Unsung Heroines of Horticulture

Scottish Gardening Women, 1800 to 1930

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Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
2015

Abstract

This thesis examines the existence, contribution and recognition of Scottish gardening women for the period 1800 to 1930. The focus was conceived in response to the lack of attention given to female Scottish gardeners in traditional narratives of Britain's, and more specifically, Scotland's gardening history. Despite evidence to suggest that women have participated in gardening since the development of the earliest gardens, canonical narratives reveal a preoccupation with white, male, often elite plantsmen, many of whom were Scottish, that pay little or no attention to female involvement. The study begins by considering the degree to which Scotland's gardening men were successful by unpacking their role and influence, how they were able to make a contribution to gardening and the ways in which they were recognised. This is followed by an assessment of the relative invisibility of women within historical gardening narratives. The recent emergence of feminist studies concentrating on the work of women gardeners has helped to correct this imbalance, but their primary focus on English women has highlighted the disparity between the growing awareness of female gardeners in England and the continuing obscurity of their Scottish counterparts.

At the heart of this research is an in-depth biographical analysis of thirteen gardening women, which uncovers their work and contributes to an understanding of the history of women gardeners in Scotland at a time when gardening was dominated by men and undergoing a period of growth and professionalisation. The thesis demonstrates that the women went beyond the confines of their own gardens and achieved within the wider, public sphere of horticulture in Scotland. Some made significant collections of seeds and plants, whilst others used their skills as nurserywomen to cultivate them and, in so doing, they played a part in our knowledge and understanding of plant taxonomy. The transition from amateur gardener to professional status was also achieved and, based on the evidence found within this study, some women were instrumental in pioneering women's entry into professional gardening. However, few were recognised by the horticultural establishment either during their lifetime or posthumously.

This thesis sets the women within their cultural context and addresses the impact of factors such as social class, education, family obligations and gendered prejudice on their ability to achieve and the extent to which their work was recognised in comparison to that of their male contemporaries. As a result, it fills the gaps in our knowledge and understanding of Scotland's gardening women and provides evidence on which to refute the suggestion that their elision from traditional narratives of Scottish garden history is justified.

Thesis word count: 100,487

Acknowledgements

One of the most rewarding aspects of this study has been my contact with individuals and organisations who have so generously given of their time and help. Firstly, I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to my supervisors Professor Catharine Ward Thompson and Dr Louise Jackson for their unstinting encouragement of my work and for broadening my perspective on garden and gender history.

I am also greatly indebted to the many librarians, archivists and historians who provided me with invaluable assistance throughout the course of my research. My thanks go to the team at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, in particular to Graham Hardy for his unfailing patience and willingness to share his remarkable knowledge and to Dr Henry Noltie for his guidance and support. Grace Ellis at the Garden History Society in Scotland has inspired and helped me in equal measure and I wish to thank Jean Bareham (Greenyonder Tours), Louisa Blair (Literary and Historical Society of Quebec), Ken Bogle (Midlothian Council), Grant Buttars and Clare Button (Special Collections, University of Edinburgh), Dr Anne Cameron (Special Collections, University of Strathclyde), Dr Mary Clark (Dublin City Archives), Ewan Donaldson (Glasgow Botanic Gardens), Elaine Edwards (National Museums of Scotland), Chris Fleet and Olive Geddes (National Library of Scotland), Alexandra Healey (The Bute Archive at Mount Stuart), Liz Gilbert and Debora Hodgson (Royal Horticultural Society Lindley Library), Catherine Harpham (Imperial College London Archive), Richard Hunter (Edinburgh City Archive), Frances Macrae (The Corstorphine Trust), Ian Riches (National Trust for Scotland), Alison Rosie (National Records of Scotland) and Kiri Ross-Jones (Royal Botanic Gardens Kew).

My special thanks go to the family and friends of the gardening women featured in this study, whose voices would not have been heard without their help. They include John Angell, Lord Annandale at Raehills, Ludovic Broun-Lindsay at Colstoun, Lucy Cowan, Mary Fawdry, Tertia Griffiths, Alec Hope, Morag McKenzie, Margery Turnbull, Liz and Elisabeth Scott and Walter E. Stephen.

During the research process, my friends and colleagues have provided me with the opportunity to discuss ideas, share concerns and reflect on new ways of thinking about garden history. I am especially grateful to Juliet Dykes, Dan Marriott, Donna Miller, Louise Miller, Nicky Mowat, Jean Reader, Caroline Stanton, Vanessa Stephen and Marion Wightman for their enduring friendship and support.

My biggest thanks are reserved for my family who have supported and encouraged me throughout the process; Alasdair, Catriona and Elinor, my parents Roger and Janice, and my grandparents Oma and Opa, who first inspired me with their love of gardening.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work contained within it is my own. I also declare that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. In addition, I acknowledge that material on Mary Elizabeth Burton, which I researched for use within this thesis, was previously published in the following article: Deborah Reid, 'Mary Elizabeth Burton: a horticultural pioneer', *The Caledonian Gardener 2014 Journal of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society*, (2014), 80-83; see Appendix I.

Deborah Anne Reid
June 2015

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> Scotland, even more than England, has regarded horticulture
> very much as a man's world
>
> Dawn MacLeod (1977)[1]

When I came across this observation by Dawn MacLeod, that Scottish horticulture was even more of a male domain than in England, it proved to be the catalyst for my interest in gardening women in Scotland. Having read many traditional narratives of both British and Scottish gardening history, I realised how few women in general, but Scottish women in particular, were recorded within the canon. This was in sharp contrast to the coverage and acclaim accorded to Scottish gardening men. A gardener herself, MacLeod was one of the first garden historians to focus specifically on women gardeners and her feminist desire to rescue them from obscurity anticipated my own. In her two publications, *The Gardener's Scotland* and *Down-to-Earth Women*, she highlighted the work of notable women gardeners, including several examples of Scottish women, but her treatment of them raised more questions than answers.[2] I was interested in finding out whether the handful of Scottish plantswomen uncovered by MacLeod were the only examples, or whether there were others who were doing more than just working within their own gardens. My specific interest was in uncovering examples of women who were operating within the public rather than private sphere of horticulture and looking at how their contribution manifested itself. How easy was it, I conjectured, for women gardeners in Scotland to be part of this supposedly man's world? Armed with these initial thoughts, a hypothesis for this research gradually developed which led me to consider whether the elision of Scottish women from the traditional narratives of Britain's and Scotland's garden history was in fact justified.

A possible reason for their omission was the dominance and success of Scotland's gardening men. Chapter 2 reviews the body of literature on British and Scottish garden history and considers the degree to which these Scottish male gardeners were successful. Spanning a period of almost 600 years, determinants of success, including parochial education, structures established in Scotland for the training and employment of male gardeners, Scottish networks of male horticultural contacts and patronage are highlighted and discussed, together with the ways in which the men were recognised. This unpacking of the role and influence of Scotland's gardening men and how they were able to achieve their success was a necessary first step in both understanding the environment within which Scottish women may have striven to engage in gardening, either as a pursuit or paid occupation, and providing evidence for comparisons to be made between the contribution of Scotland's gardening men and that of its women.

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[1] Dawn MacLeod, *The Gardener's Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1977), p.32.

[2] Dawn MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women: those who care for the soil* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1982).

Having reviewed male dominance and success within the tradition of gardening in Scotland it was necessary to build a picture of the possible existence, role, contribution and influence of gardening women in Scotland. Chapter 3 illuminates the scarcity of available published information on which to base a historiography of women gardeners in Scotland. With the focus on grand garden styles and elite male genius, traditional narratives on British garden history have excluded women's contribution, with the possible exception of two English gardeners, Jane Loudon and Gertrude Jekyll. Within narratives relating specifically to Scotland's gardening history, of which there are relatively few, female Scottish gardeners are conspicuous by their absence. The emergence of feminist histories of gardening in the last thirty years has, however, challenged the invisibility of women gardeners by uncovering examples of gardening women and their lived experiences. Unfortunately, the primary focus of this body of work has been on English women leading to significant gaps in our awareness, knowledge and understanding of the role of Scottish women within the history of gardening in Scotland. Following this analysis of the literature, the aim of this thesis began to crystallise. To arrive at an understanding and appreciation of their contribution, it was necessary to access primary sources of information in order to uncover actual examples of Scottish gardening women, examine their lived experiences and, where possible, facilitate a new understanding of the historical circumstances that shaped their achievements and any subsequent recognition within gardening in Scotland.

Chapter 4 is centered on the methodological approach adopted in the study and articulates the research questions that were used to help determine whether the elision of Scottish gardening women from the narratives of British, and more specifically Scottish garden history, is justified. The questions were designed to focus on how women were able to make a contribution given that they were working within an essentially all-male environment. The analytical framework considered the impact of factors such as social class and wealth, education, family, gendered prejudice and barriers to entry, such as the effects of the male professionalisation of gardening, on both the women's contribution and the degree to which their work was recognised. The first stage in designing the study was to generate a long list of Scottish women gardeners from available secondary sources. A total of sixty-seven women were found over a 400-year period. Consideration was then given to the most appropriate data-collection method based on an analysis of techniques including critical discourse analysis, prosopography and collective biography. A group collective biography was felt to be the most effective approach for eliciting detailed information on lived experience and the ways in which achievement may have been influenced by broader social, cultural and political factors. Since analysing all sixty-seven women on the long list using detailed biographical analysis was not realistic within the timescale of the study, certain parameters were set. A time period, 1800 to 1930, was chosen because it reflected a period during which Scotland's gardening men were particularly successful and gardening itself underwent a period of growth and professionalisation. The emphasis was then placed on the three main areas of gardening activity in which Scottish gardening men particularly excelled; the cultivation and collection of plants, professional gardening and the nursery trade. As a result, thirteen gardening women of all classes, active in Scotland during the period 1800 to 1930, who were cultivators and collectors, professional gardeners or nurserywomen, were selected for detailed biographical analysis.

A wide range of primary and secondary data, heavily weighted in favour of archival sources such as letters, diaries, and autobiographies, was used to gather evidence on which to base individual biographies. The found knowledge was assessed using gender (ideas about sexual difference) as a lens through which women's lived experiences could be viewed and analysed. Chapter 5 focuses on the lives and work of three Scottish female cultivators and collectors. The first, Christian Ramsay (1786-1839), made significant collections of plant specimens and introductions in North America and India in the 1820s and 1830s whilst Frances Jane Hope (1822-1880) was influential in the move away from contrived plantings to a more natural look for Scottish gardens through her advocation of native plants and wild flowers. She is believed to have been the first Scottish woman to write for the gardening press. A lone explorer, Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889-1982) was the first British woman to collect arctic species of alpine plants in Greenland, Iceland and Alaska in the early part of the twentieth century.

The achievements of Scotland's first professional gardening women are analysed in Chapter 6. Believed to have been the country's first female head gardener, Mary E. Burton (1865-1944), spent thirty-eight years working as a professional gardener and enjoyed a successful exhibiting career at horticultural shows. Annie Morison (1870-1948) and her English partner Lina Barker (1866-1929) pioneered horticultural education and training for women gardeners in Scotland by establishing the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women in 1902, whilst Norah Geddes (1887-1967) emerged as one of the country's first female garden designers. Responsible for the design of children's gardens and playgrounds in the slums of Edinburgh and Dublin, Norah was instrumental in pioneering the use of green space for the benefit of public health.

Women who founded, or contributed to the success of, a nursery business in Scotland are considered within Chapter 7. Examples of widowed nurserywomen who successfully ran their husbands' businesses, such as Sarah Carstairs (1806-1878), are evidenced, together with nursery owners. Madge Elder (1893-1985) set up and ran a nursery business in the Borders, whilst Anna Cadell (1869-1951) and her sister, Marion (1874-1959) operated a specialist primrose nursery in East Lothian. Another set of unmarried sisters, Helen Mary (Mollie) Logan Home (1888-1976) and Edith Logan Home (1893-1973) established Edrom Nurseries and gained a worldwide reputation for the cultivation of alpine and rock garden plants. Still in business today (2015), the nursery has outlived many of its male-run competitors.

The final chapter applies the analytical framework to the evidence gathered across all three categories of gardening women, looking at emergent themes and exceptions both within categories and across them all, such as the positive and negative effects of social class and educational opportunities on the women's ability to achieve from a gardening perspective. It casts light on the limiting effects of family ties and obligations, especially pertinent to unmarried daughters, and the gendered prejudice experienced particularly by those women wishing to enter professional gardening. The divergent strategies and tactics employed by these women to gain access and credibility reveal the extent to which they had to struggle for acceptance. Consideration is given to why some women were recognised and others were not and how this recognition manifested itself. Comparisons are also made, where possible, between the women's recognition and that accorded to their male gardening contemporaries. The study addresses the gaps in our awareness and knowledge of gardening women in Scotland for the period 1800 to 1930 and in our appreciation not only of what their contribution was but also how they were able to make it. In so doing, it makes an important contribution to the development of a history of gardening women in Scotland, but is very much a first step in the process.

Reflections on some of the limitations of the study are made, such as the need to expand the analysis of Scotland's gardening women to include different areas of expertise, such as botanical illustrators and plant scientists, and other time periods. Whilst the approach of a group collective biography using many varied sources of archival information succeeded in bringing the thirteen women to life, it did not leave time to complete investigations which came to light during the research process, such as gathering information on the profile of all the students to pass through the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women and their subsequent careers. This is one possible area of future research, and others are highlighted.

Whilst I do not accept, in my concluding remarks, that the elision of Scottish women from the traditional narratives of British and Scottish garden history is justified, it is possible to understand their omission. A straight comparison between the women's contribution and that of the men results in the conclusion that Scotland's gardening men appear to have been more successful than their female counterparts. However, having looked in detail at the women's achievements, it is clear that they were able to make a contribution and, in many cases, had to work much harder than the men to do so. Some were disadvantaged though lack of education, others suffered prejudice purely on account of their sex and many of their careers were limited by having to conform to social convention, such as their place as mothers or unmarried women within the family. As a result, Scotland's female gardeners deserve to be raised from obscurity and accorded some form of recognition, even if it is within the confines of academic studies such as this one.

Chapter 2: The Scottish Gardening Tradition

Introduction

‘A gardener is Scotch, as a French teacher is Parisian’, wrote George Eliot in her first novel *Adam Bede* in 1859 and less than half a century later Beatrix Potter, who swapped a keen interest in mycology for writing children’s books, immortalised the prevailing view that gardeners were invariably Scottish in her portrayal of Mr McGregor in *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*.[1] Scotland’s gardening pedigree has, and continues to be, promulgated in the canon of literature on Britain’s gardening history. Invited by the Board of Agriculture to draw up a report on Scottish gardens and orchards in 1813, Patrick Neill commented that ‘Scotland has long been remarkable for producing great numbers of professional gardeners; more perhaps than any other country of Europe’, and claimed that in addition to being numerous in times past, several had ‘attained the highest stations in their profession, not only in Great Britain, but in various foreign lands’.[2] In his analysis of the landscape garden in Scotland, modern historian A. A. Tait referred to the ‘vitality and inventiveness of a Scottish gardening tradition’ that spanned the late sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century and his view was supported by those of his contemporaries such as Neil Hynd who suggested that Scotland was a ‘major exponent’ of the art of gardening.[3] Kenneth Lemmon maintained that Scotland had produced a long line of ‘heroic’ botanical travellers and English historian, Miles Hadfield, noted ‘the steady flow of its sons southwards to obtain on their merits responsible positions as head gardeners’.[4]

This snapshot of a selection of literature is typical of the ways in which Scotland’s gardening men have been presented in popular fiction and narratives of garden history. On closer examination of the canon, an almost exclusively male cast of predominantly Scottish and English gardening men is revealed, which seems to confirm Hoyles's view of the sexism present in the history of gardening.[5] 'It is a story about men, written by men', he wrote, in which 'women are usually completely absent, or in a supporting role to men, or relegated to weeding'.[6] Whilst the presence of female garden historians such as the Hon. Alicia Amherst, Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, Elizabeth Haldane, and Alice Coats appears to contradict Hoyles's claim that most histories were written by men, it is true that women, in particular those from Scotland, have been largely omitted from historical narratives of gardening history.[7] This chapter demonstrates the remarkable success of Scotland's gardening men from their involvement in sixteenth-century gardens to the early part of the twentieth century, and raises the possibility that their achievements, and in particular the reasons why they were able to do so well, may have been contributing factors in the elision of Scottish gardening women. The concept of the Scottish gardening tradition, as coined by Tait, is deconstructed to reveal how it emerged over time, who the principal players were, and how they have been portrayed within traditional and recent narratives of Britain's garden history. Consideration is given to the degree to which Scotland's gardening men were successful and the social, economic and cultural factors which played a part in that success, including the significance of certain key individuals. Only by unpacking the role and influence of Scotland's gardening men within a wider British and international historical context, is it possible to begin to understand the environment within which Scottish women strove to engage in gardening either as a pursuit or paid occupation, and to gain a fuller, more nuanced appreciation of their work and achievements.

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[1] George Eliot, *Adam Bede*, 4th edn, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1859) I, p.300; Marta McDowell, *Beatrix Potter’s Gardening Life: The plants and places that inspired the classic children’s tales* (London: Timber Press, 2013).

[2] Patrick Neill, *On Scottish Gardens and Orchards* (Edinburgh: 1813), p.4.

[3] A. A. Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), p.1; Neil Hynd, ‘Towards a Study of Gardening in Scotland from the 16th to the 18th Centuries’, in *Studies in Scottish Antiquity*, ed. by D. J. Breeze (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), 269-284 (p.269).

[4] Kenneth Lemmon, *The Golden Age of Plant Hunters* (London: Phoenix, 1968), p.43; Miles Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p.234.

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[5] Martin Hoyles, *The Story of Gardening* (London: Journeyman, 1991).

[6] Ibid., p.187.

[7] The Hon. Alicia Amherst, *A History of Gardening in England* (London: Quaritch, 1895); Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, *The Story of the Garden* (London: The Medici Society, 1932); Elizabeth S. Haldane, *Scots Gardens in Old Times* (London: Maclehose, 1934); Alice M. Coats, *The Quest for Plants: a history of horticultural explorers* (London: Studio Vista, 1969).

From Roman Scotland to 1600

The existence of gardens and the craft of gardening in Scotland before the advent of the seventeenth century appear to be a contentious subject amongst British garden historians. References to any Scottish-designed landscapes before 1600 are, as Mackay pointed out, often ‘dismissive, vague or contradictory’, with poverty and political unrest usually cited as the reasons behind a lack of any real development.[8] However, the introduction of gardening to Scotland can, it seems, be traced back to the Roman occupation, although Campbell has argued that their brief tenure would not have left much time for gardening.[9] It was subsequently revived by the early monastic institutions of the Middle Ages, according to Loudon, despite the assertions of garden historians such as Hadfield and Thacker, who have, as Hynd propounded, ‘done little to dispel the popular theory that any garden in Scotland before 1700 of more than kailyard consequence was something to be marvelled at.’[10] Pluscarden Priory in Morayshire, for example, was founded in 1230 along with monasteries at Beauly and Ardchattan where the monks grew plants for medicinal purposes.[11]

In her search for Scotland’s earliest gardens, Mackay visited the monastery at Soutra Hill in the Scottish Borders, where excavations have revealed evidence of more than two hundred plant species grown for their healing properties in the fourteenth century.[12] Many of these religious institutions had their roots in France or Italy and so brought the European tradition of gardening to Scotland, in particular the cultivation of orchard fruits.[13] Robertson has claimed that the employment of secular gardeners within many of the wealthier abbeys and priories introduced gardening techniques to Scotland from an early age and helped ‘lay the foundations of the subsequent Scottish distinction in gardening'.[14] His view is supported by Cox in his seminal text on Scotland's garden history, who found examples of lay gardeners employed by the Bishopric of Dunkeld in the early part of the sixteenth century, including John Leslie who was a gardener there from 1506 to 1509 and John Brown who worked principally at Cluny between 1508 and 1510.[15]

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[8] Sheila Mackay, *Early Scottish Gardens* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), p.1.
[9] Katie Campbell, *Policies and Pleasaunces: A guide to the gardens of Scotland* (London: Barn Elms, 2007), p.18.
[10] John C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening; comprising the theory and practice of horticulture, floriculture, arboriculture and landscape gardening*, new edn (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850), p.267; Christopher Thacker, *The Genius of Gardening: The history of gardens in Britain and Ireland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994); Hynd, p.269.
[11] Mackay, p.21.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Neill, p.2, noted in 1813 that apple and pear trees could still be found in Scottish gardens near old abbeys and monasteries.

Religious establishments were not the only source of employment for gardeners in Scotland, since evidence exists of royal gardens at Falkland, Linlithgow, Stirling, Scone and Holyrood from as early as the thirteenth century.[16] Cox also found references to paid gardeners at royal residences, including James Wilson, who maintained the parks and lawns at the Palace of Falkland from 1460 and Gilles Margilhoise and Malcolm Mackley, two gardeners at Stirling Castle.[17] When James V returned from France in 1530 he is said to have brought a French gardener to oversee work on the gardens at Stirling, which are likely to have required the use of local gardening labour.[18] According to Mackay, records at Holyrood House reveal that Sir John Scharpe was appointed chaplain to James IV and keeper of the 'gardingis' in 1504 and thirty years later, the accounts for Holyrood House indicate that Robert Moneypenny was paid for gardening tools such as 'axis', 'grapis', and 'cutting knifis with othir instrumentis', which were supplied to the gardener, John Ouchter at Holyrood House.[19] Mary Queen of Scots is also thought to have taken an interest in her royal gardens and to have brought back plants from France, including angelica and French sorrel, whilst her son James VI and his nobles were later influenced by the Italian style of gardening, perhaps as Hyams has suggested, because of the suitability of terracing for the hill-sites of many Scottish castles.[20] Evidence of monastic and royal garden landscapes from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries suggest not only that gardening was undertaken during this period but also that European horticultural practices, particularly those from France and Italy, may well have influenced the work of Scotland's gardening community. As Haldane noted, French ideas on gardening would likely have made their way to Scotland by the fifteenth century as a result of the Auld Alliance and the 'intimate connection' between the two countries.[21]

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[14] Forbes W. Robertson, *Early Scottish Gardeners and their Plants 1650-1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.11.
[15] E. H. M. Cox, *A History of Gardening in Scotland* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1935), pp.14-15.
[16] Mackay, p.49; Campbell, p.19.
[17] Cox, p.20.
[18] Campbell, p.19; Mackay, p.52.
[19] Mackay, p.60.
[20] Edward Hyams, *A History of Gardens and Gardening* (London: Dent, 1971), p.148. For more information on Mary Queen of Scot's interest in gardening, see Robert S. Lorimer, 'On Scottish Gardens', *The Architectural Review*, 6 (1899), 5-14 (p.6) and Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise: A social history of gardens and gardening* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), p.57.

Gardens also began to be created by a new aristocracy, which emerged following the Scottish Reformation of the 1560s.[22] Timothy Pont (c.1565 – c.1614) produced the first detailed maps of Scotland from the late 1580s to the 1590s,[23] which show evidence of gardens attached to baronial castles and in 1567 George Sinclair, the 4th Earl of Caithness, built a tower and two walled gardens at the Castle of May.[24] Many of these noblemen's and gentlemen's seats were to be found in Fife, according to Haldane, who quoted one French visitor as having remarked that at the end of the sixteenth century there were as many as a hundred castles with gardens within 'two leagues distance from Edinburgh'.[25] The political instability which characterised much of the second half of the sixteenth century in Scotland, during which the nobility frequently found themselves needing to seek refuge for prolonged periods of time in the country seats they had created, may also have been a catalyst for the development of gardens and the consequent need for gardeners.

It would appear, therefore, that the art of gardening in Scotland dates back to at least medieval times. Furthermore, evidence of the employment of secular male gardeners within monasteries is apparent from the early sixteenth century onwards and there are also examples in this period of gardening men working for Scottish royalty and the aristocracy. Gardening in Scotland as a paid occupation appears to have been essentially a male activity in this period, although the degree to which these gardening men were successful is unclear.

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[21] Haldane, p.27.
[22] Campbell, p.19.
[23] Pont's maps can be accessed online at National Library for Scotland <http://maps.nls.uk/pont>.
[24] Mackay, p.110.
[25] Haldane, p.45.

Scottish Gardening in the Seventeenth Century

A time of relative political stability and prosperity followed the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603, and triggered what Mackay has described as 'Scotland's first building boom' after three centuries of almost constant warfare.[26] Fortresses and castles belonging to the Scottish nobility gave way to country houses and pleasure grounds, set in designed landscapes with 'elegant approaches and ornamental parklands', thus ensuring the continuity of gardening in Scotland.[27] The first known example of a pleasure garden was developed by the 9th Earl of Crawford and his son, Sir David Lindsay, at Edzell Castle in 1604, described by Hynd as 'a most sophisticated garden architecture', which would have required both skilled craftsmen and gardeners to execute.[28] Using evidence uncovered in Hynd's 1984 study, Robertson found a total of 141 garden sites in seventeenth-century Scotland which employed at least one gardener, with some of the larger establishments also having one or more garden apprentices.[29] Whilst he does not reveal the sex of these gardeners, their maleness can perhaps be implied from the conclusion he drew that there was a 'substantial body of trained gardeners in seventeenth-century Scotland pursuing an ancient craft', whose knowledge of the art of gardening had been passed down from father to son through previous generations.[30]

Robertson's claim is supported in part by the publication in 1683 of *The Scots Gard'ner* by John Reid (1655-1723), whose work is regarded as significant by many garden historians because he produced the first Scottish gardening manual.[31] Reid's detailed descriptions of the many aspects of gardening pertinent to the Scottish climate, such as the importance of enclosing the garden, manuring the soil and advice on what fruits to cultivate and where best to grow them, indicate that his gardening knowledge must have been developed over time and it is possible that some of the techniques he described may have been taught him by his father and grandfather who were gardeners at Niddry Castle, near Winchburgh in West Lothian.[32] He also worked in a number of notable gardens, including serving time under Hew Wood, Head Gardener to the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton at Drummond Castle, then at Lawers in Perthshire, and finally the gardens at Shank in East Lothian belonging to Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh.[33] In the same year that *The Scots Gard'ner* was published, Reid emigrated to the American colony of New Jersey and obtained the post of Deputy Surveyor-General, but demand for his book continued and it was reprinted in 1721, with two edited editions appearing in 1756 and 1766.[34] Reid's work is of historical importance according to Cox because it provides evidence of the garden techniques used by Scotland's professional gardening men and offers proof that the Scottish gardener was a skilled workman.[35] It was also important at the time because it 'had no forerunners in Scotland' and, as such, was the only advice book available to Scottish gardeners until the appearance of James Justice's *The Scots Gardiner's Director* in 1754.[36] Despite Reid's humble origins, he was able to gain his horticultural expertise through practical experience and must have been sufficiently well-educated to produce his gardening manual, which was followed in Scotland for more than seventy years.

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[26] Mackay, p.98.
[27] Campbell, p.20.
[28] Hynd, p.270.
[29] Robertson, p.152. Some of the most notable seventeenth-century gardens were created at Hopetoun House and Hatton House near Edinburgh, Hamilton Palace in Lanarkshire and Saltoun House, Lethington Castle and Yester in East Lothian.
[30] Robertson, p.152.
[31] John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner* (Edinburgh: 1683).

Within historical narratives of gardening history, Reid's noted contribution is often eclipsed by the fame of a new breed of Scottish gardeners/botanists which emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century; these were men who, according to Hynd, 'influenced horticultural development throughout Britain, and indeed in Europe.'[37] In his work on the history of gardens and gardening, Hyams singled out the year 1670 as a 'botanical *annus mirabilis*', because of the impact made by two of these Scottish men.[38] Robert Morison (1620-83), Oxford University's first Professor of Botany, had just published his *Praeludia Botanica* and Robert Sibbald (1641-1712) together with Andrew Balfour (1630-1694) had founded Scotland's first botanic garden.[39] Described by Hadfield as the 'first of a long series of eminent botanists and gardeners to come to England from Scotland', Robert Morison was educated in his home city of Aberdeen and taught in the University there before fighting in the Civil War on the Royalist side.[40] He eventually fled to France and studied anatomy, botany and zoology at Angers before pursuing his interest in botany as the superintendent of the gardens of the Duc d'Orléans at Blois, from 1650 to 1660.[41] In 1669, he was invited to return to England by Charles II and took up his appointment at Oxford, where he made use of the botanic garden.[42] His attempts to 'classify plants according to some real likeness in the fruit or flower, and not merely from similarity of habit or place of growth' were pioneering and may have helped pave the way for the system of taxonomy devised by Carl Linnaeus (1707-78) a century later.[43] *Plantarum historiae universalis Oxoniensis*, his resultant classification of herbaceous plants, was published in 1680.[44] Morison is referred to by Mackay as 'one of the great horticulturists of the age', and is believed to have been a considerable influence on the subsequent work of two Scottish physicians, Robert Sibbald and Andrew Balfour.[45]

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[32] Biographical information on John Reid can be found in Annette Hope's introduction to John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988), pp.v-xvii.

[33] Robertson, p.195.

[34] Mackay, p.114.

[35] Cox, p.69.

[36] Quotation taken from Annette Hope's introduction, *The Scots Gard'ner* (1988), p.xi. James Justice, *The Scots Gardiner's Director, containing instructions to those gardiners, who make a kitchen garden and the culture of flowers their business* (Edinburgh: 1754).

[37] Hynd, p.279.

Whilst Haldane referred to Andrew Balfour as the 'father of Scottish botany', it is his partnership with Robert Sibbald that resulted in the birth of Edinburgh's (and Scotland's) first botanic garden and ensured a place for both men in the histories of gardening in Britain.[46] Emanating from a rich and titled family in Fife, Balfour graduated from the University of St Andrews with a degree in philosophy and travelled to France in 1657 to train as a doctor.[47] The study of botany was an integral part of medical training and Balfour visited the gardens at Blois where he made the acquaintance of Robert Morison and spent some years travelling on the Continent before eventually settling in Edinburgh, where in 1670 he established a physic garden at St Anne's Yards near Holyrood Abbey (later known as Royal Abbey Garden) with his cousin Robert Sibbald.[48] Educated at the Royal High School in Edinburgh and at the university there, Sibbald had received his medical training in Leiden and was, according to Haldane and Hadfield, shocked to find on his return that the study of medicinal plants was almost non-existent in Scotland.[49] Both men used seed that they had collected from their continental travels and others supplied by European botanists, together with seed sent from Morison in Oxford, to cultivate non-indigenous plants in the physic garden as the basis for lectures in *materia medica*.[50] They were instrumental in the formation of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and were knighted for their services to botany in 1682.[51]

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[38] Hyams, p.194.
[39] Robert Morison, *Praeludia Botanica* (London: 1669).
[40] Hadfield, p.89.
[41] Scott Mandelbrote, 'Morison, Robert (1620–1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (hereafter *ODNB*) Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19275> [accessed 17 March 2014].
[42] Founded in 1621, the Oxford Botanic Garden is the oldest example of its kind in Britain.
[43] Amherst, p.204. Linnaeus, a Swedish naturalist, developed his sexual system for the classification of plants in 1735 and it is now internationally accepted as the starting point of modern botanical nomenclature.
[44] Robert Morison, *Plantarum historiae universalis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: 1680).
[45] Mackay, p.134.
[46] Haldane, p.70.

Balfour was also responsible for the appointment of fellow Scot, James Sutherland (c.1639-1719) as the first 'Intendant' of the Royal Abbey Garden, who was described by Henrey as 'an expert gardener, a learned botanist, […] and a good man of business'.[52] Mackay has analysed Sutherland's notebooks and found evidence that Sutherland travelled and collected plants throughout Britain and corresponded with key botanists and horticulturists abroad, including John Reid who sent him garden herbs from New Jersey.[53] Little is known of Sutherland's origins, although Robertson believed he may have been a native of Edinburgh, but like Reid he must have been an educated man for in 1683 he published *Hortus medicus Edinburgensis*, a listing in both Latin and English of the 2,000 plants growing in the physic garden at

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[47] Janet Browne, 'Balfour, Sir Andrew, first baronet (1630–1694)', *ODNB*, online edn 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1182> [accessed 18 March 2014].
[48] Ibid.
[49] Haldane, p.75; Hadfield, p.139. See also Charles W. J. Withers, 'Sibbald, Sir Robert (1641-1722), *ODNB*, online edn 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25496> [accessed 18 March 2014].
[50] *Materia medica* consist of substances and preparations used in the practice of medicine.
[51] Mackay, p.133.
[52] Blanche Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800*, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), I, p.153.
[53] Mackay, pp.133-34.

Holyrood, which was the earliest botanical work to be published in Scotland.[54] Under Sutherland's 'wise and energetic rule' the gardens, including a second site at Trinity Hospital (now the site of Waverley train station in Edinburgh), had, according to Cox, gained a 'reputation that was almost European before many years had passed', and he became Regius Professor of Botany at Edinburgh University having been appointed King's Botanist by William III.[55] These four men, Morison, Balfour, Sibbald and Sutherland were, as Hynd noted, the first in a list of notable Scottish botanists and horticulturists who helped 'keep Scotland at the forefront of this new science throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'.[56]

The development of gardens and the craft of gardening throughout the seventeenth century appear to have led to an increasingly proficient gardening workforce in Scotland. For those born of humble origin, such as John Reid, gardening as an occupation was possible thanks to knowledge passed down from fathers and grandfathers and, by gaining employment in a number of gardens, men could progress through the gardening ranks. Men whose wealth and/or noble birth gave them access to a university education could develop their interest in plants by studying botany as part of a medical degree, a route denied to women at that time. Morison, Sibbald and Balfour were quick to take advantage of the opportunities available to them and as a result were instrumental in the development of two of Britain's oldest botanic gardens. These men also benefitted from professional networks established whilst studying and travelling abroad; social and physical freedoms which appear, at the time, to have been a male prerogative.

Scots Gardeners in the Eighteenth Century

The extraordinary success of Scotland's gardening men, particularly in England, from the early eighteenth century onwards prompted Neill to conclude by 1813 that 'most of the principal nobility and gentry in England have *Scottish* head gardeners', and Lindsay to claim that 'Scot's expertise, cunning, curiosity, intelligence, adventurousness of spirit, scientific knowledge and business acumen dominated the horticultural scene not only in Great Britain but around the world' throughout the eighteenth century.[57] In addition to these personal characteristics and attributes which will be explored further, there were certain social, economic and political factors which played a role in their success south of the border. Nenadic has analysed the Scottish diaspora in London in the eighteenth century and her work revealed two waves of migration from Scotland to England; the first following the Union of the Crowns in 1603, which led to significant homes and gardens in London and on English estates being established by Scotland's aristocracy in the seventeenth century, and the second resulting from the Act of Union in 1707, which gave rise to a further migration of elite Scottish politicians who resided for long periods of time in the metropolis throughout the eighteenth century.[58] Many of these Scottish men, such as John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-92), a keen botanist who advised the Dowager Princess Augusta on the royal gardens at Kew and was briefly her son, George III's Prime Minister from May 1762 to April 1763, were 'inextricably involved' in the political, cultural, professional, and business life of the capital.[59] As a result effective social mechanisms were created that allowed Scots to share information and extend patronage and, from a horticultural perspective, to advance the cause of Scotland's gardening men who came south looking for work.[60]

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[54] James Sutherland, *Hortus medicus Edinburgensis: or A catalogue of the plants in the Physical Garden at Edinburgh; containing their most proper Latin and English names* (Edinburgh: 1683); Robertson, p.202.
[55] Cox, p.152. Also Miles Hadfield, *Pioneers in Gardening* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), p.53 and Robertson, p.202.
[56] Hynd, p.280.

How and exactly when and why the migration of some of Scotland's most successful gardeners to England and beyond began is unclear within the histories of gardening but it is evident that by as early as the second decade of the eighteenth century, they had established a significant presence. Both Haldane and Hadfield noted the disapproval of Stephen Switzer (c.1682-1745), an English landscape designer of some repute, who complained of the number of Scottish gardeners taking over

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[57] Neill, p.4; Ann Lindsay, *Seeds of Blood and Beauty: Scottish Plant Explorers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2008), p.1.

[58] *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), p.14.

[59] Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.87.

[60] Nenadic, p.13.

Englishmen's jobs.[61] 'There are', Switzer wrote in 1718, 'several *Northern* lads, which whether they have serv'd any time in this Art, or not, very few of us know anything of; yet by the help of a little Learning, and a great deal of Impudence, they invade these *Southern* Provinces.'[62] Forty years later, on a visit to England, Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, recalled in his memoirs the following encounter with the head gardener to the Earl of Portland at Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire:

> It was here that we discovered the truth of what I had often heard, that most of the head-gardeners of English noblemen were Scotch, for on observing to this man that his pease [peas] seemed late […] he answered that he was bred in […] Newhaills in my own parish of Inveresk. […]. This man gave us a note of the gardener at Blenheim, who, he told us, was our countryman, and would furnish us with notes to the head-gardeners all the way down.[63]

Many reasons for the Scots' horticultural dominance have been advanced by garden historians. Neill was one of the first to speculate and suggested that the establishment of parochial schools throughout Scotland had led to education being more 'widely diffused' among the working classes than in other European countries.[64] In addition to being schooled in reading, writing, arithmetic and some Latin, aspiring Scottish gardeners also received instruction through apprenticeships where it was common practice for the head gardener to impart knowledge of the theory of horticulture, such as mensuration, drawing of plans and botany to his trainee gardeners, and for estate owners to make their libraries available to accommodate the learning process. Although making a general point, Nenadic concluded that the idea of the 'Learned Scotchman […] evolved a strong strand of positive perceptions of Scots in London, linked to a popular awareness of Scots as a successful migrant group', which may also have played a part in the success of

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[61] Haldane, p.188; Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.171.

[62] Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica: or, The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (London: 1718), p.xxiv.

[63] Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle Minister of Inveresk* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1860), p.362.

[64] Neill, p.4. Legislation passed in Scotland between 1696 and 1872 obliged landowners to maintain an elementary school in their parish and to appoint a salaried schoolmaster or dominie to teach reading, writing, Latin and arithmetic, see James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London: University of London Press, 1969).

Scotland's gardening men in England.[65] Whilst Haldane and Cox both disagreed on the relative merits of parish schooling, they did concur that Scots were prepared to leave behind the harsh Scottish climate and travel to England to learn their craft, favouring, as Cox noted, a more 'equable climate, where conditions are easier and plants of all kinds respond more rapidly to care and attention'.[66]

Some historians have commented on stereotypical national characteristics which they believe had an impact, such as the hardiness of Scottish men and their capacity for menial labour together with what Haldane described as their 'thrifty Scot' mentality which allowed them to maximise yields in the kitchen and flower garden.[67] Low pay and lack of employment opportunities at home, which Thacker ascribed to the slow development of formal gardens in Scotland due to the uprisings of 1715 and 1745, have also been cited as reasons for the southern drift of Scotland's gardening men.[68] It is possible that all or a combination of these factors played a part in their success with perhaps one of the most significant being, according to Mackay, the 'network of well-placed Scottish horticulturists in England' that helped these incoming gardening men to find work, a view supported by Cox who highlighted the 'clannish' nature of the Scots and their desire to help one another, whatever country they might find themselves in.[69]

The most influential of these southern-based gardening men was Philip Miller (1691-1771). Little is known about his early background except that his father, a Scot, who was a market gardener at Deptford near London, had provided him with a good education and a thorough grounding in practical horticulture.[70] Miller subsequently set up his own plant nursery in St George's Fields, Southwark, but on the recommendation of fellow Scot Patrick Blair to Sir Hans Sloane, he was appointed head gardener of the Chelsea Physic Garden in 1722.[71] During his forty-eight-year tenure at Chelsea, Miller amassed a diverse collection of plants and established a reputation that garden historians have agreed was unparalleled within Europe. A contemporary of Miller, the botanist Peter Collinson (1694-1768), summed up his ability in 1764:

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[65] Nenadic, p.24.

[66] Haldane, p.205; Cox, p.202.

[67] Haldane, p.206. See also Neill, p.6.

[68] Thacker, p.152.

[69] Mackay, p.189; Cox, p.201.

[70] Hazel Le Rougetel, 'Gardener extraordinary – Philip Miller of Chelsea (1691-1771)', *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* (hereafter RHS), 96 (1971), 556-563 (p.557); Sue Minter, *The Apothecaries' Garden: A History of the Chelsea Physic Garden* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp.11-28.

> He has raised the reputation of the Chelsea garden so much, that it excels all the gardens in Europe for its amazing variety of plants of all orders and classes and from all climates, as I beheld with much delight.[72]

Musgrave has described Miller as the eighteenth century's 'most accomplished and influential head gardener', since he was also a prolific writer, producing his best known work *The Gardeners Dictionary* in 1731.[73] It had run to eight editions by 1768 and Le Rougetel, who has made a study of each successive dictionary, concluded that 'it was the work of one who had both practised and studied contemporary gardening in all its aspects, read widely and consulted and acknowledged those with particular expertise'.[74] Rohde went further in her commendation by stating that his work 'dwarfs in importance every other gardening book of the eighteenth century, not only in the English language, but any language'.[75] Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, Philip Miller was also a member of the Botanic Academy at Florence, which gave him access to some of the most eminent scientists of the day but, despite his reputation, he was not immune to criticism.[76] Lindsay likened him to a Scottish 'Godfather' in London owing to his undisguised preference for employing his own countrymen.[77] According to Cox, apprentices were brought south and trained at Chelsea before securing, through Miller's influence, good gardening positions and once promoted to head gardeners these men would in turn send north for more apprentices.[78] It is believed that some of Switzer's remarks about the Scots usurping Englishmen's jobs were aimed at Miller.[79] Both his sons worked for him at Chelsea and through his friendship with the vice-master of Trinity College, Miller ensured that his younger son Charles was appointed as the first curator of the Cambridge Botanic Garden in 1762.[80] Two of Miller's most notable protégés were William Aiton (1731-93), originally from Hamilton in Lanarkshire, and William Forsyth (c.1737-1804) who was born in Old Meldrum, Aberdeenshire.

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[71] Le Rougetel, 'Miller, Philip' (1691–1771)', *ODNB*, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18734> [accessed 20 March 2014]. Patrick Blair (d.1728) was the author of *Botanick Essays: In two parts* (London: 1720) and Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) was a wealthy benefactor of the Chelsea Physic Garden.

