Hyman, 'Seizing Flowers in Spenser's Bower and Garden.' *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 37. No. 2. (2007) 193–214. p.195.

Classical inspiration, Circe, but also like the Isle of Avalon, where knights find legitimate rest, tended by magical women. In Strudwick's vision Acrasia's bower itself is, of course, a walled garden, but not the sacred 'hortus conclusus' of the Virgin; here the apples are charged with erotic power and possibility. The handmaidens and the apples have the same symbolic properties of beauty, abundance and hidden danger, and have almost merged together, but these apples are enchanted, and far removed from representations of domestic apples.

Figure 11. John Melhuish Strudwick, *Acrasia,* c. 1888, oil on canvas, private collection.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that representations of the apple were woven into the various cultural movements of the nineteenth century. Apples, trees and orchards were used to transform the meaning of an artwork into something beyond the decorative, with a message that the viewer could receive if they wished.

The apple, familiar occupant of the parlour fruit bowl, became transformed into the fruit protected and fought over by goddesses, or the magical apple of ancient myth. Old apple trees out in the woods could be a shelter for Merlin, or for a deceitful sorceress. Decorative though these paintings are, the inclusion of an apple gives a subtle feeling of unease, of the unexpected that may happen.

Given the volume of works of art that included apples, and the breadth and depth of the associations that could be attached to this simple fruit, it is not surprising that the Victorians were also concerned with investigating and preserving the rituals of apple worship, or wassailing, to which this thesis now turns.

Chapter Six: The anarchic, traditional, re-imagined wassail

Introduction

This final chapter of this thesis looks at the nature and history of the practice of wassailing. This ritual is presented as a case study of the cultural significance of the apple to the folk traditions taking place as part of the celebration of Christmas, throughout the Victorian era. The chapter argues that the depictions of the wassail, and its packaging for the emergent, literate middle class, point to the tensions in the Victorian re-imagining of Christmas traditions, between the anarchic, communal ritual of the orchard wassail, and those social and cultural forces moving to make home, family and children central to the values of the Christmas celebration. The survival of the wassail, and the ways in which it was transformed, evidence the imperative for moral improvement and progress that has been demonstrated throughout this thesis. The varying practices of wassailing also show the effect of urbanisation and the decline of country ways and customs, the consequence of that same desire for progress. Therefore, after the jollity of the wassail, the chapter concludes with a brief consideration of the practice of deliberately harming or chopping down orchard trees, and links this back to the economic and social tensions discussed in particular in Part One.

Origins of wassailing

Wassailing is a folk custom that can be traced back in its original form of a drinking toast, to Anglo Saxon times. It became more ritualised from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, and then went through a period where it was not so important, until the Victorians rediscovered it. Although some Victorian commentators (and some modern ones) strove to see wassailing as a living remnant of ancient 'pagan' rituals, there is no evidence to support this origin. However there are possible connections between the orchard wassail and ancient forms of tree worship that were discussed in Chapter Five. Wassailing has always taken place between Christmas Eve and Twelfth Night, (using either the Old or New calendar dates, according to local preference). The wassail in the form of a shared drink became ritualised first as a way of celebrating the end of the twelve days of Christmas, rather than the start of the festive season.

During the Victorian era, the wassail was a folk ritual that was celebrated in prose and image more often than it took place on the ground, but it was certainly a living Christmas custom as this chapter will demonstrate. Largely determined by geography, there were three

main types of wassailing practiced with many local (down to parish level) variations within each type. The orchard wassail will be examined in detail later in this chapter, following this summary of the different ways of wassailing. Different as they are, each has a connection with apples, and with different particular strands of Victorian society.

The first type is the oldest use of the term wassail, that is, a form of carolling from door to door, including going into public houses. A wassail bowl is carried by the carollers, who also sing wassail carols asking for money, apples or other such treats. This form of wassailing goes back many centuries. The connection with apples is not only that they were handed out as a treat for the wassailers, but that apples were an ingredient in the wassail bowl, an alcoholic drink, the recipe for which can be traced back to the sixteenth century; 'lambswool' made with roasted crab apples floating on top. This is a tradition of the stable, rural classes that lived around the small market towns and large villages. As such it was a tradition that the Victorians recognised as being in decline, as these communities either declined or became urbanised.

The second type of wassail was practiced in the northern towns and cities including Leeds and York. It seems to have come about with the growth of urban communities, since it depends on having enough houses close at hand to make the effort worthwhile. In this wassail children or young women carried boxes which contain decorated dolls, an apple, an orange and some evergreens. The dolls were made to represent the Virgin and the Christ child. The children sang songs asking for treats, and asked to be paid to reveal the contents of their 'milly box'.[1] This wassail received little commentary, because it had less of a link with the desired English rural past and also perhaps because of its links, at least in the imagery employed, to Catholicism.

In the apple-growing areas, in particular the South and South West of England, a form of orchard-based wassailing prevailed, and it is this form which has survived into the present day, and which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. However, first it is necessary to step briefly outside the nineteenth century bounds of this thesis to outline the origins and history of the wassail. This is partly because a discussion of its history formed a large part of the Victorian discourse around wassailing, and partly because wassailing is a practice unfamiliar to most readers of this thesis.

The word wassail comes from the Norse and old English traditional drinking salute; 'Was hael' meaning 'good health'. The response is 'Drinc hael!' or 'I drink to your health'

[1] Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp.64-65.

which is equivalent to 'Cheers!' There is very little evidence for the use of this toast from the time of the Norse invaders until the twelfth century, when Geoffrey of Monmouth , writing a history of England, describes Vortigen, King of South Britain in 449, being saluted with these words by the daughter of the Viking leader, Hengist.[2] However, the earliest known carol to be written in England - 'Lordings, listen to our lay', considered to be a thirteenth century translation of one written in Anglo-Norman, from the time of the Norman Conquest, finishes with an invitation to toast or wassail each other:

> Lords, by Christmas and the host
> of this mansion, hear my toast -
> Drink it well-
> Each must drain his cup of wine,
> And I the first will toss off mine:
> Thus I advise
> Here then I bid you all Wassail
> Cursed be he who will not say Drink Hail.[3]

By Tudor times the wassail had come to mean a particular drink, enjoyed at the end of the Christmas celebrations. The household records of Henry VII, for 31 December 1494, records this custom and the ceremony that surrounded it;

> The chappell [chaplain] to stand on the one side of the hall, and when the steward cometh in at the hall doore with the wassell, he must crie three tymes wassell wassell wassell, and the chappell to answere with a good songe.[4]

By Henry VIII's time the wassail was recorded with less detail, perhaps indicating that all those knew how to conduct the ceremony, or alternatively that, due to Reformation sensibilities about Catholic practices, it was less of an event. The record simply states 'The wassail or banket [was] brought in, and so brake up Christmas.'[5] The Reformation also had an effect on seasonal country customs, including those practised at Christmas such as the orchard wassail, and an edict banning the custom has survived. This decree links the ban

[2] Andrew Barr, *Drink: A Social History* (London: Pimlico, 1995). Vortigern then asks the price of the Viking princess's hand in marriage, and is told it is the whole of the Isle of Thanet, which he gives up willingly. p.386.
[3] Peter Brears, 'Wassail: Celebrations in Hot Ale' in *Liquid Nourishment; Potable Foods and Stimulating Drinks* ed. by Anne C. Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993) p.106.
[4] Ibid. p108.
[5] E. Hall, *Chronicle*, Henry VIII 9, quoted in OED.

directly to superstition and 'old custom'. An entry in the Fordwich Borough Court Minute Book dated 15 January 1577 records the decree:

> Nor that the boys or servants at those times shall from henceforth go into any man's orchards or gardens to beat the trees and sing vain songs or otherwise believing thereby that those trees the year following will or shall yield the more plenty of fruit […] Valentine Norton of this town, gentleman [said]: That he did nor doth deem any holiness in the beating of the trees or that thereby boys doing touching the premises were or are good or commendable but that the dealings and doings of the boys in this behalf were fond, foolish and superstitious to all intents and respects.[6]

This edict survives because Fordwich is a Cinque Port, and as such kept very full records which have been preserved in Canterbury Cathedral's archive, but it is significant that the fine for wassailing is so high, and that the edict is so specific as to how the wassail had been carried out on both New Year's Eve and Epiphany, by 'boys and servants'. At this time the wassail was a masculine, communal custom.

Ben Jonson's *Masque of Christmas*, performed before the restored and revelling Royal Court at Christmas in 1616, introduces the character of 'Wassell' as a daughter of Father Christmas. She enters dressed, 'like a neat sempster and songster; her page bearing a brown bowl, drest with ribands, and rosemary before her.'[7] By this period, therefore, the wassail had quickly moved from being a young man's drinking party to being something performed and enjoyed by women and possibly children. This is an indication that the decline in wassailing in later times cannot be due entirely to the Victorian re-focussing of Christmas as a festival for children and their close family.

There is a wassail carol, still sung today, which originates in Leeds and dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The words of this particular carol show that it is part of the variation of the wassail practiced across Yorkshire from the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century, in which young women went processing and singing from door to door. The decoration of their wassail bowls with rosemary and evergreens accounts for the 'leaves so green' in the carol.

> Here we come a wassailing
> Among the leaves so green,

[6] Patrick Heren, Mayor of Fordwich (2013) in correspondence with the author, provided the above entry dated 15th January 1577, from the Fordwich Borough Court Minute Book, now in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives.
[7] W. Gifford (ed.), *The Works of Ben Jonson in Nine Volumes: Volume VII The Masques at Court* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1816) p.275.

Here we come a wassailing
So fair to be seen
Love and Joy come unto you
And to you your wassail too
And God bless you and send you
A happy New Year.[8]

This particular presentation of a wassail bowl is what differentiates it from other drinks used at ceremonies and festivals. The contents of the bowl also had ceremonial importance, especially when apples were used within it. Gradually the wassail bowl drink underwent a change from being simply any kind of warmed spiced alcohol, to something richer, and with more connection to apples; that is, the 'lambswool' drink. Indeed on 4 January 1667 Pepys mentions the contents of the 'Christmas draught' he served to his guests as a 'flaggon of ale and apples, drunk out of a wood cupp.'[9] The term lambswool appears in records of wassail celebrations from across England. The basic recipe included toasted bread and roasted crab apples floated in the mixture. Putting toast into wine was a long-established and common practice, thought to improve the flavour and soak up any sediment. The crab apples were roasted in a pan or on a string over the fire, until they sizzled. They were then dropped, still hot, into warmed, spiced, sweetened ale.[10] Like any fashionable recipe, it quickly acquired variations. In Gerard's Herbal (1633), it is described as a drink of warmed, spiced ale or cider, in which bob roasted apples: 'Sometimes, eggs or cream, or both, are whisked in, and sometimes it is served poured over small fruit cakes'.[11] Lambswool with cakes continued to be enjoyed at wassail celebrations until the mid-nineteenth century. P.G. Bond, giving a personal account of a wassail he attended as a boy in 1860, in South Hams, Devon, recalls, 'The drink offered was warmed cider in which were placed baked apples. The cake offered was good currant cake […] the cider cup was passed to all and sundry (including the boys) with the cake.'[12]

This chapter argues that the Victorian depictions and adaptations of wassailing customs demonstrate a tension in the ways in which the Victorians were celebrating Christmas, between their use of old symbols, such as the wassail and the boar's head, and

[8] Brears, 'Wassail: Celebrations in Hot Ale' p.114.
[9] Samuel Pepys, diary entry for 4 January 1667 https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/01/ [accessed 5/06/2020].
[10] Nell Heaton, *Traditional Recipes of the British Isles* (London: Faber and Faber, 1950) p.91.
[11] John Gerard, The Herbal or General History of Plants (New York: Dover Publications, 1975) See also Joanna Crosby, 'Wassail' in *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Alcohol: Social, Cultural and Historical Perspectives* ed. by Scott C. Martin (London: SAGE Publications, 2014).
[12] J. Rendel Harris, *Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1919) p.49.

their desire for a family-centred, less anarchic, more morally decorous celebration. Steven Roud noted that 'Victorians had an uncanny knack of clothing their inventions and re-modelled traditions in an aura which implied that they were traditional and ancient' and this is certainly the case with wassailing.[13]

Historian Neil Armstrong argues that the Victorians did not arrive at a selection of Christmas customs chosen from history at random, but that there was instead a coherent intent behind what was championed as suitable for the modern Victorian family. The intent may not have been as coherent as Armstrong suggests, but the net result of all the wassail depictions (many of which shared the same source material) was to promote the idea of a shared English heritage, that of the imaginary 'Merrie England', as discussed in Chapter Four, while at the same time adding to the literature of what Armstrong has termed 'the Christmas lament'; the belief that current Christmases, and by extension current modes of living, had fallen away, and were never as satisfying, as moral, as joyous, as those of times gone by.[14] This supports the mood of nostalgia in many of the paintings and poems described in the previous chapters, where the loss of the rural landscape became a metaphor for the loss of moral standards and more deferential ways of behaviour.

The Victorian wassail can be classed as an 'invented tradition' since Hobsbawm has defined this as a custom where the reference to the historic past is factitious; invented traditions are 'responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.'[15] Hobsbawm observed that the pace of invented tradition would increase 'when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable' and that most invented traditions were established for the purpose of enforcing or establishing social cohesion.[16] The wassail was adapted, consciously through the decisions made by writers and contributors to newspapers, and (largely) unconsciously by the participants themselves adjusting to social change.