[72] 'Notes relating to Botany, collected from the manuscripts of the late Peter Collinson', *The Transactions of the Linnean Society*, 10 (1811), p.273.

[73] Toby Musgrave, *The Head Gardeners. Forgotten Heroes of Horticulture* (London: Aurum Press, 2007), pp.30-31; Philip Miller, *The Gardeners Dictionary: containing the methods of cultivating and improving all sorts of Trees, Plants, and Flowers for the Kitchen, Fruit, and Pleasure Gardens* (London: 1731).

[74] Le Rougetel, 'Gardener extraordinary', p.560.

[75] Rohde, p.190. *The Gard'ners Dictionary* was translated into Dutch, French and German.

[76] Established in 1660 and initially known as The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, Fellows of the Society had to be elected and were drawn from working scientists and wealthy amateurs until 1847 when election was based solely on the merit of scientific work. The first female Fellow of the Society was elected in 1945. See The Royal Society, 'History', <https://royalsociety.org/about-us/history> [accessed 1 April 2014].

William Aiton was the son of a farmer and had trained as a gardener with his two brothers at Shawfield, an estate near Airdrie, before heading to London to find work at the age of twenty-three.[81] He was taken on by Miller at Chelsea, and was a gardener there for the next five years before being appointed as superintendent of the Royal Garden at Kew, on Miller's recommendation.[82] Before long, Aiton was appointed the first curator at Kew, a job he held successfully for thirty-four years, where, 'under Royal patronage and vigorous leadership [and] with Aiton as its skilful and learned gardener,' the gardens 'progressed and prospered'.[83] Aiton is believed to have been instrumental in engaging Aberdonian, Francis Masson (1741-1805) as an under-gardener at Kew and suggesting to the Garden's director, Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), that Masson be sent to South Africa to collect plants.[84] As Kew's first official collector, Masson's place in the canon of gardening histories is assured. A city boy who received a good education, according to Lindsay, Masson is believed to have served his apprenticeship as a gardener in Scotland and travelled to London at the age of twenty to work for Aiton at Kew.[85] In 1772 he took part in his first expedition to the Cape of Good Hope with Captain Cook aboard the *Resolution* and despite facing a climatically and politically hostile environment, he succeeded in bringing back seeds, bulbs and plant specimens of over 400 new species to Kew, including Cape heaths, pelargoniums, gladioli, gazanias, lobelias and the white arum lily *Zantedeschia aethiopica*.[86] He subsequently collected in Madeira, the Canaries, the West Indies, Portugal and Spain and undertook a further trip to the Cape before his final expedition to North America in 1796 where he died a few years later.[87] Campbell-Culver estimated that by the end of the eighteenth century, Masson had introduced nearly a thousand plants and, as a result, he is credited by many historians as having changed the landscape of the garden in Britain.[88] Lemmon summed up his contribution by acknowledging that 'greenhouse and border throughout the world owe more to Masson than gardeners ever realize'.[89]

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[77] Lindsay, p.22.
[78] Cox, p.203. See also Mackay, p.191.
[79] Haldane, p.216.
[80] Henrey, II, p.635.
[81] D. J. Mabberley, 'Aiton, William (1731–1793)', *ODNB*, online edn 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/260> [accessed 24 March 2014].
[82] Amherst, p.293; Le Rougetel, 'Gardener extraordinary', p.559; Musgrave, p.33.
[83] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.231.
[84] Mabberley; Lindsay, p.50.

Aiton directly benefitted from Masson's collecting prowess by compiling a catalogue based on the growing collection of plants in the garden at Kew and in 1789 he published *Hortus Kewensis*, which listed more than 5,000 species in cultivation.[90] It was botanically and historically significant because it named almost all of the species cultivated in England at the time.[91] As Henrey noted, Aiton became 'one of the most celebrated gardeners of the day, and gained for himself and for Kew a European reputation'.[92] Like Miller, he also helped the careers of his compatriots, including that of James Donn (1758-1813) from Monivaird, Perthshire, who worked under Aiton at Kew before being appointed curator of the Cambridge Botanic Garden in 1794.[93] Aiton's work was carried on after his death by his son William Townsend

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[85] Lindsay, p.50.

[86] Campbell, p.205; Lemmon, p.73.

[87] Robertson, p.207.

[88] Maggie Campbell-Culver, *The Origin of Plants. The people and plants that have shaped Britain's garden history since the year 1000* (London: Eden Project Books, 2004), p.325.

[89] Lemmon, p.73.

[90] William Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis, or, a catalogue of the plants cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew*, 3 vols (London: 1789).

[91] Henrey, II, p.246.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid., p.238. Donn published *Hortus Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge: 1796), a list of the plants in the Cambridge garden, and remained as curator until his death in 1813.

Aiton (1766-1849) who succeeded him.[94] Described by Campbell-Culver as 'the "Mr Kew" of his age as his father had been before him', William Townsend Aiton remained at Kew for the next forty-eight years during which he published a second edition of *Hortus Kewensis*, containing upwards of eleven thousand plants, and helped to firmly establish Kew as the 'first place among the Botanical institutions of the world'.[95]

'Experience with Miller of Chelsea', as Le Rougetel has stated, 'seems to have proved a passport to success' and this is true not only for William Aiton but also for William Forsyth.[96] Thought to have served his gardening apprenticeship at Haddo House in Aberdeenshire, Forsyth was also employed by Philip Miller at the Chelsea Physic Garden and gained promotion in 1763 to head gardener for the Duke of Northumberland at Syon House in Brentford thanks to a recommendation from Miller.[97] Eight years later, Forsyth returned to Chelsea as Miller's replacement, where his success, according to Lindsay, lay in his ability to raise new introductions of plants that were starting to flood into Britain from around the globe.[98] He ensured a steady supply of plants from the New World by persuading fellow Scot, John Fraser (1750-1811) to collect in Newfoundland in 1783.[99]

Brought up in a crofting family in Invernesshire, John Fraser was apprenticed as a weaver before moving to London and working as a draper in Chelsea, where he made the acquaintance of William Forsyth and became interested in plants.[100] Encouraged by Forsyth, Fraser also collected in Georgia and the Carolinas, returning home in 1788 with around 30,000 plant specimens.[101] The following year, he exploited the new vogue for American gardens by establishing his own nursery in Sloane Square, appropriately called The American Nursery, and made several further expeditions to North America. Forsyth's championing of Fraser is further evidence of how Scottish gardeners in London supported one another and must have been, as Robertson remarked, 'a formidable combination.'[102] Portrayed by Hadfield as a 'dogged, opinionated and undoubtedly capable little Scot', Forsyth was also ambitious and by 1784 had been appointed as royal gardener to George III, taking charge of the palace gardens at St James's and Kensington.[103] He became an expert on the cultivation of fruit trees and published two works on the subject, doing more for the improvement of fruit culture than any other gardener, according to Amherst who was writing in 1895.[104] By the end of his career, Forsyth had been elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society, and together with William Townsend Aiton, was one of the seven founding members of the Horticultural Society, later to become the Royal Horticultural Society in 1804.[105]

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[94] Aiton's other son, John Townsend Aiton (1777-1851) became royal gardener at Windsor.
[95] Campbell-Culver, p.315; Amherst, p.293.
[96] Le Rougetel, 'Gardener extraordinary', p.559.
[97] B. D. Jackson, 'Forsyth, William (*bap.* 1737, *d.* 1804)', rev. Ruth Stungo, *ODNB*, online edn 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9933> [accessed 24 March 2014].
[98] Lindsay, p.31.
[99] Robertson, p.208.
[100] Lindsay, pp.91-93.
[101] Lindsay, p.98.

A third founding member and subsequent vice-president of the Horticultural Society was James Dickson (c.1738-1822), one of a number of Scottish nurserymen operating in England from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Thought to have been of humble parentage, Dickson was originally from Peeblesshire where he was apprenticed in the gardens of the Earl of Traquair, before moving to London and working in the Brompton Park nursery and various gardens.[106] In 1772, he established his own seed and plant nursery in Covent Garden and made the acquaintance of William Forsyth at Chelsea and Sir Joseph Banks at Kew, the latter of whom is thought to have helped Dickson secure the contract to maintain the garden of the British Museum.[107] He also made a series of botanical tours in the Highlands of Scotland between 1785 and 1791 and used the plant material he collected to publish a number of fascicles written in Latin on native British plants.[108] Dickson was a founder member of the Linnean Society and his contribution to horticulture is commemorated in the naming of the tree fern, *Dicksonia*, after him.[109] Despite Dickson's success he was not, however, ranked in the top three of London's most notable nurserymen of the day, since this distinction has been accorded by most garden historians to two Scots, James Lee (1715-95) and James Gordon (c.1709-80), and to Joachim Loddiges (c.1738-1826), a native of Hanover, who ran the Hackney-based firm of Conrad Loddiges & Sons.[110]

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[102] Robertson, p.208.

[103] Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.98.

[104] William Forsyth, *Observations on the diseases, defects, and injuries in all kinds of fruit and forest trees* (Dublin: 1791) which ran to seven editions and *A treatise on the culture and management of fruit-trees* (London: 1802); Amherst, p.284.

[105] The Linnean Society of London was founded in 1788 for the 'cultivation of the science of natural history'. Members were referred to as 'Fellows' and women were barred from membership until 1904. See Andrew T. Gage and William T. Stearn, *A Bicentenary History of The Linnean Society* (London: Academic, 1988). Elected members of the Horticultural Society were also referred to as Fellows. Women were admitted from 1830 onwards, see Brent Elliott, *The Royal Horticultural Society: A history 1804-2004* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2004), p.324.

[106] Anita McConnell, 'Dickson, James (1738?–1822)', *ODNB*, online edn 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7618> [accessed 24 March 2014].

[107] Robertson, p.207; Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.110.

Little is known about James Lee's early life other than he came from Selkirk, where he was educated at the grammar school, and is believed to have walked to London in 1732, where he possibly worked for Miller at Chelsea before taking up gardening positions at Syon House and at Whitton, the Duke of Argyll's estate in Middlesex.[111] In around 1745, Lee established the Vineyard nursery in Hammersmith with an English associate Lewis Kennedy (d.1782), which developed into the premier nursery in Britain and Europe, noted particularly for the successful cultivation and distribution of new exotic plants, the seeds of which were starting to be sent from America and Australia.[112] Trade flourished with the publication by Lee in 1760 of *Introduction to Botany*, which was effectively a translation from Latin into English of Linnaeus's *Philosophia Botanica* and the first description in English of the sexual classification of plants.[113] Lee's obvious knowledge of Latin leads to speculation that he may have studied the language at school in Selkirk, supporting Neill's theory as to the superiority of a Scottish parochial education.

Lee was also keen to advance his fellow countrymen, including his friend Thomas Blaikie (1751-1838), whose career is often cited within historical gardening narratives to demonstrate the degree to which Britain's gardeners were influential within Europe in the eighteenth century. The son of a market gardener in the Edinburgh village of Corstorphine, Blaikie is believed to have attended the local parish school and, in addition to helping in his father's business, may have trained at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh.[114] He is thought to have headed south in his early twenties and may have found employment with the physician and naturalist, John Fothergill (1712-1780) in his botanical garden at Upton in Essex.[115] In April 1775, Blaikie was sent by Dr Fothergill and his associate Dr Pitcairn to collect alpine plants in Switzerland and he returned seeds and specimens of 440 species, including around thirty new plant introductions.[116] However his subsequent career as a gardener and landscape designer to the French aristocracy was due to his friendship with James Lee who commissioned him to deliver trees to the Comte de Lauraguais in Normandy in 1776.[117] As a result, Blaikie stayed in France for the rest of his life and created a number of gardens including jardins à l'anglaise for the Comte, the famous garden at Bagatelle belonging to the Duc d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI, and Malmaison, the residence of the Empress Josephine.[118] According to Rohde, Blaikie was 'one of those remarkable Scotsmen who not only make themselves at home anywhere, but achieve success from sheer force of character'.[119] He was also careful not to forget James Lee, whose nursery was one of many to supply plants to Blaikie in France.

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[108] Henrey, II, p.379. The first of 27 fascicles published by Dickson was *Fasciculus Plantarum Cryptogamicarum Britanniae* (London: 1785).
[109] Gage and Stearn, p.2.
[110] Musgrave, p.44.
[111] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.286; Robertson, p.205; Mackay, p.191.
[112] Robertson, p.205; Musgrave, p.45. Garden historians have estimated that the Vineyard nursery introduced around 140 species of plants including *Fuchsia coccinea* and *Buddleia globosa.*
[113] James Lee, *Introduction to Botany* (London: 1760); Carl Linnaeus, *Philosophia Botanica* (Stockholm and Amsterdam: 1751). See also B. D. Jackson, 'Lee, James (1715–1795)', rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, *ODNB*, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16291> [accessed 24 March 2014].

Lee's contemporary, James Gordon, had founded his nursery at Mile End in London in around 1742. Thought to originate from Aberdeenshire, Gordon had been head gardener to Lord Petre at Thorndon Hall in Essex before establishing his 'highly respected and very successful' nursery business and seed shop.[120] He is described by

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[114] Patricia Taylor, *Thomas Blaikie (1751-1838): the 'Capability' Brown of France* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001).

[115] Rohde, p.208; A. S. Cowper, *Thomas Blaikie 1751-1838: a Corstorphine gardener*, *Pinkhill to France* (Edinburgh: 1976), p.4. Upton is now the site of West Ham Park in London.

[116] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.228; Taylor, p.53.

[117] Suki Urquhart, 'Blaikie, Thomas (1751–1838)', *ODNB*, online edn 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57372> [accessed 25 March 2014].

[118] The jardins à l'anglaise is a reference to the English landscape design made famous by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (c.1716-83).

[119] Rohde, p.208.

[120] Musgrave, p.45.

Robertson as an 'outstanding plantsman who succeeded in growing many species which had defeated others', including azaleas, rhododendrons and kalmias, and he successfully introduced the ginkgo tree to Britain in 1754.[121] In a letter to Linnaeus dated 25 April 1758, the zoologist, John Ellis (c.1710-1776) gave the following testimony to Gordon's work:

> This man was bred under Lord Petre […] and knows systematically all the plants he cultivates. He has more knowledge in vegetation than all the gardeners and writers on gardening in England put together, but is too modest to publish anything.[122]

With men such as Miller, Aiton, Forsyth, Fraser, Lee and Gordon operating within the capital, it is perhaps not surprising that Robertson should conclude that 'the Scottish gardeners almost monopolised for a time the management of the gardens of the English nobility and gentry, while their compatriots took over the London seeds and nursery trade'.[123]

Back in Scotland, interest in gardening and planting, particularly forest trees, had increased rapidly following the foundation in 1723 of the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, which comprised almost 300 members of the 'Scottish aristocracy, gentry, professionals, merchants and shopkeepers'.[124] In the absence of any notable Scottish landscape designers throughout much of the eighteenth century, English garden designers, such as Stephen Switzer, were employed by Scotland's ruling elite, including the Earls of Stair and Haddington, and gardens emulating the English formal style were created at Scottish estates including Dundas Castle, Barnton, Saughton Hall, Gogar, Craigie Hall, New Liston, Dalkeith House and Hopetoun House in the first half of the century.[125] From 1750 to 1850, horticultural practice improved in line with the increasing number of designed landscapes in Scotland, giving rise to what Cox has described as the 'golden age of Scottish horticulture', which brought the art of gardening to a 'pitch of excellence that was not excelled even in the great gardens of England'.[126]

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[121] Robertson, p.205.

[122] James E. Smith, *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus and other Naturalists* (London: 1821), p.93, quoted in Henrey, II, p.351.

[123] Robertson, p.187.

[124] Mackay, p.169. Primarily interested in estate management and the planting of native trees and shrubs, the Society was the first of its type in Europe and gave rise to the formation of numerous farmers' clubs and agricultural associations, see Campbell, p.21; Thacker, p.209.

[125] Loudon, pp.269-70; Tait, p.9. Unlike in England where the picturesque landscape garden made famous by Capability Brown reached the height of its success between 1730 and 1760, formal gardens continued to be laid out in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, see Cox, pp.83-84.

James Justice (1698-1763) is largely credited with wielding the greatest influence over garden practice in Scotland from midway through the eighteenth century.[127] The son of Sir James Justice of Easter Crichton in Midlothian, Justice was an advocate but studied and practised gardening at Crichton Castle, where he had 'the finest garden, and the only pine-stove in Scotland, and the largest collection of auriculae […] in Europe'.[128] As an active member of the Society of Improvers and a Fellow of the Royal Society, he came into contact with some of the most influential landowners of the day and was a regular correspondent with Philip Miller at Chelsea.[129] In 1754, he published *The Scots Gardiner's Director*, a detailed manual which gave precise instructions on all aspects of horticulture for the Scottish climate, including the culture of pineapples, the maintenance of the hot wall for forcing fruit, and pruning techniques such as espaliered fruit trees.[130] His book is important because it reflected the significant skills required by Scotland's gardening men from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, expertise which contributed to the growing professionalisation of gardening during the remainder of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century.

Improvements were also being made to the royal gardens in Edinburgh thanks to the contribution of John Hope (1725-86) who was instrumental in uniting the Royal Abbey Garden and the garden at Trinity Hospital into one site to the north of Leith Walk, thus laying the foundations for what was to become the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh.[131] Having studied medicine in Edinburgh and botany in Paris, Hope returned to Scotland and was a physician at the capital's Royal Infirmary, before being appointed King's Botanist for Scotland, superintendent of the Royal Garden, and Professor of Botany and Materia Medica at Edinburgh University in 1761.[132] Benefitting from his connections with the 3rd Earl of Bute, Hope successfully lobbied for funding from the government to establish the new botanic garden at Leith Walk, which was arranged botanically rather than medically, using the nomenclature devised by Linnaeus.[133] By 1767 he had become, according to Noltie, 'a leading botanist both nationally and internationally' and had developed an influential set of pupils, including Archibald Menzies (1754-1842), one of Scotland's earliest plant collectors.[134]

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[126] Cox, p.97.
[127] Cox, p.102; Robertson, p.204; Mackay, p.172.
[128] Loudon, p.282.
[129] Mackay, p.172.
[130] Hot walls were heated at intervals by ovens and needed to be constantly monitored to maintain a consistent temperature and ambient humidity.
[131] Henry Noltie, *John Hope (1725-1786) Alan G. Morton's Memoir of a Scottish Botanist* (Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 2011).

Menzies was the son of a gardener and was brought up at Weem near Aberfeldy, where he attended the local parish school, before being employed by the botanic garden in Edinburgh. He was encouraged by Hope, who taught him botany and persuaded him to study medicine, although it is unclear how he funded his studies.[135] Keen to travel and botanise, Menzies secured the position of junior surgeon with the British Navy and with the patronage of both Hope and Sir Joseph Banks at Kew, he embarked on the first of three plant-collecting expeditions to north-west America in 1782. He returned many new introductions to Edinburgh and Kew including *Araucaria araucana*, the monkey puzzle tree, and few botanists, according to Lindsay, have had so many plants named after them, including the genus *Menziesia* and species such as *Nothofagus menziesii*, *Penstemon menziesii* and *Spirea menziesii*.[136] In summary of his contribution, Hadfield noted that 'we principally owe our first knowledge of the flora of the Californian coast' to Archibald Menzies.[137]

The rise of nurserymen in Scotland was commensurate with the increase in gardens, gardening and new plant introductions and prominence is given to several Scottish nurseries within historical narratives of gardening in Britain. In 1729, Robert

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[132] D. J. Mabberley, 'Hope, John (1725-1786)', *ODNB*, online edn 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13730> [accessed 2 May 2012].
[133] Noltie, p.19.
[134] Noltie, p.14. See also Lindsay, p.110.
[135] Lindsay, p.112.
[136] Lindsay, p.142.
[137] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.278.

Dickson (floruit 1720s) from Hassendeanburn near Hawick in Teviotdale founded a tree nursery which had by the end of the century spawned two further businesses run by family members in Perth (Dickson and Turnbull) and Edinburgh (Dickson's and Co.) and earned the reputation of being 'a major force in the seed and nursery trade' in Scotland and beyond.[138] Writing in 1838, the landscape designer and horticultural writer John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) described Robert Dickson as the 'father of the commercial forest tree nurseries in Scotland', whilst Hadfield suggested that the Edinburgh branch of the business had witnessed some of the 'most prominent general nurserymen in the British Isles'.[139] The largest of all the nurseries was however the Lawson Seed and Nursery Company of Edinburgh, established in 1770 by Peter Lawson (d.1820) who had been apprenticed to another Edinburgh-based seedsman, Archibald Eagle (floruit 1730s-40s).[140] Lawson succeeded in founding a very extensive business, according to an article which appeared in *The Garden* in 1874, which was 'far in advance of that of most other contemporary establishments of the kind either in England or Scotland' and it thrived under the subsequent direction of Lawson's son George until the latter half of the nineteenth century.[141]

In Glasgow, Robert Austin (c.1754-1830) described by Cox as 'one of the most energetic nurserymen in Scotland' had formed a partnership with John McAslan in 1782 to create the highly successful business of McAslan and Austin.[142] It traded throughout Britain, supplying Scotch roses to William Aiton at Kew by the end of the eighteenth century.[143] The business passed through the male line of the two families over many generations and was a formidable presence throughout the nineteenth century, changing its name to Austin and McAslan.[144] Other notable Scottish nurserymen included William Boutcher (floruit 1730s-80s) at Comely Bank in Edinburgh, referred to by Desmond as the 'most scientific nurseryman in

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[138] Priscilla Minay, 'Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Edinburgh Seedsmen and Nurserymen', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, n.s., 1 (1991), 7-27 (p.20).

[139] John C. Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum; or, the trees and shrubs of Britain* (London: 1838), p.105; Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.334.

[140] Minay, p.24.

[141] H. N. H., 'The Lawson Nurseries, Edinburgh', *The Garden*, 7 February 1874, p.120.

[142] Cox, p.163.

[143] Mackay, p.192.

[144] Anon., 'Messrs. Austin and McAslan', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 13 October 1917, pp.147-48.

Scotland', whose publication *A Treatise on Forest-trees* is believed to have been one of the best works on the subject to be published in the eighteenth century.[145] There was also Edinburgh-based nurseryman, Joseph Archibald, who in 1781 published *The Botanist's and Nurseryman's Companion*, which contained a list of most of the trees, shrubs, flowers, fruits and herbs grown in Britain at the time.[146]

The phenomenal success of Scottish gardening men both in England and Scotland during this period can be attributed to a number of factors. The provision of an education for even the poorest boy, combined with both practical and theoretical experience gained through working on estates and in private gardens, were opportunities freely available to men. With the addition of unrestrained travel as journeymen, gardeners like William Aiton and William Forsyth, despite their humble birth, were able to rise quickly through the gardening ranks to high profile positions. Their progress, and that of others such as Francis Masson, John Fraser and Archibald Menzies, was undoubtedly accelerated through the development of a network of well-placed male horticulturists, such as Miller at Chelsea in London and Hope at the botanic gardens in Edinburgh, whose patronage ensured the early and continued success of Scottish head gardeners, plant collectors and nurserymen throughout Britain. Exclusively masculine institutions, such as the Linnean Society and the Horticultural Society, both of which initially restricted women from membership, also played a significant role in providing contacts and structures that aided the success of Scotland's gardening men. The reputation established by Scottish gardeners throughout the eighteenth century, as witnessed by the litany of plant genera and species named after them: *Aitonia* (*Aytonia*), *Forsythia*, *Massonia*, *Abies fraseri* (the Fraser fir), *Dicksonia*, *Leea*, *Gordonia*, *Hopea*, *Menziesia* and *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* (Lawson's cypress), is generally regarded as remarkable amongst garden historians, particularly given the size of the country. The nineteenth century was also to prove an immensely successful period in Scotland's gardening history as the country's horticulturists consolidated their position as head gardeners, botanists and plant collectors.

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[145] Ray Desmond, *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), p.89; William Boutcher, *A Treatise on Forest-trees* (Edinburgh: 1775).

[146] Joseph Archibald, *The Botanist's and Nurseryman's Companion* (Edinburgh: 1781).

From 1800 to 1930

Modern historian Jane Brown remarked that ‘Scotland produced the greatest head gardeners, determined and brilliant men who poured out of the grand estates of Dalkeith, Drumlanrig, Scone Palace and the Edinburgh Botanic Garden, and much of nineteenth-century gardening world conversed in a Scots burr’.[147] Her view is supported by an editorial piece which appeared in *The Gardeners’ Chronicle* in 1872 which proclaimed Scotland as a ‘nation of gardeners’, adding facetiously that ‘they strike gardeners in Scotland like gooseberry bushes’.[148] Scotland’s dominance of all things horticultural coincided with a period in history that witnessed significant progress in botany and floriculture, which Loudon believed was linked to the increased wealth and refinement of employers and patrons of the art of gardening.[149] Horticultural societies were established, the most important of which in Scotland was the Caledonian Horticultural Society, set up in 1809 for the ‘encouragement and improvement of the best fruit, the most choice flowers and most useful culinary vegetables’, thus giving the country’s professional gardening men the opportunity to showcase their skills and develop social networks.[150] It was the age of the glasshouse and technical innovations in the science of horticulture which required enormous expertise and knowledge on the part of the head gardener and his team, evident from Loudon’s *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, which in 1822 gave detailed advice and instruction throughout on the operation of structures such as hot houses, furnaces and flues, steam boilers, mushroom houses, ice-houses, apiaries, and of gardening practice including mensuration and design, propagation, transplanting, forcing and retarding, pest control and disease prevention.

Originally from Cambuslang in Lanarkshire, Loudon was one of the most prolific writers on gardening in the first half of the nineteenth century and is described by

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[147] Brown, p.248.

[148] Anon., ‘Scotch Gardeners and Gardening’, *The Gardeners’ Chronicle*, 6 April 1872, p.461.

[149] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, p.287.

[150] Anna Buxton, ‘History of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society’ <http://www.rchs.co.uk/about-us/history> [accessed 1 April 2014]. Ladies were eligible for membership from 1836, but the member profile was predominantly male for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

King as having ’an immense influence’ over horticulture, including garden design.[151] The son of a farmer, Loudon was apprenticed to the Edinburgh branch of Dickson’s the nurserymen and studied agriculture and botany at the university there before moving to London in 1803, where he began his career as a landscape gardener and writer.[152] He quickly became part of the horticultural establishment and was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society in 1806. According to Hyams, he ‘successfully married the swiftly growing science of horticulture to the now mature art of garden-making; and he popularized both, conveying them from a relatively small upper class to a vastly more numerous middle class’.[153]

With the help of his wife Jane, Loudon’s output as a writer was vast. His two most acclaimed works *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* and *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, in addition to *The Gardener’s Magazine*, a periodical he founded in 1826, were in Hadfield’s view unsurpassed in terms of ‘clarity and accuracy’ and were uniquely aimed at both the professional gardener and garden owner.[154] Loudon also advocated the importance of education, recommending ‘every young man who has entered on the profession of gardening, to be most assiduous in his endeavours to add to his stock of knowledge, from books, from observation, and from personal intercourse with eminent gardeners’.[155] In 1836, the Horticultural Society stipulated that men from their gardens would only be put forward for head gardener positions elsewhere if they had been regularly examined in scientific knowledge and secured a certificate of proficiency; evidence of the growing requirement for practical experience combined with gardening qualifications, neither of which were available to women.[156]

One area which required the greatest possible skill was in the cultivation of tender exotic plants. If the previous century had, as Campbell-Culver explained,

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[151] Ronald King, *The Quest for Paradise: A History of the World’s Gardens* (Weybridge: Whittet, 1914), p.202.
[152] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.256; Robertson, p.211.
[153] Hyams, p.248.
[154] John C. Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* (London: 1838); Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.168.
[155] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, new edn (1850), p.1243.
[156] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.278.

'experienced a deluge of new plants, the nineteenth century saw a positive Noah's flood of horticultural delights' as tropical plants were introduced to Britain.[157] A growing network of botanic gardens throughout the world was developed with Kew as the hub and plant hunters were despatched by Kew, Edinburgh and the Horticultural Society in London not only to collect plants for scientific discovery but also for economic gain. Plant hunting was, as Hoyles has argued, an integral part of British colonialism and collectors were as a result ultimately engaged in the very public, and by default, very male sphere of commercial enterprise.[158] A remarkable number of these plant hunters were Scottish men, a fact noted almost without exception in the canon of garden history. Campbell attributed their success to the national temperament which 'predisposed the Scots to plant-hunting, an occupation that demanded intelligence, ambition, tenacity, a taste for solitude and hardship, and a passion for nature', whilst Lindsay alluded to the significance of the Scottish context at a national level, stating that without Miller, Forsyth and Aiton, there might never have been the 'vital link' between Scottish gardeners and Scottish plant collectors.[159]

Under William Aiton's stewardship, Kew had already sent out Masson as its first collector and encouraged Menzies in his expeditions to north-west America. In 1803 another Scottish plant hunter, William Kerr (d.1814), was sent by Kew to collect in China. The son of a nurseryman from Hawick in the Scottish borders, Kerr had trained under Aiton junior before becoming the first plant collector to reside in China, despite access to the country being difficult and restrictive.[160] Kerr remained in China for eight years and introduced many valuable new introductions, including the hardy begonia *Begonia grandis*, *Pieris japonica*, *Rosa banksiae* and *Kerria*, the genus of shrubs which bears his name.[161] Kerr died on an expedition in Ceylon in 1812 and was replaced by two more Scottish employees at Kew, James Bowie (1789-1869) and Allan Cunningham (1791-1839), who were sent to collect in Rio de

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[157] Campbell-Culver, p.299.
[158] Hoyles, p.80.
[159] Campbell, p.28; Lindsay, p.34.
[160] Campbell-Culver, p.317.
[161] Brita Carson and Andy Normansell, 'The Scottish Plant Hunters: their Legacy and Sacrifice', *The Hardy Plant*, 21.2 (1999), 15-23 (p.18).

Janeiro. However, with the death of Sir Joseph Banks in 1820, Kew experienced a lull in its plant-hunting expeditions and the world-wide search for plants was taken up by the Horticultural Society.[162] Three Scots, George Don (1798-1856), David Douglas (1799-1834) and Robert Fortune (1812-1880) were the Society's most notable collectors who were sent to hitherto unexplored countries, many of which were politically unstable, where they endured personal privation, hostile natives, extreme hunger, fatigue and disease. Required by the Society to keep a diary of their plant-hunting expeditions, their accounts have often been dramatised as the botanical equivalent of adventure stories, which may in part account for the particular prominence accorded to Douglas and Fortune in narratives of Britain's garden history.

One of the first collectors to be despatched by the Horticultural Society was George Don, whose gardening pedigree was impressive. His father, also George Don (1764-1814) was a gardener and nurseryman at Doohillock in Forfar and was briefly head gardener at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh from 1804 to 1808. He collected rare native plants in the Highlands of Scotland and is thought by Cox to have introduced into cultivation several hundred species of native hardy plants.[163] George Don junior worked for Dickson's nursery in Edinburgh and then moved to London, where he was employed by fellow Scot William Anderson (1766-1846), the curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden.[164] In 1821, Don was sent by the Horticultural Society to collect in Sierra Leone, the West Indies and Brazil, and although many of his tropical plants died of frost in New York on his way home, he was responsible for returning witch hazels, *Iris foetidissima*, *Kalmia latifolia* and specimens of ornamental alliums, about which he later wrote.[165]

Although Don's work as an early collector for the Society was important, it is his compatriot David Douglas who is generally regarded as the most prolific and successful plant hunter of the nineteenth century. The wealth of plants he discovered was described as ‘unprecedented’ by Amherst and garden historians are agreed that he transformed the whole landscape of Britain.[166] He came from a humble background in Scone, near Perth, where his father was a stonemason, and he attended the parish school at Kinnoul before being apprenticed at the age of around ten at the gardens of the Earl of Mansfield at Scone.[167] Douglas trained there for seven years before taking up a gardener’s post at Valleyfield, near Culross in Fife, famed for its collection of exotic plants, and after several years he gained employment with the botanic gardens in Glasgow under the directorship of William Jackson Hooker (1785-1865). He attended lectures in botany and was singled out by Hooker for ‘his great activity, undaunted courage, singular abstemiousness, and energetic zeal, [which] at once pointed him out as an individual eminently calculated to do himself credit as a scientific traveller.[168] Recommended by Hooker to the Horticultural Society, he made the first of four plant-hunting expeditions to North America and the virtually unexplored west coast of America in 1823. Douglas is estimated to have introduced around 200 different species of trees and shrubs, including a large number of fruit trees, conifers such as the *Pseudotsuga menziesii* (Douglas fir), *Ribes sanguineum* (red-flowering currant), lupins, penstemons, clarkias and *Eschscholzia californica* (Californian poppy). Writing in 1955, Hadfield suggested that it would be difficult to find a garden in Britain which did not include one of the many plants found by Douglas and Campbell-Culver highlighted the ‘visual impact his resinous stream of dark green fir introductions’ had made on the country’s landscape.[169] Carson and Normansell listed the many hardships Douglas endured on his trips, from cold and heat to illness and injury, and his death in Hawaii having fallen into a pit and been gored by a trapped bull, only increased the sense of drama and glamour with which his story is often told and retold.[170]

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[162] Jenny Uglow, *A Little History of British Gardening* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2004), p.184.
[163] Cox, p.175.
[164] Lindsay, p.155.
[165] Lindsay, p.181. George Don, 'A Monograph of the Genus Allium', *Memoirs of the Wernerian Society*, 6 (1832), 1-102.

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[166] Amherst, p.286. See also King, p.204; Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.242; Lemmon, p.181 and Hyams, p.254.

[167] William Jackson Hooker, ‘A Brief Memoir of the life of Mr David Douglas with extracts from his letters’, *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*, 2 (1836), 79-182.

[168] Hooker, p.82.

[169] Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.130; Campbell-Culver, p.335.

[170] Carson and Normansell, p.20.

If Douglas was the most successful, Robert Fortune from Kelloe in Edrom, Berwickshire, was the most industrious and commercial of the collectors sent out by the Horticultural Society. His background follows a similar pattern to many of the Scottish gardening men discussed in this chapter since he worked his way up through the horticultural ranks, being educated at the parish school, apprenticed in local gardens and employed by the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh under head gardener William McNab (1780-1848), who had trained under William Aiton at Kew and been instrumental in the successful removal of the Edinburgh botanic garden from Leith Walk to Inverleith between 1820 and 1823.[171] With McNab's influence, Fortune was appointed superintendent of the hothouse department of the Horticultural Society's garden at Chiswick in 1840 and three years later he followed in William Kerr's footsteps to China, accessible once more following the Opium War of 1842.[172] Faced with pirate attacks and fever, Fortune collected and introduced over 120 species to Britain's gardens including tree peonies, Japanese anemone, azaleas, chrysanthemum, wisteria, winter jasmine, weigela and honeysuckles, with species such as *Daphne fortunei* and *Rhododendron fortunei* being named after him.[173] Following a spell as curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden on his return in 1846, during which he published an account of his Chinese expedition, Fortune was commissioned by the East India Company to return to China and obtain plants and seeds of the tea plant, which were subsequently used to establish a tea industry in India.[174] As Hoyles noted somewhat critically, Fortune's discovery of new plants of great value was 'inextricably linked to the opening up of China for economic exploitation and to the colonialisation of India', but from both a scientific and commercial perspective, his success ensured his place in gardening history as one of Britain's greatest plant hunters.[175]

Nurserymen flourished during this age of new plant introductions, but one in particular, the firm of Veitch & Co., has been positioned by most garden historians as the 'greatest' horticultural business of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Its founder John Veitch (1752-1839), the son of a gardener from Jedburgh, was apprenticed to Robert Dickson at Hassendeanburn at the age of fourteen.[176] Described by Uglow as another of the many Scotch gardeners who went south at the end of the eighteenth century, Veitch continued his training with James Lee at the Vineyard nursery in London and worked on an estate in Devon near Exeter, before setting up his own tree nursery, initially operating from Killerton and latterly from Exeter, where he formed a new nursery at Mount Radford with his son, James.[177] John Veitch is praised by Robertson as having 'laid the foundations for a five generation dynasty of nurserymen and horticulturists', and Hadfield attributed the firm's 'international supremacy' to the policy followed by successive family members who 'were among the first to grasp that there was a great future for hardy foreign plants in British gardens'.[178] In 1853, Veitch's son and grandson relocated the nursery to the King's Road in Chelsea, from where they sent out plant collectors to all parts of the world and were responsible for bringing many new plant introductions into cultivation.[179] Writing in 1963, Coats claimed that between 1840 and 1905, twenty-two collectors were despatched by Veitch, a contribution unmatched by any other firm.[180] In recognition of the work of James Veitch (1815-1869), grandson of the founder, the Veitch Memorial Trust was established in 1869 and medals have been awarded to successful horticulturists ever since.[181]

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[171] Lindsay, p.272; Cox, p.207.
[172] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.326.
[173] Amherst, p.287; Campbell, p.170.
[174] Robert Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China* (London: 1847).
[175] Hoyles, p.109.

Scotland was not left behind in the search for new plants, thanks to the stewardship of John Hutton Balfour (1808-1884) and his son Isaac Bayley Balfour (1853-1922), successive Regius Keepers at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh. John Hutton Balfour followed his father into the medical profession but developed a keen interest in botany and was one of the founding members of the Botanical Society of

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[176] Elizabeth Baigent, 'Veitch family (*per.* 1768–1929)', *ODNB*, online edn 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61986> [accessed 31 March 2014].
[177] Uglow, p.186.
[178] Robertson, p.209; Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.193.
[179] Hyams, p.254; Robertson, p.209; Campbell-Culver, p.358.
[180] Alice M. Coats, *Garden Shrubs and their Histories* (London: Vista Books, 1963), p.389.
[181] The Trust was taken over by the Royal Horticultural Society in 1922. Matilda Smith, a botanical artist, was the first female recipient of the Veitch Memorial Medal in 1926.

Edinburgh in 1836.[182] Within a decade, he had been appointed Professor of Botany at Edinburgh University and took on the directorship of the botanic garden, which he greatly enlarged by the addition of a palm house and botanical museum.[183] In a project led by him, John Jeffrey (1826-1854) from Perthshire was selected to collect plants in western North America on behalf of a syndicate of Scottish landowners and amongst the boxes of plants Jeffrey sent back in 1851 was *Tsuga heterophylla*, which became an important timber tree.[184] John Hutton Balfour was elected a Fellow of the three most influential organisations of the day, the Royal Society of London, the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Linnean Society. Isaac Bayley Balfour continued his father's work by making practical and aesthetic improvements to the garden, and was paid this tribute by Cox who wrote that:

> The evolution of the Royal Botanic Garden into a place of beauty as well as of utility was largely the life-work of Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour, one of the few great botanists who have combined immense technical knowledge with a supreme love and admiration for the beauty of the growing plant.[185]

His changes included the construction of glass houses, propagating frames and 'one of the most remarkable rock-gardens in the world', all of which provided ideal conditions for the cultivation of alpines, gentians, lilies and particularly rhododendrons – many of which were being sent from China to England and Edinburgh by George Forrest (1873-1932).[186]

Forrest has been described by Hadfield as a 'born adventurer, explorer and all-round naturalist', and he is generally regarded by garden historians as one of the greatest collectors in botanical and horticultural history.[187] Born in Falkirk, in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, his father was a draper in Kilmarnock and Forrest was educated at the Academy there, before working in the local chemist shop.[188] Having spent some time in Australia, Forrest returned to live with his widowed mother on the outskirts of Edinburgh and obtained a position working as an assistant in the herbarium at the botanic garden in Edinburgh. In 1904, Forrest was recommended by Professor Isaac Bayley Balfour to Mr A. K. Bulley, founder of Bees Seeds Ltd, who was looking for a collector to explore the south-west region of China.[189] Between 1904 and 1932 Forrest undertook seven expeditions to western China and Tibet, often working like Fortune before him in hostile environments, and managed to amass an extraordinary collection of 30,000 'first class' herbarium specimens and returned copious amounts of seed, including 5,375 rhododendron seeds, of which more than 300 were classed as new species by Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour.[190] Such large scale plant introductions were possible because Forrest was the first plant hunter to recruit and train native collectors to gather specimens and seed on his behalf and as a result he has become, according to Robertson and McKelvie, the 'most famous Scottish plant collector of the twentieth century'.[191] Elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society before his untimely death in 1932, his work was also recognised by the horticultural establishment with the award of the Victoria Medal of Honour in 1920 and the Veitch Memorial Medal in 1927 by the Royal Horticultural Society.[192]

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[182] Ernest Nelmes and William Cuthbertson, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine Dedications 1827-1927: portraits and biographical notes* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1932), pp.179-80. The Botanical Society of Edinburgh was established for the promotion of botanical science and, unusually, women were eligible for membership from the outset, although the membership was predominantly male; see *First Annual Report, Laws, and Proceedings, of The Botanical Society of Edinburgh*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: 1836-37).

[183] Nelmes and Cuthbertson, p.179.

[184] Carson and Normansell, p.22. The syndicate was named the Oregon Association.

[185] Cox, p.154.

[186] Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.54.

[187] Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.207; Nelmes and Cuthbertson, pp.377-78.

It is clear that Scottish men consolidated their dominant position as gardeners and plant collectors throughout much of the nineteenth century. Once again, humble birth does not appear to have been a barrier to achievement since success originated largely through practical and theoretical experience gained either from being taken on as apprentices within gardens and plant nurseries, as in the case of Loudon, Douglas and Fortune, or by following in their father's footsteps, such as Kerr, Don and Veitch. As men, they appear to have had access to training and work opportunities provided by private gardens and commercial nurseries and the freedom to further their careers through writing and travelling. Many also benefitted from the patronage of fellow Scottish horticulturists and the interpersonal male networks which influenced the machinations of horticultural societies and institutions. The outstanding success of Douglas as a plant collector was thanks to the sponsorship of the Royal Horticultural Society, whilst Isaac Bayley Balfour at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh championed the work of his protégé, George Forrest. A system of honorary fellowships and, latterly, awards and medals established by the male-run horticultural establishment ensured that the achievements of Scotland's gardening men were formally recognised during their lifetime.

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[188] D. E. Allen, 'Forrest, George (1873–1932)', *ODNB*, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51283> [accessed 31 March 2014].

[189] Coats, *Garden Shrubs*, p.398.

[190] Coats, *Garden Shrubs*, p.399; Campbell-Culver, p.409; Forbes W. Robertson and Alistair McKelvie, *Scottish Rock Gardening in the 20th Century* (Comrie: The Scottish Rock Garden Club, 2000), p.4. Isaac Bayley Balfour was knighted in 1920.

[191] Robertson and McKelvie, p.4.

[192] Nelmes and Cuthbertson, p.378.

Summary and Conclusions

Scottish gardening men were undeniably successful in many aspects of gardening, from early examples of sixteenth-century lay gardeners working in monasteries and royal gardens to the critical mass of head gardeners responsible for English gardens in the eighteenth century and the highly successful expeditions undertaken by Scottish plant hunters in the nineteenth century. A clear sense of their achievements is developed within narratives of British and Scottish garden histories, which leave no doubt that gardening as an art, science and commercial venture was considerably enriched by the input of Scotland's gardening men. Of most interest to this study, which seeks to develop an understanding of the history of gardening women in Scotland, are the ways in which the men's success was constructed over time.

Social class does not appear to have been a limiting factor in the achievements of Scotland's gardening men, since this chapter has demonstrated that many of the most successful were of humble origins. It can also be said that the parochial system of education in Scotland helped provide boys from even the poorest backgrounds with a basic education, whilst those of high birth and/or wealthy families could capitalise on a university education, where they had the chance to study botany as part of a medical degree. This system of elementary and university education was theoretically open to men of all classes, should they desire to take advantage of it. Perhaps of most significance were the structures in place for the training of

Scotland's gardening men, such as the system of apprenticeships which guaranteed both practical and theoretical instruction for young garden boys, and the journeyman process which allowed gardening men to broaden their experience by working in different gardens both in Scotland and England. Gardening knowledge and expertise was also passed from generation to generation, particularly noticeable in the case of Scottish plant nurseries, which were dynastic family affairs, where power and control tended to be handed down through the male line. The formal and informal transfer of horticultural skills appears to have been a male prerogative, as was the freedom of travel throughout Britain and abroad in pursuit of plants, gardening skills and employment.

Social relations, in particular the social capital which accrued to Scotland's gardening men through interpersonal male networks established within horticultural societies and institutions, also played an important part in their success. Philip Miller was a key mover in the early establishment of a network of Scottish gardening contacts. His undisguised preference for employing his compatriots created a hub of Scottish gardeners and head gardeners in London, who in turn also employed their fellow countrymen. Scots gardeners were engaged on English estates belonging to Scotland's gentry and eventually the social capital of being a Scottish gardener ensured widespread employment through word-of-mouth recommendation and referral. This capital was reinforced by membership of organisations such as the Linnean Society and the Horticultural Society, both of which were partly founded by Scotsmen, and within these environments Scottish gardening men could exchange information, confer patronage and cultivate networks. The establishment of similar institutions in Scotland, most notably the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, helped ensure the continued success of those gardening men who chose to stay and work in their own country throughout the nineteenth century.

Male patronage was also strongly in evidence in shaping the successful careers of many of Scotland's plant hunters. The Aitons at Kew sent Francis Masson and William Kerr to collect on their behalf and the Horticultural Society despatched David Douglas and Robert Fortune, two of Scotland's most successful plant collectors. The influence of the botanic gardens, many of which were run by

Scottish men throughout their history, cannot be underestimated. The Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh played a pivotal role in not only training Scottish gardening men, but also providing employment and career advancement opportunities. Archibald Menzies was part of a group of aspiring male botanists that were actively encouraged by John Hope, the Regius Keeper, and he went on to make significant new discoveries of native American plants, whilst the phenomenal success of George Forrest can largely be attributed to the paternalistic guidance and support of Isaac Bayley Balfour.

Within the history of Scottish gardening men, there does not appear to have been any evidence of restriction, exclusion or marginalisation. Not only were they able to freely achieve, they were also rewarded for their efforts. The male-founded and male-run horticultural establishments that operated both in England and Scotland instigated structures through which male contribution to gardening could be recognised. Fellowships and Honorary Fellowships, having a plant genus or species named in your honour and medals for horticultural achievement, were the main ways in which the contribution of Scotland's gardening men was recognised. Having analysed recognition and factors such as social class, education, training and social networks, which may have influenced the men's success, it has been possible to gain a firm understanding of the role and contribution of Scotland's gardening men throughout historical time. The existence of Scottish women gardeners and the role they played within gardening in Scotland is far less clear, as is their known contribution and the degree to which they could be successful within such a male domain.

Chapter 3: Women and Gardening

Introduction

As historical subjects or social actors in their own right, women gardeners have largely been elided from the traditional paradigm of garden history, as codified by nineteenth and twentieth-century garden historians including Amherst, Rohde, Hadfield, Hyams and Thacker.[1] The literature within this canon has placed the emphasis on male 'individual creative genius' and grand garden styles associated with certain epochs over many centuries and thus tended to advance 'connoisseurship more than historical understanding'.[2] What Schenker described as particularly troublesome with this approach is the way in which these histories have focused on a white, male elite and marginalised the contribution of gardening women.[3] In canonical constructions where feminine engagement in gardening has been noted, there has also been a tendency to highlight discursive 'woman' or representations of women, such as 'weeding women', rather than offer as evidence examples of actual female gardeners and their lived experiences.

A further criticism from a Scottish perspective is the English-centric approach adopted within many traditional narratives of British garden history, which rarely include separate references to Wales, Northern Ireland or Scotland. As a result, little recorded information is made available on the existence of gardening women in Scotland, challenging attempts to make any historiographical study of them. Paradoxically, this is in stark contrast to coverage for Scotland's gardening men who are well-documented in the canon of British garden history, perhaps due to their success in England. The problems attached to evidencing Scottish gardening women is compounded by the relatively limited number of narratives relating specifically to Scotland's garden history and the conspicuous absence of female practitioners mentioned within them.[4] It is only within the last thirty or so years, that revisionist approaches to histories of gardening have emerged, resulting in a small body of work aimed at uncovering examples of women gardeners and their contribution to gardening in Britain.[5] In addition to this work, feminist interventions in garden history have resulted in a handful of academic studies on women and gardening but, with the exception of this thesis, there has to date been no academic research focused exclusively on Scotland's gardening women.[6]

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[1] See also the work of Uglow and Brown.

[2] Heath Schenker, 'Women, Gardens, and the English Middle Class in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Bourgeois Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), pp.337-60 (p.337).

[3] Ibid. See also Lisa Taylor, *A Taste for Gardening. Classed and Gendered Practices* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.56.

Using traditional narratives of Britain's and Scotland's garden history, this chapter reviews the historiographical presence of women gardeners and in particular the way in which they have been portrayed within the canon of literature on garden history. Consideration is given to how women's involvement in the garden over time has been defined according to social class, gendered practices and prevailing cultural and societal norms. An analysis is then made of recent revisionist attempts by female historians to create a separate history of women gardeners, and the evidence provided by them, that challenges the conventional view that women were largely invisible or marginalised within the garden. Within this analytical framework, particular attention is paid to the profile and coverage of women included in this revisionist approach and the extent to which Scottish gardening women are represented. The chapter then takes a holistic view of the literature discussed to identify gaps in both our knowledge and understanding of women gardeners in Scotland and the resultant need for research to facilitate a new understanding of the historical circumstances that have shaped women's role in gardening in Scotland and to examine Scottish gardening women's actual contribution.

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[4] Neill, Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Scottish Gardens* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), Haldane, Cox, Hynd.

[5] MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women*; Yvonne Cuthbertson, *Women Gardeners: A History* (Denver: Arden, 1998); Sue Bennett, *Five Centuries of Women & Gardens* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2000); Twigs Way, *Virgins Weeders and Queens. A History of Women in the Garden* (Stroud: Sutton, 2006) and Catherine Horwood, *Gardening Women: their stories from 1600 to the present* (London: Virago, 2010).

[6] Academic studies include Susan Groag Bell, 'Women Create Gardens in Male Landscapes: A Revisionist Approach to Eighteenth-Century English Garden History', *Feminist Studies*, 16 (Autumn 1990), 471-91; Dianne Harris, 'Women as Gardeners', in *Encyclopedia of Gardens: History and Design*, ed. by C. A. Shoemaker (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), pp.1447-50; Rozsika Parker, 'Unnatural History: Women, Gardening and Femininity', in *Vista, the Culture and Politics of Gardens*, ed. by N. Kingsbury and T. Richardson (London: Frances Lincoln, 2005), pp.87-99 and Sarah Bilston, 'Queens of the Garden: Victorian Women Gardeners and the Rise of the Gardening Advice Text', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), 1-19.

Historical Perspectives on Gardening Women

A review of narratives of garden history suggests that social class and gender have shaped the histories of women and gardening, and this is most apparent in the employment of gardening women from early Medieval times to at least the final decade of the nineteenth century.[7] Throughout this period, the division of paid labour within public and private gardens was seemingly characterised by 'gendered power relations' as women were hired, usually on a casual basis, to undertake only those menial tasks such as weeding, watering and bug-picking which the men eschewed.[8] Often referred to collectively as the weeding women, they were drawn exclusively from the working classes and throughout their long history in the garden were usually the lowest paid workers. Some garden historians have made attempts to uncover very early evidence of these women in estate accounts, such as Amherst, who found references to women 'cleansing and pulling up weeds in the curtilage' of Ely Cathedral as early as 1372, and Uglow who traced twenty-two women weeders working at Cardinal Wolsey's residence in York Place in 1515 for 3d, less than half that paid to the men.[9] 'Weeder women' have also been recorded as being employed at Hampton Court Palace and Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire in the sixteenth century.[10] They are referred to by Brown as the 'silent gardeners' who were rarely mentioned by name in account books, despite helping to maintain some of the country's most important gardens.[11]

Within traditional narratives, references to working-class weeding women are rare but it would appear that within the garden they were consistently treated as lowly and menial workers throughout changing movements in garden design, from the Italian Renaissance, French Formal, English Landscape and Victorian kitchen garden. Cuthbertson, for example, makes reference to the casual women workers who were employed throughout the seventeenth century to weed the paths, walks and allées of

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[7] Parker, p.87.

[8] Jennifer Munroe, *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.5. See also George McKay, *Radical Gardening: Politics, Idealism & Rebellion in the Garden* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2011).

[9] Amherst, p.25; Uglow, p.69.

[10] Musgrave, p.8.

[11] Brown, p.105.

England's grand gardens and in John Evelyn's 1693 translation of De La Quintinye's work, *The Compleat Gard'ner*, his readers were advised that the choice of a paid gardener was improved if his wife could assist in her husband's occupation by undertaking what were evidently considered the feminine tasks of cleaning and scraping out plant pots as well as weeding:

> If marry'd, it is fit that his Wife, besides the Care of her Family, may love and be capable of working about her Husband's Trade […] Such a Wife cleanses, scrapes and weeds, while the Master and his Men labour about harder, more in haste, and more material Works.[12]

An increasing characteristic of gardens in the eighteenth century was the removal of formal designed elements, such as clipped hedging, in favour of the English landscape style attributed to designers such as Charles Bridgeman (1680-1738), William Kent (1686-1748), Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-83) and Humphry Repton (1752-1818). As parterres and topiaries were exchanged for serpentine walks and vast areas of lawn, weeding women looked to emergent plant nurseries and market gardens as alternative sources of work. In her study of women gardeners in Wales, Jean Reader highlighted the '*marched y gerddi*' or seasonal, itinerant female workers, who walked from south-west Wales to London and were employed from the mid-eighteenth century onwards to work as weeding women in the market garden industry.[13] In addition to weeding and watering, working-class women continued to carry out many other menial gardening chores, such as the 'picking and killing of slugs'.[14]

Little had changed by the advent of the nineteenth century, according to Uglow, who noted the gardens of Mrs Lawrence at Drayton Green, where six gardeners were employed and several women for collecting insects and dead leaves.[15] In his 1850 edition of *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, John Loudon defined garden labourers as the lowest grade of gardener and stated that they might be hired on an occasional basis to undertake digging, hoeing and weeding according to a gendered division of labour – 'men for the more heavy, and women for the lighter employments'.[16] On Victorian estates, working-class women continued to be 'uniformly underpaid and unnoticed'.[17] In her work on Victorian kitchen gardens in England, Jennifer Davies found no evidence of girl apprentices, but did find examples of poorly paid weeding women, employed for 'scratching weeds out of the gravel paths with the spiked tips of leather gloves' as well as picking off caterpillars and hoeing.[18] As Davies has argued, the Victorian garden was 'a man's world and the God within it was not the master of the house but the head gardener'.[19] Few garden historians have offered further insight into the role of weeding women as the century advanced, and it seems likely that the *status quo* was maintained, at least until the outbreak of the First World War. Writing in 1916, the Countess of Warwick provided some evidence for this assumption when she remarked that she had witnessed women of the working classes involved in 'the hard work of the garden' on her estates at Easton and Warwick.[20]

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[12] Jean De La Quintinye, *The Compleat Gard'ner; or, directions for cultivating and right ordering of fruit-gardens and kitchen-gardens; with divers reflections on several parts of husbandry*, trans. by John Evelyn (London: Gillyflower, 1693), p.14.

[13] Jean Reader, 'Stark Mad with Gardens. Women Gardeners in Wales, 1750-1860' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2011), pp.84-89.

[14] John Abercrombie, *Every Man His Own Gardener* (London: W. Griffin, 1767), quoted in Martin Hoyles, *Bread and Roses: Gardening Books from 1560 to 1960*, 2 vols (London: Pluto Press, 1995), II, p.80.

[15] Uglow, p.211; see also Cuthbertson, p.97.

There do not appear to have been many opportunities for self-improvement amongst working-class gardening women as accounts of female agency are rare. Uglow and Way identified a fourteenth-century woman known only as 'Juliana', who unusually was in charge of the labourers in the kitchen garden at Little Downham, belonging to the Bishop of Ely, and Musgrave found a reference to female 'under-gardeners' at Dunster Castle in the 1750s, but these are the only examples of female agency found within traditional narratives of garden history.[21] These women are portrayed as exceptions, but it is unclear whether lack of primary source material and/or reluctance on the part of garden historians to consider them worthy of further research has contributed to their obscurity within garden histories. English bias is also a notable feature of the way in which these women have been presented when they do appear within the canon. There are fleeting glimpses of the role of working-class weeding women within England’s grand gardens, such as at Hampton Court Palace, but no insight is given into the Scottish situation. An analysis of narratives on Scotland’s gardening history is equally disappointing. Across the extent of this literature, Cox’s historical research contains the only reference to paid female labour and weeding, which he dismissed in one sentence as work ‘usually done by women, a practice that continued in many gardens until Victorian days’.[22] Evidence for these weeding women is provided in the garden accounts for Dalkeith, a seat of the Duke of Buccleuch.[23] Dated 1812 to 1813, they reveal that of the forty-two garden employees, fifteen were women weeders (each paid 9d per day with only two boy apprentices paid less), and since most were unable to write, only their mark appeared in the ledger.[24] Based on such limited evidence across all sources of garden history, it is difficult to gain any real understanding of the role of working-class women within gardening in Scotland, the extent to which the work they undertook might have differed to the English experience and whether there were any examples of female agency amongst them.

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[16] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, new edn (1850), p.1222. Loudon's definitions of garden roles in ascending order of importance from apprentice, journeyman, foreman, master-gardener, head-gardener, botanic curator to royal gardener, make it clear that these positions were a male prerogative.

[17] Way, p.159.

[18] Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* (London: BBC Books, 1987), quoted in Hoyles, *Story of Gardening*, p.195.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Frances Evelyn Greville (Countess of Warwick), *A Woman and the War* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1916), p.78.

[21] Uglow, p.50; Way, p.9; Musgrave, p.41.

At the other end of the social spectrum, life in the garden as portrayed for women drawn from the higher reaches of society including the upper classes, aristocracy and royalty, appears not surprisingly to have been very different to that of weeding women. Illustrations of the earliest medieval gardens depict the holy virgin or queen seated on turf benches surrounded by flowers, such as white lilies, which symbolised their purity and virginity.[25] These images, according to Way, served to reinforce the notion that the flower garden was the domain of royal and noble women, ‘a place to languish rather than labour’.[26] Although Hyams, Henrey and Thacker offered evidence that women of all classes were actively engaged in subsistence gardening throughout the Middle Ages, with Shteir noting that both peasants and aristocrats worked as 'wise women' growing herbs and flowers for medicinal purposes, the emergence of the aesthetic garden during the comparative wealth and security of Elizabeth I's reign appears to have signalled their return to a decorative role.[27] It is widely accepted by historians that formal gardens in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became the modern-day equivalent of status symbols and were, according to Henrey, 'commissioned by men, designed by men and laid out by men.'[28] Historically, elite women have been linked with the flowers in these gardens but their exact relationship to them is a matter of debate. Rohde used seventeenth-century gardening books by John Parkinson and Sir William Temple, and their writings below, to suggest that aristocratic women were actively engaged in flower gardening:

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[22] Cox, p.73.
[23] Cox, p.110. He also noted that ‘old women’ from the Green Market in Edinburgh were paid 9s. a week by the Lawson Seed and Nursery Company for weeding (p.170).
[24] Ibid.
[25] Rohde, pp.38-39.
[26] Way, p.6.

> Gentlewomen, these pleasures [of flowers] are the delight of leasure, which hath bred your love and liking to them, and although you are not herein predominant, yet cannot they be barred from your beloved, who I doubt not, will share with you in the delight as much as is fit.[29]
>
> I will not enter upon any account of flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled myself with the care, which is more the ladies' part than the men's; but the success is wholly in the gardener.[30]

However, Perényi and Bushnell have interpreted women's role quite differently, arguing in their separate analyses of the rhetoric of early modern gardening manuals that floriculture was essentially a male activity.[31] Bushnell, for example, propounds that women's 'care' of flowers was not one of nurture or design but 'superficial, iconic rather than substantial, their role to look rather than do anything', whilst the propagation and cultivation of all plants, including flowers, became a masculine pursuit, whether done on an amateur basis by the gentleman or professionally by the gardener; a conclusion also reached by Perényi.[32] With few examples of aristocratic seventeenth-century women gardeners appearing within traditional garden histories, it has been difficult to determine whether those mentioned, such as the Duchess of Beaufort and the Countess of Bedford who were noted for their fine gardens, were the exception or part of an undiscovered norm.[33] As a result, the view that elite women were associated with flowers but played a marginal role within the grand formal gardens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has long been accepted and, until very recently, been largely unchallenged.

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[27] Hyams, p.92; Henrey, I, p.55; Thacker, p.27; Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science. Flora's daughters and botany in England 1760-1860* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p.37.

[28] Henrey, I, p.71. See also Bennett, p.32.

[29] John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (London: 1629), quoted in Rohde, p.185.

[30] Sir William Temple, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or Of Gardening in the Year 1685* (London: 1685), quoted in Rohde, p.185.

[31] Eleanor Perényi, 'Woman's Place', in *A Glimpse of Green*, ed. by Laurie Critchley (London: The Women's Press, 1996), pp.86-101; Rebecca Bushnell, *Green Desire. Imagining early modern English gardens* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

As formality gave way to informality with the emergence of the English landscape gardens of the eighteenth century, herb and flower gardens were usually either sited behind the main house or at some distance from it within walled kitchen gardens, as they were not considered part of the overall aesthetic design. Depicted, according to Brown, as a 'dialogue between Capability Brown, the lesser landscapists […] and the Whig landlords; acreages, however artistic or even picturesque, were a question of land management and a male preserve'.[34] Submissive to fathers, husbands and brothers, upper-class women were part of these landscapes but did not possess them, their role often viewed a passive one as they 'cut the roses in the flower garden, safely tucked away behind the house'.[35] Way described this era as the 'long eighteenth century', stating that it has been referred to as the 'Age of Man', due to women's marginalisation within these gardens.[36] Evidence of only two women with an active interest in gardening at this time, are to be found within the canon, both of whom are portrayed as exceptions in an otherwise male-dominated environment. Henrietta Knight, Lady Luxborough (1699-1756), gardened in social exclusion at Barrells in Warwickshire following her decision to part from her husband whilst Mary Eleanour Bowes, Countess of Strathmore (1749-1800), was acknowledged by

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[32] Bushnell, p.127 and p.110; Perényi, p.93.

[33] Rohde, p.186, described the Duchess of Beaufort (1630-1715) as a renowned lady gardener of her day; whilst Thacker, p.112, related that the garden at Moor Park in Hertfordshire was created by the Countess of Bedford (d. 1627).

[34] Brown, p.109.

[35] Bennett, p.56.

[36] Way, p.51.

Hussey as having taken an interest in the shrubs and flowerbeds within her Oxfordshire garden.[37] Although the landscape garden was the dominant movement in garden design in the eighteenth century, Rohde has conceded that there were many gardens in England left untouched by the fashion and Cox has argued that the landscape garden was not popular in Scotland, so it is possible that English and Scottish women continued to care for their flowers within more formally laid out gardens.[38]

Following the wane in popularity of the English Landscape garden in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the restoration of the formal flower garden by its close, historians have acknowledged that women of the upper classes began to engage more actively with flowers and in botanical pursuits.[39] Rohde, for example, evidenced this by highlighting the existence of the earliest gardening book written by a woman, *The British Garden* authored by Lady Charlotte Murray in 1799, but offered no detail on the contents of the book or on the background of its Scottish author and the fact that she published her first edition anonymously.[40] With the introduction of new exotic flowers from all over the world, botany in particular had become a fashionable activity amongst aristocratic women from 1760 onwards, a phenomenon attributed to Queen Charlotte who was a keen botanist at her gardens in Kew.[41] According to Shteir, botany was constructed as an ‘improving’ pursuit for upper-class women in accordance with social and cultural values that linked the study of flowers with femininity and encouraged women in their role as mothers and educators.[42] The period 1790 to 1830 witnessed a number of botany books written by women that were deemed acceptable as they were aimed at an ‘appropriately’ female or juvenile audience, illustrating the ‘material conditions of women’s authorship within science culture'.[43] However, attempts by male proponents, principally John Lindley (1799-1865) the first Professor of Botany at London University, to advance scientific botany led to the marginalisation of women from the 1830s onwards, as gendered distinctions between science and polite accomplishments personified the botanist as 'male and masculine and the botanophile [as] usually female and feminine'.[44] Examples of female botanists and botanical artists are largely omitted from traditional narratives of gardening history, leading erroneously to the assumption that they either did not exist or were a rare occurrence. Some English noble women who 'dabbled' in botany and also collected plants, such as Lady Bute and Lady Holland, have however been chronicled within the canon.[45] For the most part, women's participation in botanical pursuits has been neglected within the canon, which has concentrated instead on the success of Britain's male botanists and plant-hunting men, and it is thanks mainly to the work of twenty-first-century historians such as Bennett, Way and Horwood that women's involvement has been recognised.

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[37] Christopher Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes, 1700-1750* (London: Country Life, 1967), p.88. Both Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.205 and Thacker, p.199 mention Lady Luxborough.

[38] Rohde, p.211; Cox, p.87. Cox has suggested that Sir Walter Scott’s criticism of the English landscape garden as a style was one reason for its unpopularity in Scotland.

[39] In the same way that not all formal gardens were swept away in England in the eighteenth century, not all English landscape gardens were replaced by Victorian parterres in the nineteenth century. In many cases, such as at Castle Howard and Bowood House, the English landscape garden style extended beyond the introduction of later formal terraces to the front of the main house.

[40] Rohde, p.221. Lady Charlotte Murray, *The British Garden, a descriptive catalogue of hardy plants, indigenous, or cultivated in the climate of Great Britain*, 2 vols (Bath: G. S. Hazard, 1799).

[41] Henrey, II, pp.74-75.

[42] Shteir, p.4.

As the nineteenth century progressed, a shift in the gendered division of aristocratic gardening seems to have taken place as upper-class women were increasingly the creators and/or superintendents of their own gardens. Musgrave evidenced this phenomenon using the work of garden writer, Charles McIntosh, who wrote the following in 1828:

> The gardens of the great were formerly under the sole control of a well-educated scientific man, but now we see the peeress directing the management of her own gardens and greenhouses, by the force of her own knowledge and experience.[46]

The extent to which these women actually engaged in hands-on gardening work as opposed to instructing their head gardeners is hard to ascertain since few examples other than name checks are given within historical narratives, and when they do appear it is difficult to establish what they actually did. Mrs Lawrence, who gardened in the 1830s at Drayton Green, was lauded by Hadfield as a woman of 'great ability', 'a brilliantly successful gardener', and 'responsible for the design and planting of the Drayton garden, and all its ancillaries', but she employed six gardeners to manage her twenty-eight-acre estate.[47] Traditional narratives have largely chosen to ignore the new genre of female garden writing which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century that has helped our understanding of women's experiences of creating and managing their gardens.[48] Countess von Arnim (1866-1941), for example, was one of the first in a succession of female authors to write about her garden and voice her frustration at the social limitations placed on her as an elite woman, which not only prevented her from getting her hands dirty but also obliged her to engage what she clearly believed to be the inferior services of a male gardener:

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[43] Ibid., p.5. The two most notable were Priscilla Wakefield, *An Introduction to Botany, in a series of familiar letters* (Dublin: 1796) and Maria Elizabeth Jackson, *Botanical Dialogues*, *between Hortensia and her four children [...] by a lady* (London: 1797).

[44] Shteir, p.32.

[45] Rohde, p.181. Lady Bute is believed to have travelled and introduced seed of the Dahlia to Britain in 1789, whilst Lady Holland collected Dahlia tubers in 1804.

[46] Charles McIntosh, *The Practical Gardener and Modern Horticulturist* (London: Thomas Kelly, 1828), p.vi, quoted in Musgrave, p.53. See also Hoyles, *Bread and Roses*, II, p.80.

> I wish with all my heart I were a man, for of course the first thing I should do would be to buy a spade and go and garden, and then I should have the delight of doing everything for my flowers with my own hands and need not waste time explaining what I want done to somebody else. It is dull work giving orders and trying to describe the bright visions of one's brain to a person who has no visions and no brain, and who thinks a yellow bed should be calceolarias edged with blue.[49]

The contribution of one woman, Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932), is however distinguished within the canon. Such are the number of references to Jekyll in traditional narratives that it would be easy to assume that she was the only notable woman in the history of gardening. Self-taught, Jekyll created her own garden at Munstead House in Surrey and was a prolific writer of gardening books in addition to designing gardens in collaboration with the architect Edwin Lutyens (1869-

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[47] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.260.

[48] This genre, which was manifest from the mid-1880s to the turn of the century, is defined by Bilston as being 'indebted to New Woman and aesthetic prose and presents the garden as a varied scene of both energetic activity and dreamy, languorous contemplation' (p.1).

[49] Elizabeth von Arnim, *Elizabeth and her German Garden* (London: Macmillan, 1919), p.83. The first edition was published anonymously in 1898. Other works in this genre include Eleanor Vere Boyle, *Days and Hours in a Garden* (London: Elliot Stock, 1884) and Maria Theresa Earle, *Pot-pourri from a Surrey Garden* (London: Smith Elder, 1897).

1944).[50] An advocate of William Robinson (1838-1935), whose wilderness planting succeeded the formality of Victorian bedding schemes, Jekyll was very much part of a new movement towards naturalism in gardening at the beginning of the twentieth century and as such she appears to have qualified for entry within traditional narratives of garden history, despite her sex. Gardens planted on Jekyllian principles characterised the last of the great movements in garden design to be covered within canonical narratives, which occasionally contain references to other wealthy upper-class women who followed Jekyll and created their own gardening paradises, such as Ellen Ann Willmott (1858-1934) who was famed for her gardens at Warley Place in Essex and Vita Sackville-West (1892-1962) at Sissinghurst.[51]

This is usually the point in time when the traditional paradigm of garden history ends, having revealed that the role of upper-class women in the garden had largely been confined to the association with, or creation of, private flower gardens, with one or two exceptions. There is generally no acknowledgement of the role that aristocratic women, such as Lady Wolseley and the Countess of Warwick, played in the provision of horticultural education for women in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and the eventual emancipation of gardening women. These issues have only subsequently been highlighted in the work of women's historians in the last thirty years.

References to upper-class Scottish gardening women in the canon are rare, which is perhaps not surprising given that the role of women in general is marginalised within them. Their exclusion may also be attributed to the fact that many historians have written from an English point of view, even when professing to offer a British perspective. Scottish female gardeners are not mentioned at all by Hyams and the early gardening book written by Lady Charlotte Murray is the only reference to a Scottish gardening woman made by Rohde. Hadfield provided evidence of two upper-middle-class Scottish women; a short paragraph dedicated to Frances Jane Hope who we learn gardened at Wardie Lodge in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century and delighted in unfashionable plants such as hellebores and kale, and details of Ella Christie who created a Japanese garden at her family home of Cowden, Clackmannanshire, in 1907.[52] The only other evidence of the presence of genteel gardening women in Scotland found in traditional narratives were the gardens created at Crarae in Argyllshire by Lady Campbell in 1912 and the work of the Duchess of Montrose in the gardens at Brodick Castle on the Isle of Arran in the 1920s, both recorded by Thacker.[53] Even within the work of twenty-first century garden historians, Scottish women of the upper classes are poorly represented. In Brown's social history of gardens and gardening only two, Mary Queen of Scots and Frances Jane Hope, are recorded, whilst within Uglow's work, entitled *A Little History of British Gardening*, they are elided.[54]

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[50] Much has been written about Gertrude Jekyll, but for a summary of her life and work, see Betty Massingham, *Miss Jekyll. Portrait of a Great Gardener* (London: Country Life, 1966).
[51] See Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, pp.374-75; Thacker, p.310.

Traditional narratives of Scottish garden history are a little more revealing of Scotland's aristocratic gardening women, but detailed information on their life and work is rarely forthcoming. Their existence is not usually developed beyond a simple name check or an indication of the family home where they gardened and the plants they grew. Neill's approach is typical. Fleeting references to four women are made in his study of nineteenth-century Scottish gardens and orchards; Lady Moncreiffe's 'collection of exotic heaths', the 'choicest hardy flowers' grown by Lady Elcho near Haddington, Lady Callander at Prestonhall and the 'American garden' at Millburn Tower created by Lady Liston.[55] In his review of thirty-two iconic gardens throughout Scotland, three aristocratic Scottish women are complimented on their gardening skills by Sir Herbert Maxwell, and in Cox's work on the history of gardening in Scotland, there are just two references to named gardening women: 'Mrs Campbell' wife of W. A. Campbell of Ormsary, Argyllshire, who together with her husband is believed to have made the first rock garden in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century, and the wild garden created by Sir John and

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[52] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.359 and p.422.
[53] Thacker, p.320. Lady Grace Campbell was of English descent.
[54] Brown, pp.57-8 and pp.120-22.
[55] Neill, p.8.

Lady Ord of Kilmorey in 1850.[56] A handful of twentieth-century aristocratic plantswomen, including the Countess of Haddington at Tyninghame and HM The Queen Mother at the Castle of Mey, are included in MacLeod's work.[57] Tait's analysis of the landscape garden in Scotland reveals a little more information on Lady Liston, who had herself acquired the plants for the formation of her American winter garden in 1805 and on Frances Jane Hope's planting, which appealed because of its 'subtlety and virtuosity'.[58] Two twentieth-century aristocratic Scottish female gardeners are briefly mentioned in Young's history of Scotland's gardens, and Robertson's analysis of early Scottish gardeners and their plants, states only that Lady Drummond at Blair Drummond received a considerable number of annual flower seeds from seedsman Patrick Drummond in 1751.[59] Mackay's history of early Scottish gardens is devoid of any reference to gardening women as is Lindsay's 2008 research on Scottish plant explorers, despite covering the period from 1691 to 1880.[60] Much work has been carried out by Suki Urquhart to record the work of contemporary male and female gardeners active in Scotland for the period 1998 to 2004, but in her parallel treatment of five centuries of Scotland's gardening history she mentions only one early gardening woman, the 1st Earl of Cawdor's wife who redesigned the flower garden at Cawdor Castle in 1850.[61] Whilst these texts do offer evidence of the existence of gardening women in Scotland, the fragmented and cursory recording of them makes it difficult to gain any clear understanding of their presence and role within gardening in Scotland and the extent to which they made any real contribution.

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[56] Maxwell lists Lady Alice Shaw Stewart at Ardgowan, p.26; p.95, Lady Lindsay at Balcarres, p.152 and Lady Glasgow at Kelburne Castle, p.164; Cox, pp.136-37. The correct spelling is Lady Orde of Kilmory House who was of English extraction.

[57] MacLeod, *Gardener's Scotland*, pp.40-41. She also referenced Lady Burnett of Leys who designed the herbaceous borders at Pitmedden in the 1950s (p.17) and Lady Mary Gilmour at Carolside in the Borders (p.25).

[58] Tait, p.200 and p.241.

[59] Fay Young, *The Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh Book of the Scottish Garden* (Edinburgh: Moubray, 1989). Young lists the Duchess of Montrose at Brodick Castle in the 1920s, p.57 and Lady Sybil Burnett at Crathes Castle from 1926, p.70; Robertson, *Early Scottish Gardeners*, p.95.

[60] Mackay, *Early Scottish Gardens*; Lindsay, *Blood and Beauty*.

[61] Suki Urquhart, *The Scottish Gardener* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005), p.65. Elizabeth, Lady Cawdor was English, the daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Bath.

In addition to the ladies of the upper echelons of society and the working-class weeding women, there were also the wives, daughters and sisters drawn from the middling ranks, for whom the medieval garden was a ‘strictly utilitarian’ space, where they produced fruit, vegetables, physic herbs, honey and beeswax.[62] The early role of country housewives, according to Way, was one of ‘engagement and activity’ as they worked alongside their husbands to support the family, a situation which continued into the sixteenth century.[63] There is recognition of their contribution within traditional narratives, which use discourses found within gardening advice texts to highlight the garden as the ‘special province of the housewife’, and there appears to have been a discrete demarcation of duties or, as Hoyles has suggested, an early expression of ‘the concept of separate spheres of gardening for men and women’.[64] In one of the first gardening tracts by Englishman Thomas Tusser, published in 1557, which gave advice on the running of a small farm, a division of labour is apparent between the husband’s care of the crops, orchard and soft fruit and the wife’s responsibility for the flowers, kitchen herbs and vegetables:

> In March and in April, from morning to night:
> In sowing and setting, good huswives delight.
> To have in their garden or some other plot:
> To trim up their house, and to furnish their pot.[65]

In this example the garden, according to Thacker, is a minor but valuable part of the whole enterprise within which women had a clearly defined role and could, like their husbands, make independent choices and lay claim to being a gardener.[66] However, Munroe’s analysis of gardening texts such as Hill’s *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, which appeared twenty years later, shows that what was meant by the term ‘gardener’ was changing.[67] Hill associated housewives with the ‘common’ gardens of the ‘meaner sort', whilst linking men with those that were 'skilfull', leading Munroe to conclude that by the latter half of the sixteenth century there was a 'developing split between professional and amateur gardening', whereby 'a gardener was a man paid for that specialised labour and associated with artful gardening', whereas a woman gardened on essentially an amateur basis.[68] This is certainly borne out within the canonical construction of professional gardeners, who are with the exception of Gertrude Jekyll, portrayed as white, male and often Scottish from the late sixteenth century through to the early part of the twentieth century.

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[62] Thacker, p.27.
[63] Way, p.6.
[64] Rohde, p.184; Hoyles, *Story of Gardening*, p.192.
[65] Thomas Tusser, *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie* (London: 1557), as quoted in Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.55. See also Rohde, p.86.
[66] Thacker, p.60. See also Bennett, p.18.
[67] Hill wrote under the pseudonym Dydymus Mountain, *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London: 1577); Jennifer Munroe, ‘Making Gardens of Their Own: Advice for Women, 1550-1750’ in *The Early Modern Englishwoman: a facsimile library of essential works*, ed. by Betty S. Travitsky and Anne Lake Prescott, ser. III, I (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.xi.

Hill's book was followed by a spate of gardening advice texts written by men that 'mobilized', according to Munroe, 'a gendered discourse about gardening' linked to the practical activities carried out in the garden.[69] Amongst these discourses, which appear to have been an attempt by men to define the role of middle-class women within the garden, William Lawson's *The Country Housewifes Garden*, which was first published alongside *A New Orchard, and Garden* in 1618, is often quoted by garden historians because it was the first gardening manual written specifically for women.[70] In it, Lawson directs the housewife to separate her useful plantings, the kitchen herbs and roots, from her decorative flowers, thus creating the concept of the domestic flower garden as a separate entity. He suggests various designs for the aesthetic display of flowers in squares or knots but leaves the final choice with the housewife: 'The number of forms, Mazes and Knots is so great, and men are so diversly delighted, that I leave every House-wive to her self.'[71] His advice appears to have firmly placed the wife in a domestic setting with responsibility for growing plants on a small scale for subsistence purposes and flowers for pleasure, in contrast to the profit-oriented, large scale orchards and gardens that he viewed as the man's domain. Flower gardening as a gendered practice amongst women of the middling classes appears to have continued into the eighteenth century. Recourse to the canon for corroboration is frustrating since little or no evidence is provided on the evolving role of the country housewife, or her urban equivalent, in seventeenth and eighteenth-century gardens, until the appearance of the garden writer Jane Loudon (1807-58) in the mid-nineteenth century, at which point in time a newly emergent middle-class woman, largely ignorant of gardening, appears to have become too delicate to even pick up a spade.[72] In his history of gardening in Britain, Hadfield wrote that Jane Loudon urged ladies of the Victorian middle classes to re-engage in gardening but admitted in a footnote that he hadn't been able to find the answer to the question 'as to when the earlier practice of the flower and herb gardens being particularly the woman's sphere died out' and speculated as to whether it never had amongst old-fashioned country families.[73]

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[68] Munroe, 'Making Gardens', p.xi.

[69] Munroe, *Gender and the Garden*, p.9. Volume I of Blanche Henrey's review of British and horticultural literature before 1800 offers a comprehensive list of these gardening advice manuals.

[70] William Lawson, *A New Orchard, and Garden [...] With the Country Housewifes Garden for Herbs of common use* (London: 1618).

[71] Ibid., p.70.

Brown suggested that Britain's military tradition had 'overlaid the cultivation of plants with the strong desire for order and control' in the seventeenth century and may have led to men 'laying siege' to the previously feminine domain of the garden, but this view is not endorsed in traditional garden histories.[74] It is, however, possible that Henrey's summary of the contributing causes of the increase in British botanical and horticultural publications throughout the eighteenth century, such as the formation of specialist societies and the expansion of botanic and commercial gardens that reflected the growing professional and commercial interest taken by men in all aspects of botany and horticulture, may have played a key part in the marginalisation of middle-class women from active engagement in the garden.[75] Bushnell appears to concur with this view, blaming an increasing emphasis on the status of gardening as a masculine pursuit, profession and occupation, for the exclusion of country and urban housewives from domestic garden labour.[76] It is also possible that one effect of industrial capitalism was the decline in the importance of the domestic productive garden as commercial nurseries and market gardens emerged. These issues are rarely discussed within the canon. Most traditional narratives are silent on the role of middle-class gardening women throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the histories of these periods have frequently been narrated through an aesthetic lens, concentrating on grand garden styles and the male designers responsible for them.

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[72] See Jane Loudon, *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies* (London: John Murray, 1840) in which she described digging as a 'very laborious employment, and one peculiarly unfitted to small and delicately formed hands', p.7. Married to John Loudon, Jane helped her husband in the preparation of his gardening books and periodicals and from 1840 to 1850, she published eight gardening manuals in her own right and edited the *Ladies' Magazine of Gardening* (London: William Smith, 1842).

[73] Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.261.

[74] Brown, p.83.

[75] Henrey, II, pp.633-52. Other contributing factors included the activities of botanical institutions and of owners of private gardens where flowers symbolised status, increase in silviculture and arboriculture and the influence of nurserymen.

[76] Bushnell, p.130.

It is largely thanks to the writings of Jane Loudon, and those who followed her, that nineteenth-century, middle-class women started to re-engage with the garden.[77] Before examining her impact on their role as gardeners, it is necessary to set Loudon's work within its social and economic context. The early years of the nineteenth century witnessed a restructuring in domestic roles as the husband started to be considered the wage earner, with the wife as the full-time mother and home-maker.[78] 'A feminized private sphere of home and family was postulated', according to Schenker, 'in contrast to a masculinized, public sphere of work and civic affairs' and this concept of separate spheres became the 'major structuring ideology' of the middle-classes, in which women were to be passive, virtuous, feminine and subordinate to men.[79] A rapid increase in the urban population had also led to the development of town houses and suburban villas with gardens attached, giving rise to family homes for 'a highly moral, respectable' and more affluent middle-class.[80] Schenker has maintained that these middle-class gardens were part of a woman's domain as they fell within the private sphere, whereas Bilston has argued that 'the garden complicates the public/private binary so central to the Victorian arrangement: it is reserved, private, an extension of the domestic sphere, yet it is necessarily outside the home'.[81] This vision of the garden as 'not-home' proffered, according to

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[77] See Bilston, pp.1-19 and Sarah Dewis, *The Loudons and the Gardening Press: A Victorian Cultural Industry* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
[78] Cuthbertson, p.73.
[79] Schenker, p.339. For a fuller critique of the ideology of separate spheres, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Century Hutchinson, 1987); Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history', *The Historical Journal*, 36.2 (1993), 383-414; and Eleanour Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives. Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).
[80] Cuthbertson, p.87.
[81] Schenker, p.339; Bilston, p.6.