The changing depictions of wassailing show the importance that the Victorians attached to historic Christmas customs that pointed back to a representation of 'feudal'

[13] Steven Roud, in his introduction to Thomas Hervey, *The Book of Christmas (1888)* – repr. by The Folklore Society (London: Wordsworth, 2000) p.23.
[14] Neil Armstrong, *Christmas in Nineteenth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010) p.45.
[15] Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p.2.
[16] Ibid. p.4.

England. Part Two of this thesis has shown that 'history' was a product of, and for, the emerging middle classes and aspirational working class in Victorian England. The emergence of the genre of Christmas books, some of which contained a historiography of Christmas celebrations, is evidence of middle-class interest in folk history, in the history of England that could be investigated and packaged through stories, song and accounts of surviving customs, as well as through paintings and novels describing the past as it should have been.

At the same time there was an opposing push towards modernity, at least in print, and influential middle-class publications recommended throwing off those aspects of folk customs that they saw as absurd or uncivilised, in particular those where there was an element of rowdy and possibly anarchic behaviour. In the wider context, there is a similar push and pull in the appropriation of the particular custom of the orchard wassail as an example of what was being lost together with the innocent countryside, a custom scattered by growth and urban development.

Victorian use of wassailing images and descriptions can be divided into two types. The first type consists of those descriptions of wassailing from house to house, or in manorial halls, in times gone past, and images of the archetypical wassail bowl, which the Victorians used as a way of commenting on the ways in which they believed, or wished to believe, Christmas used to be celebrated. Here the wassail bowl becomes an emblem of open-hearted hospitality, which the Victorian writers on the wassail often said was lacking from Christmas in their time.

The second way in which wassailing was used is specifically in those descriptions of orchard wassailing taking place in Victorian times, in unspecified rural parishes. Here the wassail becomes an avatar of lost bucolic traditions and the innocence of the countryside. These descriptions often have a tone of gentle amusement at the 'rustics' taking part, but still the custom is considered important enough to describe in some detail. Considering the deployment of wassailing and the wassail bowl at Christmas, leads back to the traditional carol, *Lordings, listen to our lay*, described earlier as possibly the first mention of wassailing in a song. This carol was published in the popular Victorian work, *A Garland of Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern,* edited by 'Joshua Sylvester'; a pseudonym for William Sandys and William Henry Husk, both scholars of music. Beneath the carol was this note:

> This Carol, we are informed by the antiquaries, is the earliest known to have been written in our island. The thirteenth century is believed to be the period of its composition. The original is in the Anglo-Norman language. Some years ago it was discovered on a blank leaf in the middle of one of the manuscripts in the British

> Museum. The editor of *Christmas with the Poets* supposes this Carol to have been one of those in use among the bands of professional minstrels; half vagrants, half troubadours who wandered from one to the other of the different castles of the Norman nobility, " discoursing sweet sounds " for the gratification of the assembled guests, and who were certain of a ready welcome on so festive an occasion as the celebration of the Christmas feast.[17]

The note illustrates the willingness to romanticise the inceptions of these 'ancient' carols, and the emphasis on noble hospitality during Christmas, when even 'half vagrants' were 'certain of a ready welcome.' It also shows how a small set of writers and antiquarians had become the most influential voices on how Christmas was in times past, and how it should be celebrated in their own age. The principal author behind 'Joseph Sylvester' was William Sandys, a lawyer by profession but also an antiquarian and active Freemason. He had previously published, under his own name, *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* (1833) and *Christmas-tide, its history, festivities and carols, with their music* (1852). The latter includes a chapter entitled 'Pepys' wassail-bowl', which contains a selection of snippets from Pepys, Herrick, Evelyn and pieces from almanacs and other seventeenth century works. This chapter also contains a 'Christmas lament', to use Armstrong's term; quoting a verse describing the decrease in festivities from the satirical *Poor Robin's Almanac* from 1702. Sandys' comment on the verse, however, dispels any seriousness to that complaint and, by extension, any made during his own time:

> Many of the popular ballads, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, refer to the same falling off in Christmas feasting, complaining of the degeneracy of the times. Poets and ballad writers, however, from the earliest times, certainly as far back as Homer, have been noted for this species of grumbling.[18]

Sandy's antiquarian skills are evident in this work, and this chapter shows his enthusiasm for the games, masques and dinners of the Restoration. The reader gathers an impression of the importance of Christmas in past times, and of it being a communal festival. Sandys, however, puts his emphasis on the major writers of previous centuries, and does not give sources or references to customs that took place in the country. For example he states; 'In some places it seems to have been the custom to dance in the country churches, after

[17] 'Joshua Sylvester' *A Garland of Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1861) p.161.
[18] William Sandys, *Christmas-tide, its History, Festivities and Carols, with Their Music* (London: John Russell Smith, 1852) p.135.

prayers, crying out, "Yole, yole, yole !' &c' without giving further details.[19]

The carol collection attributed to 'Joshua Sylvester', not surprisingly, draws on Sandys' other works. It also mentions other Christmas commentators. The whole note to *Lordings* is very similar indeed to a passage from which it claims to quote, in *Christmas with the Poets* (1851). This was another very popular work, a compilation of verses, carols and texts from 'the Anglo Norman Period' to the nineteenth century. The editor and writer of the commentary between the extracts, Henry Vizetelly, was born in London from an Italian family of printers. He was a talented engraver and publisher who contributed engravings to *The Illustrated London News*. Vizetelly became a correspondent and wine expert in Paris, and later in his career was taken to court three times for publishing obscene material - his own translation of some of Zola's novels. All of which may indicate that he was not so much an example of the English establishment as might be supposed from reading *Christmas with the Poets*. This book was first published as a luxurious illustrated book that was exhibited in the Great Exhibition, and designed to show off Vizetelly's quality printing and engravings by Birket Foster, whose genre work was discussed earlier in this thesis. *Christmas with the Poets* was reprinted each successive year in cheaper bindings, reaching a wide readership. Like Sandys, Vizetelly chose a wide variety of sources to describe Christmas through the ages in poems, carols and literary sketches. The section on Elizabethan times contains a long explanation of the wassail bowl, drawn from various unattributed sources. He states that 'the Boar's Head and the Wassail bowl were the two most important accessories of Christmas in the olden time.'[20] He quotes the ordinances of Henry VII, as described earlier in this chapter. However, he differentiates the types of wassailing by class, and does not indicate that the wassail was a way to bring the classes together.

> While the wealthier classes were enjoying themselves with copious draughts of 'lamb'swool' (*sic*) […] the poorer sort of people went from house to house with Wassail bowls, adorned with ribbons, singing carols, and inviting those whom they visited to drink, in return for which, little presents of money were generally bestowed upon them.[21]

These Christmas books show the Victorian uncertainty about the symbolic importance of the secular Christmas customs, and their efforts to find new ways to celebrate, appropriate to new, family-oriented, urban ways of living. The Victorians championed wassailing from

[19] Ibid. p.143.
[20] Henry Vizetelly, *Christmas with the Poets* (London: David Bogue, 1851) p.64.
[21] Ibid.

the mythical olden times or merrie England as an example of the open-handed hospitality which they saw and respected in sixteenth and seventeenth century, when, as historian Mark Connelly noted, 'the gentry and nobility knew their responsibilities, took them seriously, and took having fun seriously. They were at the heart of society and ensured that the ordinary people had a good time too.' [22]

Another popular Christmas book was Albert Smith's collection of comic sketches. He titled it *The Wassail Bowl* (1843) and it opens with a section of an 'ancient ballad' of a wassail, followed by this description of the Christmas spirit:

> Huzza! for Christmas: the hobbling old year has nearly limped away[...]the time has arrived again when all that remains of harmless misrule and revelry in merrie England is about to revive from its long twelvemonth's trance, and once more kindle our hearts to enter into the honest mirth and hospitality of our forefathers, before they became too expensive in their pleasures, and too knowing for such simple merriment.
> True it is, that the ancient glories of Christmas have faded around our hearths since the blaze of the yule-log threw its cheerful light over the bright armour and quaint mouldings, the rollicking guests and antique furniture, of the old family hall. The din of the mummers and the potent spirits of the wassail-bowl no longer contribute to our revelry; the sickly melancholy of the modern drawing room ballad has supplanted the homely Anglo-Norman carol; but, still, Christmas has returned, and with it such fun and joyousness as refinement now allows us to partake of.[23]

Here, Smith is looking on wassailing is one of the 'ancient glories' of Christmas as celebrated in the communal baronial hall by the warm light of the Yule log. Smith feels that the din of the mummers and the potent spirit of the wassail-bowl did have something to contribute, that they were a positive part of Christmas, before the celebrations became both 'expensive' and 'too knowing'. The 'homely Anglo-Norman carol' that Smith mentions is very probably the carol *Lordings, listen to our lay* discussed above, and described by other writers with the same phrase. Although 'Christmas has returned' and will do so every year, it does so for Smith, without the wassail, which he sees as a tradition that is no longer kept up.

Although Smith felt that practicing wassailing was a tradition in decline, the wassail bowl retained its potency in these texts as a symbol of generous hospitality and good company at Christmas, and Victorian writers were willing to use the wassail bowl to emphasise those aspects of old Christmas customs which they wished to encourage. A further mid-Victorian example of this is in John Mill's improving seasonal tale *Christmas in the*

[22] Mark Connelly, *Christmas, a Social History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999) p.9.
[23] Albert Smith, *The Wassail Bowl* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843) pp.1 – 2.

Olden Time, or the Wassail bowl which begins with a, now familiar, description of the traditional figure of Christmas:

> Tis Christmas! the season of hope, of joy, and revelry! see where he comes, hoary-locked and bleached with age, crowned with wreaths of winter evergreens! Ivy, holly, and rosemary are twined and blended in his crown. In his hand he bears the wassail bowl; deep and full. From his lips quaint ballads, carols and ditties are crooned, and good old customs rummaged from the stores of his memory.[24]

The story itself, the tone and plot of which is an homage to the novels of Sir Walter Scott, begins with a scene in the Great Hall, where the squire is preparing lambswool for his happy underlings:

> And now the Squire commenced preparing the wassail bowl with his own hands. Rich wine, highly spiced with nutmeg, ginger, and sweet-scented cloves, sugar, toast, and hissing and roasted crabs, were mingled together, and then the brimming cup was ready.
> Standing in the centre of the hall, with the company forming a wide circle round him, the Squire lifted the fragrant mixture with both hands above his head and said "Was-haile, I pledge each and all" and bringing the bowl to his lips, he took a fair deep draught.
> From one to the other the bowl was passed[...].[25]

In these depictions of traditional Christmas, there is no mention of the Nativity or Christian celebrations. The representation of the season in Smith and Mills is not the Christ child, but 'Christmas'. This figure is something like Father Christmas, and something like Dickens's Ghost of Christmas Present, as described only three years earlier in *A Christmas Carol* (1843), decked in green and resembling, in his turn, perhaps, the ancient figure of The Green Knight, invading Arthurian hall, hearth and even an urban villa with an unsettling challenge or a trial to complete.

> It was clothed in one simple green robe, or mantle, bordered with white fur. This garment hung so loosely on the figure, that its capacious breast was bare, as if disdaining to be warded or concealed by any artifice. Its feet, observable beneath the ample folds of the garment, were also bare; and on its head it wore no other covering than a holly wreath, set here and there with shining icicles. Its dark brown curls were long and free; free as its genial face, its sparkling eye, its open hand, its cheery voice, its unconstrained demeanour, and its joyful air. Girded round its middle was an antique scabbard; but no sword was in it, and the ancient sheath was eaten up

[24] John Mill, *Christmas in the Olden Time, or the Wassail Bowl* (London: Hurst, 1846) p.1.
[25] Ibid. pp.5 – 6.

with rust. [26]

As Christmas cards grew in popularity, images of Father Christmas proliferated, representing him in a similar manner to the way he was described in these books. He was often shown stirring or offering a large wassail bowl, easily identified as such by the evergreens garlanding the bowl. (Figure 1.) These cards show one of the traditions which the Victorians wished to celebrate at Christmas and associate with the wassail, that of hospitality – although within the sphere of family and close friends.

Figure 1. Christmas cards from the 1890s showing Father Christmas with the wassailing cup.

Historian John Grossman has tracked the changes to depictions of Father Christmas in the *Illustrated London News:* 'Father Christmas, wearing his traditional wreath of holly, [enters the party] in an engraving published […] in 1866. This is a thoroughly domestic scene – Father Christmas has clearly put his wilder days as the inebriated Father of the Feast behind him, and is now impersonated by a family member or friend in false whiskers as a gift bringer to children'.[27] It is true that the earlier depiction of 1847 in the same publication ('Merry Christmas', by Kenny Meadows) shows Father Christmas pouring liquor while revellers drink and embrace around him, and that the later, domestic, scene is much more genteel, within the home and family setting. However the later scene described by Grossman as 'thoroughly domestic' is still quite startling, since 'Old Father Christmas' brandishes a small doll as if it was intended for a sacrifice, and nobody is smiling. The shadow of the Green Knight seems to fall across the scene again, especially given that the scene's subtitle is 'the

[26] Charles Dickens, *A Christmas Carol* p.59.
[27] John Grossman, *Christmas Curiosities – Old, Dark and Forgotten Christmas* (New York; London: Stewart, Tabori and Chang 2008) p.99.

cave of mystery.'[28] (Figure 2)

(Figure 2. Illustrated London News 1866 'Old Father Christmas, Or the Cave of Mystery'.)