Bilston, 'a broader and even public realm for women's activity', a place in which they could think and act.[82] Despite these differences in interpretation, both Schenker and Bilston agreed that the garden offered women the chance for self-expression and self-improvement and this agency was encouraged by the prose advice texts published by Jane Loudon.[83]

Whilst some garden historians, such as Rohde, Hadfield and Hyams, have briefly documented Jane Loudon's influence on middle-class gardening women, many have chosen to ignore it, although her work has been scrutinised by feminist historians.[84] Loudon can be said to have espoused the doctrine of separate spheres, according to Dewis, because her 'self-deprecating' style of writing was appropriate to the feminine behaviour expected of middle-class women, and by doing so she was socially sanctioned to disseminate a wide-range of information and advice on horticulture, botanical science and garden design which otherwise would have been unavailable to women.[85] Through her publications, Loudon authorised women to engage in physical labour such as digging and pruning, encouraged them to take part in aesthetic debate and to be involved in technological innovation, thus mediating opportunities for middle-class women to become competent amateur gardeners.[86] She was herself an example of female agency, using her self-taught gardening knowledge to sanctify her place in the public sphere of commercial publishing on the death of her husband. Schenker has argued that Jane Loudon 'helped transform the English garden into a place where women, particularly middle-class women, could exert increasing power and influence' and recognised that 'gardens in this period served the needs of middle-class women living under the doctrine of separate spheres by offering them some agency in the midst of social constraint'.[87] Unfortunately, few examples of actual Victorian middle-class gardening women displaying such power or influence are offered by Schenker in support of her claims, and those historians who have looked at this mid-nineteenth century period through the lens of traditional garden history have also failed to document any. Bilston, however, argued that the rise in the number and popularity of gardening books written by women for women that occurred in the 1880s and 1890s was proof of the existence of middle-class gardening women.[88] Having analysed the discourses contained within them, she also came to the conclusion that Victorian women writers were turning the garden into a 'scene of creative aesthetics and creative politics', by making comparisons between women's skill as gardeners and their limited opportunities for advancement within the public sphere and, as a result, female garden writers played a part in encouraging women to take up gardening as a profession.[89] The existence of English or Scottish middle-class women gardeners; developments such as middle-class women's eventual entry into professional gardening; the educational opportunities available to them; and the challenges they faced in gaining employment in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century; have been largely ignored in the canon. Exceptions include Campbell-Culver and Uglow, who both made reference to the first gardening women to work in the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, and Brown who noted the opening of gardening schools for women in England.[90]

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[82] Bilston, p.2.
[83] Schenker, p.339; Bilston, p.5.
[84] Rohde, p.184; Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p.257; Hyams, p.249.
[85] Dewis, p.200. See also Dianne Harris, 'Cultivating Power: The Language of Feminism in Women's Garden Literature, 1870-1920', *Landscape Journal*, 13 (1994), 113-123 (p.115).
[86] Bilston, pp.2-3.
[87] Schenker, p.359.

By piecing together information gleaned on middle-class women in narratives of Britain's gardening history, it would appear that their role was subject to more change than that experienced by working-class weeding women or upper-class lady gardeners. Actively engaged in gardening as an occupation until at least the end of the sixteenth century, country housewives were important contributors to the household's economy, producing vegetables, herbs for culinary and medicinal purposes and flowers. Over time however, with increasing emphasis placed by men on the professionalisation and commercialisation of gardening, their role appears to have been relegated to the care of flowers within their own cottage gardens. The emergence of a 'new', more affluent middle-class in the early part of the nineteenth century placed women back in the garden, albeit within a carefully constructed quasi-private sphere. Opportunities for self-expression and engagement in the garden, however, may have led to the creation of skilled, amateur gardening women who started to look outside their gardens for advancement in the field of professional gardening. Unfortunately little evidence of actual middle-class gardening women, with the exception of Jane Loudon, can be found within traditional narratives of British garden history. Scottish gardening literature is only slightly more enlightening. Urquhart stated that middle-class women were admitted as gardeners to the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh in 1897, whilst Maxwell described the gardening skills of a Miss Bertha Anderson in her own garden at Barskimming, Ayrshire in the early twentieth century.[91] MacLeod reviewed Mairi Sawyer's work in her garden at Inverewe in the early twentieth century and glimpses of a more significant female contribution are provided by Campbell in her guide to the gardens of Scotland.[92] In the early-nineteenth century, Agnes McDouall helped transform the gardens which are now part of the Logan Botanic Garden in Dumfries and Galloway, whilst Betty Sherriff, who made plant-hunting expeditions to Bhutan with her husband in the 1930s, is thought to have discovered an unusual form of *Meconopsis grandis*.[93]

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[88] Bilston, p.7.

[89] Ibid. Bilston looked particularly at von Arnim's work, *Elizabeth and her German Garden,* and that of Maud Maryon, *How the Garden Grew* (London: Longmans, 1900).

[90] Campbell-Culver, p.399; Uglow, p.218; Brown, p.261.

'Garden history', according to Brown, 'has been overly aristocratic, as if only the great and good had gardens', and in this analysis of the historical perspectives on gardening women those drawn from the upper classes and aristocracy have been slightly better represented in garden histories than their working-class or middle-class equivalents.[94] However, the traditional narrative of garden history, with its sweeping overview of gardening movements and concentration on creative male genius, has been structured in such a way as to marginalise the contribution of gardening women, regardless of social class. It is also clear, having reviewed the role of women through a classed and gendered lens, that women appear to have experienced marginalisation and exclusion from the garden, particularly in the field of professional gardening. Some garden historians, such as Brown and Uglow, have made attempts to introduce elements of social history into their work, to 'redress the balance' by accounting for marginal groups and outlining a history that is also 'popular and nostalgic', based on gardens of the rich and poor.[95] However the scope of these works is often as ambitious as the traditional paradigm that they might have intended to revise and as a result, gardening women have remained a minority group within them. Feminist interventions in gardening history have helped to revise our understanding of women's role in the garden but many of these works are heavily reliant on the use of discourse analysis to provide a view on women's representation as gardeners, rather than offering examples of real gardening women and their lived experiences.[96] Although Bilston analysed discourses found within Victorian gardening advice texts written by women to argue that female agency in the garden was not just imagined but real, and that the prose within these texts served to 'actively hand power over to three generations of reading and gardening women', her work is not substantiated with evidence of actual Victorian women gardeners.[97] Similarly, Dewis highlighted through her analysis of the content and language used in publications written by the Loudons, the ways in which Jane Loudon empowered middle-class women gardeners through her gardening discourse but failed to provide examples of real life women who were able to exert power and influence in the garden.[98] However, a small number of feminist revisionist histories of gardening, written since the early 1980s, have attempted to reclaim the 'forgotten' history of women in the garden.

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[91] Urquhart, p.161; Maxwell, p.116.
[92] MacLeod, *Gardener's Scotland*, pp.32-36.
[93] Campbell, p.30 and p.74.
[94] Brown, p.xvii.

Revisionist Histories of Gardening

Feminist revisionist histories of gardening have challenged the notion that women were invisible in the garden by confirming the presence of women gardeners and highlighting their specific achievements. Gardener and writer, Dawn MacLeod, was the first to construct a specifically female garden history when she wrote *Down-to-*

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[95] Ibid.

[96] See June Taboroff, '"Wife, Unto Thy Garden" The First Gardening Books for Women', *Garden History*, 2 (Spring 1983), 1-5; Harris, 'Cultivating Power'; Munroe, 'Making Gardens'.

[97] Bilston, p.15.

[98] Dewis, *The Loudons*.

Earth Women in 1982. Focused primarily on middle and upper-class twentieth-century women gardeners, MacLeod offered an exclusively female contribution to the creation of great gardens and the development of gardening trends. The selection criterion for the inclusion of women in her book was not stated, although she admitted that some were personal friends.[99] Her work is unapologetically feminist, radically so according to Taylor, and her woman-only approach is justified by her view, expressed in the preface, that men and women have traditionally been motivated to garden in very different ways; men being influenced by money and fame, whereas women's impetus has been a desire to love and nurture:

> There is nothing artificial in distinguishing between the sexes in connection with gardening, or in attempting to evaluate the lives of some notable women who have cared for the soil here in the British Isles. In varied careers these women have nearly all shown one dominant trait – a strong love of the earth and its growing plants, a devotion in which desire for personal power and prestige has had very little place.[100]

A descriptive, celebratory account of the life and work of a number of these 'notable women' and the gardens they were associated with is recorded, including Gertrude Jekyll, Ellen Willmott and Vita Sackville-West, and an attempt is made to illustrate the ways in which some of these women expanded on their gardening skills by educating other women (and men) through their writing. Our historical understanding of the role of gardening women is also extended through MacLeod's coverage of horticultural education for women and their subsequent entry into professional gardening. The first gardening schools for women in England are listed in addition to the first female practitioner gardeners taken on by Kew at the end of the nineteenth century and the subsequent emergence of professional gardening women.[101] However, despite her Scottish origin, MacLeod's choice of women is largely limited to those from England. The only Scottish women to be developed beyond a short biographical entry are plantswomen Betty Prentice at Cockburn Mill in Berwickshire and Mairi Sawyer at Inverewe, who worked within their own gardens from the mid-twentieth century onwards. There is also one reference to a professional Scottish gardening woman, Madge Elder, who is described as being a graduate from ‘Edinburgh’s novel school for women gardeners’ in 1912, but no further information on the school and its possible significance is recorded.[102] Whilst MacLeod’s work is helpful because it provided the first overview of women’s lived experience as gardeners and their personal contribution to gardening in Britain, it is less useful from a Scottish perspective, raising more questions than answers, such as whether there were examples of Scottish gardening women other than those represented by MacLeod and if so, were they able to achieve more agency than simply working in their own gardens? The nature of horticultural education available to women in Scotland compared to England and whether there were any Scottish professional gardening women active and successful in their own right, other than Madge Elder, are also issues of interest not covered by MacLeod.

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[99] MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women*, p.172.
[100] Taylor, *Taste for Gardening*, p.65; MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women*, p.ix.
[101] MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women*, pp.142-66.

Furthermore, the work of MacLeod and also that of Groag Bell, whose academic response to the ‘English male creation of the landscape garden’ of the eighteenth century was to uncover contemporaneous examples of ‘great’ women (usually upper-class) and their gardens, can be criticised for failing to provide evidence of the ways in which women might have been compelled to negotiate, circumvent or challenge male dominance within gardening in order to make their contribution.[103] This is possibly linked to the fact that MacLeod and Groag Bell concentrated on women drawn from the middle and upper classes who had access to wealth, status and gardens and may therefore have been relatively immune from male prejudice, leading Taylor to conclude that feminist garden histories have tended to ‘replace the gender blind category of great people with great women’.[104] MacLeod’s work was succeeded more than fifteen years later by a clutch of post-modern feminist histories which have attempted to combine a feminist perspective with social history to produce a more rigorous and comprehensive discourse on women’s contribution to gardening.[105] Garden historians such as Cuthbertson, Bennett, Way and Horwood have helped to greatly increase our awareness, knowledge and understanding of the role of women gardeners in Britain by uncovering examples of gardening women. In Cuthbertson's work, women's progression through five centuries of gardening in England and America is presented against the backdrop of cultural, political, economic and social change, whilst Bennett produced, in her own words, an 'entertaining sweep through the topic, setting the stories of significant women gardeners against developments in garden history and women's role in society', also across a period of five hundred years.[106] Meticulously researched, Way offers a chronological treatment of gardening women in history, including examples of early 'weeders and breeders', the involvement of royal women, Victorian plant collectors and women gardeners into the twentieth century, within categories such as 'geniuses, spinsters and eccentrics'.[107] The most up-to-date and comprehensive work on gardening women is provided by Horwood, who has successfully rescued many from total obscurity, underlined their achievements and given particular credit to English female gardening pioneers. Arranged thematically rather than chronologically, Horwood manages to encompass women from a diverse range of gardening pursuits including floral artists, flower arrangers, embroiderers and herbalists in addition to plantswomen, botanists, plant collectors and nurserywomen. Ambitious in scope and historical coverage, such works are rarely able to supply a sufficiently detailed biographical and botanical assessment of individual women but are important because they not only lay the foundation for future research into gardening women, but also provide, as in my case, the inspiration to do so.

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[102] Ibid., pp.154-56.
[103] Groag Bell, p.471.
[104] Taylor, *A Taste for Gardening*, p.66.
[105] For a discussion on the advantages of approaching history from a feminist perspective, see Heath Massey Schenker, ‘Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Landscape Architecture’, *Landscape Journal*, 13.2 (1994), 107-112.

The only criticism of their approach is the lack of information pertaining to Scottish gardening women and the social and cultural context within which they operated in Scotland. A name check for the 'Edinburgh School for Women Gardeners' and a brief mention for Lady Anne Halkett (1623-1699), who gathered herbs and flowers for medicinal purposes, are the only Scottish references in Cuthbertson's history of women gardeners, whilst Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale (1626-98) who gardened at Ham House in Surrey is the sole example of a Scottish woman noted in Bennett's

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[106] Bennett, p.8.
[107] Way, p.iii.

Five Centuries of Women & Gardeners.[108] However, four Scottish women are represented in Way's work, including Elizabeth Blackwell who was the first woman to publish an illustrated herbal, *A Curious Herbal*, dated 1737 to 1739, and Christian 'Ramsey' (the family name was actually spelled Ramsay), the Countess of Dalhousie, who collected plants in India in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.[109] There is also a reference to a School of Gardening at Corstorphine in Edinburgh run by 'Miss Baker and Miss Morrison' but no other information is given about them except that they were graduates of the Swanley Horticultural College for Women.[110] The scope of Horwood's work, which covers more than 300 women from 1600 to 2010, is impressive. Ten Scottish gardening women are profiled within it, including those featured in Way's work and a further two eighteenth-century 'lady' gardeners; Lady Anne Lindsay of Balcarres in Fife and Helen Hope, Countess of Haddington at Tyninghame, plus three active in the twentieth century; Ella Christie in her Japanese garden at Cowden, nurserywoman Mary McMurtrie at Balbithan House in Aberdeenshire and plantswoman Mary Knox Finlay at Keillour Castle.[111] Despite the increased coverage of Scottish gardening women in the work of Way and Horwood, and tantalising glimpses of female agency amongst them, there is little sense from the disparate references to the activities of these women gardeners spread across five centuries of how they actually operated within a Scottish context for any given time period and any challenges they may have faced to gain acceptance as gardeners, writers, illustrators and nurserywomen.

A small number of studies have been carried out by feminist scholars to examine women and gardening for a particular historical period, but none to date have focused on Scotland. Ingram and Forrest, for example, published three papers between 1997 and 2000, looking specifically at trainee women gardeners at the botanic gardens at Glasnevin in Dublin in the nineteenth century and at the horticultural education available to women in Ireland from 1916 to 1923.[112] The horticultural education of middle-class women in England for the period 1890 to 1939 has been comprehensively covered by Meredith in her doctoral thesis and in a separate article on private gardening schools in England, in which she analysed the contribution made by aristocratic women such as Lady Warwick who set up the first horticultural college specifically for women at Studley in Warwickshire in 1898.[113] The importance of private gardening schools in providing a professional training for women in England is also highlighted in her work. Other than fleeting references to a gardening school for women in Edinburgh that appeared in the work of MacLeod, Cuthbertson and Way, no other recorded information has been found on the school or the education of women gardeners in Scotland in the nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries.[114] One of the most recent studies, completed by Reader in 2011, highlighted the achievements and legacy of women gardeners in Wales for the period 1750 to 1860.[115] What is clear from this review of feminist histories of gardening is the fragmented and cursory treatment of gardening women in Scotland and the gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the cultural context within which they operated. No studies looking specifically at Scottish gardening women have to date been found so there is no indication as to whether those featured so far in feminist histories are the only examples of women gardeners in Scotland or whether there are more waiting to be discovered.

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[108] Cuthbertson, p.120 and p.50; Bennett, pp.32-33.
[109] Way, p.129 and p.113-14. The other women mentioned by Way are Frances Hope (her full name was Frances Jane Hope), p.144 and Lady Charlotte Murray, p.130. Elizabeth Blackwell, *A Curious Herbal, containing five hundred cuts, of the most useful plants, which are now used in the practice of physick*, 2 vols (London: Samuel Harding, 1737-39).
[110] Way, p.175. The correct spelling of their names is Miss Barker and Miss Morison.
[111] Horwood, pp.33-34; pp.78-79; pp.109-13; pp.62-63.

Summary and Conclusions

With its concentration on centuries of history, grand garden styles and elite male genius, the traditional paradigm of garden history has largely elided the contribution of gardening women, with the possible exception of Jane Loudon and Gertrude Jekyll. To effect, therefore, any understanding of women's role in gardening, it has been necessary to analyse traditional and contemporary narratives of British garden history together with feminist revisionist works on women and gardening. What has been evident from this analysis is the extent to which women appear to have experienced marginalisation and/or exclusion from active engagement in gardening, regardless of social class. Working-class women were subjected to gendered power relations in the division of paid labour within public and private gardens, consistently underpaid and relegated to the menial work of weeding with little or no prospect of rising any higher than the lowest rank of garden labourer in the hierarchy of the professional world of gardening; a situation which seems to have been maintained from the sixteenth to at least the early part of the twentieth century. In contrast, women of the upper classes and aristocracy had long been identified with the care of the flower garden, where their role was largely expected to be a passive one. By the advent of the nineteenth century, it was acceptable for upper-class women to become more actively engaged in the supervision or creation of gardens and the pursuit of botanical interests, but ostensibly on an amateur rather than professional basis. Women of the middling classes played a more significant role in early gardens, responsible for the production of flowers, kitchen herbs and vegetables until at least the seventeenth century, but the increasing professionalisation and commercialisation of gardening led to a reduction in their role, and they appear to have been confined eventually to the domestic flower and herb garden. The emergence of an affluent suburban middle-class by the nineteenth century, concomitant with a rise in gardening advice texts written by women for a female audience, is believed to have resulted in middle-class women's re-engagement with gardening, the development of a body of skilled amateur gardening women and the appearance of professional gardening women.

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[112] Valerie M. Ingram and Mary Forrest, 'From Lady Pupil to Lady Gardener', *Glasra*, 3 (1997), 55-61; 'Education for Lady Gardeners in Ireland', *Garden History*, 27 (Winter 1999), 206-18 and 'From Swanley to Glasnevin', *Glasra*, 4 (2000), 59-61.

[113] Anne Meredith, 'Middle-Class Women and Horticultural Education, 1890-1939' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2001) and 'Horticultural Education in England 1900-40: middle-class women and private gardening schools', *Garden History*, 31 (Spring 2003), 67-79.

[114] MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women*, pp.154-55; Cuthbertson, p.120; Way, p.175.

[115] Reader, 'Stark Mad with Gardens'.

Whilst the canon allows us to make some generalisations about women gardeners in England, those in Scotland are generally invisible. Most of the historical sources of information on British garden history adopt an English-centric approach, with little reference made to the Scottish context. It is therefore difficult to elicit from the literature available any meaningful understanding of the role of gardening women in Scotland. Recourse to the limited number of narratives which have been written on

Scotland's gardening history is no more illuminating. References to gardening women within them are perfunctory, working-class and middle-class women have received scant attention, whilst the existence of aristocratic female gardeners is rarely developed beyond cursory descriptions of their own flower gardens. There is, therefore, no basis on which to build any kind of historical analysis of the contribution of Scotland's gardening women for any particular century or time period or of the degree to which it differs from the trajectory of English women gardeners.

Feminist revisionist histories of gardening which have attempted to construct an exclusively female garden history have helped in many ways. In the first instance they have challenged the invisibility of women within the traditional paradigm by researching actual examples of gardening women and their lived experiences, providing proof not only of women's existence as gardeners but also demonstrable accounts of female agency. They have also helped to develop a deeper understanding of women's entry into professional gardening by highlighting the role played by women at the end of the nineteenth century in the provision of horticultural education and the opening up of employment opportunities for middle and upper-class women gardeners in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although the emphasis of these histories has been focused primarily on English women living and working in England, some female Scottish gardeners have been uncovered. The inclusion of women such as Elizabeth Blackwell, Lady Charlotte Murray, Christian Ramsay and Frances Jane Hope, together with the existence of a gardening school for women in Edinburgh has revealed a small group of Scottish gardening women who appear to have made some contribution to gardening within Scotland. However, significant gaps in our awareness, knowledge and understanding of the role of women in the history of gardening in Scotland remain. The work of this thesis challenges the maleness of the Scottish gardening tradition and the perception that women were invisible within it. It aims to uncover examples of Scottish gardening women, to examine their lived experiences and, where possible, to facilitate a new understanding of the historical circumstances that shaped women's involvement in gardening in Scotland and to arrive at an understanding and appreciation of their actual contribution.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

The literature review carried out in the preceding two chapters has demonstrated the male dominance of the Scottish gardening tradition and the invisibility of Scotland's women gardeners within historical narratives of both British and Scottish gardening histories. It has also highlighted the paucity of information about Scottish women within feminist revisionist histories of women and gardening. As a result, this thesis endeavours to fill some of the many gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the history of gardening women in Scotland and to reflect on their role, contribution and claim to recognition. This chapter justifies the chosen methodology of collective biography. Consideration is given to the framing of the research hypothesis and development of the research questions, the design of the study, the selection of sources, and the theory and concepts that have informed the analysis. The rationale behind the selection of thirteen gardening women in Scotland for detailed biographical investigation is outlined and a justification given for the time period of the study. The specific challenges involved in evidencing these women in history are also highlighted.

Framing the Research Hypothesis

My thesis aims to determine whether the elision of Scottish gardening women from the narratives of British and more specifically Scottish garden history is justified, by searching for evidence of women's contribution and assessing its significance. In endeavouring to uncover examples of individual women who exhibited agency and achievement, my objective was not only to recognise their lives and work but also to reveal the nuanced social and cultural frameworks (including ideas about gender difference) that shaped women's experiences.[1] I sought to explore, as Schenker has advocated, connections between women and gardening as a 'historic phenomenon' linked to gender, social class, wealth, educational opportunities, the division of labour, precepts of feminine behaviour, and the ways in which women 'accepted, negotiated, contested or simply ignored' them in order to engage with gardening in Scotland.[2] By so doing, my intention was to 'value, legitimate and take seriously' the voices and experiences of those previously relegated to the margins and to effect an understanding of their contribution, the degree to which their work was recognised within the masculine public sphere of horticulture and the extent to which Scottish female gardeners exhibited pioneering qualities in the field of gardening.[3] Using these aims and objectives as the starting point for my study, a provisional set of research questions was developed:-

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[1] A good example of this approach can be found in Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p.3.

- Are there examples of Scottish women who made a contribution to gardening in Scotland and, if so, what was the nature and extent of their achievement in comparison to their male contemporaries?
- Was their ability to make a contribution dependent on or influenced by their sex, social class, wealth, education and/or role in family?
- What, if any, social, economic, cultural or political barriers excluded or constrained these women from engagement in gardening and in what ways did they develop strategies to overcome them?
- Did they receive recognition for their contribution to gardening and, if so, what form did this recognition take?
- How pioneering was the work of Scottish gardening women?

Preliminary research was initiated to ascertain the existence of gardening women in Scotland. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with Scottish garden historians such as Christopher Dingwall, Grace Ellis and Alison Allighan from the Garden History Society in Scotland, gardening periodicals were scanned and secondary sources such as the *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* and *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* were consulted.[4] It was apparent from this initial research that some examples of women actively engaged in gardening in Scotland did exist and could be used as the basis for further research.

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[2] Schenker, 'Feminist Interventions', p.110. See also Vickery, p.414.
[3] Taylor, *Taste for Gardening*, p.33.
[4] Desmond, *British and Irish Botanists;* Rose Pipes and others, eds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women: from the earliest times to 2004* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

Definition of Terms

There are a number of terms used in the research questions which require clarification for the purposes of this study.

Scottish

Only gardening women who were born in Scotland or were of Scottish descent are considered within this study, unless part of a partnership with a Scots woman. Those women who were not Scottish but married Scottish men and lived in Scotland have not been included in this research.[5]

Gardening

Invariably considered an art and a science, gardening is difficult to define. Whereas botany is the study of plants and horticulture is the practical science of growing plants, gardening combines elements of both and can also include the art of designing and creating gardens. Hadfield makes this attempt at a definition:

> Gardening is a mixture consisting of a small part science, a part art (or perhaps more accurately a sort of architecture) and a large part of growing plants. It makes no steady sort of progress through history to any fixed goal of perfection, but wanders happily about, pursuing different ends in different ages.[6]

The multifarious nature of gardening is highlighted by Barnes who established that a gardener could be anyone of various skills and often diverse social standing, whilst gardening as an expression encompassed a variety of occupations including those of 'botanist, florist, forester, fruiter, fruit grower, garden implement dealer, green grocer, herbalist, horticulturist, sundriesman, landscape gardener, market gardener, nurseryman, plant merchant, seedsman and sower'.[7] As an umbrella term today, gardening still incorporates a myriad of activities from floristry to market gardening, making the study of the art and science of gardening both complicated and multi-faceted. For the purposes of this study, gardening is a combination of botany, horticulture and the design and planting of gardens.

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[5] Their omission is justified on the basis that whilst some of these women created their own private gardens, notable examples of English women living in Scotland who gardened within a wider, public sphere for the study period were not found.

[6] Hadfield, *Pioneers*, p.viii.

Contribution

Preliminary research revealed a number of examples of women gardeners in Scotland who were skilled plantswomen within their own gardens or estates, many of whom were drawn from the middle and upper classes.[8] However, those women who were privileged to have their own gardens and work within them are not the focus of my thesis. The meaning of contribution and specifically women's contribution to gardening is defined for the purposes of my research as the achievements of women who went beyond their own garden gates and used their gardening skills, either for the benefit of a wider, public audience and/or for the good of horticulture within Scotland. Examples of such women are analysed within this study.

Professional and Amateur Gardening

Whilst medieval and early modern tradition recognised only the three learned professions of divinity, medicine and law, gardening is often referred to as a profession in narratives of garden history. Considered to be both an art and a science, the trade or craft of gardening appears to have undergone a process of professionalisation in the nineteenth century in response to huge advances in technology and scientific enquiry.[9] Musgrave summed up the artistic and scientific skills required of a head gardener in the 1830s:

> It was the head gardener's job to ensure the ornamental gardens were filled with the latest, rarest and most expensive

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[7] Melvyn Barnes, *Root and Branch: a history of the Worshipful Company of Gardeners of London* (London: The Worshipful Company of Gardeners, 1994), p.30.

[8] A useful source of information was the Gardens & Designed Landscapes Inventory compiled by Historic Scotland, see <http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/gardens> [accessed September-December, 2011].

[9] The impact of professionalisation on women is covered within sociological literature, including work by Anne Witz, *Professions and Patriarchy* (London: Routledge, 1992) and *Women and Work Culture. Britain c.1850-1950*, ed. by Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

> plants. It was the head gardener's job to fill the glasshouses and conservatories with rare plants in their prime. It was the head gardener's job to ensure the kitchen gardens produced the blooms and foliage that he carefully transformed into elaborate decorations which graced the house. It was the head gardener's job to cultivate the greatest diversity of vegetables and fruits to the highest level of perfection, in and out of natural season.[10]

Such expertise was acquired through lengthy apprenticeships which included both practical and theoretical instruction and, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, gardeners could also sit a qualification in horticulture and become members of a horticultural association.[11] Professional gardening for the purposes of this thesis is defined therefore as a skilled, paid occupation that admits trained and qualified gardeners to its ranks, in contrast to amateur gardening which is undertaken as an unpaid pursuit or hobby.

Recognition

Recognition is a formal and public measure of status and distinction by according honour and acclaim. From a horticultural perspective it can take many forms. For the purposes of this thesis, the criteria used to analyse recognition are summarised as follows:

- Honorary membership of horticultural societies/associations
- Receipt of medals/awards from horticultural societies/associations
- Honorary membership of non-horticultural societies/associations
- Receipt of medals/awards from non-horticultural societies/associations
- Acknowledgement of achievement within horticultural media and journals
- The naming of a plant genus or species after an individual
- A published obituary
- Any posthumous commemoration of achievement in the form of exhibitions, published articles and memorials.

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[10] Musgrave, pp.53-54.

[11] The Examination of Gardeners, administered by the Royal Horticultural Society and the Royal Society of Arts from 1866.

A profile of the honours and awards bestowed by key British and Scottish horticultural societies and associations can be found in Appendix II.

Pioneering

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a pioneer is a ‘person who goes before others to prepare or open up the way; one who begins, or takes part in beginning, some enterprise, [or] course of action’.[12] This definition has been applied to determine the extent to which women in Scotland displayed pioneering qualities in their pursuit of gardening by preparing the ground for other women to follow, despite that ground having already been dug and cultivated by Scotland’s gardening men. This assessment of the pioneering nature of Scotland’s female gardeners has been gauged from the perspective of women, looking specifically at how they helped themselves and other women to make a contribution to gardening in Scotland, but also considers how the women’s pioneering contribution may have benefitted their male contemporaries.

Design of the Study

The first stage in designing the study was to generate as comprehensive a list as possible of women gardeners in Scotland, using all available sources of secondary information. Sixty-seven Scottish gardening women were identified, spanning a period of over 400 years, from the mid-seventeenth century to the beginning of the twenty first century.[13] It is difficult to gauge how comprehensive this list is given that the work of many women may never have been recorded. Short biographical entries for each of these women, which indicate the range of secondary sources utilised, were produced and can be found in Appendix III. Although women of all social classes are represented in this inventory, many of the female gardeners were, as preliminary research indicated, drawn from the middle and upper classes and associated with the creation and/or maintenance of their own private gardens. However, there was evidence to suggest that over half, thirty-five in total, had demonstrated a wider contribution by using their gardening skills for the benefit of a public audience and within this dataset, there were examples of women from a variety of social backgrounds. As a result, the decision was made to examine in detail the life and work of a selected number of these women for a specified period in history. Before setting specific research parameters and selecting individual women for analysis, three possible methodological approaches were considered; critical discourse analysis, prosopography and collective biography.

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[12] <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 17 June 2014].

[13] Only those women no longer extant were considered.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis involves the interpretation of 'language as a power resource […] related to ideology and socio-cultural change' that is contained within correlative forms of communication other than the spoken word, such as newspaper articles and didactic literature.[14] Attributed to theories developed by philosophers such as Michel Foucault (1926-84), the concept of discourse is defined by Phillips and Hardy as:

> An interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being […] In other words, social reality is produced and made real through discourses, and social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning. As discourse analysts, then, our task is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality.[15]

This notion of using discourse to arrive at an understanding of social reality has been used by several post-modern feminist garden historians, such as Bilston and Dewis, to attempt to illustrate how women have been represented as gardeners by analysing gardening advice texts for a specific period in history.[16] However evidence generated by them through the application of critical discourse analysis is rarely validated by primary research looking at particular women and their lived experiences. In her work on gender and the garden, Munroe was critical of the sole use of discourses found within early gardening advice texts to explain women's role since most were written from a male perspective. Instead she expanded on her source material by including manuscripts written by women to increase her understanding of how men and women actually gardened.[17] Whilst recognising the importance of discourses found in printed literature, Vickery has argued against assertions made about women in the abstract and advocated the use of case studies which uncover the 'economic roles, social lives, institutional opportunities and personal preoccupations' of particular women.[18] Since my research aims to place historical subjects within a 'social and evidential context' by uncovering the lives of particular women, the use of critical discourse analysis as the principal methodological approach was discounted in favour of examining gardening women's lived experience through biographical case studies, using as many available sources of primary and secondary data as possible rather than a small number of printed texts.[19] However, as one of a number of research methods, techniques of discourse analysis were employed when examining sources of primary data, such as articles published in gardening periodicals, to help appreciate the social context within which the gardening women were operating.

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[14] Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.508.
[15] Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy, *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction* (London: Sage, 2002), p.3 quoted in Bryman, p.508. See also Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish the birth of the prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977).
[16] Bilston, 'Queens of the Garden'; Dewis, *The Loudons.*

Prosopography and Collective Biography

The terms prosopography and collective biography have been used interchangeably since the 1970s as if they hold the same meaning, but Cowman has argued that differences between the two approaches exist which I pause to consider here in order to justify the use of collective biography as my main methodological approach.[20] In 1971, Lawrence Stone defined prosopography as 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives', a definition which does not appear to be too dissimilar from that of collective biography which can be described as the chronological history from birth to death of more than one individual's life, set within a wider historical context.[21] However, the objective application of prosopography by political and social historians differentiates the methodology from the more subjective dimension of collective biography. Prosopography, according to Stone, has either been used to research in detail elite power groups within political history, about whom much information has been documented, or has been applied by the 'statistically-minded mass school' of social historians interested in gathering information on large numbers of individuals in a group, the nature of which is inevitably more superficial.[22] Whilst Cowman has pointed out that the collection of individual biographical data is characteristic of both fields of study, the prosopographer's focus on the group and how it impacted on structures, institutions and organisations is of more importance than the subjectivities of how individuals within the group engaged with them.[23] There has also been a recent trend by prosopographers to distance their work from collective biographies by concentrating on large-scale quantitative studies of a group of individuals using computer-based packages to deal with vast amounts of data.[24] Given that my dataset of gardening women is small by comparison, the use of prosopography was discarded in favour of a more detailed qualitative approach.

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[17] Munroe, *Gender and the Garden*.
[18] Vickery, p.414.
[19] Paula S. Fass, 'Cultural history/social history: some reflections on a continuing dialogue', *Journal of Social History*, 37.1 (2003), 39-46 (p.41), quoted in *Research Methods for History*, ed. by Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p.2.
[20] Krista Cowman, 'Collective Biography', in *Research Methods for History*, pp.83-100. Cowman has herself used the terms interchangeably in an earlier work, see Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson, 'Introduction: Women's Work, a Cultural History', pp.1-24 (p.9), in Cowman and Jackson, *Women and Work Culture*.

Group Collective Biography as an Approach

Cowman has defined collective biography as 'a distinct methodology which self-consciously retains a focus on the individual'.[25] Her interpretation provides a justification for the use of collective biography in my study which aims to understand the lived experiences of individual women who are defined by their gardening work and in so doing, to contribute to a wider understanding of the history of gardening women in Scotland. However, in using collective biography as an approach, my intention was not to produce a set of unrelated biographies in the manner of a biographical dictionary, since the focus of such works tends to be commemorative rather than interpretive. My aim was to add a more analytical dimension by taking into account a number of women as part of a group, defined by their shared interest and work in gardening. In effect, my approach was one of group collective biography where the subjects for analysis were linked through gardening as a pursuit or metier and where the details of the inner lives of these subjects could be used to answer my research questions by investigating connections, both overlapping and divergent, between them as individuals, across categories and collectively. The sensitivity of the approach allowed me to assess the structures, networks and ideologies which connected my historical subjects, the ways in which they exploited or challenged them and the impact this had on their role and contribution to gardening and the extent to which their work was recognised. Given the paucity of information that is usually available when researching what appears to have been a marginal group, the approach also enabled me to piece together fragmentary evidence from a wide range of sources, both primary and secondary, which I was then able to triangulate and use to construct a coherent narrative of gardening women in Scotland.

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[21] Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100.1 Historical Studies Today (1971), 46-79 (p.46).
[22] Ibid., pp.47-8.
[23] Cowman, p.84.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., p.85.

As a researcher, I was not blind, however, to some of the limitations involved in the use of group collective biography. The most common criticism of a biographical approach to history, according to Cowan, is the tendency towards an uncritical view of the found material and I was aware of this danger from the outset of the study and went to some length to compensate for it.[26] All material found was viewed as potential evidence and was weighed against other sources of information in order to provide corroboration for statements made relating to individual women, women within categories or gardening women as a group. The reader is made aware throughout the thesis of any unsubstantiated evidence and the reason for its inclusion. Objectivity is also difficult to achieve when using a qualitative method which is inherently subjective and interpretive. In his biographical treatment of ten women in Scottish society, Knox cautioned against excessive empathy that can lead the researcher to engage in hagiography, or overt emphasis on the greatness of a subject, which can potentially present a distorted view of reality.[27] Instead he advocated an ‘empathetic, but critical’ stance, ‘one that seeks to understand motivations and actions but does not claim privileged or special knowledge’; an approach which I adopted when analysing the lived experiences of gardening women.[28] By having an awareness of these limitations and taking them into account during the research process, group collective biography was felt to be the most effective approach for attempting to recover the past experiences of gardening women in Scotland and the ways in which their actions were shaped by the broader social, cultural and political contexts in which they were situated.

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[26] Ibid., p.96.

Categories for Analysis

As was clear from the discussion of the Scottish gardening tradition in Chapter 2, there have been many recorded examples of the success of Scotland’s gardening men in all aspects of gardening. The distillation of that success revealed a concentration of notable Scottish men within three main areas of activity: the cultivation and collection of plants, professional gardening and the nursery trade. Given the multi-faceted nature of gardening and the impracticality of examining every activity encompassed by the term within the confines of my research, I wanted to focus enquiry on these three areas of gardening so that I could directly compare women’s involvement with the men’s contribution. Although of limited size, my dataset contained examples of women working in each of the three areas of activity. Consequently the gardening women analysed in this thesis fall into the following three categories: cultivators and collectors, professional gardening women and seedswomen/nurserywomen. Cultivators and collectors are defined as those women who propagated, grew and collected plants. Women with horticultural qualifications and/or practical experience who worked as gardeners on a paid basis are defined as professional gardening women. Seedswomen and nurserywomen are those who made a living from the cultivation and sale of plants.

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[27] William W. J. Knox, *Lives of Scottish Women: women and Scottish society, 1800-1990* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p.1.

[28] Ibid., p.2.

Timescale of Study

The review of literature also revealed gaps in both knowledge and understanding of gardening women in Scotland from the medieval period through to the present day. However, analysing women's contribution over such a large stretch of historical time using detailed biographical analysis, even within the three identified categories, was considered unmanageable within the scope of this enquiry. On closer examination of traditional narratives, Scotland's gardening men appear to have been particularly active and successful from the early nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the desire to establish the extent to which women were also involved at this time is one reason for the decision in this study to focus on the period 1800 to 1930. Another is linked to the pace of development in gardening at this time and its increasing professionalisation. The pre-Victorian to post-Edwardian epoch gave rise to dramatic changes in garden design and practice, not least the introduction of new and exotic plant species from around the world which changed the look of gardens in Scotland and Britain as a whole. Technology advanced at a staggering rate, including the introduction of glasshouses, the Wardian case and lawnmowers.[29] The first gardening magazines and periodicals appeared and tapped into a newly emergent market, the amateur suburban gardener, in addition to their core readership of professional gardening men. Innumerable horticultural clubs, societies and associated annual shows were instituted, or opened up to female membership, but despite the growth and opening up of gardening in Scotland throughout this period, the contribution and recognition of Scottish gardening women and in particular how they were able, for example, to enter gardening as a profession has yet to be recorded.

Within the dataset, examples of nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scottish women involved in the selected gardening categories were evident and, as a result, their impact for the period 1800 to 1930 was felt to be worthy of study. A closer examination of these women revealed the existence of a variety of data sources on which to base detailed biographical analyses. Some women had published their own writings and articles in the media of the day and within contemporary gardening periodicals, transactions and journals of horticultural clubs and societies. They had also left personal documentation in private and national archives, and memoirs of former and existing family and friends were traced. As a result, the known existence of gardening women in Scotland for this period who were active within the categories selected, together with the ability to evidence them through a variety of sources, were fundamental reasons for the decision to select 1800 to 1930 as the time period for the study.

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[29] Invented by Dr Nathanial Ward in the 1830s, the Wardian case was a portable glass case for transporting plant specimens which allowed plant collectors to return live specimens of plants from all over the world.

Selection of Biographical Subjects

The exact number of women in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scotland involved in cultivating and collecting plants, working as professional gardening women or as nurserywomen may never be fully known. Within my target dataset, twenty-three examples were found because evidence of their existence had been recorded in secondary sources. It is possible that many more such gardening women existed but were never documented. Consequently, it is not possible to arrive at a representative sample size when selecting the number of women to analyse. It is also a redundant notion in so far as this study adopts a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach which seeks to explore and interpret layers of evidence that add weight to the construction of a history of gardening women rather than provide statistically reliable answers. Of greater importance than the number, is the presentation of a sound rationale for the selection of the biographical subjects.[30] My selection criteria were based on identifying women gardeners, drawn ideally from a range of social classes within each category, who could demonstrate a contribution to gardening beyond that of working within their own gardens by applying their skill as gardeners for the benefit of a wider public. As a result, thirteen of the twenty-three women who fulfilled these criteria were selected, although the spread of social class was uneven with only two women identified from a working-class background, Madge Elder and Sarah Carstairs, whilst the remainder were from the upper and middle classes. This may be reflective of the fact that women drawn from the middle classes and above appear to have had a greater propensity to document their lives through the writing of letters, diaries, memoirs and autobiographies. It is also possible that only the writings of higher status women were collected or considered of sufficient value to save and record. The following women were subsequently selected for biographical analysis:-

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[30] Cowman, p.95.

Cultivators and Collectors
Christian Ramsay, Countess of Dalhousie (1786-1839)
Frances Jane Hope (1822-1880)
Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889-1982)

Professional Gardening Women
Mary E. Burton (1865-1944)
Annie Morison (1870-1948) and Lina Barker (1866-1929)
Norah Geddes (1887-1967)

Seedswomen and Nurserywomen
Sarah Carstairs (1806-1878)
Margaret Moffat (Madge) Elder (1893-1985)
Anna Cadell (1869-1951) and Marion Cadell (1874-1959)
Helen Mary (Mollie) Logan Home (1888-1976) and Edith Logan Home (1893-1973)

In order to arrive at a trajectory of women's contribution to gardening in Scotland from 1800 to 1930, my original intention was to select women from each category who were engaged in gardening at different intervals within the time period of the study. This was achieved for the first category of women, the cultivators and collectors, starting with Christian Ramsay, Countess of Dalhousie, who collected plants from 1817 to 1832, followed by Frances Jane Hope who was active as a plantswoman and garden writer in the 1860s and 1870s and ending with Isobel Wylie Hutchison who undertook her first plant-hunting expedition in 1923. Two contemporaries of Christian Ramsay were not selected for analysis. Although Henrietta Liston (1751-1828) collected plants when she accompanied her husband on postings overseas, her main work was in establishing an American garden in her home at Millburn Tower and consequently her contribution as a collector was of more limited importance, whilst the life and work of Anna Maria Walker (c.1778-1852) who collected in Ceylon was the subject of ongoing research by Dr Henry Noltie at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh.[31]

Representing women across time intervals for the study period within the remaining two categories proved less easy to achieve for different reasons. Professional gardening women in Scotland only began to appear in the final decade of the nineteenth century which accounts for the selection in the second category of Mary E. Burton, who was working as Scotland's first female head gardener in the late 1890s. She is joined by Annie Morrison and Lina Barker who in 1897/8 were the first female practitioner gardeners at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh and subsequently set up the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women in 1902, and Norah Geddes whose work in garden design began in 1908. Finding information on Scottish nurserywomen proved challenging due to a general lack of documentary evidence, which is why Sarah Carstairs is the only seedswoman and nurserywoman studied who was active in the nineteenth century. The other women in this category were all working in the early twentieth century. Madge Elder set up her own plant nursery in 1910, whilst the Cadell sisters operated as nurserywomen from 1919. Another set of sisters, the Logan Homes, established their plant nursery in 1926.

Collection of data

Having decided on the methodological approach of a group collective biography comprising the study of thirteen gardening women within three categories for the period 1800 to 1930, a wide range of primary and secondary data sources were accessed and are summarised below:

Textual Archives

Diaries and journals, letters, memoirs, autobiographies, biographies, estate accounts and ledgers, staff and student records, minute books, family histories, personal statements and press cuttings.

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[31] Henry J. Noltie, *The Botanical Collections of Colonel and Mrs Walker: Ceylon, 1830-1838* (Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 2013).

Material Archives

Plans, photographs, drawings, postcards, portraits, medals and certificates, sketch books, objects such as a flag and flower press, and herbarium specimens.

Published Sources (both primary and secondary)

Newsletters, leaflets and pamphlets, journals, prospectuses, newspapers, magazines, gardening books, gardening advice texts, gardening periodicals, maps and plans, reports, minutes, papers and proceedings, post office directories and obituaries.

Genealogical Sources

Birth, marriage and death certificates, census returns, wills and testaments.

Oral and Written Communication

Interviews and correspondence with surviving relatives, archivists, librarians and garden historians.

Archival Research

Many of the sources accessed were archival in nature, contained either within national archive collections made available to the general public, such as the National Records of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland, or at a local level in libraries or historical societies such as the Corstorphine Trust, or were held within private family collections throughout Scotland.[32] However evidencing women's histories was not always a straightforward process since few were catalogued under their own name. A diary written by Frances Jane Hope and her sketchbooks were eventually found within an archive collection in the name of the Hope family's solicitors and many of the manuscripts relating to Norah Geddes are contained within her father's vast collection of papers in four separate archives throughout Scotland. Illegible and damaged manuscripts were commonplace and had therefore to be treated with caution since information was often missing as a result and the meaning of particular communications were subsequently unclear.

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[32] The Corstorphine Trust is a local history society based in Edinburgh, see <http://www.corstorphinetrust.co.uk>.

Archival research is also intellectually challenging. Evidence found was usually fragmentary and had to be pieced together in the same way that a jigsaw is assembled, except that the picture was rarely complete. Many of the letters written by Isobel Wylie Hutchison, for example, were no longer extant but there were many examples of correspondence sent to her from which some of the minutiae of her life could be extracted. However, archives 'only ever yield partial understandings' according to King and I soon discovered that the process of making sense of the found information usually took place outside the archive, using data from other primary and secondary sources to decipher meaning by triangulating corroboratory evidence.[33] Osborne has described the archive as a 'centre of interpretation', the contents of which require skill in dissemination in order to produce a coherent narrative from missing and existing documents.[34] This process is complicated by the recognition that no source is a completely reliable view of the past. All evidence, in Jordanova's opinion, has been passed through human consciousness so that it is a 'transformation not a reflection of past states of affairs', and as such all sources require careful handling and interpretation, together with a degree of scepticism.[35] Her view is supported by Thomson, who advocates the use of what has been termed the 'narrative turn' in social sciences, in effect consideration should be given to factors which have influenced or shaped the source and the extent to which they should be taken into account during historical analysis.[36]

Key life story sources which enabled me to find a voice for some of the gardening women analysed took the form of letters, diaries and autobiographies which required just such an epistemological approach or 'narrative turn'. The letters written by Christian Ramsay were usually sent to family members whilst she was travelling with her husband in colonial India and whilst her desire to describe the people and places she met led to a rich source of information on her plant-hunting expeditions, her narrative was clearly shaped by her social status and a desire to create a good impression for the benefit of her relatives at home. This was made apparent when viewing her diary entries and those of her husband, which in some cases presented an alternative view of a particular encounter or experience. Unpublished autobiographies and memoirs, such as those found for Madge Elder and Norah Geddes, were invaluable sources of personal testimony but at the same time they revealed inconsistencies, missing information and in some cases unreliable memories, which came to light when triangulated with other data sources. As Knox has contended, autobiographies are, despite their limitations, useful for 'examining the intersections between public and private experience', and in my experience they were helpful in establishing a better understanding of a woman's life story.[37] Finding a voice for some women was easier than for others, but my fear of having insufficient evidence on which to base answers to the research questions proved unfounded in many cases. For those who left behind journals and correspondence in private and national archives, a relatively strong voice was found. Christian Ramsay, Isobel Wylie Hutchison and Norah Geddes are examples of such women and it is fortunate that family members and friends recognised the importance of their work and ensured that personal documentation was saved. For other women, such as Mary E. Burton, Annie Morison and the Logan Home sisters, their voices were a mere whisper and much reliance was placed on references to them within contemporary published sources.

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[33] Michelle T. King, 'Working With/In the Archives', in *Research Methods for History*, pp.13-29 (p.20).
[34] Thomas Osborne, 'The Ordinariness of the Archive', *History of the Human Sciences*, 12.2 (1999), 51-64 (p.52).
[35] Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Approaching Visual Materials', in *Research Methods for History*, pp.30-47 (p.41). See also Osborne, p.62.
[36] Alistair Thomson, 'Life Stories and Historical Analysis', in *Research Methods for History*, pp.101-17 (p.102).

Published Sources

Sifting through reports, minutes and proceedings issued by gardening associations and societies was a laborious, time-consuming process but it yielded important evidence of women's actual participation in the public world of gardening and in some cases, such as that of Mary E. Burton, the extent of her involvement. Equally, articles, letters and obituaries found within gardening magazines, journals and periodicals produced throughout the study period were useful sources of information, not only on specific gardening women but also on the wider social and structural context within which they were operating. The technique of discourse analysis, discussed earlier in this chapter, was applied to these and other sources including contemporary newspapers and gardening advice texts. As with archival data, information sourced in published obituaries was treated with a degree of caution, in order to attempt to separate reality from any eulogising tendency, and corroborated with other data sources. A wealth of information was also accessed through genealogical sources, particularly through the examination of wills and census returns.[38] The last will and testament of the Cadell sisters' father, for example, went some way to explaining how the two women were able to fund the plant nursery which they set up.

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[37] Knox, p.6.

Oral Communication

In the case of some women, such as Annie Morison and Lina Barker who set up a gardening school for women in Edinburgh, both archival and published sources failed to provide a complete picture of their contribution and achievements. An editorial piece placed in a local Edinburgh newspaper was, however, successful in generating a number of contacts, several of whom were relatives of female students who had passed through the school, see Appendix IV.[39] Interviews were conducted with Marjory Turnbull, the niece of Madge Elder who graduated from the school in 1912 and Tertia Griffiths, the great niece of Elizabeth Beveridge who was a graduate in 1925. Both were able to supply anecdotal evidence and unpublished autobiographies written by their aunts that provided useful information on the school and its two principals. Relations of Annie Morison were also traced during the research process and as a result previously unseen photographs of students of the school and Annie herself were discovered. The Logan Home sisters left very little personal documentation, but the chance discovery of a surviving relative yielded some anecdotal information and photographs of the two women and their plant nursery.[40] All evidence gathered through oral communication was corroborated, where possible, using data from other sources.

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[38] A particularly useful digital resource was ScotlandsPeople, the official online source of Scottish genealogical information, produced in association with the National Records of Scotland, see <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.

[39] David McCann, 'Meet the suff-veg-ettes', *Edinburgh Evening* News, 10 February 2012, p.3. The editorial also ran on the homepage of the RHS website <http://www.rhs.org.uk/News/Scotland-women-gardeners--memories wanted> [posted 21 February 2012] and blogs appeared on the following websites: The Scottish Allotment Diary <http://www.sags.org.uk> [posted 11 February 2012]; 'Are you a Scottish Gardening Woman?', Gardening Women <http://www.gardeningwomen.com/edinburgh-school-of-gardening-for-women> [posted 27 February 2012]; 'Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women', Grows On You Gardening With Friends <http://www.growsonyou.com/Scottish/blog/18476-edinburgh-school-of-gardening-for-women> [posted 10 February 2012].

Theoretical and Analytical Framework

In deciding on how to analyse the found knowledge, I began to question my own role as a historical researcher; was I a women's historian, a feminist historian or a gender historian? Whilst the focus of the study is concentrated on thirteen gardening women in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scotland, my intention was never to view their lives and work in isolation. I was also interested in feminist concerns of inequality, oppression and in particular women's marginalisation within traditional historical writing.[41] Whilst much recent work has been done by feminist historians to restore Scottish women to the historical record in areas such as politics, religion, medicine, education and the arts, our knowledge of Scottish women in gardening is minimal, still in the very early stages of rediscovery.[42] As a result, I wanted to adopt a feminist stance by rescuing gardening women from obscurity and finding evidence to show that they had, perhaps unjustifiably, been 'left out, overlooked or marginalised' from narratives of Scottish garden history.[43] In the course of this recovery process, examples of gardening women who were not only present in history but able to shape their own lives within a male-dominated culture began to emerge, challenging the ideology of separate spheres that has become one of the key organising conceptual frameworks for understanding male and female relations in the nineteenth century, particularly amongst the middle classes.

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[40] My thanks to Dr Henry Noltie, taxonomist and historian at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh for passing on the contact details.

[41] For a summary of feminist history, see Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class. Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

[42] A collection of this work can be found in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. by Lynn Abrams and others (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

[43] Schenker, 'Women, Gardens, and the English Middle Class', p.338.

Separate Spheres

Established essentially through an analysis of discourses found within didactic and complaint literature dating back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the ideology of separate spheres has been defined by Gordon and Nair as the 'notion that men and women inhabited separate spheres: women the private world of home and family; men the public world of the market place, citizenship and civil society'.[44] Inherent in this definition is the view that women were passive, suppressed and relegated to the domestic environment, whilst men were dominant within the public sphere. However, since the mid 1980s doubts have emerged as to its usefulness as a conceptual framework in light of both empirical and theoretical research which has highlighted evidence of women's agency outside the home.[45] As a historical paradigm, it has also been criticised by feminist historians for being descriptive rather than analytic. Its binary opposition (man/woman, public/private) has failed to expose the reality, diversity and interaction of women's and men's actual lived experiences and is insufficiently flexible when seeking to explain the imbalances in power between men and women.[46] Given these limitations and my desire to focus on the actualities of female agency in the public sphere of gardening and in particular how women shaped their own achievements in relation to male-dominated structures, I realised that I needed to move beyond the use of separate spheres in order to fully appreciate the role and contribution of gardening women and the ways in which they were recognised in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scotland.

Gender as a Category of Analysis

Gender can be defined as the 'culturally and socially constructed difference between men and women […] that varies from place to place and time to time', and it is in this connotation that gender is applied in my thesis.[47] The use of gender as a category of analysis was explored as a means of both including and accounting for women's experience. In her seminal work on the subject, Scott argued that to pursue historical meaning we must ask how and why things happened and analyse both the individual subject and social organisation.[48] Her definition of gender was based on two interconnected propositions: 'gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.'[49] In explanation of the first part of her definition, Scott advocated an examination of the ways in which gendered activities are constructed within social and cultural contexts and highlighted the use of biographies as an effective means of achieving such an analysis. By looking at the relationships between concepts of masculine and feminine and the consequent impact on power relations within a given context, Scott raised the possibility of effecting a new understanding of history and women's place within it.[50]

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[44] Gordon and Nair, p.1.

[45] A seminal work on the subject is Davidoff and Hall's *Family Fortunes.* More recent examples include: Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: women's lives in Georgian England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), and a text on Scottish women: Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon, *Out of Bounds: women in Scottish society 1800-1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992). See also Elizabeth Foyster, 'Recovering Lives from behind the Gloss of Ideology: Recent Histories of Elite and Middle-Class Women in England and America', *Gender & History*, 12.1 (2000), 237-241.

[46] Vickery, 'Golden Age', p.401.

From a Scottish perspective, Abrams has also argued more recently that adding women to the story and using gender as a category of analysis has enabled historians to revisit Scotland's past and re-interpret the ways in which it has been presented by 'considering the ways in which ideas about gendered attributes and roles were constructed and experienced by both men and women in different social, economic and political contexts'.[51] Since my thesis aims to counter the elision of gardening women in Scotland in traditional historical narratives by attempting to uncover, understand and appreciate their role and contribution in relation to that of their male contemporaries, I realised the advantages of viewing their lived experience through the lens of gender and as a result an additional set of research questions was configured:

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[47] Business Dictionary <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/gender.html> [accessed 10 June 2014].

[48] Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91.5 (1986), 1053-75 (p.1067).

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p.1070.

[51] Lynn Abrams, 'Gendering the Agenda', in Abrams, *Gender in Scottish History*, pp.1-16.

- How have Scottish women made a contribution to gardening in the period 1800 to 1930?
- How was their contribution influenced by gender, social class, wealth, education, and role in family?
- How did amateur and professional gardening women in Scotland negotiate cultural, social and institutional practices that were masculine in derivation and what strategies and tactics did they employ in order to make a contribution?
- How has their gardening work been recognised? To what extent did female recognition vary from that accorded to their male contemporaries and what does that tell us about the differences between the ways gardening men and women experienced or had access to public space?
- How pioneering was the work of Scottish gardening women in relation to that of Scotland's male gardeners?
- How should their contribution be acknowledged within narratives of Scottish garden history?

Summary

In summary, this thesis endeavours to examine the role, contribution and recognition of gardening women in Scotland, a hitherto marginalised group within the historical narratives of Scottish garden history. A qualitative analysis was felt to provide a more interpretive treatment of women's lives in preference to the application of quantitative measures. Various qualitative methodological approaches were considered, including the use of critical discourse analysis and prosopography, but the method of the group collective biography was adopted because of its ability to assess in detail the lived experiences of individual subjects who shared a common interest in gardening. Given the multi-faceted nature of gardening, concentration was focused on the areas of activity where Scottish gardening men had been particularly successful and consequently women were selected for analysis within the three categories of cultivators and collectors, professional gardeners and nurserywomen. The threshold for selection was based on the degree to which women had made a contribution within the wider public sphere of gardening by using their skill as gardeners outwith their domestic setting. A totality approach that attempted to cover the lived experiences of five centuries of gardening women was not felt to be realistic, or desirable, within the scope of the study. Various timescales were considered but the prolonged success of Scottish male gardeners, the existence of gardening women in Scotland who were actively displaying agency within the categories selected, and the ability to evidence them were fundamental reasons for the decision to select 1800 to 1930 as the time period for the study.

In order to gather evidence on which to base individual biographies, a wide range of primary and secondary data sources were employed throughout the research process, with particular emphasis placed on those drawn from archives. Using personal sources of information such as letters, diaries and autobiographies to articulate women's voices was a highly interpretive process. This was minimalised, where possible, by the triangulation of data sources to ensure that findings were substantiated using two or more pieces of corroboratory evidence. The quantity and quality of data for women varied across individuals and within categories, and creative solutions, such as appeals for information using local media sources, were used to supplement gaps in knowledge. Having considered the theoretical and analytical framework for the research, a revisionist approach to the concept of separate spheres was adopted using gender as a lens through which women's lived experience could be analysed, and the research questions were fine-tuned to reflect this emphasis. Analysing relations between men and women and how power was constituted, allowed the development of a better understanding of how gardening women's roles were constructed and how their contribution was shaped within social, economic and political contexts. It also helped give meaning to the concept of recognition and in particular how it differed from a male and female perspective. The following chapters present the findings of the group collective biography, which attempts to fill some of the gaps in the history of gardening women in Scotland for the period 1800 to 1930.

Chapter 5: Cultivators and Collectors

Introduction

This chapter examines the horticultural contribution of three plantswomen whose pioneering activities took them physically or metaphorically beyond the confines of their gardens. Christian Ramsay, the Countess of Dalhousie (1786-1839) made significant collections of plants in British North America and India, whilst Frances Jane Hope (1822-1880) of Wardie Lodge in Edinburgh was a champion of unfashionable plants and became the first Scottish woman to publish practical gardening advice for the Victorian amateur suburban gardener. Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889-1982) of Carlowrie, near Kirkliston, was a solo collector of alpine species in Greenland and arctic Alaska and wrote extensively about her experiences. Although operating at different times and within changing social and cultural environments, each made a contribution to horticulture in Scotland. The extent of their contribution and the degree to which they received recognition for their work is unpacked within this chapter. Viewed through a gendered lens, the impact of economic, social and cultural determinants, such as wealth, social status, education and family life is assessed in relation to the contribution which each of these women were able to make to horticulture within Scotland. Recognition achieved within their lifetimes, and retrospectively, is also determined, both at an individual level and collectively, with conclusions subsequently drawn as to the relative importance of their work and the degree to which they merit a place within historical narratives of Scotland's gardening history.

Christian Ramsay, Countess of Dalhousie (1786-1839)

Christian Ramsay, née Brown, was the only child and heiress of advocate Charles Brown of Coalstoun, near Haddington in East Lothian, where she was born on 28 February 1786.[1] Her mother, Christian McDowall, died only two days after giving birth to her daughter and Christian was brought up by her father at Coalstoun, which encompassed over 2,000 acres of agricultural pasture and parkland.[2] Little is known about her early years until she reached the age of thirteen, when she was sent away to receive an education from the Misses Carver in Doncaster.[3] A letter that survives from Miss Carver to Charles Brown provides a summary of Christian's education, which consisted of 'French, Music, drawing and the writing of figures, English reading and Geography of the globe'.[4] When not engaged in these pursuits her time was spent 'taking exercise and amusement'.[5] Her education was typically narrow, confined to those subjects deemed acceptable feminine accomplishments, and intended as preparation for marriage.

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[1] The family name of Brown is now spelt Broun. Coalstoun also appears as Colstoun and the House has remained within the ownership of the Broun family. At the time of writing (2015) the present Laird is Ludovic Broun-Lindsay and the house operates as a country house hotel, functions venue and cookery school.

In the summer of 1802 at the age of sixteen, Christian undertook a tour of England and Wales with the Misses Carver and in her description of the orangery she visited at Margam, near Penrice in South Wales, an early awareness of nature, especially trees, is evident:

> Behind the orangerie [*sic*] is a fine winding gravel walk planted on each side with beautiful arbutis trees. We then turned into another walk which led to a lovely grove of orange and lemon trees, […]. Behind these, are uncommonly fine tulip trees, one 100 feet high. I never saw a sweeter place than Margam, the grounds are beautiful in themselves and behind is a mountain clothed with trees to the very top.[6]

Journal entries recorded by Christian on a tour of England and Scotland seven years later indicate a keen interest in flowers and trees and she was able to develop this pursuit throughout her life, due principally to her wealth and social status but also as a result of prevailing cultural attitudes.[7] In the eighteenth century, myths and literature linked women and gardens with the feminine virtues of modesty and innocence and it became socially acceptable for women, particularly those of the upper classes, to be involved in botanical interests. By the first half of the nineteenth century, women 'read botany books, attended public lectures about plants, corresponded with naturalists, collected native ferns, mosses, and marine plants, drew plants, developed herbaria for further study, and used microscopes'.[8] Academic study of botany was not however open to women at this time and so Christian cultivated her early passion for flowers and trees by working within her own gardens and reading extensively on plants and botany.[9]

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[2] Christian McDowall was the eldest daughter of John McDowall of Logan in the County of Wigtown, now Wigtownshire in Dumfries and Galloway.

[3] Daughters of the Scottish gentry and richer lairds and merchants tended at this time to be educated at home by governesses in preparation for marriage. Christian had no mother figure in her life and this may account for her father's decision to send her to a private school run by women in England. For works on women's education in Scotland; see Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*; Robert D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos. A History of Women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* (London: Collins, 1983).

[4] Edinburgh, National Register of Archives for Scotland (hereafter NRAS), Broun-Lindsay Papers, 2383/2/491: letter from Miss Carver to Charles Brown, 30 November 1799.

[5] Ibid.

[6] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 55/1: notes taken by Christian Ramsay (hereafter CR) during a tour through part of England and South Wales in the summer of 1802. The orangery at Margam, the family home of Thomas Mansel Talbot (1747-1813) was and remains the longest in Europe. When Christian visited it was 'one of the most popular sights of the day', according to Reader, *Stark Mad*, p.203.

Following the death of her father in 1803, Christian is believed to have resided with relatives in the Parish of Whithorn in Dumfries and Galloway, before marrying George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie on 14 May 1805.[10] A military man, George Ramsay had joined the army at the age of eighteen in 1788 and had served in Gibraltar, the West Indies, Ireland and Egypt, before taking up the duties of Brigadier-General on the staff in Scotland in 1803.[11] According to Whitelaw it was a good match for the Ramsay family was not rich and the marriage, despite the sixteen-year age difference, seems to have been a happy one.[12] Lord and Lady D., as they affectionately addressed one another in their diary entries, settled at the family seat of Dalhousie Castle, situated eight miles south-east of Edinburgh (Figure 5.1). Its parkland was described by John Claudius Loudon as ‘surrounded by extensive and romantic pleasure-grounds. The river Esk washes the base of the castle; and its lofty wooded banks afford delightful summer walks’.[13] Lady Dalhousie was in the privileged position of having at her disposal the extensive gardens at Dalhousie Castle and her father’s estate at Coalstoun.

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[7] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 67: journal of a tour of England and Scotland, 7 June - 20 October 1809.

[8] Shteir, *Cultivating Women*, p.3.

[9] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 62: CR diary, 1 June 1824 to 30 June 1830. Notes made by Christian at the back of this diary indicate that she had planted the middle of the shrubbery at Coalstoun in spring 1806 and the upper part in 1808. In another diary, she listed seven leading works on botany read during the year 1830: Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *A Manual of the Elements of Natural History* (London: 1825); G. N. Lloyd, *Botanical Terminology* (Edinburgh: 1826); John L. Knapp, *The Journal of a Naturalist* (London: 1829); William Jackson Hooker, *Flora Scotica* (London: 1821); Jane Marcet, *Conversations on Vegetable Physiology* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1829); Dr William Roxburgh, *Hortus Bengalensis* (Serampore: 1814) and *Flora Indica; or Descriptions of Indian Plants* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1820-24); see NRAS 2383/3/bundle 69: CR diary, 1 July 1830 to 17 April 1832.

[10] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 416: short history of the family of Dalhousie by Mr Wood, 1807.

[11] Peter Burroughs, 'Ramsay, George, 9th Earl of Dalhousie', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, (2000) <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01> [accessed 25 October 2011]; René Villeneuve, *Lord Dalhousie. Patron and Collector* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2008).

[12] Marjory Whitelaw, *The Dalhousie Journals*, 3 vols (Canada: Oberon Press, 1978-82), I (1978), p.6.

For the first three years of their marriage, the Dalhousies embarked on a series of projects to remodel the castle and gardens. They employed the landscape gardener Walter Nicol in around 1806 to create a principal approach from the north and in the same year they contracted garden architect John Hay of Edinburgh to design the garden and its hot houses.[14] Joseph Archibald, who was gardener at Dalhousie Castle from 1807 until 1825, provided a description of the four-acre site, which housed a range of glazed structures, including a green house, two vineries and two peach houses; borders and plots for American plants; banks of rhododendrons and shrubbery borders.[15] Despite giving birth to three sons in the first seven years of her marriage, Christian was heavily involved in the management of the estate and gardens, particularly during her husband’s long periods of absence, as evidenced by notes made in the back of her diaries which refer to planting plans for the gardens at Dalhousie Castle and Coalstoun for the period 1806 to 1812 (Figure 5.2).[16] Writing from the front whilst under the command of the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsular wars, Lord Dalhousie also confirms the active role she played, sanctioning her in one letter to, ‘by all means plant the rough corner in the sheep park, and enclose it at once with hedge and ditch [and] go on with that levelling at Goody’s Hole.’[17] In a subsequent letter to his wife, he indicated that the newly created garden at Dalhousie Castle (Figures 5.3 and 5.4) was under her particular direction:

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[13] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1824), p.1087.

[14] For more information on Nicol and Hay, see Tait, p.140.

[15] Joseph Archibald, ‘Dalhousie Castle & Gardens; the Botany of the Neighbourhood, and various Remarks’, *The Gardener’s Magazine*, 1.3 (1826), p.252.

[16] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 62: CR diary, 1 June 1824-30 June 1830. All three sons were born at Dalhousie Castle: George Ramsay styled Lord Ramsay on 3 August 1806, Charles Ramsay on 20 October 1807 and James Ramsay on 22 April 1812.

[17] NRAS 2383/3/volume 15: letter from Lord Dalhousie (hereafter GR) to CR, 5 November 1812.

> I have ordered a paper of directions about the grass parks at D. [Dalhousie] Castle, also about the planting. I leave to you to give what other directions may be occasionally wanted, and the garden of course is under your especial care and management.[18]

This typically gendered division of labour and expertise continued throughout their married life with Lord Dalhousie having overall responsibility for the management of the farms and estates, whilst Lady Dalhousie took control of the flower and productive gardens. During her husband's absences, however, she clearly took an active role in the management of the estate.

As a member of the Scottish aristocracy, Lady Dalhousie was well-connected both in Scotland and London. Sir John and Lady Hope of Hopetoun, Sir Walter Scott, a schoolfellow of Lord Dalhousie, and the Duchess of Wellington were amongst her closest friends. On frequent visits to London, Christian patronised many of the plant nurseries of the day, including Lee & Kennedy's *The Vineyard* at Hammersmith, which was renowned for its ability to supply and cultivate newly introduced exotic plants.[19] All her extant journals are interlaced with dried specimens of ferns, flowers, foliage and insects and her keen interest in horticulture, botany and nature complimented her husband's passion for agriculture and forestry.

The opportunity for Lady Dalhousie to use her self-taught botanical knowledge beyond the confines of the family home came with her husband's appointment as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia in 1816. As Burroughs pointed out, many of Wellington's Peninsular officers embarked on careers as colonial administrators after the wars and Lord Dalhousie was no exception.[20] Leaving behind their two elder sons, the Dalhousies, together with their youngest son James, set sail for Halifax in Nova Scotia on 11 September 1816.[21] Christian wryly noted down her reading matter on the long voyage: 'Read *Shipwreck*!'.[22] She proved a 'capital sailor' according to her husband who wrote that ‘when most of us were objects of pity, she felt it not in the least’.[23] Following their first few months in Halifax, Lady Dalhousie confided to her cousin Miss Christian Dalrymple that ‘it was a very severe trial for me to leave the children, and every person, thing and place, that for 30 years I had been accustomed to love’, but despite this separation she found Halifax more agreeable than she expected and her delight in the native flora was some recompense:

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[18] Ibid: letter from GR to CR, 15 December 1812.
[19] Musgrave, pp.44-5.
[20] Burroughs, p.1.
[21] Lord Ramsay and Charles were placed with Dr Pearson who kept a school at East Sheen in the London borough of Richmond.
[22] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 60: CR diary, 10 October 1816. Thought to be a reference to a poem written by William Falconer, *The Shipwreck: A poem. In three cantos* (London: 1762).

> I expect to see many beautiful plants and flowers, Heath or Whins were never heard of or seen in America, instead of them the Common round the town is covered with the Kalmia latifolia, Rhodora Canadensis, Ledums, Fern-leaved Gale etc etc all plants which we cultivate with infinite care in our flower gardens!.[24]

Within weeks of arriving in Halifax, Lady Dalhousie was immersed in the duties incumbent on her position as the Governor’s wife. She hosted her first of many balls in November 1816, held regular ‘drawing rooms’ for the ladies and accompanied her husband at official functions.[25] Being the wife of the Governor was a guarantee of social acceptance, but Christian did not always enjoy the role she was expected to play and could, on occasion, be made to feel uncomfortable in the company of the ladies, as she confided to Miss Dalrymple:

> The young ladies never speak at all, and the elder ones seem to think it necessary to be always of my opinion; then they always flatter me – some well and some ill – and if I was not well aware of, and on my guard against this, I should certainly run much risk of fancying myself very near perfection.[26]

It is possible, although this is not stated by her explicitly, that botanising gave her an outlet to escape from the obsequious social circle within which she moved and she does appear to have found time within her busy schedule to botanise, and to initiate what later became a regular exchange of seeds and rare native plant specimens between herself and her gardener Archibald at Dalhousie Castle. This extract from a letter sent by her eldest son to Lord Dalhousie in 1817 is evidence of her early botanical transactions: 'Pray tell Mama that the *Saracenia* [*sic*] *purpurea* is doing very well but that Archibald has not got a *Rhodora* [rhododendron] *canadense*.'[27] In Britain, the vogue for American plants, such as rhododendrons, had reached its peak in the 1820s which explains why Archibald was so keen to procure this particular specimen, a native of eastern North America.[28]

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[23] NRAS 2383/3/volume 14: letter from GR to Maclean of Ardgour, 2 November 1816.

[24] Both quotations can be found in NRAS 2383/3/volume 14: letter from CR to Christian Dalrymple (hereafter CD), 9 April 1817. A keen plantswoman, Christian Dalrymple (1765-1838) inherited the Newhailes estate in 1792 whilst the baronetcy passed to a male cousin, see Appendix III.

[25] To enliven the society in Nova Scotia, the Dalhousie’s set up an amateur theatre company and Christian produced caricatures of the Halifax elite, examples of which can be seen in the Dalhousie Papers at the Nova Scotia Museum in Halifax; see Janet Browne, ‘Ramsay, Christian, Countess of Dalhousie (1786-1839)’ *ODNB*, online edn 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57840> [accessed 8 Dec 2010].

[26] NRAS 2383/3/volume 14: letter from CR to CD, 9 April 1817.

In the summer of 1817, tragedy struck the family. The packet boat from England brought the news that Charles, Christian's ten-year-old middle son had died in a measles epidemic and that Lord Ramsay, the eldest son, had also contracted the disease.[29] They had to wait a further two weeks before news came that Lord Ramsay had recovered and in November of the same year, Lord and Lady Dalhousie made plans for him to join them in Halifax. Distracted by the death of one son and the arrival of another there was a slight lull in Lady Dalhousie's botanising but by the spring of 1818 references in Lord Dalhousie's journal indicate that she had started to collect once more. He describes her 'driving out daily in an open Barouche as in summer', not only to be seen socially but also to collect plants, and the following summer Lady Dalhousie made an excursion to Mahone Bay, where she botanised, collected minerals and studied chemistry.[30] Lists of books read, many of them botanical, are a constant feature in Lady Dalhousie's journals, indicating both her interest in and growing knowledge of the local flora and fauna, which she was happy to share with her husband:

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[27] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 257: letter from Lord Ramsay to GR, 4 August 1817. *Sarracenia purpurea* (common name: huntsman's cup) is a carnivorous pitcher plant native from the Canadian Arctic to New Jersey, see Campbell-Culver, p.236.

[28] Uglow, p.186.

[29] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS), Earls of Dalhousie Papers, GD45/3/541: journal of GR, 10 August 1817. Packet boats carried post office mail packets to and from British embassies, colonies and outposts in the 19th century.

[30] NRS GD45/3/541: journal of GR, 11 March 1818. Mahone Bay is situated 85 kilometres to the west of Halifax. Some of the minerals collected by Lady Dalhousie on this trip were subsequently donated to the Edinburgh Museum (now known as the National Museum of Scotland), which at that time was the University Museum.

> This evening the ground is covered with a brushwood mixed of Kalmia, Rhodora and another shrub, bright red, which Lady D tells me is called 'Candleberry Myrtle' – in contrast to this red are the higher woods, Beech, Birch, Poplar & Maple, all shades of delicate red & yellow leaves, dropping as by every puff of wind.[31]

In July 1819, Christian accompanied her husband on a trip to Quebec taking in a visit to the Falls of Chaudière on the river Ottawa. Despite having to walk the final two and a half miles to reach the falls in oppressive heat, she spent her time there and at nearby Bytown noting the plant life.[32] A handwritten catalogue of plants observed by her in the vicinity of the Grand Chaudière Falls can still be seen today in the archive collection of the Nova Scotia Museum, together with some early watercolours of botanical specimens in a portfolio that belonged to her (Figures 5.5 and 5.6).[33]

The social and political life in Nova Scotia suited the Dalhousies but it was not destined to last. On 12 April 1820, Lord Dalhousie was promoted to Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of Upper and Lower Canada following the unexpected death of the Duke of Richmond, and the family moved to Quebec City a few months later.[34] On her arrival in Quebec, communication between Lady Dalhousie and Archibald indicates the determination of both to fully exploit the botanical riches of British North America. In a letter to Lord Dalhousie, Archibald urged her to make a good collection of plants for him in Canada and she reciprocated by promising to send 'some trees and grafts of apples, and also an additional collection of American plants'.[35] This botanical exchange, started in Nova Scotia, continued for the rest of the Dalhousie's time in Canada and the botanic garden in Edinburgh also benefitted from the process. Two entries in the Garden's donations book of plants and seeds reveal that Lady Dalhousie gifted North American seeds in 1821 and in 1822, including a thistle called *Cnicus bicolor* which she described as having been 'gathered from a plant that reached my eye as I sat on Cherub (a horse) 15 hands high'.[36]

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[31] NRS GD45/3/541: journal of GR, 24 October 1818.

[32] NRS GD45/3/542: journal of GR, 3 July 1819. Bytown was the former name of Ottawa, which is now the national capital city of Canada.

[33] Halifax, Nova Scotia Museum (hereafter NSM), 85.119.35: 'Additional plants in the vicinity of the Grand Chaudière Falls'; NSM 85.119.29A-C: 'Three botanical studies' by CR.

[34] From 1791 to 1841 Lower Canada consisted of that portion of present-day Quebec within the watershed of the St Lawrence River and Gulf. Upper Canada was that portion of present-day Ontario within the Great Lakes-Saint Lawrence watershed, according to James S. Pringle, 'Canadian botanical specimens collected 1826-1828 by the Countess of Dalhousie, acquired by the Royal Botanical Gardens', *Canadian Horticultural History/Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada*, 3.1 (1995), p.2.

[35] NRS GD45/14/515: letter from Joseph Archibald to GR, 2 June 1820.

Life in Quebec City fell far short of expectations. Their official residence, the Château Saint-Louis, was ill-equipped and in need of refurbishment and according to Whitelaw, Quebec seemed to them a more constrained and provincial society.[37] Whenever possible, they escaped to their official summer residence which was 'prettily situated on the bank of the Richelieu about a mile from Sorel on [the] St Lawrence' (Figure 5.7).[38] Christian later admitted in a letter to James, that she was 'wearied of Quebec' and expressed the desire when in Sorel 'to drive my phaeton and to gather flowers'.[39] She was, however, aware of the inadequacy of her botanical knowledge and described in another letter from Sorel how she was 'overwhelmed with the number of lovely wild flowers that are springing around us […] and as we find no-one here who can tell us the name of one flower, we are driven by necessity to find them all out from books'.[40] Lord Dalhousie also provided this vivid account of his wife's botanical pursuits: 'Lady D. & Georgina are daily out in search, & daily also return with some new treasure found – then fly to the pressing Board, & to Botanical Books to ascertain the Plant found – their occupation is very interesting.'[41] There is little doubt that these early years spent collecting in Sorel provided Lady Dalhousie with the botanical knowledge (mostly gained through a programme of self-improvement) and the experience of collecting, labelling and drying specimens which were to prove so valuable to her during her time in India.

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[36] Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (hereafter RBGE) Archive: *Seed Book 1818-1822*, 2 March 1821, North American seeds from Mr Archibald, fol. 149 and *Donations Book 1822-1824*, December 1822, fols 2-3.

[37] Whitelaw, II (1981), p.11.

[38] NRS GD45/3/543: journal of GR, 14 July 1820. Sorel is situated some forty miles north east of Montreal at the confluence of the rivers Richelieu and St Lawrence.

[39] NRS GD45/14/557: letter from CR to James Ramsay (hereafter JR), 15 April 1826.

[40] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 261: letter from CR to Mrs Anderson, St Germains, Tranent, 20 May 1823.

[41] NRS GD45/3/546: journal of GR, 8 June 1823. Georgina Hay was the eleven-year-old daughter of Lord Dalhousie's sister, Mary Hay.

Whilst Lady Dalhousie was engaged in botanical pursuits, her husband's governorship of Upper and Lower Canada was beset by problems and he began to experience first signs of the bad health which was to plague him for the rest of his life.[42] He also received news from Scotland that his estates had been mismanaged, and as a result, had applied for an extended leave of absence to return home in June 1824. Within days of arriving back at Dalhousie Castle, Christian made the first of several trips to the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh where she made the acquaintance of the Regius Keeper, Dr Robert Graham, and also to the Botanic Gardens in Glasgow which had been created by the Royal Botanical Institution of Glasgow in 1817.[43] On her return to Canada a year later, she began to correspond with William Jackson Hooker, Professor of Botany at Glasgow University, promising in one letter to send him a 'very small and imperfect collection of plants' that she hoped would include some 'new, or at least rarer species' of orchid.[44] She ended her correspondence with this humble offer of help:

> I shall endeavour to send your paper of directions into various quarters of the provinces - & to procure plants – but over that I do not feel very sanguine of success – zeal on my own part, shall not, depend upon it – be wanting, & it will give me pleasure to hear in what way I can be useful.[45]

Christian's social class was clearly an advantage, as it allowed her to meet and, more importantly, to engage with men of considerable influence in the world of Scottish botany, but her language when referring to her botanical work was often self-deprecating and she appeared to lack confidence in her own ability. This was not a view shared by her gardener back in Scotland. Reflecting on Lady Dalhousie's contribution to the garden at Dalhousie Castle, Archibald described her as 'a lady, whose zealous and indefatigable exertions in botanical matters have seldom, I think, been surpassed; perhaps not often equalled; few having obtained such proficiency as her ladyship in the science', and he listed a number of rare natives of North America collected by her, which had flowered in great perfection at Dalhousie Castle.[46] One of these, *Habenaria blephariglottis*, the white-fringed orchid, had made its debut in Hooker's *Exotic Flora* in 1824, and it is described by him as a charming plant which 'does not appear to have been known in our collections, till [*sic*] it was introduced into the garden of Dalhousie Castle by the Right Honourable the Countess of Dalhousie, who sent it from Canada'.[47] Her contribution, even at this early stage of her collecting career, was therefore both significant in terms of introducing new and rare Canadian plants and also noteworthy, earning her the approbation of her professionally-trained gardener.

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[42] NRS GD45/3/545: journal of GR, 21 December 1822. He described being plagued with an inflammation of the eyes and 'headaches & fullness which weaken & derange me very much'.
[43] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 62: CR diary for 1824. Unfortunately all correspondence for Robert Graham whilst Regius Keeper at RBGE is believed to have been sold and its current whereabouts is unknown.
[44] Royal Botanic Gardens Kew, Kew Archives, Director's Correspondence (hereafter DC), vol. 44: letter from CR to William Jackson Hooker (hereafter WJH), 31 October (thought to be 1825).
[45] Ibid.

It is clear that Lady Dalhousie was an important source of plants from Lower Canada and Hooker's gratitude was expressed by enrolling her as an honorary member of the Royal Botanical Institution of Glasgow in 1825.[48] In the course of the next three years, she continued to send specimens to Hooker in response to his request for help in the preparation of his new work on British North American flora, *Flora Boreali-Americana*, which was published in twelve parts between 1829 and 1840.[49] As well as being influential, Christian was also inspirational. Following the formation by her husband of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1824, she had become acquainted with Anne Mary Perceval, who was the wife of the collector of customs for Quebec, and businessman William Sheppard's wife Harriet. Both women were recruited by Lady Dalhousie to help in her botanising expeditions around Quebec City and in the natural habitats of Sillery to the west of the city.[50] According to

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[46] Archibald, p.255.

[47] Sir William Jackson Hooker, *Exotic Flora*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: 1822-27), II (February 1824), t.87. Hooker (1785-1865) was Regius Professor of Botany at Glasgow University from 1820-1841, before being appointed the first full-time director of the Royal Gardens at Kew in April 1841.

[48] Her membership is corroborated by the Royal Botanical Institution of Glasgow (hereafter RBIG) Minute Book for 1825 in which Christian is listed as an honorary member alongside two other Scottish women, the Marchioness of Hastings and Lady Liston; see Glasgow, Mitchell Library Archives, D-TC11/1/1-14: minute book of the RBIG, 1825 and Appendix III.

[49] Lady Dalhousie is cited as having contributed a number of Canadian specimens in W. J. Hooker's *Flora Boreali-Americana*, 12 parts (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1829-40), a work which was long regarded as the standard flora for present-day Canada.

[50] James S. Pringle, 'Anne Mary Perceval (1790-1876), an early botanical collector in Lower Canada', *Canadian Horticultural History*, 1.1 (1985), 7-13.