Pulling Father Christmas and the wassail bowl into the parlour marked a change in the importance of children within the family, and the favouring of familial and gender roles over those marks of status that were conferred by the wider community. Writers noted with approval the growth in customs such as going home (usually back to parents) for Christmas dinner, but of course this custom would have been unnecessary before the migration of workers into areas of industrialisation, away from their families and home towns. The wassaillers' lambswool, symbolic of times when doors were open to carollers, mummers and anyone needing hospitality, became one of a number of dishes served at the family's Christmas feast, a quaint old relic served in an old china bowl. An example of this is shown in the popular domestic management and recipe book, *Warne's Model Housekeeper*, where the wassail drink has become something much more like a trifle – ratafia biscuits and macaroons, soaked in wine, with custard on the top.[29] (Figure 3.)

[28] The 'cave of mystery' might refer to the dark space hung with curtains from which Father Christmas, in his slippers, has emerged. Engraving by C. Green, *Illustrated London News* December 22 1866.
[29] Ross Murray, *Warne's Model Housekeeper*, (London: Frederick Warne & Co.,1882) p.338.

Figure 3. Illustration from *Warne's Model Housekeeper*, showing the wassail bowl as item 2, blanketed in custard. (The steaming bowl is punch).

This tension between warmth towards the idea of community celebrations in the past, and the wish of the middle classes to turn inwards, creating a new, family centred Christmas, can be seen in periodicals and newspapers. One of the mouthpieces of Victorian values, the mass circulation *Illustrated London News,* turned the focus towards 'the sanctities of home', and began to concentrate on 'domestic rites' claiming that the performance of these rites was part of the English culture 'from time immemorial.'[30] Thomas K. Hervey, in the popular work *The Book of Christmas* first published in 1837, noted the difference between the olden times, when 'Merriment was everywhere a matter of public concernment' and the Victorian present, where there is a 'spirit which assembles men in families now.'[31] Connelly notes that; 'Home meant a great deal to the Victorians. It was the instrument of civilisation, duty and obedience – the antithesis of the frightening concept of the mob. Home, sweet home was therefore a celebrated institution: Christmas was its perfect expression'.[32]

In this re-modelled Christmas there was no room for the communal wassail bowl that held gallons of alcohol, or the cup that was passed from lip to lip. *The Illustrated London News* commented in 1849 'Christmas has outlived all antique mummery, and is all the better for having shaken off his ancient and faded trappings.'[33] Vizetelly also seems content to

[30] Passage from the *Illustrated London News,* quoted in Connelly. 'It would seem to be a special characteristic of the Teutonic race to watch with the deepest interest and tenderest solicitude over the sanctities of home, and Christmas has been consecrated by them, from time immemorial to the performance of domestic rites.' p.76.
[31] Thomas K. Hervey *The Book of Christmas* (1888) p.iv.
[32] Mark Connelly, *Christmas* p.12.
[33] *Illustrated London News* 22 December 1849 Christmas Supplement.

sweep aside the customs recorded in verses from previous centuries. He introduces his selection of nineteenth century verses with this passage.

> Few words will suffice by way of introduction to the Christmas poems of the nineteenth century, as for the most part these treat of customs and peculiarities familiar to all. The picturesque ceremonies and rude festivities that distinguished the Christmas of bygone times have passed away, and, for ourselves, we can regard the loss of them without regret. We are too thankful to have lighted upon a more civilized age. […] We conceive that Queen Victoria can celebrate her Christmas with her accustomed gracious hospitality, without its being necessary for the Lord Chamberlain to assume the character, and perform all the absurdities, of a Lord of Misrule. […] The Yule Log and the Wassail bowl are beyond revival, and even the Christmas Carol is falling into desuetude.' [34]

While he is an advocate for a quieter Christmas celebration without superstition and 'absurdities', all the same Vizetelly celebrates the wassail bowl as a symbol of Christmas. 'All men in all places, who would keep Christmas Eve as Christmas Eve should be kept, must set the wassail bowl a-flowing for the occasion'.[35] However he makes clear that this wassail is to be enjoyed by family and close friends around the hearth. Throughout the book there is tension between new ways of enjoying the season, and old images and symbols of Christmas itself, including the wassail bowl. For example, he has included Thomas Miller's sentimental poem, 'Christmas comes but once a year', which illustrates this nostalgia for the old figure of Christmas, wreath and wassail bowl in place.

> What, though upon his hoary head
> Have fallen many a winter's snow
> His wreath is still as green and red
> As 't was a thousand years ago.
> For what has he to do with care?
> His wassail bowl and old arm-chair
> Are ever standing ready there
> For Christmas comes but once a year.[36]

Hervey, in *The Book of Christmas*, displays this same tension. Here, he takes Jonson's short description of 'Wassell' in his Christmas Masque, discussed above, and expands it into a full character:

[34] Vizetelly, *Christmas with the Poets*, p.143.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid. p166.

> Near them stands, we rejoice to see, their favourite sister Wassail. She was of a slender figure in Ben Jonson's day, and is so still. If the garb in which she appears has a somewhat antiquated appearance, there is a play of the lip and a twinkle of the eye which prove that the glowing and joyous spirit which made our ancestors so merry "ages long ago," and helped them out with so many a pleasant fancy and quaint device, is not a day older than it was in the time of King Arthur. How should she grow old who bathes in such a bowl? It is her fount of perpetual youth! Why, even mortal hearts grow younger, and mortal spirits lighter, as they taste of its charmed waters. There it is, with its floating apples and hovering inspirations![37]

It seems that such passages have now become sources of evidence for the belief that Christmas rituals in the old, folk manner had died out by the mid-Victorian era, and that Christmas was hardly celebrated until it was revived by Dickens and the Royal Family. However, it is notable how many references are made in these Christmas texts to the wassail bowl, albeit to mourn its decline. These passages must have still had resonance with the modern, younger Victorian reader, or the symbol of the wassail bowl would have been meaningless. The concern shown that wassailing, the Yule log and carolling were no longer celebrated reflects sentiments expressed throughout the Victorian era that Christmas as a festival and holiday was in decline.

With the growth of urban communities came transient populations. As Robert Southey remarked in 1807, the change in Christmas customs had a simple reason. 'In large towns the population is continually shifting; a new settler neither continues the customs of his own province in a place where they would be strange, nor adopts those which he finds, because they are strange to him, and thus all local differences are wearing out.'[38] In these circumstances the home was the place in which the family became its own community, clinging to the correct and proper way to act, regardless of what the neighbours might be doing. This was a change from earlier sensibilities when the community controlled behaviour and any family that kept aside was regarded with some suspicion. As with other folk customs, the changes to the wassail, both rural and urban, illustrate the changing priorities of England during the Victorian era; it became a place where private activities took priority over public exhibition, doors were closed, and the gender roles were closely defined and monitored.

Starting, slowly, in the 1850s, there was a turning away from the eighteenth century forms of communal leisure activities such as hiring fairs and street football games, towards more genteel pursuits such as promenading in parks, visiting museums and taking trips on the railway. Tea and coffee was seen to be replacing drinking hard liquor, especially in public

[37] Hervey, *Book of Christmas* p.116.
[38] Don Mauel Alvarez Espriella (pseud. Robert Southey) *Letters from England* (first American edtn. Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1807) p.284.

during the day, and society imposed more control on behaviour. This change was by no means countrywide or quick to take effect; as E. P. Thompson has discussed, anarchic country customs and forms of communal justice such as 'rough music' were still carried out throughout the nineteenth century.[39] Gary Moses, researching hiring fairs of this period, has concluded that the incidents of serious drink-related violence at the fairs were tolerated as one of the ways in which farm workers could take ownership of the territory of the fair, and settle enmities between workers, outside the period of employment.[40]The darker side of interactions between agricultural workers and their land is explored at the end of this chapter, which draws on Carl Griffin's work to look at the particular offence of cutting down or injuring trees.

Nevertheless, despite some survival of these rustic methods of community action, it is clear that Victorian social commentators, looking back to the festivities and feasts of earlier eras, and out to the fairs and carnivals of their own age, had qualms about the amount of alcohol consumed during Anglo-Saxon and Tudor feasting. Drinking to excess was not a custom that they wished to encourage, particularly in the public domain and among the working class. The representations of drinking, of raising toasts and sharing wassails and punches, began to diminish on Christmas cards and in illustrations. Armstrong notes that drinking toasts, especially as in the form of a 'pledging cup', was central to the Christmas culture of early Victorians, and that it was edged out not so much by the temperance movement, which he sees as ineffectual, but by the reconfiguration of Christmas as a children's festival.[41]

If Christmas among the urban working and middle classes revolved around the home and family, there was nevertheless a place for, and interest in, the wassail that took place in orchards. These could be seen as a marginalised remnant of the pre-industrial countryside, but the argument of this chapter is that the significance attached to the wassail bowl, as demonstrated above, gives the orchard wassail more importance than many declining, and subsequently revived, country customs, and that Victorian writers also bought into that symbolism in their efforts to record, and so preserve, the orchard wassail.

As discussed in Chapter Two, during the mid and late-Victorian era the working class drink of 'cyder' was declining in favour of wine, the upper and middle-class favourite, consumed in the home. Cyder had been drunk in the public houses or while working in the

[39] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin, 1991).
[40] Gary Moses, 'Passive and Impoverished; a Discussion of Rural Popular Culture in the Mid Victorian Years' *Rural History* Vol. 22 Issue 2 (2011).
[41] Armstrong, *Christmas in Nineteenth Century England* p.30.

fields, and often taken as payment for farm work. This had a detrimental effect on the cider orchards, and perhaps on the enthusiasm for wassailing.

However, orchards and their wassailers had survived other periods of decline before the Victorian era, and it is doubtful that wassailing from house to house or in the orchards would have continued as a completely unbroken annual celebration since pre-Christian times or even since the Middle Ages, especially during times of hardship, war, and when Cromwell made Christmas revelry illegal, although this was rarely enforced. If the wassail bowl in the baronial hall was a symbol of Christmas and the generosity of the season, the orchard-based wassail carried additional symbolism as a reminder of the customs of pre-industrial agrarian society, holding out against the darkness of the urban streets. In the accounts of the wassailing taking place in the South and South West of England, the rural, orchard-based wassail was depicted as a 'picturesque ceremony'. The following account comes from Johnson and Errington's article on the apple, in the *Gardener's Monthly* of 1847. The importance of such histories of the fruit has been discussed throughout this thesis, and here even wassailing is described, as an important part of the status of the apple.

> Let it rain, hail, blow or snow, this very essential and interesting ceremony is always commenced at twelve o clock at night, a tremendous fire being kept up for several hours afterwards. They repeat or sing the following interesting song, with all the might which their lungs will permit. The juice of the fruit is generally made use of for many hours, pretty freely, previously to this interesting ceremony, so that a perfect ripeness of address and expertise in gunnery is the result. Guns and firelocks long laid by are on this remarkable occasion brought forward. The following is what I have heard sung on these occasions, although much more is added in some localities:
>
> Here's to thee, old apple tree
> Whence thou mayest bud, and whence thou mayest blow
> And whence thou mayest bear apples enow
> Hats full, caps full
> Bushel, bushel sacks full
> And my pockets full too[42]

Johnson and Errington's account is within a work aimed at the hobby gardener of the suburban class, who might be growing a couple of apple trees. The description of the wassail ceremony is therefore included for entertainment, to inform the new leisure gardener about

[42] George W. Johnson, and R. Errington, 'The Apple: Culture, Uses and History' *The Gardener's Monthly* Vol. I (November 1847) and Vol. II (December 1847).

the heritage of the apple tree in England. The language used in their description indicates some of the Victorian attitudes towards the wassail. Although the phrase 'essential and interesting ceremony' may sound patronising, the repetition of 'interesting' – the song and the ceremony are both separately described as such – draws the reader's attention to the events described. The wassail takes place each winter at the same time, in the same way, regardless of the weather, so there is clearly something more 'essential' to it than just an opportunity to have a drink around a bonfire. The lack of detail on the conclusion of the 'solemn rites' gives an air of something being withheld, something that only the initiated participants can know, and have not vouchsafed to the writer or to his urban readers. It is clear from the description that the participants in the orchard are familiar with the wassail song, and there is a sense of an oral tradition being recorded, preserved and now served up for a much wider, literate audience. Those reading this account in their urban and suburban homes were the first of the industrialised middle classes, the first for whom an orchard was a distant, quaint place. For them the countryside, and its unmodernised rural folk, had become separate not only physically but culturally.

Hervey claimed in his *Book of Christmas*, that the wassail bowl in the house was in desuetude, but he saw the orchard wassail as a current custom. Hervey's rather humorous description drew attention to the pre-Christian origins of the custom:

> Not content with pledging all those who could drink in return, [the company] proceeded to an excess of boon-companionship, and after quaffing a wassail-draft to the health and abundant bearing of some favourite fruit-tree, poured what remained in the cup upon the root, as a libation to its strength and vitality. Here, also, we cannot fail to recognize the rites of classical times lurking in the superstitions used in the cider districts of England.[43]

This is a theme that ran through Hervey's commentary on Christmas customs, explicit in his introduction where he described the Roman feast of Saturnalia, and commented 'Not only in the spirit of the time, but in many of the forms which it took, may a resemblance be traced to the Christmas rejoicings of later days.'[44] Descriptions of wassailing in these Christmas books are not pinned down to any particular location such as a town or parish, nor is the year in which the activities are observed given, so tracking the veracity of any one account is certainly beyond the scope of this chapter. Many of the accounts echo each other,

[43] Hervey, *Book of Christmas*, p. 342.
[44] Ibid. p. 37.

and the verses and songs supposedly chanted by the wassailers can often be traced back to Herrick's verses.