Sheppard, Christian 'succeeded in imbuing her lady friends with a love of botany; some of whom made marked advances in this branch of natural history'.[51]

Christian determined to maximise her remaining time in Canada. Together with her husband, she had taken an active role in around 1823 in the development of a botanic garden called the King's Gardens on the Île Sainte-Hélène, an island in the St Lawrence River near Montreal used by the British Government as a fort.[52] The botanic garden, according to McFarlane the gardener, was intended to exceed any 'collection of American plants (in cultivation) on this side of the Atlantic' and Christian instigated a regular exchange of plants and specimens between herself and McFarlane.[53] However, her instructions to McFarlane for plants to be sent to her in Sorel was challenged by the commander of the island's fort, Captain Cardew, who 'did not see how Lady Dalhousie could presume to give orders to anyone under his Command and by not attending to these orders it would be a means of giving her a check not to do so for the future'.[54] It is not clear whether Cardew's stance was simply indicative of the hierarchy attached to British military command or a sign that he was not prepared for his authority to be challenged by a woman, but as a result the venture foundered. Tensions developed between Lord Dalhousie, who was a great supporter of his wife's botanical interests, and Captain Cardew with the decision finally taken in July 1827 to remove the whole collection of plants to Sorel.[55] This arrangement suited Lady Dalhousie and she continued to actively collect in and around Sorel from 1825 to 1827 sometimes, as this account by her husband shows, in rather challenging environments:

> Lady D. returned much gratified with St. Anne's [Sainte-Anne-de-Sorel], but the black fly on the mountain woods of St. Fereole [Saint-Ferréol] punished her face most dreadfully,

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[51] William Sheppard, 'Natural History Society: Annual Conversazione: Hon. Mr Sheppard's address', *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, ser. 2 (1864), 53-57; cited in Pringle, 'Anne Mary Perceval', p.8.
[52] Library and Archives Canada RAC 1898, Papiers d'Etat, Bas-Canada (MG11-CO42), Q.176-1, p.483 and RAC 1938, Appendice II, Inventaire des papiers de Lord Dalhousie (MG24-A12), 1816-33, V, p.38; XII, p.100. I am indebted to Louisa Blair at the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for drawing my attention to these archives.
[53] NRS GD45/3/175: letter from McFarlane to GR, 24 July 1827.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

> shutting up both her eyes, and otherwise so disfigured that I could scarcely recognise her.[56]

Some of the specimens she collected in 1827 were donated to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec but sadly this collection is believed to have perished in fires which swept the Society's headquarters in 1854 and 1860.[57]

Fortunately, Christian had also prepared her own herbarium of almost 300 specimens from British North America which she brought back to Dalhousie Castle in 1829.[58] In the late 1990s, this collection was discovered in the ancestral home of Lady Dalhousie's family in Scotland and was subsequently purchased by the Royal Botanical Gardens in Canada. According to taxonomist, Dr James Pringle, the plant identifications are remarkably accurate, and he is of the opinion that Lady Dalhousie and her friends in Quebec may have identified most, if not all, of the specimens themselves, aided only by Lady Dalhousie's extensive botanical library.[59] This view is supported by evidence found in one of her journal entries:

> As we continue with our botanical researches with the greatest perseverance and success, we have found out a very great number of plants by descriptions, and certainly what caused a good deal of pain to discover is much better remembered than what is merely told and I do not think we shall ever forget the long names that have been made so.[60]

Any use of terms such as 'botanical researches' to describe her plant collecting is a rare occurrence in Christian's journals and correspondence. Whilst she recorded many detailed descriptions of plants, listed botanical books read and referred to plants by their correct taxonomic names, Christian rarely used the term botany or botanising to describe her activities and did not refer to herself as a botanist. She used the generalist term 'arranging' when describing her handling of plant specimens and maintained a modest view of her botanical studies.[61] She was however part of a growing band of amateurs, including missionaries and colonial officials, who together with professional collectors sent by the [Royal] Horticultural Society and the botanic gardens at Kew and Edinburgh, discovered and introduced new plants from every continent to Britain in the nineteenth century.[62] An indication of the pioneering nature of Lady Dalhousie's work is her British North American collection, which is thought to comprise some of the oldest specimens of Canadian plants known to be in any Canadian herbaria today.[63]

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[56] NRS GD45/3/549: journal of GR, 8 July 1827.

[57] The Countess of Dalhousie, 'Catalogue of Canadian Plants: collected in 1827 and presented to the Literary & Historical Society', *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, ser. 1, 1 (1829), 255-61; Villeneuve, p.175.

[58] A herbarium is a systematically arranged collection of dried plants.

[59] Pringle, 'Canadian botanical specimens', p.16. A full list of the specimens in Christian's Canadian herbarium can be found in pp.6-14 of Pringle's work.

[60] NRS GD45/14/546: letter from CR to Lord Ramsay, 28 September 1822.

As 1827 drew to a close, Lord Dalhousie was increasingly unhappy in his position as Governor and ministerial support for him from the British Government also appeared to be waning.[64] The prospect of military service in India loomed. Early the following year, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in India and the Dalhousies left Canada for good on 9 September 1828. Although saddened at the thought of once more being separated from her home and family, it is clear in a letter to her son James that Christian knew where her responsibilities lay: 'I cannot well bear the idea of being once more absent for years & yet it is only what is my duty if your father goes.'[65] Her concept of 'duty' to her husband would have been conditioned by the growing belief in domesticity as a 'revered commodity' in British society by the middle of the nineteenth century.[66] Her role was one of homemaker and companion to her husband, but as the wife of a military commander in India, notions of her own duty and service to the empire might also have been implicit in her comment to James. The British Government had for many years sought to exploit and dominate India in its quest to expand its empire and according to Hall, a 'set of related discourses' prevailed in Britain, which 'constructed India as a degraded place in need of civilisation'.[67] As one of only a small but growing number of British women residing in India before direct rule was imposed in 1858, Lady Dalhousie's role as a military commander's wife would have been an important element in this 'civilising' process, just as her husband's duty in India was to oversee colonial rule.

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[61] NRAS 2383/3/bundles 60-66 and 69.

[62] Uglow, p.183. The Horticultural Society was granted its Royal charter in 1861.

[63] Pringle, 'Canadian botanical specimens', p.17.

[64] Burroughs, p.9.

[65] NRS GD45/14/557: letter from CR to JR, 16 February 1828.

[66] Philippa Levine, 'Why Gender and Empire', in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.8.

[67] Catherine Hall, 'Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century', in Levine, *Gender and Empire*, p.52.

In many ways, empire had a liberating effect on elite women like Christian Ramsay. She was able to travel extensively through India and had arguably greater freedom to engage in public and social life than if she had stayed in Scotland. In one letter home, she described visiting both the King of Oude at Lucknow and the King of Delhi, 'representative of the Great Mogul, whom I little expected ever to see, except on a pack of cards.'[68] 'The age of empire was also an age of collecting and classifying', processes which, according to Levine, demonstrated the West's insatiable appetite for knowledge, ownership of and superiority over the East; and 'for many colonists the lands and the peoples of the Empire were also specimens to be listed, categorised and labelled'.[69] For plant hunters, the flora of India was no exception. Unlike today's strict international regulations restricting the movement of indigenous plant species, Lady Dalhousie had unrestrained access to collect and distribute the botanical riches of colonial India. Recognising this freedom, James Ramsay gave the following cautionary advice to his mother:

> Remember the immensities of new plants you will find, and to go out on elephants etc., only your Ladyship must beware of entering of jungles as you do where you are; else some graceful tiger, or active boa constrictor may take a fancy to peep into your tin box, and put an end at once to you and your botanizing.[70]

Before Lord and Lady Dalhousie, accompanied by Lord Ramsay, could reach Calcutta they faced a voyage of between two and six months.[71] Setting sail in July 1829, they stopped en route at Madeira, Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope. Lady Dalhousie 'arranged' at every port of call and was particularly taken with the flora of South Africa:

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[68] NRS GD45/14/557: letter from CR to JR, 20 March 1830.

[69] Philippa Levine, *The British Empire*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2013), p.123.

[70] NRAS 2383/3/volume 16: letter from JR to CR, 13 April 1828.

[71] Lord Ramsay was to act as his father's aide-de-camp whilst in India.

> We crossed the 'flats' a great sandy plain covered with Geraniums, Ixias, Proteas, heaths of the rarest kinds, in short, all the most precious contents of our greenhouses flourishing in a Waste! So that I was perfectly bewildered by the treasures spread around!.[72]

Some of these South African 'treasures' had already been brought back to Britain by collectors such as the English naturalist Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) and Scottish gardener-turned-collector Francis Masson (1741-1805) in the latter half of the eighteenth century, which saw the emergence of the West's exploration and ownership of the East in the name of scientific advancement.[73] Like most British women of her class, Christian had only experienced these rare exotics in hothouse collections, which would account for her delight and bewilderment at seeing them in their native environment. Correspondence at the time from her friend Isabella Houston highlights not only the esteem with which the Countess was held by Dr Graham at the botanic garden in Edinburgh, but also the degree to which he coveted the opportunity she had to witness these plants in their natural setting: 'How Dr. G. does envy you "seeing what you do see"; he often says "Oh that I could go to India, touching at the Cape etc and be back in three months! And go I would!".'[74] Isabella also wrote that Dr Graham would have liked Lady Dalhousie to have met Mr Harris, his botanical correspondent in Rio; an indication perhaps that he viewed her more as a 'fellow' botanist than amateur.[75]

On her arrival in India in December 1829, Christian was keen to learn more about the indigenous flora and her letters home reveal that the first visit she made on Indian soil was to the Honourable Company's Botanic Garden in Calcutta, which had been established by the East India Company in 1787.[76] Always a robust traveller,

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[72] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 280: letter from CR to CD, 16 December 1829.
[73] See Lindsay, *Seeds of Blood*.
[74] NRAS 2383/3/volume 16: letter from Isabella Houston to CR, 17 January 1830.
[75] Ibid.
[76] The botanic garden was originally set up with two objectives in mind, to provide alternative sources of food in times of famine in British India and to grow commercially viable crops such as cotton, tobacco and nutmeg. However, the failure of commercial crops eventually led to the garden's development as a collection of indigenous plants and foreign introductions, see Ray Desmond, *The European Discovery of Indian Flora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.57. Renamed the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta in the 1860s, it is now known as the Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Indian Botanic Garden.

Christian proved impervious to the rigours of the Indian climate, and seemed 'equally adapted for the heat of India, and the cold of Canada'.[77] Her husband and son were less hardy. Both succumbed to bad health almost from the moment they arrived in India and after only seven months in Calcutta, the Dalhousies decided to escape from its pestilential climate and made a tour of Penang from July to September 1830.[78] With its warm equatorial climate, Penang must have seemed a botanical paradise to Lady Dalhousie and she lost no time in collecting as many specimens as she could. The ferns were of particular interest to her as this description reveals:

> Drove across the plain thro' the same kind of shady roads which gradually wound among the lower hills or spurs of the mountain…[we] began to ascend by a very steep zigzag path which passed thro' the forest of magnificent trees, arising to an immense height, with the richest and most varied underwood, creepers of the largest size hanging in festoons from tree to tree, & a profusion of different ferns, some nearly 15 feet high resembling young palm trees, and others ascending the tree to a considerable height like creepers.[79]

Unusual examples of exotic flora, so fashionable back in Britain, also caught her eye and she delighted in finding a splendid specimen of what she called *Nepenthes distillatoria*, a carnivorous pitcher plant growing on a stone close to the house in which they were staying.[80] We also learn of the difficulty she encountered in preserving the insects she had collected due to the damp conditions of the jungle and she remarked in a letter to Anne Mary Perceval that 'the plants also decay in a most provoking manner', presumably not something that either of them had encountered in Quebec.[81] Her subsequent success in preserving and drying plant specimens from Penang and India and shipping them back to Scotland in a satisfactory condition is testimony to her practical skill, although the extent of her expertise is difficult to measure since details of the techniques she used to preserve these specimens were not recorded in her letters or journals. It is likely that Lady Dalhousie sought technical advice from Hooker and Graham, although there is no evidence on which to base this speculation.

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[77] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 280: letter from CR to CD, 22 May 1830.

[78] Burroughs, p.10, suggested that Lord Dalhousie may have suffered a stroke in March 1830, but there is no evidence to support this in the diaries of Lord or Lady Dalhousie.

[79] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 69: CR diary, 12 August 1830.

[80] *Nepenthes distillatoria* has always been endemic to Ceylon so this was a misidentification. There are four species on Penang - *N. albomarginata*, *N. ampullaria*, *N. gracilis*, and *N. mirabilis*, so it would likely have been one of these that she collected.

[81] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 99: letter from CR to Mrs Perceval, 10 September 1830.

With Lord Dalhousie's health still causing concern on their return to Calcutta from Penang, he applied to be relieved from his post and it was decided that the Dalhousies would spend the following hot season in the cooler hill station of Simla in the Himalayas.[82] Lady Dalhousie recorded her excitement at the prospect, despite the five-month journey by boat and land:

> About the middle of March [1831] we shall reach Simla, about 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, situated in the midst of mountainous cover with forests of the *Rhododendron arboreum* 40 feet high, thrushes and blackbirds singing and described as terrestrial paradise both in situation and climate! There we remain all this hot season. Do you expect dearest James that I shall be able to keep my senses under all this!!.[83]

The journey to reach the hill station was often arduous as well as protracted. According to MacMillan, there was not even the most rudimentary road to Simla before 1856 and the first European houses were not built until the 1820s.[84] 200 people made up the Dalhousie cavalcade, from military personnel to tent-pitchers and cooks, and a variety of animals were used to convey both people and equipment. Christian's depiction of her journey to Simla is conditioned by and encapsulates the essence of Orientalism, defined by Said as 'the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority' which characterised Britain's approach to the East from the late eighteenth century.[85] In this extract from her diary, Christian contrasted her 'exalted' position with that of the 'mingled mass' of Indians below:

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[82] Simla is now known as Shimla, the regional capital of the Himachal Pradesh district in northern India at the edge of the Himalayas.

[83] NRS GD45/14/557: letter from CR to JR, 20 March 1830.

[84] Margaret MacMillan, *Women of the Raj* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), p.183.

[85] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p.42.

> A strange sight it was! Elephants looking like moving cattle, carrying tents & some with Howdahs containing women & children, long lines of camels and of Hackeries drawn by oxen & loaded with baggage of every description. Tatoos, miserable, half-starved animals carrying two or three children […] on one hackery sat two monkeys grinning & chattering, on another geese hissed & chickens and fowls cackled […] while I, exalted on my elephant at least 15 feet above the ground looked down on the mingled mass below, with all its confusion & turmoil!.[86]

Once in Simla, Lord Dalhousie continued to convalesce but Lord Ramsay, suffering from fatigue and the effects of the climate, is described by his father as ‘a most wretched spectacle […] his Constitution appears broken, & his health deranged to a degree quite incredible’.[87] It would appear that Lady Dalhousie turned increasingly to botany as a means of coping with her son’s illness, creating a flower garden at their residence and undertaking a number of botanical expeditions, including a ten day trip through the mountains to the banks of the river Sutlej near Kotgarh.[88] She also described in letters home, daily riding out at 6am on her Ghoont (hill pony) in search of plants, ‘up and down paths that are all but perpendicular.’[89] Unlike her husband, whose diaries and letters were contemplative and philosophical, Lady Dalhousie’s reveal little of her innermost thoughts and emotions. Her love of botany is expressed only in the many detailed descriptions she makes of the plants and scenery that she encounters on her travels and in times of personal crises, such as the death of her middle son, her diary entries are left blank. In the period of just over six months spent at Simla, Christian amassed an extraordinary collection of plant specimens, many of which were later donated to the Botanical Society of Edinburgh and Kew Gardens.

Amongst her finds were species not previously known in Britain, including orchids and the fern, *Asplenium dalhousiae* (Figure 5.8) which was named after her by

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[86] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 69: CR diary, 5 January 1831. Hackeries were two-wheeled carriages and inferior country ponies are referred to as ‘Tatoos’ by Lady Dalhousie.

[87] NRS GD45/5/30: journal of GR, 10 April 1831.

[88] NRS GD45/5/30: journal of GR, April to September 1831.

[89] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 280: letter from CR to CD, 12 June 1831.

Hooker.[90] Although she did not collect species of *Dalhousiea*, the name for this genus of tropical leguminous shrubs was proposed by Robert Graham to commemorate her botanical prowess and it is a higher mark of respect that he chose to name a genus after her rather than just a species.[91] The pioneering nature of her work in India was also personally acknowledged by Hooker, who wrote to her lamenting the lack of botanists who were ‘able & willing like your Ladyship, when in that country, to collect & preserve dried specimens with which our herbaria might be supplied’.[92] Had it not been for the illness of her husband and son which resulted in their early return home, Lady Dalhousie might have gone on to discover many more of the vegetable riches still waiting to be found in North India.

In October 1831, the Dalhousies made the long trek from Simla back to Calcutta and, having received confirmation of his resignation on the grounds of ill health, Lord Dalhousie wasted no time in making the necessary arrangements to leave India. On 10 May 1832, they arrived back at Dalhousie Castle, exactly three years after having left for India. Although Lady Dalhousie had privately expressed the desire to ‘wander about for another year’ in India, she also recognised the damage wrought by the fatal Indian climate on the health of her husband and son, from which neither recovered.[93] Within days of arriving home, she had visited Robert Graham at the botanic garden in Edinburgh and read Lindley’s newly published *Principles of Botany*.[94] Keen to share her collection, she also sent some of her Indian seeds to Lord Grenville at Dropmore, who was clearly impressed with what she had found, despite having his own extensive collection of trees:

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[90] Other species of plants, collected by Lady Dalhousie in Simla and subsequently named after her include: *Cheilanthes dalhousiae* Hook.; *Cynanchum dalhousiae* Wight; *Epipactis dalhousiae* Wight; *Goldfussia dalhousiana* Nees and *Ophelia dalhousiana* Griseb. *Pteris dalhousiae* Hook. and *Pterisanthes dalhousiae* Planch., collected by Lady Dalhousie in Penang, were also named after her. I am indebted to Dr Henry Noltie at RBGE for compiling this information [28 October 2011].

[91] RBGE Archive: *Wallich’s Catalogue of Indian Plants* (Part I, 1828), no.5339. Technically the genus was published by George Bentham as Graham had provided no description.

[92] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 255: letter from WJH to CR, 20 July (no year).

[93] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 267: letter from CR to CD, 17 January 1831.

[94] John Lindley, *An Outline of The First Principles of Botany* (London: Longman, 1830).

> That Pine, the seeds of which you have docketed as being called by the Natives of India, Rhee, is wholly unknown to me, nor have I found the mention of it in any of the works which I possess on that branch of Botany. The seeds of it are therefore of the highest interest to me.[95]

Her continuing botanical research was overshadowed by the death of her eldest son Lord Ramsay on 25 October 1832 at the age of twenty-six. Her plants were again her salvation. There are many references in her diary to her gardening at Dalhousie Castle and Coalstoun and in a letter to her remaining son James, she described how her time was divided between the care of her husband and her plant specimens:

> I now sit 8 hours every day with Lord Dalhousie, and often in all that time I don't utter eight sentences; as he must not be excited to talk – how I am arranging my plants! & how clever I have been in collecting so many! I begin to suspect that the specimens are breeding in the boxes! For it seems to me that the number 'dooes [*sic*] grow.[96]

There is no doubt that her collection was extensive. Early the following year, she sent 600 duplicate specimens from her herbarium to Hooker, including specimens that she had gathered and dried herself in Madeira, Rio [de] Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope and Simla, and wrote to him saying modestly that 'it would gratify me to find that any of them were new to you – tho' I scarcely dare hope it may be so'.[97] In the same letter she also indicated her intention to create an album of her work noting that, 'when time allows, I intend to arrange all the ferns I have collected in the four quarters of the globe, in one book.'[98]

She subsequently discovered that some of the plants she had sent him were not only new to him, but also 'sufficiently valuable' for him to want to catalogue them.[99] Her delight is combined with frustration at the thought that she could have achieved more if she had had some botanical training:

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[95] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 258: letter from Lord Grenville to CR, 20 August 1832. Former Prime Minister, Lord Grenville (1759-1834) dedicated much of his retirement to planting trees and creating a garden at his Dropmore estate in Buckinghamshire, which is now famous for its arboretum; see P. J. Jupp, 'Grenville, William Wyndham, Baron Grenville (1759–1834)', *ODNB*, online edn 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11501> [accessed 19 May 2013]. Rhee is a spruce, now known as *Picea smithiana.*

[96] NRS GD45/14/557: letter from CR to JR, 21 February 1833.

[97] Kew Archive, DC, vol 44: letter from CR to WJH, 4 February 1833.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Kew Archive, DC, vol 44: letter from CR to WJH, 4 March 1833.

> In looking over the plates of Dr Wight's plants I see many with which I am acquainted, & many more which I could have found had I known where to look for them such as the Beautiful Bombax, many sorts of Dillenia and that Elephant of the vegetable world, the Adansonia, the very leathery thick nature of the flowers made me shrink from attempting to preserve them – but with my present experience, I feel confident it could be done.[100]

Her frustration is understandable. Lady Dalhousie was collecting in India at a time when, according to Hooker, there had 'lately been the greatest interest excited in what relates to the Botany of our Eastern possessions'.[101] A succession of men with links to the East India Company and the Botanic Garden at Calcutta, such as Dr Carey, Dr Roxburgh, Dr Buchanan Hamilton and Dr Wallich, had both the botanical training and the professional opportunities to make important collections of Indian plants.[102] Assistant-Surgeon Dr Robert Wight had, for example, been a naturalist working for the East India Company in Madras, and the 'plates' to which Lady Dalhousie referred were published by Hooker between 1830 and 1832.[103]

Operating independently and with no formal botanical training, Lady Dalhousie was clearly at a disadvantage compared to her male contemporaries, especially those who had studied botany as part of a medical course. She felt her shortcomings keenly, admitting that she 'was totally unaware that the cold – the hot – and the rainy season each furnish a flora totally distinct, and I was not a second season there, to correct my mistake'.[104] She did, however, send Hooker a further batch of 400 specimens of Indian plants in July 1833, hopeful that amongst them he would find further examples of the ‘New and Strange’.[105] He did, and in recognition of her ‘essential service to botany by her extensive collections, and by the introduction of many interesting species to the gardens of this country’, Hooker dedicated volume 60 of *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* (Figure 5.9) to Lady Dalhousie in 1833.[106] This was a noteworthy achievement and it is clear from the sentiments expressed in his dedication that Hooker placed great value on Lady Dalhousie’s botanical work. Furthermore, of the one hundred botanists to have an issue of the magazine dedicated to them for the period 1827-1927, only nine were female and of those, only one, Lady Dalhousie, was Scottish.[107]

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[100] Ibid.
[101] *Botanical Miscellany*, ed. by William Jackson Hooker, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1830-33), II (1831), p.90.
[102] Dr Roxburgh, Dr Buchanan Hamilton and Dr Wallich were all employed by the East India Company as superintendents of the Botanic Garden in Calcutta and Dr Carey had catalogued the plants in the garden.
[103] Hooker, *Botanical Miscellany*, II and III, plates i-xxxii.
[104] Kew Archive, DC, vol 44: letter from CR to WJH, 4 March 1833.

Although there are other examples of middle and upper-class Scottish women working within their gardens in the early part of the nineteenth century, few were as uniquely placed as Christian to travel and botanise. One exception is Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825) daughter of James Lindsay, 5th Earl of Balcarres, Fife, whose husband, Andrew Barnard, was appointed colonial secretary to the Cape of Good Hope from 1797 to 1802.[108] During her time in the Cape, Lady Anne sent plant specimens and seed to family and friends, including ‘a collection of flower-roots, and seeds of the castor-oil-tree’ to Queen Charlotte, wife of George III.[109] Another is Henrietta, Lady Liston (1751-1828) who accompanied her husband, the diplomat Sir Robert Liston, to America where she was able to indulge her passion for plants by making a collection of native botanical specimens from which she created an American garden at her home, Millburn Tower near Edinburgh, in 1804.[110] Both are examples of elite Scottish women who followed their husbands on postings overseas and as a result, were able to collect rare species of plants and send them back to Britain but unlike Lady Dalhousie, neither contributed to ‘scientific’ botany through the gift of seed and plant specimens to what were still largely private herbaria belonging to professional scientists.[111]

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[105] Kew Archive, DC, vol 44: letter from CR to WJH, 18 July 1833.
[106] Dedication in *Curtis's Botanical Magazine; or Flower Garden Displayed*, 60 [new ser. 7] (1833), frontispiece. The magazine, conducted by Samuel Curtis with plant descriptions supplied by WJH, has been published continuously since 1787 and is the longest running botanical periodical.
[107] Nelmes and Cuthbertson, *Curtis's Dedications*.
[108] See Barnard, Lady Anne in Appendix III.
[109] Lady Anne Barnard, ‘Extracts from The Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope and of a Short Tour of the Interior’, in *Lives of the Lindsays or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres,* ed. by Lord Lindsay, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1849), III, p.408.
[110] See Liston, Henrietta in Appendix III.

In an effort to recover from Lord Ramsay's death, the Dalhousies made an extended visit to Europe from September 1833 until July 1834, visiting 200 towns and cities. Lady Dalhousie's descriptions of their continental journey reflect her deep interest in and knowledge of the flora and fauna that surrounded her and scattered through the pages of her journals are numerous pressed plants, including anemone, primula, gentians and wildflowers. On her return home, she was a frequent visitor to the fashionable gardens of England including Chatsworth, where she met with Joseph Paxton and admired the construction of his 'Great Stove' in 1836.[112] She also witnessed the marriage of her son James to Lady Susan Hay and the birth of her granddaughter the following year.[113] She maintained her friendship with Robert Graham and in March 1837, she presented her East Indian Herbarium, comprising around 1200 species, to the Botanical Society of Edinburgh and was elected as its first female Honorary Member.[114] As such, Christian was entitled to denominate herself a Fellow of the Society, a further example of the perceived value of her botanical work, and she had the same rights as the almost exclusively male membership.[115] The Society had only been instituted a year earlier and Lady Dalhousie's 'magnificent' collection represented over a quarter of the 4,600 species of plants which had been donated to its public herbarium in the first twelve months of operation.[116] She was also elected as a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society in December 1838.[117] At around the same time, Sir John Watson Gordon's portrait of her was painted to celebrate her fiftieth birthday (Figure 5.10) and it is highly symbolic. The book she is holding demonstrated her considerable intellect and the botanical drawing beside her of *Dalhousiea bracteata*, a species in the genus of plants named after her, was in celebration of her botanical expertise.[118]

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[111] Two further examples are Flora, Marchioness of Hastings and 6th Countess of Loudoun (1780-1840) who donated seed from Nepal to RBGE in 1821, see RBGE *Seed Book 1818-22*, and Anna Maria Walker, née Patton (c.1778-1852) who collected with her husband in Ceylon in the 1830s, see Noltie, *Botanical Collections* and Appendix III. There were other Scottish women travelling and collecting at around the same time as Christian, but we know very little about them. Minutes of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society show that in 1838 a Miss Henderson of London Street, Edinburgh presented the Society with a collection of seeds from India and the Cape and in the same year, a collection of epiphytes and some bulbs from Rio [de] Janeiro was presented by a Miss Astley of 11 Leopold Place. Minute of a Meeting of the General Committee 8 August 1838 and 4 October 1838, *Minutes of the Horticultural Society*, 4 (1838-40), fol. 6 and fol. 20 respectively.

[112] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 65: CR diary, 8 June 1836. Paxton's Great Stove, or conservatory, took four years to complete and was visited by Queen Victoria in 1843. So enormous was the structure that the young Queen drove through it in a carriage, see Uglow, p.190.

[113] *Rhododendron dalhousieae* Hook., often believed to have been named after Lady Dalhousie, was in actual fact named after her daughter-in-law, Lady Susan Dalhousie. I am grateful to Dr Henry Noltie at RBGE for first bringing this to my attention.

[114] Honorary membership was limited to six individuals from Britain. Christian's fellow Honorary Members were the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, Robert Brown and Aylmer Bourke Lambert (both vice-presidents of the Linnaean Society) and Nathanial Wallich, superintendent of the Botanic Garden, Calcutta; see 'List of the members of the Botanical Society, 9 March 1837', *First Annual Report, Laws, and Proceedings, of The Botanical Society of Edinburgh*, 2nd edn (1836-37), p.53.

On her husband's death in March 1838, Lady Dalhousie moved to Coalstoun but remained a prominent member of Edinburgh society and a liberal patron of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. She now had time to devote herself entirely to her botanical pursuits. However, any plans she may have had to start compiling her album of ferns were cut short by her untimely death on the 22 January 1839, at the age of 52.[119] In one obituary, written by Robert Graham, there is further evidence of the comfort she derived from her botanical work and her abiding interest in it:

> She first began the study of botany as a solace in circumstances of severe domestic affliction, and she clung to it ever after with a devotion which marked her consciousness of the blessings it had conferred. Almost her last conversation turned upon the subject, and the intrusion of

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[115] Ibid, p.57. Miss Katherine Sophia Baily (1811-1886), who became Lady Kane, was the only other female member (a Non-Resident Fellow) of the Society in 1837 and was the anonymous authoress of *Irish Flora* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1833).

[116] Ibid, p.8. From 1863 onwards, the Society's herbarium was transferred to RBGE and many of Christian's Indian, and some Canadian specimens, can still be viewed in the RBGE herbarium; see H.R. Fletcher and W. H. Brown, *The Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh 1670-1970* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1970), p.120.

[117] 'Minute of a Meeting of the General Committee', 6 December 1838, *Minutes of the Horticultural Society*, 4 (1838-40), fol. 28.

[118] Whilst in India, Lady Dalhousie also collected and preserved 56 birds which she presented to the English ornithologist Mr William Swainson for identification in 1837. One of these birds is the stuffed bird in the portrait, the long-tailed broadbill or *Psarisomus dalhousiae*, which was also named after her; see NRAS 2383/3/bundle 257: letter from William Swainson to CR, 7 August 1837.

[119] Lady Dalhousie died 'instantaneously' at the house of her friend Edward Ramsay, the Dean of Edinburgh having burst a blood vessel in her brain, see E. B. Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (London: Edmonston and Douglas, 1859), p.165.

> death, without even momentary warning, found in her hand a list of plants which she had just prepared as objects of attention during the ensuing season.[120]

The Dean of Edinburgh, her close friend, also described Christian as being 'eminently distinguished for a fund of the most varied knowledge, for a clear and powerful judgment [*sic*], for acute observation, a kind heart, a brilliant wit', and there is little doubt that her knowledge of ferns would have been of great interest only a decade or so later, as the Victorian craze for ferns and ferneries reached its zenith.[121]

Her importance as a contributor to the floristic exploration of India was recognised sixteen years after her death with the publication of the first volume of *Flora Indica*, prepared by Hooker's son, Joseph Dalton Hooker and his fellow collector, Thomas Thomson in 1855.[122] In the introductory essay to their work, reference is made to 'The Countess of Dalhousie's extensive Simla collection [and] a small Penang collection by the same lady'.[123] Thirteen Indian herbaria were listed as being at the disposal of Hooker and Thomson in the preparation of *Flora Indica*, including the Hookerian Herbarium. Christian was one of thirty-three contributors to Hooker's Indian herbarium and the only solo female collector since the two other women noted as contributors collected as part of a husband-and-wife team.[124] Unfortunately it is impossible to quantify Lady Dalhousie's overall contribution since Hooker and Thomson were unable to 'estimate with accuracy the number of species contained in each individual herbarium'.[125] Domestically, her plant introductions played an important part in changing the look of gardens in Britain, including her own at Dalhousie and Coalstoun, which were enriched with the new, rare and exotic specimens that she collected. Whilst today there is scarcely a trace left of these gardens, her contribution of new and rare North American and Indian plant specimens to herbaria in Canada and Britain represent a significant, if small, element of larger collections and are routinely used by scientists in their on-going taxonomic research to discover, name and classify plant species.[126] As Noltie explains, Lady Dalhousie 'contributed specimens to what has become a collection of national importance at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, which increases in significance as generations of collectors add to it'.[127]

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[120] Robert Graham, 'Extracts from a Report on the Progress and State of Botany in Britain, from March 1838 to February 1839, both inclusive, by Professor Graham, President […], 14 March 1839', *Third Annual Report and Proceedings of the Botanical Society* (1838-39), p.52.

[121] Ramsay, p.165.

[122] Joseph Dalton Hooker and Thomas Thomson, *Flora Indica* 1 vol. (London: 1855). Joseph Hooker succeeded his father as Director of Kew Gardens in 1865. Subsequent volumes of *Flora Indica* were never completed due to lack of funding from the East India Company. See Jim Endersby, 'Hooker, Sir Joseph Dalton (1817–1911)' *ODNB*, online edn 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33970> [accessed 21 May 2013].

[123] Hooker and Thomson, p.70.

[124] Ibid., pp.68-71. The two husband-and-wife teams were Colonel and Mrs Walker, and the Rev. Mr and Mrs Mack who made collections in Assam and the Khasia mountains.

[125] Ibid., p.58.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, British women who travelled and collected plants were as rare as the specimens they found. Whilst researching her book, *Gardening Women*, Catherine Horwood uncovered only ten examples, one of whom was Lady Dalhousie.[128] Christian undoubtedly operated within a masculine environment dominated by botanically-trained, professional men, but there is little evidence to suggest that she encountered gender discrimination, apart from lacking the opportunity to study botany academically. Her efforts were appreciated by leading botanists of the day, including Robert Graham and William Jackson Hooker. In one letter, Hooker commended the quality of seed she had sent him in the most flattering terms: 'To all appearance the seeds of the cones are in most beautiful condition: Mr Murray [has] never sown any that looked so fresh and so good as these do.'[129] Hooker had also ensured that she was made an honorary member, with full membership rights, of the Royal Botanical Institution of Glasgow and the same honour was accorded to her by the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. Her membership of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society was proposed by Robert Graham himself and unanimously approved.[130]

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[126] An exchange of emails with the present laird, Ludovic Broun-Lindsay, confirmed that Lady Dalhousie's gardens at Colstoun were erased in Victorian times, and most of the gardens and policies at Dalhousie Castle have vanished as a result of mining works in the area; email from Ludovic Broun-Lindsay to Deborah Reid, 2 April 2012.

[127] Interview with Dr Henry Noltie, taxonomist and historian at RBGE, 26 October 2011.

[128] Horwood, pp.35-52.

[129] NRAS 2383/3/bundle 255: letter from WJH to CR, 20 July (no year).

[130] 'Minute of a Meeting of the General Committee', 6 December 1838, *Minutes of the Horticultural Society*, fol. 28.

In Christian Ramsay's case it would appear that the world of botany was, to a certain extent, gender neutral. She was actively encouraged to collect rather than discouraged and her fellow botanists placed some value on her botanical researches, which were held back by a lack of formal education rather than any misogynistic tendencies. Acceptance would also have been driven by her wealth and status, but these privileges aside, she does not appear to have faced discrimination on account of being a woman. However, by the time of Christian's death in 1839, public perceptions of botany were changing. Distinctions started to be made between scientists and enthusiasts and according to Shteir these distinctions 'became gendered so that the botanist was male and masculine and the botanophile was usually female and feminine'.[131] Women's role within the world of botany became increasingly marginalised and by the 1850s, botany had been shaped as a science for men. One Scottish woman, Frances Jane Hope, seemed less content than many of her kinswomen to garden within emergent Victorian ideas on sexual difference, separate spheres and gendered activities.

Frances Jane Hope (1822-1880)

Unlike Christian Ramsay, Frances Jane Hope did not travel to British North America or colonial India. Her journey as a cultivator and collector of plants was a metaphorical one, rooted in her ability to use her garden and plant collections to impart her horticultural knowledge to a wider gardening audience. From as early as 1863, Hope was one of only several pioneering women in Britain writing on gardening and related topics in the mid-nineteenth century, but unlike her female contemporaries, whose writings were targeted at a feminine audience, her work was read predominantly by men.[132] Male writers at the time were, according to Wilkinson, head gardeners, nurserymen, florists or botanists and evidence suggests that Frances Jane was the first female amateur gardener in Scotland to contribute articles to the gardening press of the day, written chiefly for the amateur gardener, but also read by professional gardening men.[133]

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[131] Shteir, p.32.

[132] Jane Loudon was the first in 1840 with her advice to women in her book *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies*, followed by Louisa Johnson's *Every Lady her own Flower Gardener* (New Haven: Babcock, 1842), and the anonymous authoress of *Handbook of Town Gardening by a Lady* (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1847).

Hope recognised the need to provide practical, yet palatable, gardening advice to the Victorian suburban gardener. This newly emergent audience labelled the 'amateur gardener', a term that was not widely used before the 1850s, arose in response to three main factors; the growth of the Victorian middle classes in response to increasing industrialisation and wealth generation, the resultant emergence of suburbia and the suburban garden, and the scarcity of reliable gardeners to employ at the time.[134] Consequently there was a demand for gardening advice for the non-professional gardener, a need which was eventually recognised by the established gardening journals of the day. Hope's contributions were by no means a token gesture on the part of the editors. Of the fifty-three articles written by Hope from 1863 to 1880, seven were printed as leading items.[135] An edited collection of her articles, entitled *Notes and Thoughts on Gardens and Woodlands* was the first book on gardening advice for an adult readership to be authored by a Scottish woman.[136]

An analysis of her economic, social and cultural background reveals the extent to which she was able to make such a noteworthy contribution. Hope possessed excellent gardening credentials. Her grandfather, Dr John Hope (1725-1786) was a physician and botanist of international renown. He became the King's Botanist in 1761 and was responsible for replacing the Royal Abbey Garden and the Town Garden at Trinity Hospital in Edinburgh with a new Botanic Garden near the south end of Leith Walk.[137] Born on 4 April 1822 to James Hope, Writer to the Signet and Jane Walker, Frances Jane was destined not to know her mother, who died two days after giving birth to her daughter, and grew up in the company of her two older brothers, John and James, and her six older sisters.[138] Whilst her brothers attended school and university, Hope was educated in the family home at 31 Moray Place, Edinburgh by her governess Miss Young and, like Christian Ramsay, received training in those subjects deemed acceptable for a young woman's education: music, French, 'some sums', English, and dancing.[139] An early interest in the garden is revealed in this diary entry for 8th March 1835, when Hope was thirteen years old: 'was allowed to stay [outdoors] a short while, went into Grandmama's back green & got all the flowers that were out,' and in three surviving sketchbooks, which contain accomplished black and white sketches of natural landscapes drawn by Frances Jane when she was aged between ten and twelve (Figures 5.11 and 5.12).[140] Unfortunately it has not been possible to find a portrait or photograph of Frances Jane, either as a child or an adult, but a photograph of her sister Charlotte sitting outside Wardie Lodge has been found (Figure 5.13).[141]

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[133] Anne Wilkinson, *The Victorian Gardener* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2006), p.10. An analysis of the leading gardening journals for the period 1850-1870 reveals few identifiably female writers with the exception of regular contributions on 'Household Arts' by an anonymous authoress in *The Journal of Horticulture, Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman*. Most writers of the time chose to designate themselves using initials and/or a surname, giving no clue as to their sex. In most cases, Frances Jane Hope signed herself F. J. Hope but did usually include Wardie Lodge, Edinburgh in the designation.

[134] Wilkinson, p.xx.

[135] Hope's articles appeared in two of the leading national gardening periodicals of the day, *The Gardeners' Chronicle* and *The Garden*, widely read by working gardeners and amateurs, see Wilkinson, pp.38-49.

[136] Frances Jane Hope, *Notes and Thoughts on Gardens and Woodlands. Written chiefly for Amateurs*, ed. by Anne J. Hope Johnstone (London: Macmillan, 1881). Lady Charlotte Murray (1754-1808) is the earliest example of a Scottish female garden writer. Her work, *The British Garden*, was published anonymously in 1799, but it was intended as a book of instruction for the young botanist rather than an adult read, see Murray, Lady Charlotte in Appendix III.

The census of 1841 reveals that at some point in the intervening years, Hope and her family had moved from Moray Place to the residence of her uncle, Thomas Charles

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[137] This garden, now known as the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, was subsequently re-sited at Inverleith in 1821-23. The John Hope Gateway, a state-of-the-art educational and visitor facility commemorating Dr Hope, was opened at RBGE on 7 October 2009.

[138] Writers to the Signet (W.S.) were Scottish solicitors, mainly in Edinburgh, entitled from before 1600 to supervise the use of the King's Signet on documents required for the Court of Session. Frances Jane Hope's brother, John Hope W.S. (1807-1893) was a successful lawyer and philanthropist; see John Wolffe, 'Hope, John (1807-1893), *ODNB*, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38920> [accessed 4 July 2013]. The sisters comprised Jane Ann (1808-39); Juliana (b.1810) married John Watson Barton, Stapleton Park, Yorkshire; Helen (b.1813) married the Hon. Rev. John Sandilands; Jamima (b.1814) married Rev. Henry Blisset of Letton Court, Hereford and Charlotte (b.1820) who, like Frances Jane, did not marry; see ScotlandsPeople online genealogy resource.

[139] NRS GD253/55/11: diary of Frances Jane Hope (hereafter FJH), 1835. This is the only diary belonging to Frances Jane Hope that is known to have survived.

[140] NRS GD253/55/11: diary of FJH, 8 March 1835; NRS GD253/57/1-3: sketchbooks of FJH 1832-1834.

[141] NRS GD253/54/bundles 6-12 contain numerous black and white photographs of Hope family members, both groups and individuals, but female family members are largely unidentified. I am indebted to Mr Alec Hope for his help in trying to source a picture of Frances Jane Hope and for providing information on the genealogy of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall (1573-1646), from whom Frances Jane is descended.

Hope (1766-1844) at Wardie Lodge, a few miles north of Edinburgh city centre.[142] Supported financially by a trust fund set up by her father in 1832 and a subsequent legacy on his death in 1842, Hope was also a beneficiary following her uncle's death in 1844 and was able to maintain a comfortable existence with Charlotte at Wardie Lodge for the rest of her life.[143] As unmarried women, Hope and her sister were in a growing minority. By the mid-nineteenth century, the proportion of single women in Britain had greatly increased. The 1851 census revealed that for every one hundred women over the age of twenty in Britain only fifty-seven were married, leaving nearly half of the adult women in Britain with no spouse to support them.[144] The single-woman problem, personified by a surplus of genteel but impoverished unmarried women, was the subject of much debate in the 1850s and early 1860s, with emigration being suggested as one possible solution.[145] However for wealthy single women like Frances Jane, who were not bound by the rigid conventions of Victorian marriage, 'spinsterhood could bestow a degree of autonomy that marriage never could. The unmarried woman who headed a household had real social independence.'[146] For Hope, this 'freedom' from matrimony meant that she could devote her attention to the design and cultivation of her garden, horticultural writing and philanthropy, and she became an early female member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society in 1845.[147]

With its views out to the Forth estuary and the Fife coastline beyond, the garden at Wardie Lodge was sublimely situated. Yet despite the protection of a ten-foot sea wall, bitter easterly winds and gales were commonplace in addition to low rainfall and soil conditions described by Hope herself as 'so utterly dry and ash-like', all of which produced their own set of unique gardening challenges.[148] James Rae, a contributor to the gardening press of the day, provided this vivid impression of the naturalistic planting that Frances Jane advocated: the grounds covered an area of approximately four acres and running the entire length of the western boundary was a shelterbelt of trees through which flowed a small burn that tumbled down to the sea, planted with a mixture of native sub-alpine plants and 'exotics of a kindred kind' which were 'so carefully and tastefully […] disposed that one is almost constrained to believe that they have been placed there by the hand of nature'.[149]

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[142] Edinburgh, General Register Office for Scotland (hereafter GROS): Frances Jane Hope, Census 1841, Civil Parish of St Cuthbert's [685/02 154/00 011]. Thomas Charles Hope was appointed Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh University in 1799.