Apart from the Christmas books discussed above in this chapter, descriptions of orchard-based wassailing are to be found in compendiums of country customs, in almanacs and year books, where they appear to be intended to give an engaging account of rustic traditions, and provide a link between the modern, up to date Victorian reader and the traditional agrarian calendar that the suburban villa household has left far behind. In his history of almanacs, Brian Maidment notes that although they had previously reflected a radical ethos, by mid Victorian times this had faded away, such that 'their Georgic connection with the agricultural year was almost as diluted as their distant recall of the demands of the liturgical year.'[45] Instead the almanac had become another Christmas book; one of the many ways of reading about country customs from the warmth of an armchair.

However there is some seriousness as well as nostalgia in many of the wassail descriptions. This is partly because, as has been shown, there is a certain seasonal reverence towards the wassail bowl, but also because such customs were recognised as being in decline, and were starting to be recorded and collected by antiquarian societies and scholars. The growing concern about this distancing, and the loss of an English identity, is reflected in the interest in folklore, a new term in the nineteenth century denoting rural customs, festivals and traditions. The regional and local amateurs interested in folklore and traditional activities began to organise into societies, to collate reports and send them to local papers, antiquarian societies and for publication. E. P. Thomson refers to the folklorists as paternalistic, who were 'observing across a wide social distance'; not so much interested in the origins and motivations behind a custom, or in seeing custom as a 'vocabulary of discourse'. Instead they were classifying the singular examples of forms and variations 'according to a sort of human botany.'[46]

However, John Ashton, in his study of Northern folklorists, argues that these folklorists were conversant with the emerging anthropological theories, and were connected with a network of 'scholars and hobbyists alike.'[47] The tightening of scholarly methods accounts, perhaps, for the increasingly neutral tone and a preoccupation with the details of the folk customs described in these accounts, as opposed to those written primarily for the

[45] Brian Maidment, 'Re-arranging the Year: The Almanac, the Day Book and the Year Book as Popular Literary Forms 1789 – 1869' in Juliet John and Alice Jenkins (eds), *Rethinking Victorian Culture: Essays from the 1996 conference on Victorian studies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) p.101.
[46] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* p.27.
[47] John Ashton, 'Beyond Survivalism: Regional Folkloristics in Late-Victorian England' *Folklore* Vol. 108 1997 (London: Taylor and Francis 1997) 19-23. p.20.

entertainment of the armchair reader. Many of these local reports were written and collated by members of the British Folklore Society and were then re-published in a comprehensive study of British calendar customs, in 1940, at another time when it was felt that England was under threat.[48] What is noticeable from the folklorists' collected entries on wassailing and other apple-based customs is the tone of regret, of loss, and of dwindling in participation in these rituals during the late Victorian era. Miss Partridge notes the decline of wassailing in Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, and also a debasement of the details of the tradition, down to a simpler and more generic form.

> On Christmas Eve [footnote: 'On Old Christmas Eve, the 5th of January, wassailers used to come with their traditional song'] men go round the Minchinhampton district singing a wassail song. They carry a large bowl, formerly of wood, decked out with evergreens. It used to have small dolls among the decorations but this is not done now. The bowl used to be kept by one man, known as the "King of the Wassailers". An old man says there used to be as many as twenty of these wassailers, but never more than one band or set in a village. Now, only three or four wassailers come. [49]

Moses has argued that rural popular culture in mid-Victorian years was not diminished, but instead adapted to the changes so that some form of the tradition continued. Some rituals, especially those that could not be replicated in urban settings, such as orchard wassailing, fire ceremonies, well or tree dressing, served to emphasise and contribute to the divide between the urban and rural ways of life. This separation, however, added to the appeal of rural life to those now removed from it. The pace of that removal was swift. This thesis has already discussed the narrative of Victorian rural life that charts its decline as more land workers moved into the cities, and farming began to become mechanised and systematised. In the orchard wassail and its changes can be seen the consequences of this considerable upheaval on the cultural life of the rural landscape, as well as on material living standards.

The diet of urban Victorians has been discussed in Chapter Two, in the context of the urban apple trade. The high price and scarcity of home grown apples for town dwellers has been mentioned, but food supplies were little better in the countryside. As G. E. Fussell has shown, the life of a rural labourer, surviving the two agricultural depressions of the Victorian era, was extremely hard, with short life spans, ill health, poverty, meagre

[48] A. R. Wright and T. E. Lones, (eds) *British Calendar Customs. Vol. 3 England. Fixed Festivals*: (London: William Glaisher for the Folklore Society, 1940). There is an interesting parallel in this work being published in collected form at another time of great change and concern over preserving Englishness.
[49] Ibid. p. 232.

possessions and constant hunger being far more usual than the idyllic picture of a cottage with roses round the door and a fattening pig and hens in the garden, as painted by Morgan or Allingham. The cottage was most likely rented, and the garden dug over for winter cabbages and potatoes.[50]

The Victorian agricultural labourer's diet was recorded as mainly bread, a little bacon in the West Country especially, and a little cheese. Canon Tuckwell, estimating the expenditure of such a family in 1885, gives them only bread, flour, bacon, potatoes, cheese, sugar, tea, butter, milk, and treacle to eat. Even supposing they were 'growing their own' and had access to some apples, this is a poor diet and liable to be much scanter in the winter. The Canon acknowledged that 'Dreary England had taken the place of Merrie England'.[51] In the light of these reflections on the reality of Victorian rural life, it is worth considering the costs of the ingredients of a wassail bowl, which denoted its place as a celebration dish by the cost and scarcity of its ingredients. Certainly lambswool, thick with eggs and cream, would have been fanciful at Christmas time, in the depths of winter, when the labouring rural poor were scraping through on potatoes and burnt toast grated up to make 'tea'. At that time of year the milk would not have been thick enough for much cream, and the hens would have stopped laying regularly. Fussell remarks 'Legendary history is rarely so apparent anywhere else as it is in discussion of people's food. Feasts are easier to remember than the orderly procession of normal days; cake is more memorable than bread and its recipes more extensive in cookery books […] so that it is difficult for contemporaries to record anything but the festivals.'[52] In other words, wassailing is not representative, and in its most elaborate form must be all the more remarkable for the demands it would have made on the villagers' provisions, and the place it subsequently held in their memories.

Historians of rural society have considered the social and material inequalities inherent in the lot of the rural labourer, and demonstrated through their diet and spending patterns as discussed above. Although the nineteenth century rural dwellers were seen as representations of stability and deference, their grievances were expressed through crime, protest and vandalism. In his work on rural protest in Norfolk and Suffolk, J.E. Archer noted that the vision of the 'tranquillity and harmony' of John Constable's landscapes should be set against the unseen society 'in which the majority of its inhabitants, wavering between toil and charity, fought a long and often hopeless struggle against their exploiters, the farmers

[50] G. E. Fussell, *The English Rural Labourer* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1949).
[51] Ibid. p.135.
[52] Ibid. p.82.

and landowners.'[53] Hobsbawm and Rudé note that 'pauperism, degradation, desperation and sullen discontent' were 'almost universal' by the time the Captain Swing riots broke out in 1830.[54] Without here tracing the entire history of rural protest, it is useful to summarise the causes of the disturbances, focussing on East Anglia in particular, to include the 1816 riots in Ely and the Captain Swing threshing machine breakers and arsonists of the 1830s. Hobsbawm, Rudé and Archer agree on the causes and motivation for rural protest – the inequality inherent in the paid labourers' lot, after the enclosures; the reduction in income due to fluctuating wheat prices; the harshness of the various poor relief systems; and the introduction of threshing machines and other mechanisation, which took away a lot of winter work from the labourer.

An important impetus for dissent within East Anglia was its development of larger scale agriculture. The region was the centre for the new agricultural machinery and farming methods. Hobsbawm and Rudé noted that in 1830 'probably [the only] firm in the country which described itself primarily or exclusively as "agricultural implement manufacturers"' was Ransomes of Ipswich, followed in the decade by others across the region.[55] Hobsbawm and Rudé include poaching as a 'protest crime'; using it as 'an index of growing poverty and social tension' and note that all the Eastern counties saw a marked increase in poaching throughout the decades until 1830. Therefore it was no surprise that, besides poaching, the destruction of threshing machines, and incidents of arson, formed the bulk of protests in the Eastern region against tithes, rent increases and mechanisation.

However, Archer's in depth investigation of protest in East Anglia gathered evidence for a particular type of protest; 'tree maiming.', although this specific term was first used in this context by Carl Griffin in 2007.[56] Archer claimed that the 'specific but elusive crime of the destruction of trees, gardens and orchards dates back to the eighteenth century, when they came within the terms of the Black Acts' of 1723 which made many poaching and forest incursions into criminal acts, and the malicious destruction of trees, orchards and gardens into a capital offence. Archer speculated that destruction of orchards in East Anglia was a substitute for arson, but both Archer and Hobsbawm have listed plenty of incendiary attacks across Eastern England, so it seems that destruction of trees and orchards was a

[53] J. E. Archer, *By a Flash and a Scare: Arson, Animal Maiming and Poaching in East Anglia* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2010) p.1.
[54] Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing* (London: Verso Books, 2014) p.81.
[55] Ibid. p. 83.
[56] Carl Griffin, 'Protest Practice and (Tree) Cultures of Conflict: Understanding the Spaces of 'Tree-maiming' in Eighteenth-and Early Nineteenth-century England' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography* NS 33 (2008) 91 – 108.

particular choice of the perpetrators. Archer has provided an example of five hundred fruit trees being cut down in Stanton, Suffolk. These attacks are not crimes motivated by stealing something to eat. As Archer has recorded, the majority of these incidents occurred in the early summer months when the apple crop was ripening, so although there was no material gain to the attacker, there was certainly the maximum loss to the owner of the trees.

What is of most interest for the purpose of this study is the significance of plant maiming to the cultural importance of the apple and the apple tree. It is not too speculative to see apple trees in anthropomorphic terms; so often have apple trees been a substitute or symbol for the human, or even the divine, figure in art, myth and folklore. To chop down one apple tree, let alone hundreds in a night, is a violent act that requires both planning and persistence. Arsonists can set the fire and run; machine-breakers worked collectively and reiterated that they were harming nobody, just destroying a machine. But tree maimers seemed to have a personal grudge, and picked their targets. Certainly a commercial orchard represents a large amount of capital investment; as has been discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, trees are expensive and non-productive for the first few years. As a representation of the land or business owner, it is not surprising that orchards were sometimes the target for injury and harm. But Griffin has pointed to the cultural implications of the act; trees, he says 'invoke particularly deeply held (and felt) meanings. Trees were wrapped up in bitterly contested conflicts concerning enclosures and the divisions between customary rights and private property rights. Trees were also physical symbols of both attachments to place and socio-economic change.'[57]

In conclusion, these examples of tree maiming are the dark side of the wassail celebrations in the orchard, where trees are celebrated as characters and personalities to be treated with affection and offered gifts. The desecration of an orchard is a formal declaration of hate, against everything that the trees embodied, and against the personality of their owners, also embodied in the shape of the trees. However the wassail in its various forms allowed a celebration of trees as sentient and beneficent. Wassailing was a ritual from an undefined and romanticised past, with promises of hospitality that the realities of the confined, home-based Christmas often failed to fulfil. Singing around apple trees was an activity that brought up Victorian suspicions of superstition and 'mummery.' Nevertheless they also felt a sense of loss, and perhaps of guilt, at the decline of these communal, village-based traditions. Like the

[57] Carl Griffin, 'Cut Down by Some Cowardly Miscreants': Plant Maiming, or the Malicious Cutting of Flora, as an Act of Protest in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Rural England. *Rural History, 19*(1) (2008) 29-54 p.31.

idealised depictions of the orchard in genre art, the wassail was therefore re-packaged and sold back to urban consumers via the collections of texts in the Christmas books.

Conclusions

Each chapter of this thesis has considered the conclusions of its argument at the appropriate point, and it is not proposed that this section should repeat them. Rather, the argument of the thesis will be considered against the evidence gathered throughout the thesis as a whole, in order to demonstrate how, and to what extent, the argument has been supported and the initial three questions answered.

The primary argument for this thesis is that the apple and the orchard were important during the long nineteenth century, and that the apple was unique as a crop, having more cultural significance as a symbol than it did as an economic commodity. The three questions used to interrogate this argument were; what happened to the apple as a commodity during the Victorian era, how was the apple used and represented, and where did it fit into society and culture?

Part One therefore considered how apples were grown and traded, demonstrating that the apple was an important, but not a staple crop. The economic importance of the apple and the extent of the apple trade has been overlooked by historians. Fruit was seen as an occasional purchase when disposable income allowed, and little attention has been paid to the fruit and vegetable wholesale and retail markets, when compared with the work on other foods and consumable items. A further reason for the lack of attention paid to orchards could be the difficulty of calculating the extent of land under orchard cultivation. Although it is clear that the acreage of orchards increased steadily during the nineteenth century, it is difficult to calculate a particular rate of increase, or a national trend.

Therefore the major conclusion from Part One of this thesis is that the apple as a commodity increased in importance, with more apples being grown, sold and written about than previously. Despite this, the economic value of the apple during the nineteenth century has been cautiously underestimated by other historians.

This thesis considered the argument that the apple's economic value was low, but its cultural value was disproportionately high. Although this is true in terms of the proportion, this research has proved that the apple was an important commodity. Its cultural value was used to increase its economic worth, not necessarily in terms of bushels of apples sold, but in allowing more nurserymen, writers, and apple enthusiasts of all kinds to profit from its popularity. It remains true that the influence of the works of orchard experts is hard to establish, but there is evidence in the sheer number of books, articles and letters in the newspapers to show that apples were as often talked about as grown.

How they were grown, however, has been difficult to establish with certainty, but it can be concluded that the orchards supplying urban areas were grown more often on the intensive model, than on the pasture model. A nineteenth-century orchard as a productive space would often have looked very different from its depictions in nineteenth century art, and from present day representations of a 'traditional' orchard.

This emphasis on how apples were used as a commodity has been one way in which the apple's place in wider Victorian society could be explored. Efforts to grow apple trees were part of the movement to encourage horticulture as a wholesome activity that would decrease time spent by the man of the house in drinking, away from the family home, and instead encourage the gardener to become a well disciplined and productive member of his class. As this thesis has shown, gardens were beginning to be considered an area where women could be involved in the practical work as well as the decorative elements, and so the horticultural economy expanded to include them.

Both halves of the thesis considered the different moral associations with the various tasks of apple production and selling, beyond the garden. Orchard work, because it took place in a largely non-mechanised setting, was seen as one of the old ways of surviving in the rural economy, which was itself looked on with nostalgia, as the texts on wassailing demonstrated. By contrast, the costermongers selling apples in the street carried the associations of low morality, of being set apart from respectable society, into every transaction they made, with the fruit itself symbolising deception. Eve remains in the background of any text concerning a woman and an apple.

Part Two of this thesis considered Eve, the Virgin Mary and Classical goddesses in order to explore and define the cultural importance of the apple, and to answer the question of how the apple was represented. Although each painting deployed the apple in a unique way, it could be seen that depictions of such figures as Eve and the women in the narrative paintings largely supported the prevailing cultural hegemony concerning the place of women, with the apple being used to enforce associations between women and 'sin'.

The thesis as a whole has demonstrated that an important reason for the cultural importance of the apple during the Victorian era in particular was its significance as an emblem of Britishness. The qualities of being a good British citizen, or specifically a good Englishman, were often linked to rigid patterns of earning and spending, of the way in which one should progress through life while at the same time not getting above one's natural (God-given) class or station. It is almost impossible, therefore, to separate the economic apple from the cultural. Many cultural works included apples as a didactic object, Conversely, 'factual'

works such as Mayhew's description of London street traders should be considered as cultural texts, because they describe more about the society in which they were produced than about the simple economics of selling apples from a basket.

This thesis has considered both halves of the apple; the material and the cultural, and can conclude that both were of significance in Victorian England, to an extent that has been previously overlooked. Victorian England, its art and its food, have become subjects for more challenging academic scrutiny, and it is hoped that this work will provoke further debate within those areas.

Acknowledgements

This has been a labour of love over the past eight years, and has grown far beyond what I imagined when I began. The same could be said of Trumpington Community Orchard, and I thank my fellow members of the Management Committee for getting me started, and for my fellow members of the Board of the East of England Apples and Orchards Project for cheering me on.
Thanks to my Supervisor, Professor Peter Gurney, for sticking with me. Thanks to my Mum, Liz, for everything, but in particular for using her librarian skills to chase down obscure books and quotations and to my Dad, Roger and Step-Mum, Carol for all their encouragement. Finally thanks to my friends including Dave Fox, Dave Nugent, Lesley Steinitz, Alistair Stray and Liz Taylor for all their support, both material and intellectual.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Including nineteenth-century translations of earlier works, modern reprints of nineteenth-century sources and online scans of originals. Details of how works were accessed may be found in the individual footnotes.

Abbay, Rev. R., *Our Orchards: Letters to the East Anglian Daily Times 1892 – 1920 With Notes by the Rev. R. Abbay, Rector of Earl Soham and Hon Canon of Norwich* (Ipswich: The Ancient House Press, 1920)

Allingham, Helen and Marcus B. Huish, *Happy England* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903)

Amherst, Alicia, *A History of Gardening in England* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1886)

Ardcastle, Jon, 'The Art of Mr Fred Morgan', *The Windsor Magazine* Vol. 22 (June - September 1905)

Barnes, William (ed.), *The Apple: The Kansas Apple* (Topeka: Kansas State Horticultural Society, 1898)

Barron, A. F., *British Apples: Report of the Committee of the National Apple Congress* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1884)

Barron, A. F. and Rev. Wilks, 'Report of the Apple and Pear Conference Held in the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens at Chiswick Oct 16 – 20 1888' *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* Vol. 10 (1888).

Bartrum, Revd E., *The Present Distress, Especially in Essex: Some Remedies Suggested* (Colchester: Essex County Standard, 1894)

Beeton, Mrs (Isabella Mary), *The Book of Household Management*: C*omprising Information for the Mistress, Housekeeper, Cook, Kitchen-maid, Butler, Footman, Coachman, Valet, Parlour-maid, Housemaid, Lady's Maid, General Servant, Laundry-maid, Nurse and Nurse-maid, Monthly, Wet, and Sick Nurses, Governess. Also, Sanitary, Medical and Legal Memoranda, with a History of the Origin, Properties, and Uses of All Things Connected with Home Life and Comfort*. (Entirely New Ed., Rev., Corr. & Greatly Enl. Ed. London; New York; Melbourne; Sydney: Ward Lock, Bowden &, Co., 1892)

Blatchford, Robert, ('Nunquam'), *Merrie England* (1884) (repr. London: Journeyman Press, 1976)

Brookshaw, George, *Pomona Britannica: A Collection of the Most Esteemed fruits Cultivated in Great Britain, Selected Principally from the Royal Gardens at Hampton Court…* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Browne, 1812)

Bull, Henry Graves and Robert Hogg, *The Apple and Pear as Vintage Fruits* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1886)

Bunyard, George, *A Year's Work on a Kentish Fruit Farm, by a Practical Man* (Maidstone: G. Bunyard and Co.,1898)

Bunyard, George, *Fruit Farming for Profit…with Detailed Instructions for Successful Commercial Culture on the Kent System* (Maidstone: Vivish and Baker, 6th edn 1911)

Cassell's Dictionary of Cookery (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1892)

Cobbett, William, *Rural Rides* ed. by George Woodcock (Aylesbury: Penguin, 1975)

Collins, Louis, *The Advertisers' Guardian* (London: Louis Collins,1885)

Collins, Louis, *An Advertiser's Guide to Publication* (London: Louis Collins,1887)

Coxe, William, *A View of the Cultivation of Fruit Trees England 1817* (reprint Bedford MA: Applewood Books, 2008)

Cowper, William, *The Task* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1878)

Dante, *Inferno*, trans. H. W. Longfellow (First edn1867) ed. by Pearl, (London: Matthew Modern Library Classics, 2003).

Darwin, Charles, *Complete Works*: *Variation of animals and plants under domestication Volume 1* (New York: New York University Press, 2010)

De Voe, Thomas F., *The Market Assistant* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867)

Dickens, Charles, *A Christmas Carol: A Ghost Story of Christmas* (First edn London: Chapman and Hall, 1843. (Bungay: The Reprint Society, 1950)

Dodd, George, *Nature's Gifts and How We Use Them*: *A Familiar Account of Our Every-day Wants, Comforts and Luxuries* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1879)

Dodd, George, *The Food of London: A sketch of the Chief Varieties, Sources of Supply, Probable Quantities, Modes of arrival, Processes of Manufacture, Suspected Adulteration, and Machinery of Distribution, of the Food for a Community of Two Millions and a Half* (London: Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1856)

Euripides, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, trans. T. A. Buckley. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850)

Fish, D. T. *The Apple: Its History, Varieties and Cultivation* (London: 'The Country Office', 1847)

The Florist, Fruitist and Garden Miscellany (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857)

Folkard, Richard Jnr, *Plant Lore: Legends and lyrics* (London: Low, Marston, Searle and

Rivington, 1884)
Foster, Benjamin Oliver, 'Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 10 (1899) 39 -55
Francatelli, Charles Elmé, *A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Classes* (First edn.1886, Reprint: Whitstable: Pryor Publications, 1993)
Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough* First pub. London: Macmillan, 1890 ed. by Robert Fraser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
Gifford, W. (ed.), *The Works of Ben Jonson in Nine Volumes: Volume VII The Masques at Court* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1816)
Gilchrist, Alexander, *The Life of William Etty R.A.* (London: David Bogue, 1855)
Greenwood, James, *The Wilds of London* (1st edn London: Chatto and Windus, 1874) (Victorian London eBooks) Kindle edition [accessed 01/12/2020]
Groom, James, *The Apple in Orchard and Garden: An Account of its Improved Culture Brought Down to our Own Day* (London: George Routledge, 1883)
Haggard, Lilias Rider, *Rural England* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1905)
Hazlitt, William, 'The Letter Bell' in *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt* ed. by A. R. Waller (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1904)
Heine, Hendrick, *The Prose Writings of Heindrick (sic) Heine*, ed. by and intro. William Havelock Ellis, (London: Walter Scott, 1887)
Hemans, Felicia, (Mrs Hemans) *The Poetical Works of Hemans, Heber and Pollok in One Volume* (Philadelphia: John Grigg, 1832)
Hervey, Thomas K., *The Book of Christmas* (First pub. London 1837) ed. by and intro. Stephen Roud repr. of 1888 edn by The Folklore Society (London: Wordsworth, 2000)
Hill, Benson E., *The Epicure's Almanac and Directory (*London: J. How, 1843)
Hill, Georgiana, *How to Cook Apples: Shown in a Hundred Different Ways of Dressing that Fruit* (London: Routledge Warne and Routledge, 1864)
Hogg, Robert Dr, *The Apple: British Pomology, or the History, Description, Classification and Synonyms of the Fruits and Fruit Trees of Great Britain*. (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1851)
Hogg Robert, Dr, *The Apple and its Varieties* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1859)
Hogg, Robert, Dr, *A New Classification of Apples* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1876)
Hogg, Robert, Dr, *Using the Apple and Pear as Vintage Fruits* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1886)
Hogg, Robert and Bull, Henry Graves, *Herefordshire Pomona* (Hereford: Jakeman and

Carver, 1876)
Hone, William, *The Every-day Book and Table Book* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1830)
Impey, Catherine, *What Shall We Do with Our Apples?* (London: Vegetarian Office, 1893?)
Jeffries, Richard, *After London, or Wild England* (1885) intro. John Fowles (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1980)
Johnson, George W., 'The apple – culture, uses and history' *Gardener's Monthly* Vols 1 & 2 (1850)
Kerr, Robert, *The Gentleman's House: Or How to Plan English Residences from the Parsonage to the Palace* (London: John Murray, 1865)
Kinnear, William, 'How to prolong life' *The North American Review* Vol. 163 no. 477 August 1896
Knight, Henry, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Apple and Pear* (London: Longman and Rees, 1801)
Knight, Thomas, *Pomona Herefordiensis* (London: The Agricultural Society of Herefordshire, 1811)
Lindley, George, ed. by John Lindley, *A Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green 1831)
Lindley, John, and Robert Thompson, *The Pomological Magazine: Figures and Descriptions of the Most Important Varieties of Fruit Cultivated in Great Britain* (London: James Ridgeway, 1828 – 1841)
Loudon, Jane, *Botany for Ladies* (London: John Murray 1842)
Loudon, John, *Arboretum et Fruiticum Britannicum, or; The Trees and Shrubs of Britain* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838)
Loudon, John, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838)
Macaulay, Thomas Babington, ed. by William J. Rolfe *Lays of Ancient Rome* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888)
MacCulloch, J.A. *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1911)
Mayhew, Henry, *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of Those that Will Work, those that Cannot Work, and those that Will Not Work.* (London: Griffin Bohn and Co., 1862)
Mill, John, *Christmas in the Olden Time, or the Wassail bowl* (London: Hurst, 1846)
Mitchell, James, *Dendrologia; Or a Treatise of Forest Trees, with Evelyn's 'Silva' Revised, Corrected and Abridged by a Professional Planter* (Keighley: printed for the author by R.