[143] GROS: Last will and testament of Miss Frances Jane Hope, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, 14/06/1880 [SC70/4/184].

[144] Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets and William Veeder, *The Woman Question: Society and Literature in Britain and America, 1837-1883*, 3 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), II: *The Woman Question: Social Issues, 1837-1883*, p.135.

[145] W. R. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant?', *National Review*, 14 (1862), 434-6.

[146] Gordon and Nair, p.175.

[147] Minute of Meeting of Garden Committee, 1 November 1845, *Minutes of the Horticultural Society*, 5 (1842-46), fol. 335. Frances Jane was the forty-sixth female member to be elected following the admittance of women in 1835.

Unusually, given the 'wholesale and long lasting fashion for carpet bedding and ribbon borders' that were such a feature of Victorian gardening in the mid-nineteenth century, Hope had a border devoted exclusively to the cultivation of herbaceous plants, which were used either to test their decorative qualities or for inclusion in floral bouquets.[150] This mixed flower border extended almost sixty yards and contained a collection of the most ornamental herbaceous plants, interplanted with China and tea roses, dwarf dahlias and a variety of half-hardy plants in season. An indication of Hope's dedication and artistry is given by Rae, who pointed out that the maintenance of such a border and the resultant impact was 'a matter of no small ingenuity, and proves what may be accomplished by a thorough devotion to the pleasures of a garden, and the cultivation of artistic taste'.[151]

Surprisingly enlightened and with a hint of criticism for the many Victorians whose gardens existed simply for the supply of cut flowers, Frances Jane advocated the use of native plants rather than the vogue for annuals and hot-house flowers, as evidenced in her article on 'Effective Flower Beds':

> A love of Plants is a very different thing from a mere love of Flowers. Now that the extreme rage for Bedding-plants is on

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[148] Hope, p.92.

[149] James Rae, 'Wardie Lodge, The Residence of Miss Hope', *The Journal of Horticulture, Cottage Gardener, and Country Gentleman*, n.s., 8 (1865), 156-57 (p.156). No information on James Rae's background has been found but his knowledgeable descriptions of Wardie Lodge indicate that he may have been a professional gardener.

[150] Irene Feesey, 'Looking Back. Three Victorian Gardening Scribes', *Hortus*, 86 (Summer 2008), 83-88 (p.83).

[151] Rae, p.157.

> the wane, there is some chance of a wider range of plants becoming known to, and cultivated by, amateurs, and a deeper knowledge of gardening and plants in use – not merely a surface knowledge, such as is required for the ordinary style of bedding-out Florists' flowers.[152]

She recommended, as Elliott has pointed out, 'a radical diversity in the planting of flowerbeds, so that the beds would be regarded individually and not as part of an overall scheme,' and this is illustrated in her planting plans which included: '*Clematis Jackmanii*, and its varieties, edged with *Vinca major elegantissima* [*sic*], *Minor aurea* or *argentea*, or *Euonymus radicans variegate* [*sic*], or *Lonicera reticulata*' in one bed; and a combination of *Phalaris arundinacea* var. *elegantissima* surrounded with best blue asters, scarlet pelargoniums and a band of *Helleborus niger*, together with crocus, geraniums and lilac funkia bells for spring and summer colour in another.[153] The 1852 Ordnance Survey Town Plan of Edinburgh (Figure 5.14) captured the garden at Wardie Lodge and these flower beds, together with the glasshouse and stoves, are visible.[154] It also indicates the long herbaceous border mentioned by Rae. Hope's cultivation of native and herbaceous shrubs was not the only indication of her experimentation with the use of plants, since she was also an early proponent of the use of common foliage plants as decorative ornamentals.

Growing kale for consumption had long been a tradition in Scotland.[155] By the middle of the eighteenth century, 'kail' soup was a staple feature of the working-class diet and 'kailyards', possibly augmented with peas and beans, were the early cottage gardens of Scotland.[156] With its working-class connotations, the use of kale for ornamental purposes had not been worthy of consideration by the first half of the nineteenth century. Hope was keen to change that view, having long recognised that the disadvantage of the Victorian craze for 'bedding-out' was the lack of colour or interest in the borders during the winter months. Whilst she was busy experimenting with kale at Wardie Lodge, this comment in *The Scottish Gardener* in 1865 was typical of the prevailing lack of imagination concerning winter colour:

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[152] Hope, p.102.

[153] Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1990), p.150; Hope, pp.104-9.

[154] Ordnance Survey Town Plan of Edinburgh 1852, 1:1056, sheets 5 and 10.

[155] Kale, also known in Scotland as kail, is a member of the genus *Brassica*.

[156] Cox, p.182.

> The most pleasing substitutes or successors of our summer and autumn flowering plants has naturally formed a subject of thought and discussion. Unhappily, however, we have as yet but little choice, and the cry hitherto has not been what shall we choose, but what can we get to make anything like cheery beds from the end of October to the end of March.[157]

From contemporary accounts of the garden at Wardie Lodge and from her own writing on the subject, it is apparent that Frances Jane had not only experimented with the use of coloured kale in the winter garden for many years, but had also excelled at doing so. Signing off as 'L.', an article appeared in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1868 on the subject of the use of variegated borecoles (kale) as an ornament to the flower garden, in which the unknown author lamented their lack of beauty until the middle to end of February and sometimes as late as the end of March.[158] This provoked the following polite but firm response from Hope in her article of the same year, also entitled 'Variegated Borecoles':

> On the experience of eighteen years, and, to quote Mr. [James] McNab's words, 'having the merit of being the first in Scotland, to apply Coloured Greens, for garden decoration' […] I beg emphatically to contradict 'L.'s' assertion. If sown at the right time […] there need be no disappointment in the Winter display.[159]

What is interesting about this exchange of views, aside from McNab's commendation of her, is the revelation that Hope had cultivated and used kale as colour in her winter beds as early as 1850, a practice that was not commonplace in Scotland even by the late 1860s, and was only entering the English consciousness by the mid-nineteenth century.[160] Hope concluded her article with a self-effacing sense of satisfaction: 'Without Variegated Borecole beds, these [winter gardens] cannot be lively or gay; and there is a gradually spreading growth of this taste, which I have, with pleasure, quietly watched.'[161]

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[157] Anon., 'The Flower Garden in Winter – Wardie Lodge', *The Scottish Gardener. A Magazine of Horticulture and Floriculture*, 14 (1865), p.75.

[158] L., 'Variegated Borecoles', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 7 March 1868, p.238.

[159] Hope, p.263. James McNab (1810-1878) served as an apprentice, journeyman and foreman at RBGE under his father William, before succeeding to curator of the garden on his father's death in 1848. He held the post until his own death in 1878. See Anon., 'Death of James McNab', *The Garden*, 23 November 1878, p.459.

[160] Moore, Thomas, 'On the Scenic "Effect" of certain "common" Plants possessing remarkable Foliage', *The Journal of the Horticultural Society of London*, 6 (1851), 115-117.

Evidence of the stunning effect which Hope was able to achieve with her variegated borecoles, can be found in contemporary accounts of her winter borders. Returning to Rae, we discover that the principal reason for his visit to Wardie Lodge in January 1865 was to see the kale planting for himself:

> My first impression almost led me to believe that the beds were a series of beautiful rockwork formed of branching coral of appropriate colours, and even upon a more minute inspection I failed to realise almost any affinity between the vegetable so employed and that used for culinary purposes.[162]

Mungo Temple, head gardener at Balbirnie in Fife, was equally impressed with her display:

> A few weeks ago I felt highly gratified by a visit to Miss Hope's garden at Wardie Lodge, by invitation from that lady. There Kale of many beautiful shades of colour may be seen […] between two thousand and three thousand of these richly-tinted plants are grown for decorative purposes […] the whole was, in my way of thinking, most tastefully done.[163]

On a similar visit, guided by 'the enthusiastic proprietress Miss Hope', an article in *The Scottish Gardener* also reported that:

> There was in the arrangement [of kale] all that good taste that one would expect under the active superintendence of a lady who has for years made that matter her study and delight. What was unmistakably impressed on our mind is the fact illustrated at Wardie Lodge, that there is in these Kales ample variety in colour and character for a greater and more pleasing effect than in anything yet applied to the same purpose. The colours range from white, up through various

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[161] Hope, p.266. Elliott, p.153, also mentions that FJH's experiments with coloured kale were widely followed.

[162] Rae, p.157.

[163] Mungo Temple, 'Ornamental Kale-Garden at Wardie Lodge', *The Gardener. A Magazine of Horticulture and Floriculture* (March 1867), p.98.

> shades of pink, red, and purple, to almost black, as supplied
> by the Siberian Kale.[164]

Hope's use of 'unfashionables' such as native shrubs and variegated brassicas was combined with an enduring passion for collecting plants from Britain and the continent. Going to great lengths to track down true seed of the Bloemendaal savoy, or the dark Siberian borecole for use in her winter garden, was typical of this innovative plantswoman. 'Not many gardeners possessed her knowledge of plants', according to the English botanist George F. Wilson, who remarked that 'for her, the garden existed for the plants, not the plants for the garden'.[165] She is reputed to have had a larger collection of hellebores, including many varieties of *Helleborus niger* which she was credited with having introduced, than could be found in many public gardens.[166] Her articles offer further proof of her inveterate plant collecting, with various references to obtaining plants from around Britain and the continent, such as varieties of saxifrage from a Mr Niven of Hull, a *Cordyline vivipara* from Germany, which she had only ever seen before at Mr Salter's nursery in Hammersmith, and an '*Aspidistra angustifolia variegata* [*sic*] from the well-known Mr. Buckley of Rollisson's, who reluctantly parted with one of his two plants'.[167]

On a 'tip-off' from James McNab, the curator at the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, she thought nothing of 'going myself to Aberdeen, and with the aid of a "lorry" from the railway station, and sundry casks and sacks from the docks, in which to pack my booty, I reached home with a really sufficient stock' of Christmas roses.[168] Her plant-collecting sorties reputedly took her to every nursery garden of importance in England and Scotland and references to garden visits abound in her writing. In one article she commented on a visit to Burnham Beeches and Wotton, stopping en route at Cliveden and Dropmore.[169] Her curiosity and interest in the natural world was wide-ranging and both her nursery and garden visits gave Hope not only inspiration, but also the opportunity to augment her horticultural knowledge, much of which was self-taught. Nurseryman Robertson Munro of Abercorn Nursery in Edinburgh paid this compliment to France Jane's collecting skill and enthusiasm:

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[164] Anon., 'The Flower Garden', p.76.

[165] George F. Wilson, 'Frances Jane Hope', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 8 May 1880, p.585. George Fergusson Wilson (1822-1902) was an English botanist of some repute, whose garden at Wisley in Surrey was purchased by Sir T. Hanbury for the Royal Horticultural Society in 1903. His obituary of Hope appeared as the leading article on the front cover of *The Gardeners' Chronicle*.

[166] 'Obituary Notices', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Botanical Society, Edinburgh*, 14 (1883), p.159.

[167] Hope, p.38.

[168] Hope, p.19.

> Miss Hope […] has been at great trouble and expense in collecting and arranging one of the most important collections of spring-flowering plants to be seen in any private establishment in Scotland, and which in one particular is perhaps even better than some of the large establishments in England, that is, in the absence of all 'Dutch flower roots' but at the same time it is very gay and full of bloom.[170]

Frances Jane's motivation to collect stemmed from a genuine love of all plants and a desire to share them with her friends, readers and those less fortunate than herself. One such friend and fellow horticulturist, Sir Herbert Maxwell, provided a rare description of Frances Jane herself:

> Those milk-white sprays of Libertia take me back to the distant day when Miss Frances Hope of Wardie Lodge, Edinburgh, gave me a piece of it whence all our plants are descended. She died three-and-forty years ago, but I have but to close my eyes to behold her kindly, sun-tanned face under the lilac sun-bonnet that crowned her working dress of short skirts, soiled gauntlets and heavy shoes as she led me round her borders.[171]

Hope's interest in gardens and gardening brought her into contact with a number of botanical and horticultural experts, amongst whom (despite her lack of any formal training in botany and horticulture) she was widely respected. Sir Herbert, whom she met as a young man, later credited her with stimulating his own interest in horticulture: ‘It was in her delightful garden at Wardie Lodge, Edinburgh, that, in the seventies [1870s], I first gained insight into the cultivation of hardy plants.’[172] Longville goes further, describing Frances Jane as Maxwell’s ‘mentor’ who provided proof for the young Maxwell ‘that it was possible to be yourself. You did not have to be completely bound by the conventions of your class, either in gardening or in life’.[173] The picture that Maxwell paints of Frances Jane in dirty gardening gloves and thick shoes certainly suggests an air of unconventionality at a time when Victorian middle and upper-class women were largely expected to be no more than decorative additions to the garden, and this eccentric notion of her is further reinforced by the following extract from an obituary notice for Hope, which was published by the Botanical Society of Edinburgh in 1883:

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[169] Hope, p.63. Burnham Beeches was a site of ancient woodland in South Buckinghamshire, Wotton manor house and gardens were in Wotton Underwood and Cliveden was an Italianate mansion and estate with extensive woodland at Taplow, also in Buckinghamshire.

[170] Robertson Munro, 'Garden Memoranda', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 6 April 1872, p.469. In the nineteenth century 'Dutch flower roots', namely bulbs such as tulips, were akin to a status symbol in the garden, commanding high prices and symbolising exclusivity; a practice which Hope would have excoriated. See Geoffrey Taylor, *The Victorian Flower Garden* (London: Skeffington, 1952), p.117.

[171] Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Flowers. A Garden Notebook* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1923), p.233. Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell (1845-1937), politician, historian, naturalist and author, was a landowner at Monreith in Wigtownshire.

> Miss Hope might often be seen driving on our highways in her yellow chariot, with its accompanying postilion, yet she would also be found often working, alike in wet and dry weather, amongst her plants, along with humble servitors, and in a dress adapted rather for utility than social distinction.[174]

From her published articles and the little personal correspondence that has survived, it would appear that Frances Jane was also in regular contact with James McNab, whom she may initially have met through the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society of which both were members, and it was he who first instructed Frances Jane on how to propagate *Helleborus niger* from the root.[175] As one of its original members and a regular contributor to its transactions, it is also likely that McNab was influential in electing Miss Hope as a Lady Associate of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh in 1873, one of only a handful of women to hold such a position, and their friendship was to last until his untimely death five years later.[176] All female members were referred to as Lady Associates and as such Hope was entitled to use the Society’s herbarium and library, but unlike male members was not eligible to use the denomination Fellow of the Society.[177] Another correspondent of Hope's was Canon Ellacombe, whose vicarage garden at Bitton in Gloucestershire she had visited.[178] Some of the best examples of nineteenth-century, middle-class country gardeners were clergymen, who found themselves not only in possession of a garden but also the time to work in it. As Wilkinson explains:

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[172] Maxwell, *Flowers*, p.42.
[173] Tim Longville, ‘“I am Vere Saturninus”. The long strange life of Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith’, *Hortus*, 22 (winter 2008), 37-53 (p.45).
[174] ‘Obituary Notices’, p.159.
[175] Hope, p.15.
[176] Appendix: ‘List of Members’, *Transactions and Proceedings of The Botanical Society of Edinburgh*, 12 (1873-76), p.lxix.

> Clergymen also represented the view of the amateur in gardening, and because of their gender, and the likelihood that they were more educated than women, they would have had more success in publicising the difficulties of amateurs and in securing the attention of publishers and professional gardeners.[179]

In the case of Hope, her gender and education did not appear to be a barrier. She had managed to become a regular contributor on horticultural issues and shared with Ellacombe a creative enthusiasm which undoubtedly influenced garden trends in the latter half of the nineteenth century, not least the move away from formality to a more natural approach to gardening.

Modern historian, Jane Brown refers to Hope as the 'Scottish disciple of Loudon' and whilst there is no evidence to suggest that she met or was in contact with Jane Loudon, Hope shared with her the ability to communicate her own gardening philosophy and knowledge to her readers.[180] She wrote with great sincerity and eloquence on a range of gardening topics and like Jane Loudon, she was both ahead of her time and a gifted horticulturist. Perhaps her greatest skill lay in identifying with the needs of her readers and offering them timely, down-to-earth practical advice, suitable for the growing band of amateur gardeners and those who, like herself, had 'constant enjoyment, and work, in their smaller gardens'.[181] One example was her solution for arranging borders:

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[177] This gendering of roles was most apparent in the 1890s, when a rule was passed which stated that lady members were not 'entitled to receive copies of the *Transactions*, shall have no voice in the management of the Society, nor any interest in the property thereof'; see 'Lady Members', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh*, 19 (1890-93), p.618.

[178] Henry Nicholson Ellacombe (1822-1916), known as Canon Ellacombe, established a fine garden at Bitton, Gloucestershire and corresponded with leading horticulturists of the day. He contributed articles on gardening to *The Guardian* newspaper in addition to those that appeared in leading gardening periodicals, edited versions of which were later published in two works: *In a Gloucestershire Garden* (London: Edward Arnold, 1895) and *In my Vicarage Garden and Elsewhere* (London and New York: John Lane, 1902).

[179] Wilkinson, p.30.

[180] Brown, p.119. In 1842, John and Jane Loudon made a tour of Scotland, but despite visiting Edinburgh there is no mention of them calling on Hope at Wardie Lodge. The garden would have been in its infancy at this time, which may account for its omission by the Loudons; see Jane Loudon, *Ladies' Magazine*, p.353.

> How often, when a plant is received, a vacant spot is sought for it, and there it is put for no other reason than that this empty space exists. Over-crowding in all departments is, without exception, the rule in small gardens. By arranging them in seasons, some progress would be made towards remedying weak points in the way of disposition.[182]

Another was her suggestion that if new plants were required, research should be undertaken into what was available locally and she gave this advice to would-be amateur purchasers: 'The amateur should make it plain that he desires to buy the plant as it stands, or not at all; that his object, of course, is to increase his stock the first season, to make something of it, in fact, at once.'[183] As new plant introductions continued to flood into Britain in the nineteenth century and as nurserymen and seedsmen vied with each other to cater for the needs of this growing retail market for plants, such advice provided by Hope would, no doubt, have been welcomed by those uninitiated but keen amateur gardeners.

Frances Jane was not afraid to be controversial in her writing, especially when challenging prevailing fashions, such as the 'accepted' use of only a limited variety of plants in the mixed greenhouse to the detriment of those with sweet-scented foliage or interesting seed vessels. 'I do not see why', she cautioned, 'we should encourage growth and progress in our plants, and get mentally contracted and stunted ourselves.'[184] Her intense pleasure in wild flowers, and those dismissed as being worthless, such as the *Umbelliferae* family, led her to level this criticism against the garden designers of the day:

> What I understand to be meant by a 'worthless plant', is one, that does not happen to suit our artificial (puerile, at the best) plans. We are always limiting Nature's boundless variety,

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[181] Hope, p.275.
[182] Hope, p.97.
[183] Hope, p.155.
[184] Hope, p.29.

> because we ourselves are contracted in our ideas, by this, or that, style of garden decoration. I would strive to check such cramping contraction, in myself, and in those who work with me.[185]

In four articles all pleading the case for the use of wild plants and flowers, Hope railed against the prejudice shown to the *Umbelliferae*, illustrating through the use of many examples that no other group of plants could supply such a variety of foliage for so many months in the year, such as the 'fresh young leaves of *Chaerophyllum sylvestre* (cow parsley)' and the 'fine plumy plants of brightest green' *Scandix anthriscus* (small hemlock chervil).[186] Hope's engaging prose brought a uniquely feminine touch to horticultural writing of the day. She presented practical solutions concomitant with championing the cause of common and unfashionable plants and does not appear, in any published reference, to have faced prejudice as a female writing for a predominantly masculine readership.

Subscribers to gardening magazines were not the only beneficiaries of Hope's gardening skills. She also used her garden to help those less fortunate than herself by recognising the therapeutic effect of plants and flowers. By the mid-nineteenth century, philanthropy was, according to Prochaska, 'seen as the leisured woman's most obvious outlet for self-expression,' and contemporary writers, such as Frederick Maurice and John Ruskin, encouraged women to expand their horizons beyond the domestic sphere.[187] Although it is not clear to what extent Frances Jane's own benevolence was linked to this desire, she pre-empted the Flower Missions by distributing sometimes as many as 400 posies of flowers in one day to the sick and the poor.[188] Her article on 'Flowers for the Poor and the Sick' gave an insight into the 'ugly and utilitarian kale yards' of the town poor where 'anything green is considered a flower, and any flower is a rose', and reveals her determination to provide flowers all year round:

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[185] Hope, p.258.

[186] Hope, p.191.

[187] F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.5; *Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects*, ed. by Frederick D. Maurice (Cambridge: 1856); John Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens', in *Sesame and Lilies* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1865), pp.119-196.

[188] The Edinburgh Flower Mission began in 1873. Its scope included sending flowers to sufferers in the Infirmary with any surplus being taken to Craiglockhart Poorhouse, the Cowgate Dispensary, the Simpson Memorial and Soldiers' Hospitals; see Lothian Health Services Archive, LHB1/88/1: pamphlet entitled *The Edinburgh Flower and Book Mission* [n.d.]. I am indebted to Margaret Stevenson for drawing this manuscript to my attention.

> It occurred to me this winter that we should not wait until spring to give plants, but that a whiff of health and pleasure might be administered by sending out Thyme and Rosemary to the Royal Infirmary, made up in little bunches, with one Christmas Rose or two or three Snowdrops in each […]. Our many dozens (now amounting to hundreds) went but a little way, alas! but the pleasure they gave cannot be told.[189]

The variety of home-grown plants taken from the gardens of Wardie Lodge to be used for this purpose demonstrates her connection with and understanding of the people she sought to help.[190] She was, as Canon Ellacombe recalled:

> Indefatigable in providing comforts for the sick in hospitals, and among the comforts she included a plentiful supply of flowers, but with the proviso that the flowers should be common flowers, and always accompanied with a sprig of some woody, aromatic plant, for the special purpose of recalling memories of home.[191]

Blind people were also considered by Frances Jane, who persuaded her two principal nurserymen to supply hyacinths and lily of the valley to the Royal Blind Asylum in Edinburgh and she herself gathered the fragrant flowering branches of bog myrtle, willow catkins and peppermint-scented geraniums: just three of the plants from a list of over fifty which were sent out to the Asylum from Wardie Lodge.[192] She also supplied large baskets of aromatic herbs to help purify the atmosphere in the work-rooms. McKay suggested that Hope's decision to write about her gardening benevolence carried with it 'an implicit critique of poverty, and of the social deprivation experienced by people with disabilities even in the institutions established to help them'.[193] Her articles certainly had the effect of drawing the plight of the sick and poor to her readers' attention and whilst philanthropy was an acceptable feminine pastime, it was unusual for a woman to write, albeit in the subtlest of terms, on such controversial issues. In a stroke of serendipity, Wardie Lodge is currently the site of a palliative care facility known as St Columba's Hospice, a use that would surely have appealed to the benevolent Hope.[194]

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[189] Hope, pp.74-76.
[190] Plants used included heath, crocus, dwarf daffodils, grape hyacinths, polyanthuses, flowering currants, sweetbriar, spearmint and balm.
[191] Ellacombe, *Gloucestershire Garden*, p.275.
[192] Hope, p.86-87.
[193] McKay, p.150.

Hope's love of wild flowers and natural plantings lends much credibility to Longville's description of her as one of William Robinson's earliest sympathisers.[195] She was, like Robinson, an advocate of a less formal approach to gardening and having contributed ten articles to *The Garden* from 1873 to 1875, it is quite possible that Frances Jane would have made Robinson's acquaintance in his capacity as its founding editor.[196] Hope's articles also gave, as Brown has stated, 'a refreshing insight into garden life before Jekyllian bouffance arrives to fill our garden horizons and block out the past,' and there is much evidence to support Horwood's description of Hope as 'a forerunner of Gertrude Jekyll'.[197]

In her biography of Jekyll, Massingham included a quotation by the historian Dr Geoffrey Taylor, who suggested that on Jane Loudon's death in 1858, Jekyll was almost of an age, (barely fifteen), to catch the trowel as it fell from Mrs Loudon's hand.[198] However, following an examination of Frances Jane's writings and from contemporary accounts of her garden, it is possible to argue that Hope was holding the trowel firmly by its handle before the arrival of Jekyll. Her writings predated those of Jekyll by almost thirty years. Tait positioned Hope as something akin to a linchpin between the Loudons and Jekyll, believing that her garden at Wardie Lodge 'matched the ideal garden lyrically sketched out by Loudon during his Scottish phase' and 'anticipated the idea of the cottage gardens of Gertrude Jekyll'.[199] It is possible to extend his argument and lay claim to Frances Jane Hope as Scotland's Gertrude Jekyll. Parallels can certainly be drawn between Hope's earlier and Jekyll's later published work. Aside from the striking similarity between the titles of their first books, echoes of Hope abound in Jekyll's writing, especially when touching on shared interests.[200] These include the winter aspect of trees, propagation techniques (neither could endure a blunt knife), their love of nature and respect for humble plants, especially wild ones, and the use of herbaceous plants in the border:

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[194] See <http://www.stcolumbashospice.org.uk>.

[195] Longville, p.45. William Robinson (1838-1935) was a horticultural writer and editor, who championed a more natural approach to planting.

[196] In addition to founding and editing *The Garden*, Robinson published its more popular successor, *Gardening* in 1879, later renamed *Gardening Illustrated*. His most famous works include *The Wild Garden* (London: John Murray, 1870) and *The English Flower Garden* (London: John Murray, 1883).

[197] Brown, p.121; Horwood, p.210.

[198] Taylor, *Victorian Flower Garden*, p.161, quoted in Massingham, p.78.

[199] Tait, p.241.

> I am always reminded of the workers in Mosaic when busy with such a border – a bit of colour here, and a neutral tint there; form wanted in this spot, colour in that; height now the consideration, and now a dwarf plant; light, shadow, and green everywhere, and the whole to have a varied completeness.[201]

These words could easily have come from Jekyll who advocated beauty and harmony, particularly in the use of colour, but in fact they were written by Hope in an article on 'Hardy Narcissi in the Spring Garden' in 1873.[202]

One of the most striking similarities between the two women is revealed in their approach to flower-arranging. Up until the mid-nineteenth century, slow progress had been made in this branch of gardening and as Horwood explained, 'little more had been done with flowers than to place them in a container of water and enjoy them.'[203] Characteristically, the Victorians brought formality, prestige and artifice to this floral art form, producing elaborate table displays on a daily basis and quickly incorporating newly introduced tender exotics and rare flowers, grown solely for cutting, to their displays. Writing the first of eight articles on arranging cut flowers as early as 1872, Hope was surprisingly modern in her outlook, based on her many years' experience of arranging cut flowers in glasses. In his obituary of her, the Rector of Market Deeping gives us this insight into Hope's skill as a flower arranger:

> Her Drawing-room, with its large window, overlooking the Sea, was adorned each week, with fresh combinations of Flowers, arranged with untold thought, and study, and she

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[200] *Notes and Thoughts on Gardens and Woodlands. Written Chiefly for Amateurs*, being the full title of Hope's edited collection of articles, as compared to Jekyll's *Wood and Garden. Notes and Thoughts, Practical and Critical, of a Working Amateur*, 2nd edn (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899).

[201] Hope, p.145.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Horwood, p.203.

> would mix with perfect taste, the humblest leaves, and flowers of the field.[204]

Disregarding the fussy intricacies of prevailing fashion, Hope's first objective when flower-arranging was to make a pleasing effect with 'common' flowers. Her aim was to 'use the plants, as far as possible, in their natural habit of growth and peculiar character', and she was keenly opposed to the gratuitous use of rare plants:

> I have seen a bouquet, at a flower show, get a prize, that was set round with sprays of a Gleichenia; to my mind that bouquet should have been disqualified, by the use of a Fern, so difficult to keep, and so scarce.[205]

From articles written by her in 1872, we learn that she experimented with arranging umbelliferous weeds from early spring to autumn, produced displays of foliage such as the leaves of heucheras for their colour and beauty and was happy to use only one plant for effect. '*Solanum Jasminoides*', she wrote, 'is a most useful winter plant, and when you can get it with its dark blue berries and its pure white Blossoms you require nothing else in that glass.'[206] Hope ensured that the containers she used were 'of the simplest shapes, clearest glass, and most free from ornament', so that nothing should detract the eye from the flowers.[207] Some thirty-five years later, Jekyll was writing on the same topic in her book *Flower Decoration in the House*, although she did allow for the use of oriental blue and white porcelain and cream Wedgwood in addition to plain glass vases.[208] The looser, more informal style of arrangements and the plant selections used by Hope were adopted by Jekyll in her book, which was described by Massingham as 'one of the pioneer books on flower arrangement', and were later made famous by Constance Spry.[209] It is possible to conclude that both women's ideas were a reflection of Hope's ethos and practice. The similarities between the writings of Hope and Jekyll are therefore striking and it can be argued that Frances Jane prepared the ground for Jekyll's future success. Had Hope lived longer and written for the more enlightened and receptive Edwardian audience, she may perhaps have attained a similar level of fame and recognition as that accorded to Jekyll.

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[204] Hope, p.xv.
[205] Hope, p.220.
[206] Hope, p.231.
[207] Hope, p.219.
[208] Gertrude Jekyll, *Flower Decoration in the House* (London: Country Life, 1907), p.59. Jekyll was so convinced of the need for plain flower-glasses that she designed and had them produced herself.
[209] Massingham, p.106. Constance Spry (1886-1960) was a celebrated floral artist. Her first of thirteen books on the subject was *Flower Decoration* (London: Dent, 1934).

Whilst Hope leaves no tangible legacy of the garden she created at Wardie Lodge, her influence on horticulture within Scotland during her lifetime was significant and is summed up by this extract from one obituary:

> Miss Hope bore an honoured name in the horticultural world. Her garden was as much a place for reference for plant lovers as the printed page. […]. She will always be known as the introducer of varieties of *Helleborus niger*, and of variegated Kale for winter decoration.[210]

Hope's avant-garde use of flowers and vegetables in natural groupings and her devotion to the 'unfashionables' such as coloured kale, native shrubs and wild flowers significantly influenced the move away from the formality of Victorian bedding-out schemes, and her ideas were subsequently adopted by some of the most celebrated gardening authors of the late nineteenth century, such as William Robinson. In addition to sharing her gardening with those less fortunate than herself, through countless acts of philanthropy, Frances Jane was also one of the first women, and the first Scottish woman, to write on gardening and related topics for the professional gardening press. Unusually, her work was read by amateur and professional gardeners alike, an audience which was predominantly male. Although it is difficult to measure the extent of her influence on future female gardeners, it is possible that her articles, and the book which posthumously bore her name, inspired a 'new breed' of women gardeners. It is certainly the case that as the century wore on, gardening women were able to attain a much higher profile in what, up until then, had been a male-dominated activity and it had become quite common in England by the start of the twentieth century, to see gardening books authored by women for the mass market, with the likes of Gertude Jekyll, Hope's compatriot Eleanour Vere

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[210] 'Obituary Notices', p.159. The gardens at Wardie Lodge have been replaced by extensions to the hospice.

Boyle, Maria Earle, and Ellen Willmott quickly becoming household names.[211] In Scotland, Lucy Soutar followed Vere Boyle as the next Scottish woman to produce a gardening book in 1909, although her style was very different to that of Hope's since she described in rather romantic terms a monthly view of her garden across one year, rather than the prescriptive teachings offered by Frances Jane.[212]

Hope's work was widely acclaimed during her lifetime, culminating in her election as a Lady Associate of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh in 1873 and the unusual distinction of having her obituary form the leading article in the 8 May 1880 issue of *The Gardeners' Chronicle*.[213] However for the most part, and in common with Christian Ramsay, Frances Jane's work has been neglected in the historical narratives of Scotland's garden history, although it has been referenced by women's historians within the last decade. By the time of Hope's death in 1880, emancipatory change was in the air and women were no longer content to garden within the confines of landed estate and suburban garden.

Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889-1982)

Isobel Wylie Hutchison can be described as one of the 'new breed' of gardening women that may have been influenced by Hope. A pioneering explorer, writer and collector of arctic plants in the frozen north of Greenland and Alaska, Isobel was, despite the lead set by Christian Ramsay, one of only a small group of Scottish female botanists who travelled to collect plants in the early part of the twentieth century.[214] Her most comparable contemporary was Betty Sherriff who, together with her husband George Sherriff, made several expeditions to Bhutan and the

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[211] Eleanour Vere Boyle, née Gordon (1825-1916) was originally from Aberdeenshire and published three gardening books, her most successful being *Days and Hours*, which ran to ten editions between 1884 and 1898, see Appendix III. Maria Theresa Earle (1836-1925) published *Pot-Pourri* in 1897 and Ellen Ann Willmott (1858-1934) wrote *The Genus Rosa* (London: 1914).

[212] Lucy H. Soutar, *Monthly Gleanings in a Scottish Garden* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1909); see Appendix III.

[213] Wilson, 'Frances Jane Hope', pp.585-86.

[214] As a female plant hunter, Isobel Wylie Hutchison (hereafter IWH) was 'one of a small breed', see Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women. A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.135.

Himalayas in the 1930s and 1940s and made a garden with him at Ascreavie near Kirriemuir.[215]

Born on 30 May 1889 at Carlowrie, near Kirkliston in West Lothian, Isobel learned her love of nature and horticulture from her father, Thomas Hutchison, who nurtured his daughter's interest in botany by providing her with her own garden plot where she was able to build a cold frame, sow seeds and chart the progress of her plants.[216] She also shared her love of plants and nature with her four siblings and became the sub-editor, at the age of seven, of a magazine produced by the Hutchison children, called *The Horticultural Herald.*[217] In common with Christian Ramsay and Frances Jane Hope, Isobel was fortunate to have a privileged upbringing within a wealthy family (Figure 5.15). One of five children, she lived in the care of her parents, servants, resident governess and local church congregation at Kirkliston, where the family worshipped each Sunday.[218] However, the untimely death of Thomas Hutchison from pneumonia in April 1900 was a hard blow for Isobel, whose relationship with her father had always been close. Fortunately, he had made provision not only for his two sons but also for his three daughters and it was this small legacy and the interest which it was to bear, that initially allowed Isobel to travel and collect plants.[219]

Unlike Christian and Frances Jane, Isobel benefitted from a slightly more formal education. In 1904, she attended a private school in Edinburgh, known as Miss Gamgee's, which later became Rothesay House, where she excelled in Botany. In an extract from an obituary on Isobel which appeared in the school's newsletter in March 1983, she was not only taught but encouraged in her botanical aspirations:

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[215] See Sherriff, Elizabeth in Appendix III.

[216] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Papers of IWH, Acc. 9713/86: *The Horticultural Herald*, February 1896-99.

[217] Ibid. The magazine contained poems, stories, puzzles and accounts of their botanical activities, including advice on 'How to take cuttings of Geraniums and Pansies' and information on 'The legend of the Passion Flower' and 'Showy bedders'.

[218] Isobel was a deeply religious person throughout her life.

[219] Gwyneth Hoyle, *Flowers in the Snow. The life of Isobel Wylie Hutchison* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), p.2. Information on the Hutchison family was also found in an unpublished paper entitled *The Hutchisons of Carlowrie. A sketch of a Lothian family 1852-1982* by Peter Hutchison, dated 1983, held at Edinburgh, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) D733 CAR(P).

> She was Miss Clem's 'Star' pupil; and I say Miss Clem's deliberately, for it was from her that she first learned her botany and it was she who encouraged Isobel to go to Studley Horticultural College for Women, which was the beginning of her extensive knowledge of plants and plant life.[220]

Despite her schooling, Isobel could easily have succumbed to the life of a middle-class 'lady', writing poetry and prose, sketching and tending her flower garden. Initially, it was expected that she would remain at home until she married and made as good a match as her older sister.[221] As her biographer Gwyneth Hoyle pointed out, 'women of Isobel's class had not been educated to lead practically useful lives outside the home, since they were expected to remain attached to their families until they married.'[222] However the reality of 'losing' one daughter to marriage caused a change of heart in Isobel's mother and the idea of marrying off her remaining two daughters became less attractive. Evidence in Isobel's diaries indicates that she too had little inclination to be romantically involved.[223]

In 1912, Isobel's sixteen-year-old brother Frank fell to his death in a climbing accident in the Cairngorms and several years later her remaining brother Walter, a Captain in the 1-10th Royal Scots regiment, fell from a wall whilst on night patrol duty in North Berwick and died of his injuries.[224] Left with no male support in the family and not wishing to marry, Isobel had to think about her future. She eventually enrolled at the Studley Horticultural College for Women in Warwickshire in 1917 at the age of twenty-eight and gained her Certificate in Horticulture two years later. Despite keeping extensive handwritten diaries all her life, the time Isobel spent at Studley is poorly documented, although she does list as an aspiration the hope that she will be 'half-qualified as a lady gardener' by the end of her study there.[225]

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[220] NLS Acc. 9713/117: obituary for IWH in Rothesay House Club Newsletter, March 1983.

[221] Her eldest sister, Nita, had married a paymaster in the Royal Navy and spent much of her life governed by naval postings.

[222] Hoyle, p.21.

[223] One example of Isobel's reluctance to be romantically involved with a young Italian student called Don Antonino can be found in NLS Acc. 9713/13: IWH diary, 27 May 1913.

[224] 'The Late Captain T. W. Hutchison', *The Scotsman*, 27 November 1915, p.9.

[225] NLS Acc. 9713/14: preface to IWH diary, 1918.

Activities at Studley at that time would typically have included training in all aspects of horticulture, ranging from plant physiology to practical sessions in the gardens and Isobel made reference in her diaries to undertaking activities such as potting on chrysanthemums, transplanting fruit trees and top-dressing flowerbeds.[226] An undated press cutting from the Glasgow *Bulletin* suggested that Isobel was highly regarded by her former teachers and colleagues and retained lasting links with her old college:

> No ex-student is more highly thought of at Studley Horticultural College than the intrepid young Scotswoman, Miss Isobel Hutchison […]. She does not forget her old college in Warwickshire, and has presented it with various plants and flowers collected during her travels.[227]

Despite Isobel's two years at Studley, her botanical knowledge was augmented by home study, inviting comparison with Lady Dalhousie. There are innumerable references in her diaries to self-improvement through reading and self-study, including this entry in 1924: 'did some cutting of *Petasites* woodblock and some Hebridean flora in the evening.'[228]

Having graduated from Studley, Isobel decided to move to London and enrol as a part-time student in theology at King's College, but the life there did not suit her and suffering from a period of depression and something akin to a nervous breakdown, she returned to Carlowrie in 1920.[229] Once home she concentrated on writing her first novel *Original Companions* and began to establish a small market-garden at Carlowrie, a venture which would subsequently provide her with a much-needed source of income.[230] Although a work of fiction, *Original Companions* is highly autobiographical and Isobel's decision to visit Palestine on completion of her novel may have been inspired by two of the characters in her book who visit the Holy

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[226] NLS Acc. 9713/14: IWH diary, 1918.
[227] NLS Acc. 9713/110: undated press cutting from the *Bulletin*, Glasgow.
[228] NLS Acc. 9713/17: IWH diary, 9 February 1924.
[229] NLS Acc. 8138/box 1/3: IWH diary, 1920.
[230] Isobel Wylie Hutchison, *Original Companions* (London: The Bodley Head, 1923). Fruit and vegetables from Carlowrie were sold by Isobel and her gardener, Mr Turner, at markets in Edinburgh, NLS Acc. 9713/15: IWH diary, 12 March 1921.

Land.[231] January 1923 was spent making arrangements for her trip including taking lessons in Arabic, and this thorough preparation became a characteristic of all her future expeditions.[232] The following month, Isobel left for Palestine and Egypt, travelling on her own rather than as part of an organised tour, and made her first foray as a botanist. She collected seed from the local cypress trees and by 1927 she had potted on over 100 cypress seedlings and sold them on a commercial basis.[233] On her return from the Holy Land, Isobel was elated by the freedom of travel and new experiences, describing her time there as 'a most wonderful month. I think the most wonderful of my life. Africa and the Nile. So much new and wonderful'.[234] She followed up her trip with a visit to Spain and Morocco in 1924 and undertook a number of walking tours in the Scottish Highlands, including one across the length of the Outer Hebrides, a distance of almost 150 miles.

Back at home in Carlowrie, Isobel submitted an article on her Hebridean walk to *National Geographic* and the money she earned from its acceptance helped to finance her next expedition, this time to Iceland.[235] Why she decided on Iceland is not made explicit in her diary or correspondence. Hoyle suggests that she was 'guided by romantic instinct rather than the writings of early travellers', but a diary entry in which Isobel recorded reading Lord Dufferin's account of a voyage to Iceland in his book *Letters from High Latitudes*, seems to contradict this view.[236] Whatever the real motivation, Isobel travelled in Iceland during the summer of 1925, and it was there that her passion for arctic plants and scenery was born. She described seeing 'a great variety of lovely little wild flowers – saxifrage, cushion pink, large mouse-ear chickweed, [and] a kind of small lavender Michaelmas daisy in meadow-land', and her delight in what she found led to a lifelong interest in arctic flora (Figure 5.16).[237]

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[231] Hutchison, *Original Companions*, p.279. Her fictional heroine, Ethne Macleod, also lost her father at the same age as Isobel and both had a longing to travel and shared a love of tree-climbing, walking, visiting Tiree, poetry and religion.

[232] NLS Acc. 9713/16: IWH diary, January 1923.