Aked, 1827)
Morris, William, *Poems By The Way* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891)
Murray, Ross, *Warne's Model Housekeeper*, (London: Frederick Warne & Co.,1882)
Peacock, Thomas Love, *The Misfortunes of Elphin* (London: Thomas Hookham, 1829)
Phillips, Henry, *Pomariam Britannicum* (London: T. and J. Allman, 1820)
Phillips, Richard, *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew* (London: Souter, 1817)
Pike, Godfrey Holden, ('A Rambler') *The Romance of the Streets* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872)
Report from the Select Committee on the Fresh Fruit Trade (London: House of Commons 12 July, 1839)
Report of Proceedings of the International Horticultural Exhibition and Botanical Congress held in London May 22 to May 31 1866. (London: Truscott Son and Simmons, 1866)
Rhys, Sir John, *Studies in the Arthurian Legends* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891)
Ritchie, Ewing J., *The Night Side of London* (London: William Tweedie, 1858)
Rivers, Thomas, *The Miniature Fruit Garden* (1852 - 1870)
Roach Smith, Charles, 'On the Scarcity of Home Grown Fruits in Great Britain, with Remedial Suggestions' *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (New Series Vol. III Session 1862-1863)
Robinson, William, *The Wild Garden* (London: John Murray, 1870)
Rogers, Revd Williams, 'On the Trade, Habits and Education of the Street Hawkers of London' *Journal of the Society of Arts* 3/4/1857
Ronalds, Hugh, *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis or a Concise Description of Selected Apples* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831)
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Ballads and Sonnets* (London: Ellis and White, 1881)
Ruskin, John, *Proserpina: studies of wayside flowers* Vol. I (Kent: George Allen, 1879)
Ruskin, John, *Proserpina: Studies of Wayside Flowers* Vol. II (New York: John Wiley, 1888)
Ruskin, John, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849)
Ruskin, John, *Modern Painters Vol. III* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1857)
Ruskin, John, *Sesame and Lilies* (London: Collins Penny Library, n.d.)
Ruskin, John, *Notes on the Turner Gallery at Marlborough House1856-57* (London: Smith, Elder & Co.,1857)
Salisbury, William, *Hints Addressed to Proprietors of Orchards* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816)
Sandys, William, *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* (London: Richard Beckley, 1833)

Sandys, William, *Christmas-tide, its History, Festivities and Carols, with Their Music* (London: John Russell Smith, 1852)
Scott, Sir Walter, *Ivanhoe: A Romance* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835)
Shaw, C. W., *London Market Gardening* (London: [n. pub.], 1879)
Smith, Albert, *The Wassail Bowl* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843)
Smith, Edward, Dr, *A Collection of Diets* (London, 1863)
Smith, Edward Dr, *A Practical Dietary for Families, Schools and the Labouring Classes* (London, Walton and Maberly,1865)
Smyth, William Henry, *Aedes Hartwellianae, or notices of the manor and mansion of Hartwell* first published 1844 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014)
Southey, Robert, writing as Don Mauel Alvarez, *Letters from England* (first American edn Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1807)
Steele, Robert (ed.), *Medieval Lore from Bartolomew Anglicus* (London: Elliot Stook, 1893)
Taylor, Tom and Myles Birket Foster, *Birket Foster's Pictures of English Landscape with Pictures in Words by Tom Taylor* (London: Routledge Warne and Routledge, 1863)
Thompson, J. G., *The Kansas Apple* (1897)
Thompson, Robert, *The Gardener's Assistant* (London: The Gresham Company, 1910)
Vizetelly, Henry, (ed.) *Christmas With the Poets* (London: David Bogue, 1851)
Ward, Thomas, *The English Poets: Selections with Critical Introductions* Vol. IV(1880)
Wharton, H. T., *Sappho* (London: John Lane Company, 1887)
Watts, Elizabeth, *The Orchard and Fruit Garden: Their Culture and Produce* (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1867).
Whitehead, Charles, *Agricultural Labourers* (London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1870)
Whitehead, Charles, *The Progress of Fruit Farming* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1885)
Wordsworth, William, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth Vol. VII* (reprint Frankfurt: Outlook, 2008)

Pomology

Other than the primary sources listed above. Including pomological art and culture, and recipe books which contain additional information about apples.

Archer, Val, *A Basket of Apples* (London: Pavilion Books, 1993)
Askay, Monica and Tom Williamson, *Orchard Recipes from Eastern England: Landscape,*

Fruit and Heritage (Lowestoft: Bridge Publishing, 2020)

Ball, Caroline, *Heritage Apples* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019)

Blackburn-Maze, Peter, *The Apple Book* (Twickenham: Collingridge Books, 1986)

Blanc, Raymond, *The Lost Orchard* (London: Headline Home, 2019)

Brown, Pete, *The Apple Orchard* (London: Particular Books, 2016)

Browning, Frank, *Apples* (London: Penguin, 2000)

Bultitude, John*, Apples; A Guide to the Identification of International Varieties* (*London: Macmillan Reference Books,*1989).

Bunyard Edward A., 'A Guide to the Literature of Pomology' *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* Vol. XL Part III (1915)

Clark, Michael, *Apples: A Field Guide* (Stowmarket: Whittet Books, 2003)

Clifford, Sue and Angela King, *The Apple Source Book* (London: Common Ground and Hodder and Stoughton, 2007)

Dallas, Patsy, *Orchards in the Norfolk Landscape: Historic Evidence of Their Management, Contents and Distribution* (Norwich: University of East Anglia, 2010)

de Torcy, Claire, *La Pomme dans l'Art* (Paris: Groupe Eyrolles, 2013)

Evelyn, John, *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees…to which is annexed Pomona, or an Appendix Concerning Fruit Trees in Relation to Cider* (London: Martyn and Allestry, 1664)

Ferree, D. C., and I. J. Warrington (eds), *Apples: Botany, Production and Uses* (Wallingford: CABI Publishing, 2003)

Futrell, Susan, *Good Apples: Behind Every Bite* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017)

Gerken, Jonathan, *Apples I Have Eaten* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007)

Hawthorne, Linden, (ed.) *The Northern Pomona* (York: Pomona Publications, 2007)

Humphreys, Helen, *The Ghost Orchard: The Hidden History of the Apple in North America* (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers, 2017)

Introduction to the DNA Fingerprinting of Apples and Pears (NP: Fruit ID, 2015)

Jackson, J. E., *Biology of Apples and Pears* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Jacobsen, Rowan, *Apples of Uncommon Character* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2014)

Janik, Erica, *Apple: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007) 2011 Kindle edition [accessed 29/04/2020]

Janson, H. Fredric, *Pomona's Harvest* (Portland: Timber Press, 1996)

Jentsch, Peter, *Historical Perspectives on Fruit Production* (Cornell University: n. d.)

Juniper, Barrie E. and David J. Mabberley, *The Story of the Apple* (Portland: Timber Press, 2006)

Juniper, Barrie E. and David J. Mabberley, *The Extraordinary Story of the Apple* (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: Kew Publications, 2019)

Kerrigan, William, *Johnny Appleseed and the American Orchard: A Cultural History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012) Kindle edition [accessed 01/05/2020]

Langley, Batty, *Pomona, or, the Fruit Garden Illustrated* (London: G Strahan etc., 1729)

Lawson, William, *A New Orchard and Garden with the Country Housewifes Garden* First Published 1618, reprint ed. by Malcolm Thick (London: Prospect Books, 2003)

Luby James, Philip Forsline, Herb Aldwinkle, Vincent Bus and Martin Geibel, 'Silk Road Apples: Collection, Evaluation and Utilisation of *Malus sieversii* from Central Asia' *HortScience* Vol. 36 Issue 2. (2001) 225 – 231.

Martin, Alice A., *All About Apples* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976)

Masset, Claire, *Orchards* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2012)

Mikolajski, Andrew, *The Complete World Encyclopaedia of Apples* (Wigston: Hermes House, 2012)

Morgan, Joan and Alison Richards, *The Book of Apples* (Kent: Brogdale Trust, 1993)

Morgan, Joan and Alison Richards, *The New Book of Apples* (London: Ebury, 2002)

Reiss, Marcia, *Apple* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015)

Rich, James, *Apple: Recipes from the Orchard* (London: Hardie Grant Books, 2019)

Roach, F.A., *Cultivated Fruits of Britain: Their Origin and History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1985)

Robertson, Adele C., *The Orchard* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1995)

Robertson, Forbes W., 'A History of Apples in Scottish Orchards' *Garden History* Vol. 35. No. 1 (Summer 2007) 37-50.

Rotherham, Ian B, 'Orchard and Groves: A Misunderstood and Threatened Resource' *Landscape Archaeology and Ecology* 7 (2008)

Short, Brian, with Peter May, Gail Vines and Anne-Marie Bur, *Apples and Orchards in Sussex* (Lewes: Action in Rural Sussex and Brighton Permaculture Trust, 2012)

Slade, Naomi, *An Orchard Odyssey* (Cambridge: Green Books, 2017)

Stocks, Christopher, *Forgotten Fruits: The Stories Behind Britain's Traditional Fruits and Vegetables* (London: Windmill, 2009)

Taylor, H. V., *The Apples of England* (London: Crosby Lockwood and Sons, 1946)

Thomas, H. H., *The Book of the Apple* (London: Bodley Head, 2002)

Triomphe, Robert, *Le Signe de la Pomme* (Strasbourg: Universitie de Strasbourg, 1999)

Twiss, Sally, *Apples: A Social History* (London: National Trust, 1999)

Ward, Ruth, *A Harvest of Apples* (London: Penguin 1988)

Wedge, Chris, *Traditional Orchards: Planting and Establishing Fruit Trees: Technical Information Note TIN014* (n.p.: Natural England, 2010)

Wheeler, Richard, (ed.) *CD edition of the Herefordshire Pomona*, (n.p.: Marcher Apple Network, 2005)

Secondary Sources

Ackroyd, Peter, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000)

Acosta, Ana, *Reading Genesis in the Long Eighteenth Century: from Milton to Mary Shelley* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006)

Albala, Ken, 'History on the Plate: The Current State of Food History' *Historically Speaking* 10:5 (November 2009) 6-8

Almond, Philip, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Applebaum, Robert, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup and Other Gastronomic Interjections* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006)

Archer, J. E., *By a Flash and a Scare: Arson, Animal Maiming and Poaching in East Anglia* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2010)

Armstrong, Alan (ed.), *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* (Woodbridge: Kent County Council and The Boydell Press, 1995)

Armstrong, Neil, *Christmas in Nineteenth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010)

Armstrong, Patrick, *The Changing Landscape* (Lavenham: Terence Dalton Ltd, 1975)

Arnold, Matthew, *Culture and Anarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Ashton, John, 'Beyond Survivalism: Regional Folkloristics in Late-Victorian England' *Folklore* Vol. 108 (1997) 19-23

Atkins, P. J., 'The retail milk trade in London 1790 – 1914' *Economic History Review* Vol. 33 No 4 (Nov 1980) 522 - 537

Atkinson, D., P. Jackson, D. Sibley, and D. Washbourne (eds), *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* (London: Tauris, 2005)

Auslanda, Leora, Amy Bentley, Leor Halevi, H. Otto Sibum, and Christopher Witmore 'Conversations: Historians and the Study of Material Culture' *American History Review* 114:5 (December 2009) 1355 - 1404

Baignent, Elizabeth, ‘‘God’s Earth Will Be Sacred’ : Religion, Theology and the Open Space Movement in Victorian England’ *Rural History* 22: 1 (April 2011) 31-58

Barczewski, Stephanie, *Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Barr, Andrew, *Drink: A Social History* (London: Pimlico, 1995)

Barrell, John, *The Dark Side of the Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Barringer, Timothy John, ‘Representations of Labour in British Visual Culture 1870 – 1875’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1994)

Barringer, Timothy John, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012)

Barrow, Rosemary, *The Use of Classical Art and Literature by Victorian Painters 1860 – 1913* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006)

Beard, Mary, ‘Frazer, Leach and Virgil: The Popularity (and Unpopularity) of the ‘Golden Bough’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 2 (April 1992) 203 - 224

Bearman, C. J., ‘Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp’s Folk Singers’ *The Historical Journal* Vol. 43 No. 3 (Sept 2000) 751 - 775

Beetham, Margaret, ‘Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton’ *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 36 No. 2 (2008) 391 - 406

Bennett, Tony and Patrick Joyce (eds), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010)

Benson, John, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain 1880 – 1980* (London: Longman, 1994)

Berberich, Christine, Neil Campbell and Robert Hudson, ‘Affective Landscapes: An Introduction’ *Cultural Politics* Vol. 9 No. 3 (2013)

Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019) Kindle edition

Blackman, Janet, ‘The Food Supply of an Industrial Town: A Study of Sheffield’s Public Markets 1780 – 1900’ *Business History* 5:2 (1963) 83 - 97

Bowe, Patrick, ‘The Sacred Groves of Ancient Greece’, *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 29:4, (2009) 235 - 245

Brantlinger, P. and W. Thesing (eds), *A Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002)

Brears, Peter, *Cooking and Dining with the Wordsworths* (Ludlow: Excellent Press, 2011)

Brewer, Derek and Jonathan Gibson, *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997)

Briggs, Asa, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1968)

Briggs, Asa, *Victorian Things* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2003)

Brooke, Jocelyn, *The Flower in Season* (London: The Bodley Head, 1952)

Broomfield, Andrea, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007)

Brown, Callum G., *Postmodernism for Historians* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005)

Brown, Jane, *The Pursuit of Paradise: A Social History of Gardens and Gardening* (London: Harper Collins, 1999)

Bruegel, Martin, (ed.), *A Cultural History of Food*. (London: Berg, 2012)

Bruno, David and Julian Thomas, (eds), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Buchanan, David, *Taste, Memory: Forgotten Foods, Lost Flavors and Why They Matter* (Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2012) Kindle edition.

Buckton, Henry, *Yesterday's Country Customs: A History of Traditional English Folklore* (Stroud: The History Press, 2012)

Bunce, Michael, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Burdett, Carolyn, 'Review of 'Victorian Sentimentality' at Tate Britain' *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 42 No. 1 (2013) 153 – 158

Burke, Peter, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997)

Burnett, John, *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Burnett, John, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999)

John Burnett, David Vincent, and David Mayall (eds), *The Autobiography of the Working Class: An Annotated Critical Bibliography* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984)

Cain, Peter, 'British Free Trade 1850 – 1914 Economics and Policy' *REFRESH* (*Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History)* Autumn 29 (1999)

Campbell, Colin, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987)

Chesterton, G. K. *The Victorian Age in Literature* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1913) Kindle edition [accessed 01/12/2020]

Church, R. A., *The Great Victorian Boom 1850 – 1873* (London: Macmillan, 1975)
Clark, Gregory, 'Land Rental Values and the Agrarian Economy in England and Wales 1500-1914' *European Review of Economic History* Vol. 6:3 (December 2002) 281 - 308
Clayton-Payne, Andrew and Brent Elliot, *Victorian Flower Gardens* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1988)
Cleveland-Peck, Patricia, *Auriculas through the Ages* (Malborough: Crowood Press, 2011)
Collins, E. J. T., 'Did Mid-Victorian Agriculture Fail?' *REFRESH (Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History)* 21, Autumn (1995)
Colls, R. and P. Dodds (eds), *Englishness: Politics and culture 1880 – 1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986)
Connell, R. W., *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995)
Connelly, Mark, *Christmas: A Social History* (London: Tauris, 1999)
Cooper, Sophie, ''Outlander' and the Victorian Resurgence of Highland Romanticism', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online* (published 20 July 2015)
Copley, Stephen and Peter Garside (eds.), *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
Coppock, J. T., 'The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture' *The Agricultural History Review* Vol. 4 No. 2 (1956) 66 – 79
Corbett, David Peters, Ysanne Holt, and Fiona Russell (eds), *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880 – 1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)
Cosgrove, Denis, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984)
Coverley, Merlin, *Occult London* (London: Oldcastle Books, 2017)
Crisp, Zoe, 'Housing and Private Outside Space in Nineteenth Century England' *CWPESH* 3 Cambridge University
Cronin, Helena, *The Ant and the Peacock* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
Crosby, Christina, *The Ends of History: Victorians and 'the Woman Question'* (New York: Routledge, 1991)
Culver, Marcia, 'The Death and Birth of an Epic: Tennyson's 'Morte D'Arthur'' *Victorian Poetry* Vol. 20 No. 1 (Spring 1982) 51-61
Cunningham, Hugh, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution 1780 - 1880* (London: Routledge, 1980)
Cunningham, Valentine (ed.), *The Victorians: An anthology of poetry and poetics* (Oxford:

Blackwell, 2000)
Currah, Ann (ed), *Chef to Queen Victoria: The recipes of Charles Elmé Francatelli* (London: William Kimber, 1973)
Curtin, D. and L. Heldke (eds), *Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992)
Curtis, L. P. Jnr (ed.), *The Historians' Workshop; Original Essays by Sixteen Historians* (New York: Knopf, 1970)
Da Costa Kaufmann, Thomas, 'Periodization and its Discontents' *Journal of Art Historiography* (June 2010)
Davies, Jennifer, *The Victorian Kitchen* (London: BBC Books, 1989)
Davies, Jennifer, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* (London: BBC Books, 1997)
Deakin, Roger, *Wildwood: A Journey Through Trees* (London: Penguin, 2008)
Debord, Guy, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black and Red, 1983)
Delumeau, Jean; trans. Matthew O'Connell, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition* (New York: Continuum, 1995)
Desmond, Ray, *Bibliography of British Gardens* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1984?)
Desmond, Ray, 'Victorian Gardening Magazines' *Garden History* Vol. 5 No. 3 (Winter 1977) 47 - 66
Dolfsma, Wilfred (ed.), *Consuming Symbolic Goods; Identity and Commitment, Values and Economics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008)
Douglas, Mary, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumerism* (London: Routledge, 1996)
Driver, Elizabeth, *A Bibliography of Cookery Books Published in Britain 1875 – 1914* (Totnes: Prospect Books in association with Mansell, 1989)
Dundes, Alan, 'The Apple-shot: Interpreting the Legend of William Tell' *Western Folklore* Vol. 50 No. 4 (Oct 1991) 327 - 360
Ebbatson, Roger, *An Imaginary England: Nation, Landscape and Literature 1840 – 1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)
Eliot, T. S., *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948)
Elliott, Brent, *The Royal Horticultural Society: A History 1804-2004* (London: Phillimore and Co., 2004)
Elliott, Brent, (ed.) *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library* Vol. 4 October 2010 London: Royal Horticultural Society (2010)

Elliott, Brent, (ed.) *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library* Vol. 7 March 2012 London: Royal Horticultural Society (2012)

Elston, Melissa, ''A World Outside': George Eliot's Ekphrastic Third Sphere in 'Mill on the Floss'' *George Eliot Studies* 62/63 (Sept 2012) 34 – 48

Ernle, Lord, *English Farming Past and Present* (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1936)

Evans, Joan, *The Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966)

Eveleigh, David, *A History of the Kitchen* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2007)

Falk, Pasi, *The Consuming Body* (London: Sage, 1994)

Feagin, Susan and Patrick Meynard, (eds), *Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Fleming, Gordon H., *John Everett Millais: A Biography* (London: Constable, 1998)

Firor, Ruth A., *Folkways in Thomas Hardy* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1962)

Floud, Roderick, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (London: Allen Lane, 2019)

Foley, Winifred, *A Child in the Forest* (London: BBC Books, 1986)

Foucault, Michel, *Of Other Spaces – Heterotopias* ([1967] accessed at foucault.info: http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html)

Fraser, W. Hamish, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850 – 1914* (London: Macmillan, 1981)

Freidberg, Susan, *Fresh: A Perishable History* (London, New York: Harvard University Press, 2009)

French, R. K., *The History and Virtues of Cyder* (London: Robert Hale, 1982)

Frisby, D. and M. Featherstone (eds), *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings* (London: Sage, 1997)

Fussell, G. E. *The English Rural Labourer* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1949)

Gagnier, Reginia, 'On the Insatiability of Human Wants: Economic and Aesthetic Man' *Victorian Studies* Vol. 36 No. 2 (Winter 1993) 125-153

Gallagher, Catherine, 'The Body Versus the Social Body in the Works of Thomas Malthus and Henry Mayhew' *Representations* No. 14 (Spring 1986) 83 - 106

Gallagher, Catherine and Thomas Laquer (eds), *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)

Gaskell, S. Martin, 'Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure' *Victorian Studies* 23 4 (Summer 1980) 479 - 501

Gervais, David, *Literary Englands: Versions of 'Englishness' in Modern Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar (eds), *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and*

the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979)
Giradot, N. J., 'Initiation and Meaning in the Tale of Snow White and the Seven Dwarves' *The Journal of American Folklore* Vol. 90 No. 357 (July – Sept 1977) 274 – 300
Girouard, Mark, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New York: Yale University Press, 1985)
Gooch, G. P., *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1913)
Gombrich, E. H., *The Uses of Images* (London: Phaidon,1999)
Gourvish, Terence R. and R. G. Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry 1830 – 1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
Gray, Annie, *The Greedy Queen: Eating with Victoria* (London: Profile Books, 2017) Kindle edition [accessed 29/04/2020]
Green, C. M. C., *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
Gregory, Melissa, 'Melodrama and the Penitent Woman Tableau in Victorian Culture: From Tennyson to Conrad' *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net* 62, October 2012 (University of Toronto)
Grieve, Margaret M., *A Modern Herbal* First edn 1931 (New York: Dover Publications, 1971)
Grossman, John, *Christmas Curiosities – Old, Dark and Forgotten Christmas* (New York; London: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 2008)
Gunn, Simon, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)
Gurney, Peter, *Wanting and Having; Popular politics and Liberal consumerism in England 1830 – 70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)
Haggard, Lilias Rider, (ed.), *I Walked by Night: Being the Life and History of the King of the Norfolk Poachers* (London: Nicolson and Watson, 1935)
Halliday, Stephen, *Amazing and Extraordinary Facts: The Olympics* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 2012)
Hammond, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer Vols1 and 2* (London: Guild Books, 1948)
Hardwick, Lorna and Christopher Stray, *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007)
Harris, J. Rendel, *Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1919)

Harrison, Brian, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815 – 1872* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994)

Harrison, Robert Pogue, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)

Harvey, David, 'Fruit Growing in Kent in the Nineteenth Century' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 79 (1964)

Harvey, John H., 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries' *The Agricultural History Review* Vol. 22 No. 1 (1974)

Heaton, Nell, *Traditional Recipes of the British Isles* (London: Faber and Faber, 1950)

Heller, Tamar and Patricia Moran (eds), *Scenes of the Apple: Food and the Female Body in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Women's Writing.* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003)

Helsinger, Elizabeth K., *Rural Scenes and National Representation; Britain 1815 – 1850* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997)

Hicks, Dan and Mary Beaudry (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Hindley, Diana and Geoffrey Hindley, *Advertising in Victorian England* (London: Wayland, 1972)

Hoare, Philip, *England's Lost Eden: Adventures in a Victorian Utopia* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006)

Hobsbawm, Eric, ed. by A. J. Taylor, *The Standard of Living in Britain During the Industrial Revolution* (London: Methuen, 1975)

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Hobsbawm, Eric and George Rudé, *Captain Swing* (New York: Pantheon, 1968)

Hodder, Edwin, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K. G.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Hodder, Ian, 'The Entanglements of Humans and Things: A Long Term View' *New Literary History,* Vol. 45, No. 1, Winter 2014, The Johns Hopkins University Press

Horn, Pamela, *The Victorian Country Child* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1985)

Howkins, Alun, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History 1850 - 1925* (London: Routledge, 1991)

Howlett, Edward, *Convivial Dickens: The Drinks of Dickens and his Times* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983)

Hudson, Frank Roy, 'Quantifying Hallstatt: Some Initial Results' *American Antiquity* Vol. 42 No. 3 (July 1977)

Hughes, Kathryn, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs Beeton* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006)

Hulin, Jean-Paul and Pierre Coustillas (eds), *Victorian Writers and the City* (Lille: Publications de L'Universite de Lille, 1979)

Humble, Nicola, *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006)

Hunt, E. H. and S. J. Pam, 'Essex Agriculture in the 'Golden Age' 1850 -73' *Agricultural History Review* 43 II

Hutton, Ronald, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Hyman, Wendy Beth, 'Seizing Flowers in Spenser's Bower and Garden.' *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 37. No. 2. (2007), 193–214

Illingworth, John, 'Ruskin and Gardening' *Garden History,* 22 2 (Winter, 1994)

Jackson-Houlston, Caroline M., ''Queen Lilies'? The Interpenetration of Scientific, Religious and Gender Discourses in Victorian Representations of Plants.' *Journal of Victorian Culture* Vol. 11 No. 1 (2006)

Jacobi, Carol, 'Sugar, Salt and Curdled Milk: Millais and the Synthetic Subject' *Tate Papers* 18 (Autumn 2012)

James, Louis, *Print and the People 1819 – 1951* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978)

Jameson, Fredric, *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Post Modern 1983 – 1998* (London: Verso, 2009)

Jefferys, James B., *Retail Trading in Britain 1850-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954)

Jekyll, Gertrude, *Wood and Garden* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901)

John, Juliet and Alice Jenkins (eds), *Rethinking Victorian Culture: Essays from the 1996 Conference on Victorian Studies* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)

Johnson, Steven, *The Ghost Map* (London: Penguin, 2008)

Joyce, Patrick and Tony Bennett, (eds) *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010)

Kass, Leon Dr, *The Hungry Soul: Eating and the Perfecting of our Nature* (New York: Free Press, 1994)

Kent, Christopher, 'Victorian Social History: Post Thompson, Post Foucault, Postmodern'

Victorian Studies Vol. 40 No. 1 (Indiana University Press, Autumn 1996)

Kinahan, F. 'Armchair Folklore: Yeats and the Textual Sources of 'Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry'' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 83C (1983) 255–267.

Kingsbury, Noel and Tim Richardson (eds), *Vista: The Culture and Politics of Gardens* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2005)

Knecht, Peter, 'Rice: Representations and Reality' *Asian Folklore Studies* Vol. 66 No. 1/2 (Nanzan University 2007)

Knoepflmacher, U. C. (ed.) *Victorian Hybridities – Cultural Anxiety and Formal Innovation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)

Kocol, Mary, 'The Garden in Early Art Photography' *Gardens Illustrated* (Nov. 2010)

Korsmeyer, Carolyn, *Making Sense of Taste: Food and Philosophy* (London: Cornell University Press, 1999)

Korsmeyer Carolyn (ed.), *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink* (Oxford: Berg, 2005)

Kriz, Kay Dian, 'An English Arcadia Revisited and Reassessed: Homan Hunt's *The Hireling Shepherd* and the Rural Tradition' *Art History* Vol. 10 No. 4 (December 1987) 475 – 491

Krueger, Christine (ed.), *Functions of Victorian Culture at the Present Time* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002)

Kucich, John and Diane Sadoff (eds*), Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Re-writes the Nineteenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000)

Labbe, Jacqueline M., *Romantic Visualities: Landscape, Gender and Romanticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998)

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson, 'Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language' *The Journal of Philosophy* Vol.77 issue 8 (Aug 1980)

Laing, Dave, *The Marxist Theory of Art* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1978)

Larrington, Carolyne, *King Arthur's Enchantresses* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2015)

Larsen Klein, Joan, 'From Errour to Acrasia' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* Vol. 41. No. 3 (1978)

Laws, Bill, *Fields* (London: Collins, 2010)

Lerner, Lawrence, *The Victorians* (London: Methuen, 1978)

Lightman, Bernard (ed.), 'Science and Culture' *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Lloyd, Christopher, 'The Methodologies of Social History: A Critical Survey and Defense of

Structurism' *History and Theory*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (May,1991)180-219

Lloyd, Timothy, 'Present Value Models of Agricultural Land Prices in England and Wales' (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1992)

Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Lowenthal, David, 'British National Identity and the English Landscape' *Rural History* 2:2 (1991)

Luard, Elizabeth, *European Peasant Cookery* (London: Grub Street, 2007)

Lucas, John, *Ideas of Nationhood in English Poetry* 1688 – 1900 (London: Hogarth Press, 1990)

Lupton, Deborah, *Food, the Body and the Self* (London: Sage, 1996)

Mabey. Richard, *Beechcombings: The Narratives of Trees* (London: Vintage, 2008)

Mabey, Richard *The Cabaret of Plants* (London: Profile Books, 2016)

Macbeth, George (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Victorian Verse* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975)

MacCulloch, J. A., *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1911)

Maclean, Gerald, Donna Landry, and Joseph P. Ward (eds), *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture 1550 – 1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Macmillan, John Duncan, 'Holman Hunt's *Hireling Shepherd*: Some Reflections on a Victorian Pastoral' *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jun 1972)

Martin, Scott C. (ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Alcohol: Social, Cultural and Historical Perspectives* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014).

McCartney, Eugene Stock, 'How the Apple Became a Token of Love' *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 56 (The Johns Hopkins University Press 1925)

McGowan, John, *Hannah Arendt: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,1998)

McGrath, Caroline, 'The Apple in Early Irish Narrative Tradition: A Thoroughly Christian Symbol?' *Studia Celtica Fennica* VII (2010) 18–25.

Maidment, Brian, *Dusty Bob: A Cultural History of Dustmen 1780 – 1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Mahamdallie, Hassan, *Crossing the 'River of Fire': The Socialism of William Morris* (London: Redwords, 2013)

Mancoff, Debra N., *The Arthurian Revival in Victorian Art* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990)

Mandler, Peter, 'Against Englishness: English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia 1850-1940' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Vol. 7 December 1997

Markham, Gervaise, *The English Husbandman* (London: Henry Taunton, 16355) Google books scan [accessed 01/12/2020]

Marsh, Jan, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880 – 1914* (London: Quartet, 1982)

Martins, Susanna W. and Tom Williamson, *The Countryside of East Anglia: Changing Landscapes 1870 – 1950* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008)

Marshall, Sybil, *Fenland Chronicle: Recollections of William Henry and Kate Mary Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Masefield, G. B., M. Wallis, S. G. Harrison and B.E. Nicholson (eds), *The Oxford Book of Food Plants* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Mason, Laura and Catherine Brown, *From Norfolk Knobs to Fidget Pie: Foods from the Heart of England and East Anglia* (London: Harper Press, 2010)

Massey, Doreen, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994)

Mathias, Peter, *Agriculture and Industrialisation, from the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994)

Matless, David, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998)

Mennell, Stephen, *All Manners of Food – Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985)

Mennell, Stephen, Anne Murcott and Anneke H. van Otterloo, *The Sociology of Food – Eating, Diet and Culture* (London: Sage, 1992)

Menzel, Peter and Faith D'Aluisio, *Hungry Planet: What the World Eats* (Berkley: Material World Books, 2005?)

Merquior J.G., *Foucault* (London: Fontana Press, 1991)

Mezei, Kathy and Chiara Briganti, 'Rethinking Domestic Space: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Home and Garden' *Signs,* XXVII/I 2002

Mill, John Stuart, *Utilitarianism* (London: Dent 1993)

Miller, Andrew H., *Novels Behind Glass: commodity, culture and the Victorian narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Milton, Giles, *Nathaniel's Nutmeg* (London: Sceptre, 1999)

Milton, John, *Paradise Lost* (Penguin: London, 2003)

Mingay, G. E., *A Social History of the English Countryside* (London: Routledge, 1990)

Mingay, G. E. (ed.) *Land, Labour and Agriculture 1700 – 1920* (London: A. & C. Black, 1991)

Mingay, G. E. and Joan Thirsk (eds) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol. VI 1750 – 1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Mintz, Sidney W., *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986)

Mitchell, B. R. and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)

Mitchell, William J. T. (ed.), *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002)

Morgan, Joan, 'Orchard Archives: The National Fruit Collection' *Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library: Studies in the History of British fruit* Part 2: Vol. 7 March 2012 (London: Royal Horticultural Society, 2012)

Morse, David, *High Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993)

Moses, Gary, 'Passive and impoverished? A Discussion of Rural Popular Culture in Mid Victorian Years'. *Rural History* 22 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Mulvey, Laura, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' *Screen* Vol.16 Issue 3 (Autumn, 1975)

Munslow, Alun, *Deconstructing History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997)

Murcott, Anne, *The Sociology of Food and Eating: Essays on the Sociological Significance of Food* (Aldershot: Gower, 1983)

Musgrave, Toby, *The Head Gardeners: Forgotten Heroes of Horticulture* (Aurum Press, 2014) Kindle edition [accessed 01/04/2020]

Nahum, Peter, *Burne-Jones, the Pre-Raphaelites and their Century* (London: Peter Nahum Gallery, 1989)

Newby, Howard, *Country Life: A Social History of Rural England* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1987)

Nissenbaum, Stephen, *The Battle for Christmas* (London: Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010)

Norwak, Mary, *English Puddings, Sweet and Savoury* (London: Grub Street, 2009)

O'Connell, Anne, *Early Vegetarian Recipes* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2008)

Oddy, D. J. 'Food in Nineteenth Century England; Nutrition in the First Urban Society' *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 29:1 (1970)

Oddy, D. J., (ed.) *The Food Industries of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003)

O'Gorman, Francis (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Otter, Chris, *The Victorian Eyes: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain 1800 – 1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008)

Painters and Peasants: Henry Herbert La Thangue and British Rural Naturalism, 1880-1905. Exhibition catalogue (Bolton: Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, 2000).

Pam, Stephen John, 'Essex Agriculture: Landowners' and Farmers' Responses to Economic Change 1850 – 1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London School of Economics, 2004)

Payne, Christina, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England, 1780 – 1890* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

Payne, Christina, 'Rural Virtues for Urban Consumption: Cottage Scenes in Early Victorian Painting', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 3:1 (1998)

Pennell, Sarah (ed.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550* – 1800 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Perry, P. J. (ed.), *British Agriculture 1875 – 1914* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Pettitt, Clare, 'On stuff' *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century 6* (2008)

Poovey, Mary, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995)

Porteous, Alexander, *The Forest in Folklore and Mythology* (First edn. New York, Macmillan Company, 1928) (Kindle edition, Mineola: Dover Publications, 2014) [accessed 01/04/2020]

Prest, John, *The Garden of Eden* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1981)

Prince, H. C., 'The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-nineteenth century' *Agricultural History Review* Vol. 7 (1959)

Quennell, Peter (ed.), *Mayhew's London* (London: Spring Books, 1952)

Rance, Caroline, *The Quack Doctor: Historical Remedies for All Your Ills* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013) Kindle edition [accessed 01/12/2020]

Rabinow, Paul (ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991)

Rappaport, Erika Diane, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

Rawcliffe, Carole, ''Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles': Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,' *Garden History* 36 No. 1 (Spring 2008) 3-21

Readman, Paul, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity and the Politics*

of Land 1880 – 1914 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008)

Reay, Barry, *Rural Englands*: *Labouring Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Reed, Mick, 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth-Century England: A Neglected Class?' *History Workshop* 18 (Autumn 1984) 61-62.

Reed, Simon, *Wassailing: The British Midwinter Blessing Custom* (London: Troy Books, 2013)

Reddy, William M., *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Richards, Thomas, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England; Advertising and Spectacle* (London: Verso, 1991)

Ritvo, Harriet, 'At the Edge of the Garden: Nature and Domestication in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Britain' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 55 3 (University of California Press, Summer 1992)

Robinson, Leonard, *William Etty: The Life and Art* (Carolina: McFarland and Company Inc., 2007)

Roud, Steve, *The English Year* (London: Penguin Books, 2008)

Ruark, Jennifer K., 'More Scholars Focus on Historical, Social, and Cultural Meanings of Food, but Some Critics say it's Scholarship-lite' (*The Chronicle of Higher Education* July 9, 1999)

Rutherford, Annabel, 'A Dramatic Reading of Augustus Leopold Egg's Untitled Triptych' *Tate Papers* 7 (Spring 2007)

Salaman, Redcliffe N., *The History and Social Influence of the Potato, with a Chapter on Industrial Uses by W. G. Burton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970)

Sambrook, Pamela A. and Peter Brears, *The Country House Kitchen 1650 – 1900* (London: Sutton Publishing and the National Trust, 1997)

Samuel, Raphael and Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990)

Savage, Mike and Andrew Miles, *The Remaking of the British Working Class 1840 – 1940* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Schiebinger, Londa, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993)

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, trans.by David Jacobson, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992)

Schwartz, Hillel, *Never Satisfied: A Cultural History of Diets, Fantasies and Fat* (London:

Collier Macmillan,1986)

Schwartz, Vanessa and Jeannene Przyblyski (eds), *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Scola, Roger, *Feeding the Victorian City: Food Supply of Manchester 1770 - 1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)

Scott, Joan Wallach, *Feminism and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Scott, Joan Wallach, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' *The American Historical Review* Vol. 91 No. 5 (American Historical Association 1986)

Seaton, Beverly, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012)

Segal, George, 'The Hesitation of the Golden Bough; A Re-examination' *Hermes* 96 1968

Semple, Sarah (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology & History 13*: (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006)

Seneca, *The Epistles of Seneca* No. XLI trans. Thomas Morrell, (London: Woodfall and J. Robinson 1786) Google Books scan [accessed 23/12/2020].

Shaw, Christopher and Malcolm Chase, *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989)

Shaw, Gareth, 'Changes in Consumer Demand and Food Supply in Nineteenth Century British Cities' *Journal of Historical Geography* 11:3

Shteir, Ann B., 'Gender and "Modern" Botany in Victorian England' *Osiris: Women, Gender, and Science: New Directions* Vol. 12 Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1997)

Simpson, Helen J., *The Burton Court Recipes* (Herefordshire: Logaston Press, 1991)

Sinclair Rohde, Eleanour, *The Story of the Garden* (London: The Medici Society, 1932)

Smail, Daniel Lord, *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008)

Smith, Colin, 'The Market Place and the Market's Place in London c1660 – 1840' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 1999)

Smith, Jonathan, *Charles Darwin and the Victorian Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Spain, Daphne, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992)

Spencer, Colin, *The Heretics' Feast: The History of Vegetarianism* (London: Fourth Estate, 1994)

Spengler, Robert N. III, *Fruit from the Sands: The Silk Road Origins of the Foods We Eat* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019)

Standage, Tom, *An Edible History of Humanity* (London: Atlantic Books, 2010)

Stearns, Peter, *Consumerism in World History: the global transformation of desire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006)

Stead, David R. 'The Mobility of English Tenant Farmers 1700-1850' *Agricultural History Review* 51 II

Steegman, John, *Victorian Taste* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1970)

Roy Strong *The Artist and the Garden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000),

Stuart, David C. *The Garden Triumphant* (London: Viking,1988)

Styler, Rebecca, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Sutton, David E., *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 2001)

Sweet, Matthew, *Inventing the Victorians* (London: Faber, 2001)

Taylor, John, *A Dream of England: Landscapes, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994)

Terrell, John Edward and John P. Hart, *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Teuteberg, Hans J. (ed.) *European Food History: A Research Review* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992)

Thirsk, Joan, *Alternative Agriculture: A History from the Black Death to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Thomas, Keith, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500 – 1800* (London: Penguin, 1984)

Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Pelican,1984)

Thompson, E. P. *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin, 1991)

Thompson, E. P. and Eileen Yeo (eds), *The Unknown Mayhew: selections from the Morning Chronicle 1849 – 50* (London: Merlin Press, 1971)

Thompson, F. M. L., 'The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880', *The Economic History Review,* 2nd ser, 21:1 (April 1968).

Thornton, Don, 'Apple Parers: A Slice of American History' *Gastronomica* Vol. 2 No. 1 Winter (2002)

Tosh, John (ed.), *Historians on History* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2009)

Townsend, Dale (ed.), *Terror and Wonder: The Gothic Imagination* (London: The British Library, 2014)

Trentmann, Frank, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices and Politics' *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 48 No. 2 (University of Chicago Press, April 2009)

Tudge, Colin, *The Secret Life of Trees* (London: Penguin, 2006)

Turner, Frank M. (ed.), *Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (First pub.1899) Gutenberg EBook #833, uploaded 2008 [accessed 12/12/2020]

Velkar, Aashish, 'Markets, Standards and Transactions: Measures in Nineteenth-Century British Economy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London School of Economics, 2008).

Verdon, Nicola, *Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth Century England: Gender, Work and Wages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002)

Visser, Margaret, *Much Depends on Dinner* (London: Penguin,1989)

Vincent, David, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750 – 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Wain, John (ed.), *Everyman's Book of English Verse* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1981)

Walton, John K., *Fish and Chips and the British Working Class 1870 – 1940* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992)

Warf, Barney and Santa Arias, (eds), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2009)

Warner, Marina, *From the Beast to the Blonde* (London: Vintage, 1995)

Watkins, Charles, *Trees, Woods and Forests: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Reaktion, 2016)

Webber, Ronald, *Covent Garden: Mud Salad Market* (Letchworth: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1969)

Welsh, Alexander, *The City of Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)

Wickes, Jennifer, *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement and Social Reading* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988)

Wiener, Martin, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850 – 1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Wilkinson, Anne, 'The Development of Gardening as a Leisure Activity in Nineteenth Century Britain and the Establishment of Horticultural Periodicals' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 2002)

Willes, Margaret, *The Gardens of the British Working Class* (London: Yale University Press, 2015)

Williams, Raymond, *Culture and Society 1780 – 1950* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958)

Williams, Raymond, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973 and London: Vintage Classics, 2016)

Wilson, Anne C (ed.), *Liquid Nourishment; Potable Foods and Stimulating Drinks* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993)

Wilson, David Scofield, *Rooted in America: Foodlore of Popular Fruits and Vegetables* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999)

Wood, Anthony, *Nineteenth Century Britain 1815 – 1914* (Harlow: Longman Group Ltd 1982)

Wood, Christopher, *Victorian Painting in Oils and Watercolours* (London: BCA, 1996)

Woudstra, Jan and Colin Roth (eds), *A History of Groves* (London: Routledge, 2017)

Wright, A. R. and Lones, T. E. (eds) *British Calendar Customs. Vol. 3 England. Fixed Festivals*: (London: William Glaisher for the Folklore Society, 1940).