[233] NLS Acc. 9713/20: IWH diary, 5 May 1927.

[234] NLS Acc. 9713/16: IWH diary, 28 February 1923.

[235] NLS Acc. 9713/18: IWH diary, 22 June 1925. Isobel recorded her delight at receiving $250, the equivalent of around £50, from *National Geographic* since she required at least that much to fund her trip to Iceland. Signing herself I.W.H., Isobel was also an infrequent contributor to *The Scotsman*'s weekly 'Nature Notes' column, including articles on the 'Flowers on Inchcolm', 17 July 1920, p.8 and 'Plant Lore in Tiree', 30 July 1921, p.8.

[236] Hoyle, p.38; NLS Acc. 9713/18: IWH diary, 15 June 1925; Lord Dufferin, *Letters from High Latitudes: being some account of a voyage, in 1856, in the schooner yacht 'Foam' to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen* (London: John Murray, 1857).

With her curiosity for all things Arctic stimulated by her visit to Iceland, Isobel opened her diary for 1926 with a list of things she wanted to achieve by the end of the year which included visiting Greenland and Labrador.[238] At the age of thirty-seven, she began to plan her first solo plant-hunting expedition and was meticulous in her preparation, reading works by the arctic explorers Nansen and Nicol so that she could familiarise herself with the country and its history, and taking up weekly Danish lessons.[239] Since Greenland was at that time a Danish colony and closed to foreigners, Isobel had to obtain permission from the Danish authorities to travel there and, requiring a sufficient reason to visit, she used her certificate from Studley to help secure a permit to collect plants and seeds: 'For it is the flowers that have opened the way for me to go, and I go as a botanist.'[240] She also wrote to the Foreign Office in London to request help with her application and succeeded in gaining support from the Danish consulate in Edinburgh.[241] Finally Isobel was granted the requisite permissions and in July 1927 she set sail for Greenland, having found a way to combine the two passions in her life, travel and plant collecting. She recalled her first day botanising in Angmagssalik on Greenland's east coast: 'My first excursion was up the little river where the wild flowers grew most luxuriantly; many of the Alpine species, *Azalea*, *Ranunculus glacialis*, *Cassiope*, being a new delight to a British eye.'[242] In the five months spent exploring the east and southern coastal areas of Greenland (Figure 5.17), Isobel had collected, identified and pressed ninety-seven species of indigenous plants for her private collection at home, many of which she subsequently donated to the Herbarium at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh.[243] Whilst staying at the island settlement of Nanortalik, she had also encountered the famous polar explorer, Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933), who invited her to dinner on his yacht and presented her with a copy of his latest book, *Across Arctic America*, which chronicled his journey by dog-sled across North America to Nome in Alaska.[244]

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[237] NLS Acc. 8138 Box 1/7: IWH diary, 15 July 1925. On this trip, Isobel also undertook a solitary walking tour from Reykjavik to Akureyri, a distance of approximately 260 miles.

[238] NLS Acc. 9713/19: preface to IWH diary, 1926.

[239] NLS Acc. 9713/19: IWH diary, 1926. Fridtjof Nansen, *First Crossing of Greenland* (London: 1890); James Nicol, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands* (New York: 1841).

[240] Isobel Wylie Hutchison, *On Greenland's Closed Shore. The Fairytale of the Arctic* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1930), p.5. Greenland became a Danish colony in 1814 and was granted home rule by Denmark in 1979.

[241] NLS Acc. 9713/20: IWH diary, February to March 1927.

[242] Hutchison, *On Greenland's*, p.30.

On Isobel's return, Hoyle suggested that 'within a week of coming home she had returned to the same conventional, narrowly-defined life she had briefly escaped, and she could feel her spirit, after soaring in Greenland, being brought back to earth and tethered'.[245] However, Isobel's own words appear to contradict this view and show her taking positive action immediately on her return from Greenland, as she recorded that she was 'busy writing all day trying an article on my meeting with Rasmussen for [the] Spectator Competition having come back penniless!'.[246] Self-pity was not an emotion that Isobel entertained, even when in later years she was crippled with arthritis. Unlike Hope and Ramsay money, or more precisely the lack of it, was a recurring theme throughout her life and she found herself having to fund her plant-collecting trips through writing.[247] Isobel's determination and focus set her apart, despite her lack of outward unconventionality. One editorial on Isobel's adventures, which appeared in the *Scots Observer*, not only highlights the subtle prejudice which existed at the time against women who dared to be different, but also reveals how Isobel's pioneering determination was hidden beneath her genteel veneer:

> Miss Hutchison does not conform to the popular idea of the feminine explorer. There is nothing mannish about her. She is a gentle, cultured, unassuming lady, who might give one

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[243] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from Sir William Wright Smith (hereafter WWS), Regius Keeper at RBGE to IWH, 18 April 1930. Specimens from Isobel's Greenland collection can still be seen in the RBGE herbarium.

[244] NLS Acc. 9713/20: IWH diary, September 1927. Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America. Narrative of the fifth Thule Expedition* (New York and London: 1927).

[245] Hoyle, p.60.

[246] NLS Acc. 9713/20: IWH diary, 26 December 1927.

[247] In addition to writing seven books, Isobel contributed twelve articles to *National Geographic* from 1928 – 57, and was published in many other magazines, journals and newspapers, including the *Spectator*.

> the impression that she had never ventured further afield than Aberdeen.[248]

Isobel's thoughts quickly turned to another expedition, this time to the island settlement of Umanak in northern Greenland which, in order to fund, she approached the Royal Horticultural Society and succeeded in securing individual contributions of £10 from six of the Society's members.[249] One of these private subscribers, Mr F. W. Millard, wrote to Isobel with instructions on what seeds to collect:

> We do not require anything which is obtainable here, but are keen on the rhododendrons and any tiny willows and birches. Also any ferns which are rare. Procure seed of the true Iceland poppy if you can, and plants of any saxifrages.[250]

She also managed to secure permission from the Danish Government for an extended period of stay and with the finance in place she set out for Greenland in August 1928 and started botanising almost immediately.[251] In this description of her first plant-collecting expedition on Umanak Tind, her success is evident:

> In this place amongst the rocks the rare *Saxafraga cernua* – only known in Britain upon the summit of Ben Lawers, where it is now almost extinct – has her home […]. Here grew also several other saxifrages, the yellow 'Iceland' poppy, and a plant or two of the alpine rhododendron (*R. lapponicum*), which I afterwards found much upon the island. With these I filled my box till it was so heavy that it required the united efforts of three little Greenlanders […] and myself to carry.[252]

From day one of the trip, Isobel had fulfilled her obligations to Millard, having identified and collected specimens and seed from the 'Iceland' poppy (Figure 5.18), which subsequently germinated in Britain, saxifrages and several examples of dwarf rhododendron. She was soon able to pack a large wooden crate with live plant specimens to send back to Britain and by October 1928, she had filled more than 300 envelopes with seeds from more than fifty varieties of plants.[253] Isobel's enthusiasm and propensity to collect seeds in such a short time period served her well as the snow and ice arrived in late October putting her seed-collecting plans on hold until the following February. This hiatus in her plant collecting gave her the opportunity to spend time with both the Danish settlers and the native Greenlanders, whose company she particularly enjoyed (Figures 5.19 and 5.20), although her work was regarded as something of an enigma to them:

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[248] NLS Acc. 9713/109: cutting of 'A Scotswoman in Greenland' *Scots Observer*, 10 March 1928.

[249] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from Mr F. W. Millard to IWH, 21 May 1928.

[250] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from Mr F. W. Millard to IWH, 28 May 1928.

[251] Before leaving for Greenland, Isobel had entertained Knud Rasmussen and his family at Carlowrie and he in turn arranged for her to stay with the female doctor in Umanak; see NLS Acc. 9713/21: IWH diary, April 1928.

[252] Hutchison, *On Greenland's*, p.145.

> To the simple Greenlanders, my hobby of seed collecting was something of a mystery […] the only reasonable explanation of the matter, and one which I afterwards heard was really believed in the colony, was that I was the lucky possessor of 'Aningassat amurdlera' – heaps of money – a millionaire in fact!.[254]

Whilst in Umanak she persuaded the local pastor to give her lessons in Greenlandic in exchange for helping him with his English and this knowledge of the local language enabled her to prepare detailed and accurate notes on the plants which she collected.[255]

References in her written account of her two expeditions to Greenland indicate that Isobel's work was not only unusual, on account of her being a white woman travelling alone, it was also pioneering from a botanical perspective. She visited one particular area, Ubekjendt Eiland, literally translated as Unknown Island, and wrote that she:

> Could find no record of Ubekjendt Eiland having previously been explored botanically. During the month I visited it, I collected and mounted many specimens, the most interesting of which were perhaps the saxifrages, which grew in great variety.[256]

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[253] NLS Acc. 8138 Box 1/9: IWH diary, October 1928.
[254] Isobel Wylie Hutchison, 'Seed-collecting in Greenland', *New Flora and Silva*, 3.1 (1930), 36-43 (p.42).
[255] NLS Acc. 9713/21: IWH diary, 16 September 1928. Greenlandic is an Eskimo-Aleut language spoken in Greenland and Denmark.
[256] Hutchison, *On Greenland's*, p.349.

Despite an extensive search, no documented evidence has been found to dispute Isobel's claim to priority. The Peary Arctic Expedition of 1896 did not land on the island and it was not surveyed as part of Rasmussen's seven arctic explorations known as the *Thule Expeditions* carried out between 1912 and 1933.[257] Sir Albert Seward, Professor of Botany at Cambridge University published an account of his botanical exploration of Greenland in 1922, which included a brief description of Ubekjendt Eiland, but it is unclear whether he actually landed there.[258] It is highly likely that Isobel was the first white woman, if not the first person, to botanically explore the island and according to Desmond, she was one of only seven British botanists to have collected plants in Greenland by the mid-twentieth century.[259] The plant-hunting men of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (many of whom were Scottish) were responsible for the introduction of alpine plants from Asia, South Africa, South America and the Continent concomitant with a growing interest in rock gardening in Scotland which reached its peak in the period between the First and Second World War and Isobel was able to add to their collections by discovering and introducing arctic varieties of known alpine species.

On returning home in September 1929, Isobel started raising money for her next expedition by embarking on a lecture programme throughout Scotland and England and was personally endorsed by Rasmussen in a reference which he provided specifically for her lantern tour. 'She will certainly be a greatly requested lecturer', he wrote, 'especially in England where the knowledge of the conditions in Greenland is rather small.'[260] Isobel also wrote a book of her two trips to Greenland, *On Greenland's Closed Shore*, and listed in the appendix the 196 plants that she had found, each having been meticulously classified and described by her and revised with the help of the Danish botanist, Erling Porsild.[261] This list of plants is significant, because it demonstrates the depth of her botanical knowledge and her plant-collecting expertise. Typically humble, Isobel was also keen to ensure that her private subscribers, which included the Royal Horticultural Society, were happy with the seed she had collected and expressed the following concern:

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[257] For an account of the Peary Arctic Expedition, see Benjamin Hoppin, *A Diary kept while with the Peary Arctic Expedition of 1896* (1896).

[258] Sir Albert Charles Seward, *A Summer in Greenland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p.37.

[259] The other six, with collecting dates shown in parenthesis, were Captain Craycroft (1734-39); Sir Edward Sabine (1819-20); Robert Brown from Caithness (1867); Edward Whymper (1867 and 1872); Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Feilden (c.1876) and Thomas Maxwell Harris (1926-27); see Desmond, *British and Irish Botanists*.

[260] NLS Acc. 4775/1: reference from Knud Rasmussen, dated 23 April 1930. In addition to her lecture tour, Isobel started work on an English translation of Rasmussen's folktales of Greenland, which was published two years later, see Knud Rasmussen, *The Eagle's Gift: Alaska Eskimo Tales*, trans. by Isobel Wylie Hutchison (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1932).

> My only fear was that I might not be able to obtain sufficient return in the way of good seed for those who had contributed towards this venture – the first of any extent, as far as I know, to try to grow Greenland plants in Britain.[262]

Fortunately the results were gratifying and Isobel achieved her aim of successfully introducing plants from Greenland to British gardens. Returns from half the gardens where seeds were sown, showed that twenty-three out of a total of thirty-five distinct species had germinated, with the highest germination rates achieved by the Royal Horticultural Society Gardens at Wisley and a private garden in East Grinstead.[263]

Following her mother's death in 1931, Isobel was freed from the constraints of being a primary carer and, possibly influenced by what she had read of Rasmussen's arctic adventures, decided to visit Alaska.[264] Emboldened by her success in securing sponsorship for her second trip to Greenland, Isobel approached the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew and informed them of her intention to undertake a solo plant-collecting expedition to Arctic Alaska and the Yukon in Canada.[265] Kew recognised the value of her work and supplied her with the necessary equipment and a letter of reference, which confirmed that Isobel was collecting and drying specimens of plants in Alaska and North West Territories on its behalf.[266] More importantly for the success of Isobel's plans, Kew also agreed to pay her £2 10s. 0d. per one hundred good specimens collected. Before she left she also promised Sir William Wright

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[261] Hutchison, *On Greenland's*, pp.383-391. Alf Erling Porsild (1901-1977) was a botanist and northern explorer. Isobel had met his father, Dr Morten Porsild, when she visited the Arctic Research Station on Disko Island during her second trip to Greenland.

[262] Hutchison, 'Seed-collecting', p.36.

[263] Ibid.

[264] Her first mention of a trip to Alaska appears in her diary entry for 12 September 1932: NLS Acc. 9713/24.

[265] NLS Acc. 9713/25: IWH diary, 24 March 1933.

[266] NLS Acc. 4775/1: undated letter of reference from the Director of Kew Gardens. One of the plant presses used by IWH is held in the archive depository at RBGE.

Smith, Regius Keeper at the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, that she would send him a number of plants.

In the spring of 1933, Isobel set off for Alaska but her journey did not go entirely to plan. Travelling by cargo and passenger boat up the west coast of America to Vancouver and then by rail and boat across the Yukon to Fairbanks, she found she was running out of time to round the northern tip of Alaska before the sea route was closed by ice. She did however manage to fit in some botanising whilst in Dawson in the Yukon and in her subsequent book, *North to the Rime-Ringed Sun*, she described climbing a hill and discovering species of lupin and bluebell, some of which were unknown to her. ‘Is there any thrill,’ she wrote, ‘to equal that which stirs the heart of the botanist when he first sets eyes upon a new flower?.’[267] Whilst the use of the male pronoun was considered the norm at the time, it is interesting that Isobel masculinises the botanist in her remark. Despite the fact that women botanists had been admitted access both to the Linnean Society and the Royal Society from the early part of the twentieth century and within Scotland, females had been eligible as members of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh from its inauguration in 1836, it was largely the case that in Isobel’s experience, the botanists she read and encountered tended to be male.

In a last ditch attempt to make up time, she allowed herself the luxury of flying to Nome where she joined *The Trader*, a small boat with a crew of three, bound for Barrow. Before setting sail, Isobel continued to botanise in Nome, which at that time was known to have 278 named species of flowering plants within a fifty-mile radius, and in just five weeks, she was able to press and label for Kew over 200 of these 278 species with the help of the US Commissioner, Mr Charles Thornton, who was also an expert botanist.[268] By the time Isobel reached Barrow, the sea routes were almost closed but she pressed on eastward in a small vessel captained by Gus Masik, an Estonian trader, reaching his cabin at Martin Point, where she realised she could go no further by sea (Figure 5.21). It was to be another seven weeks before the ice was strong enough to take her over land by dog sled to Aklavik. It shows something of her personality and determination that she was able to convince Masik to carry on as far as Martin Point given the risks of scuppering his boat on the ice flows. It is also remarkable that Isobel then found herself in the unconventional and compromising situation of sharing a one-roomed cabin with only Gus and his dogs for company for almost two months. She summed up her position with characteristic humour in the following diary entry: 'In house in morning and did some sewing for GM [Gus Masik]. Like a genuine squaw. We are having a kick out of our queer ménage certainly!.'[269] By the beginning of November it was considered safe enough for Isobel, accompanied by Masik, to continue the 120-mile journey by dog sled to Herschel Island. On the third day of their journey, Isobel made history by becoming the first non-native, white woman to cross on foot from Alaska into the Canadian Yukon territory at Demarcation Point.[270] In November 1933 she finally reached Aklavik, her intended destination.

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[267] Isobel Wylie Hutchison, *North to the Rime-Ringed Sun. Being the record of an Alaskan-Canadian journey made in 1933-34* (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1934), p.51.

[268] Isobel Wylie Hutchison, ‘Plant hunting in Alaska’, *Kew Bulletin*, 9 (1934), 345-352 (p.350).

On her return to Scotland, Isobel was gratified to receive a letter from Kew Gardens, praising her 'very good' plant specimens and notifying her that they intended to pay her £10 for the 308 species which she had collected, an extra £1 per hundred than had originally been agreed.[271] Her status as a plant collector was raised as a result of her association with Kew and she was delighted when they asked her to write an account of her plant-hunting trip to Alaska for its journal, the *Kew Bulletin.*[272] Diplomatically, she incorporated a reference to the botanic garden in Edinburgh and continued to correspond regularly with Wright Smith, particularly on the subject of native primulas. Isobel subsequently gifted her Alaskan material to the botanic garden in Edinburgh in October 1934 and received this response from Wright Smith:

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[269] NLS Acc. 9713/25: IWH diary entry for 25 September 1933. The platonic friendship that developed between Masik and Isobel was to last the rest of their lives and resulted in the publication by Isobel of the stories that Gus recounted during the time they spent together trapped by the ice, see Isobel Wylie Hutchison, *Arctic Nights Entertainments. Being the Narrative of an Alaskan-Estonian digger, August Masik, as told to Isobel Wylie Hutchison during the Arctic nights of 1933-34 near Martin Point, Alaska* (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1935).

[270] NLS Acc. 9713/110: press cutting from the *Edmonton Journal*, 12 February 1934. This is just one example of the widespread press interest which Isobel's journey generated at the time.

[271] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from Director of Kew to IWH, 25 July 1934.

[272] Hutchison, 'Plant-hunting in Alaska'.

'This material is of considerable interest […]. I am particularly glad to get specimens of *Primula borealis*.'[273]

North to the Rime-Ringed Sun, an account of her Alaskan travels which included an appendix containing a detailed classification of the 228 plants she had collected, was published in 1934 and the following year she was to receive her first significant honour, the Mungo Park medal from the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, in recognition of her 'original and valuable researches in Iceland, Greenland and Arctic Alaska'.[274] In a letter to the arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Isobel was characteristically modest of her achievements. 'I certainly never expected', she wrote, 'that my feminine researches would gain a medal.'[275] The use of the term 'feminine researches' is further evidence of the way in which she often appeared to devalue her work and yet she had travelled further north than any other white woman, had single-handedly collected and recorded many species of arctic plants and had published numerous articles and books. Isobel had had a long association with the Royal Scottish Geographical Society both as an honorary editor of its magazine and as a vice president and was elected a Fellow in 1932.[276] Fellowship gave Isobel equal status with her male colleagues, unlike the discriminatory gendering of Hope's role as a Lady Associate of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. Yet despite her links with Kew, the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh and the Royal Horticultural Society, no evidence has been found to indicate that Isobel was a Fellow of the Society or a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society or the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. Whilst it is possible that she may have attended talks and meetings as a guest, there is no indication that Isobel was an active participant of an English or Scottish horticultural society.

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[273] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from WWS to IWH, 18 October 1934.

[274] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from the Royal Scottish Geographical Society to IWH, 18 July 1934. Isobel was awarded the medal at the Usher Hall in Edinburgh on the 24 October 1934 in the presence of the Duke of York who later became King George VI.

[275] New Hampshire, Stefansson Collection: letter from IWH to Stefansson, 24 July 1934, cited in Hoyle, p.159.

[276] She was also made a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1936; see NLS ACC 8138/10/2: fellowship certificate from the Royal Geographical Society, dated 6 January 1936.

Isobel returned once more to Greenland in 1935, where she spent the summer botanising and collecting 1700 flowering plants from the Jacobson district on the west coast of the country. She subsequently donated the entire collection to the British Museum (Natural History) in London, now the Natural History Museum, and received the following positive response: 'They will be particularly useful on account of the series of *Salix*, *Cochlearia*, *Draba*, *Pedicularis* and other similar difficult genera comprised in the collection.'[277] Such generosity may not have been completely disinterested as Isobel was then able to persuade the British Museum to pay her expenses for the next expedition she had planned, and this time she had her sights set on the Aleutian Islands.

Stretching from the point of the Kenai Peninsula of Alaska for 1200 miles westward to Kamchatka in Japan, the Aleutian Islands belonged to the United States of America and were accessible only with permission from the US Government. This was no barrier for Isobel. In 1936, she applied and was allowed passage on the US Coast Guard cutter *The Chelan*, which was patrolling the islands. Charged with collecting a species of the orchid family, *Spiranthes romanzoffiana*, for the British Museum (Natural History), and as meticulous in her preparation as ever, Isobel stopped off at the National Herbarium in Ottawa on her way to the Aleutian Islands to visit Erling Porsild, who showed her a specimen of the *Spiranthes*.[278] On her first day of hunting flowers at Resolution Bay she collected 140 specimens from Mount Marathon and having reached Unalaska, was able to locate the orchid requested by the British Museum:

> My first day afield gave me a goodly list of eight-five different species, of which the cream of the collection was my long-sought friend *Spiranthes romanzoffiana*. There she sat, sturdy in all her fresh cream beauty, growing on a sandy hillside not far from the mission.[279]

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[277] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from British Museum to IWH, 6 November 1935.

[278] NLS Acc. 4775/1: letter from A. J. Wilmott, British Museum to IWH, 18 May 1935. The letter contains a list of plants which the Museum wanted Isobel to collect in the Aleutian Islands, including the *Spiranthes*.

[279] Hutchison, Isobel Wylie, *Stepping Stones from Alaska to Asia* (London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1937), p.91.

On this trip more than any other undertaken by Isobel, her confidence as an explorer and plant collector is apparent. She gained passage on a US Bureau of Fisheries vessel to collect on the two remote, botanically unexplored islands of St George and St Paul (with no guarantee of a return journey) and collected 160 specimens of more than 120 species.

Isobel also managed to persuade the US Coast Guard to take her to the Attu Islands on board *The Chelan*, despite the fact that women passengers were not favoured.[280] She was the only female on the trip and made history as the first woman ever to sail on this unchartered stretch of the North Pacific.[281] Due to rough seas, Isobel had to wait several days before it was safe to land on Attu but despite having less than a couple of hours in which to collect, she added a further sixty-nine species to her botanical list. At the end of her time on board *The Chelan*, she had also gained the respect and admiration of its all-male crew, who presented her with a small navy blue flag bearing the words 'Isobel Hutchison Admiral of the Bering', which was embroidered in each corner with a large gold flower and in the centre with white, crossed hair pins (Figure 5.22). 'The British Botanist', she wrote, 'had blossomed into an honorary admiral under the Stars and Stripes, and achieved her cherished ambition of discovering on the Aleutian Islands a new flower, a definitely unique specimen of the blue North American Flag!.'[282]

Destined to be her last plant-hunting expedition to the North due to the outbreak of war in 1939, Isobel returned home with 353 species of plants for the herbarium at the British Museum and published her final travel book, *Stepping Stones from Alaska to Asia*.[283] She also wrote numerous illustrated articles for *National Geographic* in addition to travel articles for her publisher Blackwood and was commissioned by various publications to review botanical books. Isobel gave over 500 lectures in Scotland and England on her travels and botanising, and was interviewed by the

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[280] Hutchison, *Stepping Stones*, p.119.

[281] She also helped the crew to explore the navigation to the south and west of the Aleutian trough by personally taking the deepest fathometer sounding recorded by the crew members, and noted wryly, 'Trust the unfathomable sex for that!.' See Hutchison, *Stepping Stones*, p.156.

[282] Hutchison, *Stepping Stones*, p.193.

[283] As with her previous books, Isobel was keen to demonstrate the scientific nature of her work and appended a full classification of the plants she collected; see Hutchison, *Stepping Stones*, pp.226-246.

BBC, following the Japanese invasion of the Aleutian Islands in 1942, as she was believed to have been the only person in the British Isles to have ever visited them.[284]

In 1946 Isobel was awarded the King Christian X Freedom Medal by the Danish Government in recognition of her interest in Greenland and Denmark, and in June 1949, an honorary Doctor of Laws was conferred on her by the University of St Andrews (Figure 5.23) for her work as an explorer, botanist, writer, lecturer and artist.[285] She was also made a fellow of the American Geographical Society and of the Ancient Monuments Society.[286] However, despite collecting and donating plants and seed to the herbaria at Kew, the Royal Horticultural Society, the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh and the British Museum (Natural History), botanical recognition largely eluded her. One reason for this may be that the plants collected by her were arctic species of known alpine plants which did not seem to command the same demand and prestige as that attached to the new introductions made by some of her male contemporaries, such as the Chinese alpines returned by George Forrest. Another reason may relate to the viability of the seed she brought home. Although her Greenland seeds achieved a high level of germination success at Wisley and East Grinstead, an analysis of the register of seeds sent to the botanic garden in Edinburgh from Isobel reveals that many of them failed to germinate, possibly due to the unsuitability of the climatic conditions in Scotland, in particular the long wet winters.[287] The fact that Isobel was not a paid-up member of any horticultural societies may also account for her lack of recognition. However, her contribution to the knowledge and understanding of arctic flora was recognised by the Scottish Rock Garden Club, which elected her as an honorary member in 1949.[288] By this time, Isobel was over sixty and saddled with responsibility for the costly maintenance of the family home and an invalid older sister. She had to content herself with gardening, walking and trips to Europe with her younger sister, until arthritis forced her to stop travelling. She died at home at Carlowrie in her ninety-third year.

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[284] NLS Acc. 9713/34: IWH diary, 6 July 1942. A record of her lectures is contained within the Isobel Wylie Hutchison Glass Lantern Slide Collection, held by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Perth.

[285] NLS Acc. 9713/41: IWH diary, 30 June 1949.

[286] NLS Acc. 8138/10/2: Fellowship certificates.

[287] RBGE archive: *Accessions Book 305-29 to 96-32*, fols 23 and 31.

[288] NLS Acc. 8138/10/1: letter from the Scottish Rock Garden Club to IWH, 27 May 1949.

Isobel's contribution to horticulture has not been recognised within traditional or modern narratives of Scotland's garden history. Hoyle's biography of Isobel concentrates largely on her role as a pioneering explorer and there have been only two retrospectives on her life and work to date. An exhibition entitled 'An Intrepid Explorer', organised by her close friend Medina Lewis, was held at the National Library of Scotland from 28 February to 6 May 1987 and a display panel on her achievement as one of Scotland's most intrepid female travellers, can be seen at the time of writing (2015) at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.[289]

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that as cultivators and collectors, all three women were able to make a public contribution to horticulture within Scotland. Christian Ramsay made significant collections of new and rare plant specimens, currently held in herbaria at Kew, the Natural History Museum in London, the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh and the Royal Botanical Gardens in Canada, which are as important to modern day taxonomists as they were to the celebrated botanical men of the nineteenth century. As the first Scottish woman to write for the gardening press of the day, Frances Jane Hope was influential in the move away from formal, contrived plantings to a more natural look for Scottish gardens through her advocation of native plants and wild flowers. Her use of coloured Kale to extend the interest of winter gardens was pioneering from both a Scottish and English perspective. Despite positioning herself as an amateur writing for an amateur market, her work was also read by professional gardening men. Although difficult to prove, her edited collection of articles published in 1881, which was the first gardening advice text written by a Scottish woman, may have played a part in the growing awareness, if not acceptance, of gardening women in Scotland. Isobel Wylie Hutchison pushed the boundaries of accepted feminine behaviour in the 1920s and 1930s, by travelling far and alone to collect plants in unusual and potentially compromising situations. She was the first white woman to reach parts of Greenland, Arctic Alaska and Asia and successfully collected arctic species in areas which had not previously been botanically explored. In addition to lecturing extensively on her travels and botanising throughout Scotland and England, she also wrote books and scientific papers on the subject.

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[289] Isobel is represented on the panel alongside Dr David Livingstone, James Watt and Alexander Graham Bell.

Despite this contribution, there is a sense with all three women that more could have been achieved. To a certain extent, family life was a limiting factor for Christian Ramsay. Although in the fortunate position of having the means and opportunity to travel to collect plants, by accompanying her husband on postings overseas, she constantly juggled the demands of her duties as wife and mother with her desire to botanise. Her short spell in the botanical riches of Simla was overshadowed by the illness of her husband and son, and her wish to stay in India longer in order to botanise was overruled by her husband's decision to retire. Lack of any formal training in botany was also a source of frustration. With some form of education or professional experience, such as that afforded to the male botanists she encountered, she realised that she could have found more plants if, for example, she had known where to look for them and if she had had some understanding of the effect of season and climate on local plant populations. She was unerringly deferential and self-effacing in her correspondence with botanists, such as William Jackson Hooker, who went on to benefit from her work by incorporating it in published works of their own. However, the value of her botanical research was admired and valued during her lifetime.

As a product of Victorian Scotland, Frances Jane Hope does not appear to have been constrained by her limited formal education, social status, family or gender issues. An unmarried woman of means, she was in the unusual and fortunate position of having the freedom to run her own household and establish herself as a horticultural writer, philanthropist and collector of plants. Her social standing gave her access to some of the most influential horticultural men in Scotland and she used these contacts to her advantage, particularly to augment her knowledge of plant cultivation. Her final article, written less than a month before she died at the relatively early age of fifty-eight, was full of hope and gardening ideas for the coming season. She clearly had much more to offer if she had lived longer, although what and how can only be speculation given that much of her personal correspondence and journals are no longer extant.

Unlike Hope, Isobel Wylie Hutchison assumed the position of head of household with some reluctance as it brought with it responsibility for an ageing mother, two sisters and the maintenance of the family home. Whilst not limited by her education or a husband, duty to home and lack of money were recurring issues. Her writing and her ability to attract sponsors helped fund her plant-hunting expeditions, but her reliance on this small income led to restrictions on the number of trips she was able to undertake. She did not have the protection or opportunities that employment at botanical institutions afforded her male contemporaries and had to wait until she was thirty-eight before embarking on her first expedition to Greenland. As a result she travelled alone and where possible by the cheapest of means, using cargo rather than passenger transport. Her plant-hunting career, which reached its peak collecting in the botanically unexplored Aleutian Islands, was cut short by the Second World War and the need to return home to care for an invalid sister and neglected estate.

Recognition in different guises was attained by all three women during their lifetime but their contribution has not subsequently been recorded in the historical narratives of Scotland's gardening history. Christian Ramsay was elected as an honorary member of two Scottish botanical societies and had the distinction of being the only Scottish woman to have a volume of Curtis's *Botanical Magazine* dedicated to her. She is also commemorated in some of the plants which she collected, in addition to the honour of having the genus *Dalhousiea* named after her. Yet the value of her work has not been recognised within traditional narratives of Britain's or Scotland's gardening history or within specific works on plant hunters, such as the most recent published text on Scottish plant explorers, which typically presents an all-male canon.[290] It is only within the last decade that modern, women's historians whose work has concentrated specifically on women in gardening, such as Horwood and

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[290] Lindsay, *Seeds of Blood*. In Anne Lindsay's book on Scottish plant explorers, fifteen Scottish collectors for the period 1691 to 1880 are profiled and all are male.

Way, have made reference to Lady Dalhousie's botanical skill.[291] The same applies to Frances Jane Hope. Whilst her grandfather's botanical contribution consistently appears within narratives of the Scottish gardening tradition, Frances Jane's achievements are recorded only within work by modern women's historians. Isobel Wylie Hutchison is the only woman out of the three not to have been recognised by an established botanical institution. Her honorary doctorate, fellowships and medal largely celebrate her work as an explorer rather than a botanist, despite the valuable contribution she made to the understanding of arctic flora. There is no reference to Isobel's botanical work either in historical or modern narratives of Scotland's gardening history.

The question to be answered is whether these three women deserve a place within the historical narratives of Scotland's garden history. They made a contribution, but how significant was it? As women, their work can be described as unusual, avant-garde and noteworthy, because what they were doing was out of the ordinary for women of their time. However within the context of the Scottish gardening tradition, outlined in chapter two, their contribution fails to equate to that of their highly successful male contemporaries. There is a danger that by arguing for their inclusion within the canon of Scottish gardening literature on the basis that they are examples of exceptional Scottish gardening women, their achievements are diminished by direct comparison with their male contemporaries rather than applauded. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that all three women were influential in the male-dominated public sphere of Scottish horticulture, despite not always having the same opportunities as their male contemporaries, and as a result, their contribution deserves to have a place within the larger narrative of Scotland's gardening history.

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[291] Horwood, pp.26-27; Way, p.113.

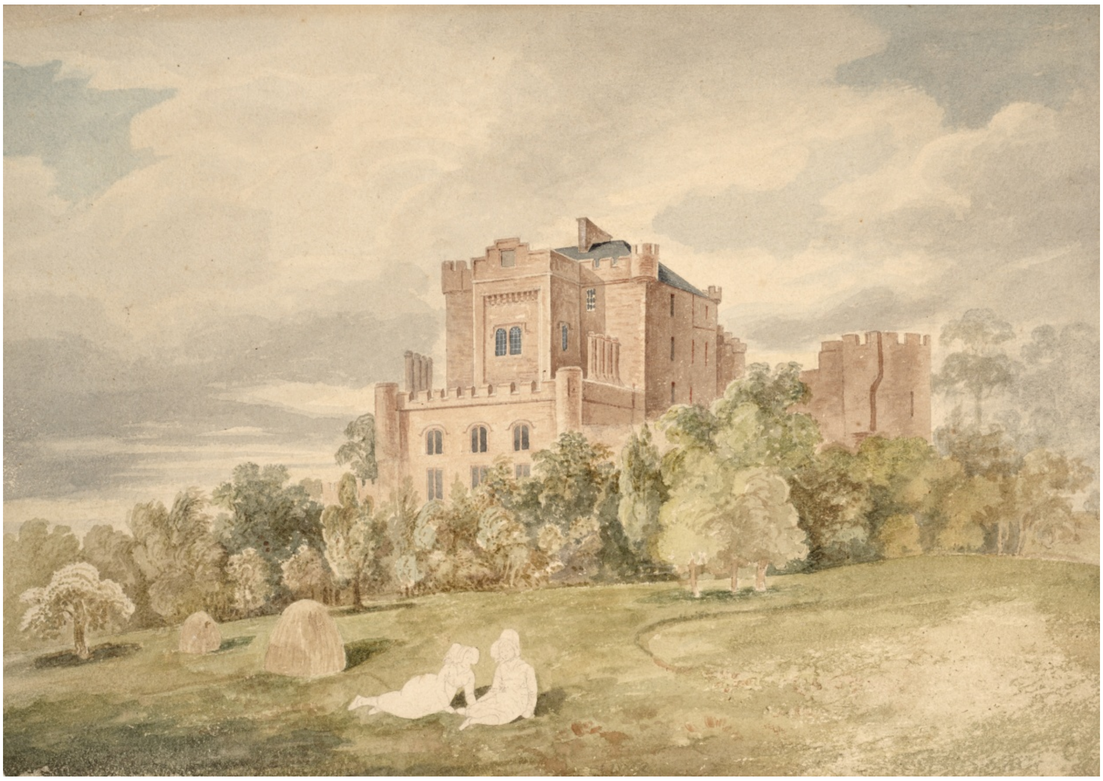


Figure 5.1 Undated watercolour of Dalhousie Castle by John Elliott Woolford (1778-1866). Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Toronto Public Library, 902.1.34.

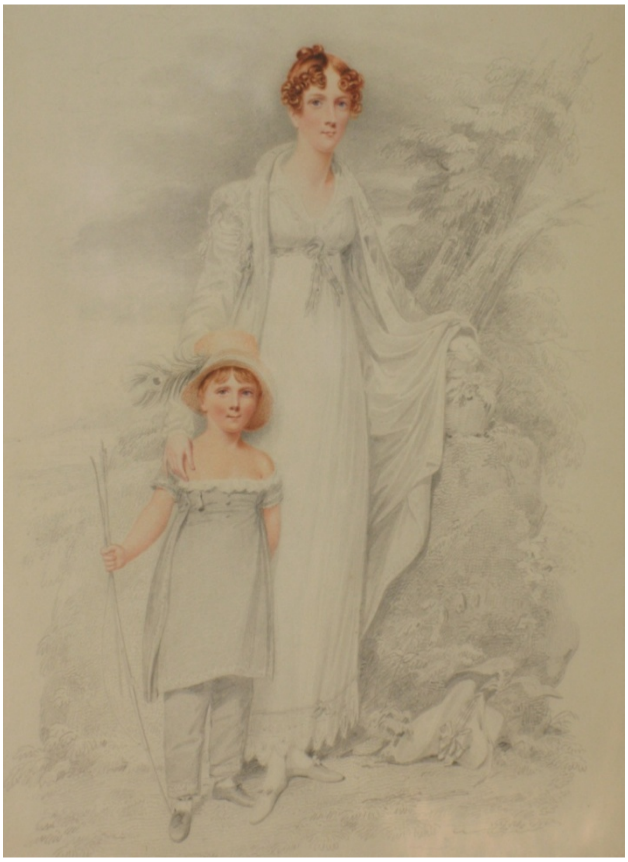


Figure 5.2

Christian Broun of Coalstoun with her third son, the Hon. James Ramsay by William Douglas, 1816.

Sourced and reproduced with permission from a private collection.

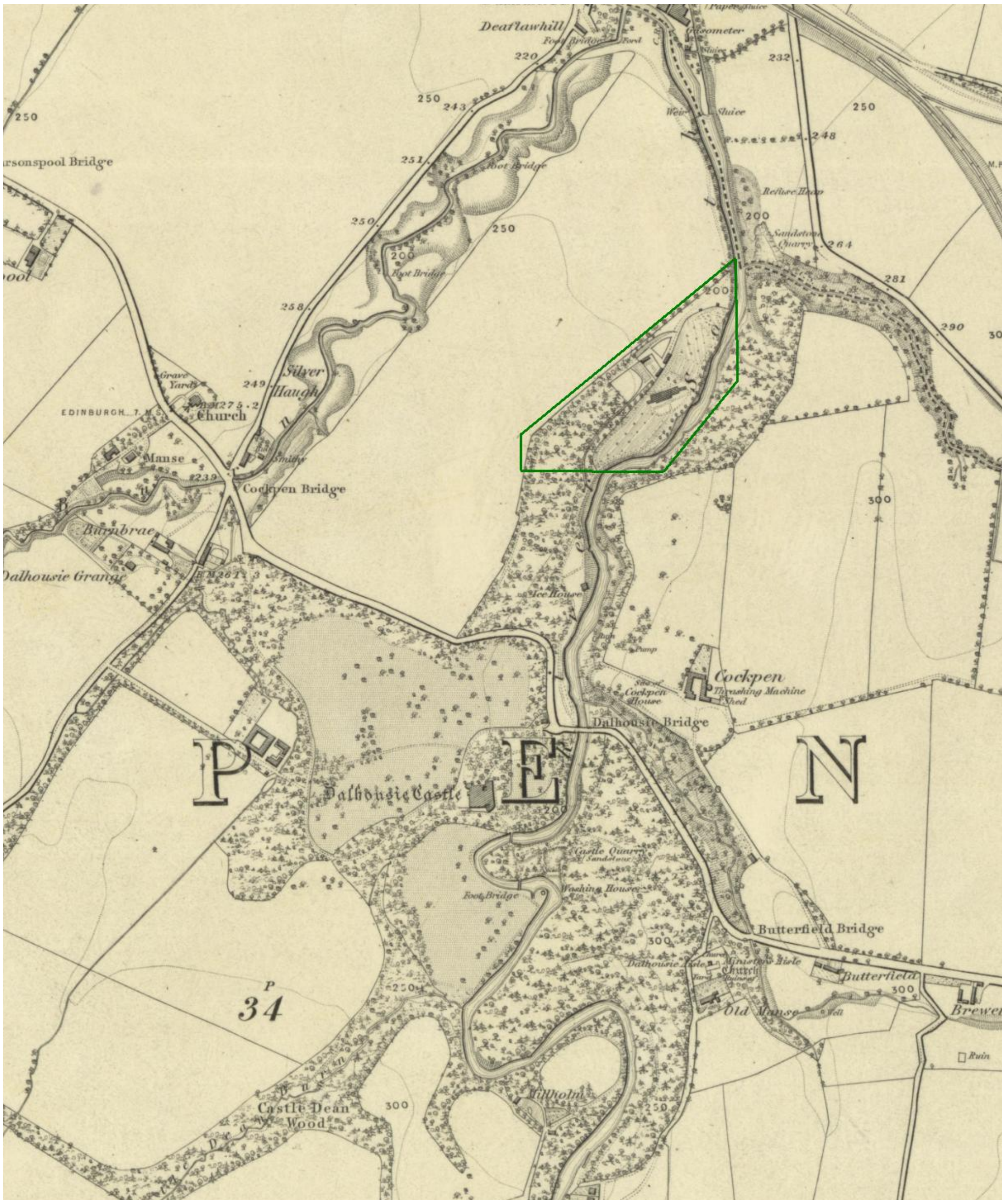

Deaflawhill
Foot Bridge
Ford
Gasometer
220
232
250
243
250
Weir
Sluice
248
rsonspool Bridge
251
Foot Bridge
Refuse Heap
200
Sandstone Quarry
264
281
290
250
200
Foot Bridge
258
Silver Haugh
249
Grave Yard
Church
EDINBURGH T.M.
Manse
Smithy
239
Cockpen Bridge
Burnbrae
Dalhousie Grange
261
300
Ice House
Pump
Cockpen
Cockpen House
Thrashing Machine Shed
Dalhousie Bridge
P
E
N
Dalhousie Castle
200
Castle Quarry
Washing House
Foot Bridge
300
Butterfield Bridge
Butterfield
300
Old Manse
Ruin
P
34
250
Castle Dean Wood
300
Millholm
250

Figure 5.3 Dalhousie estate (shaded) with the location of the garden and hot-houses outlined in green. OS Edinburghshire 1st edition 1854, 1:1056, sheet 13. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland (NLS).

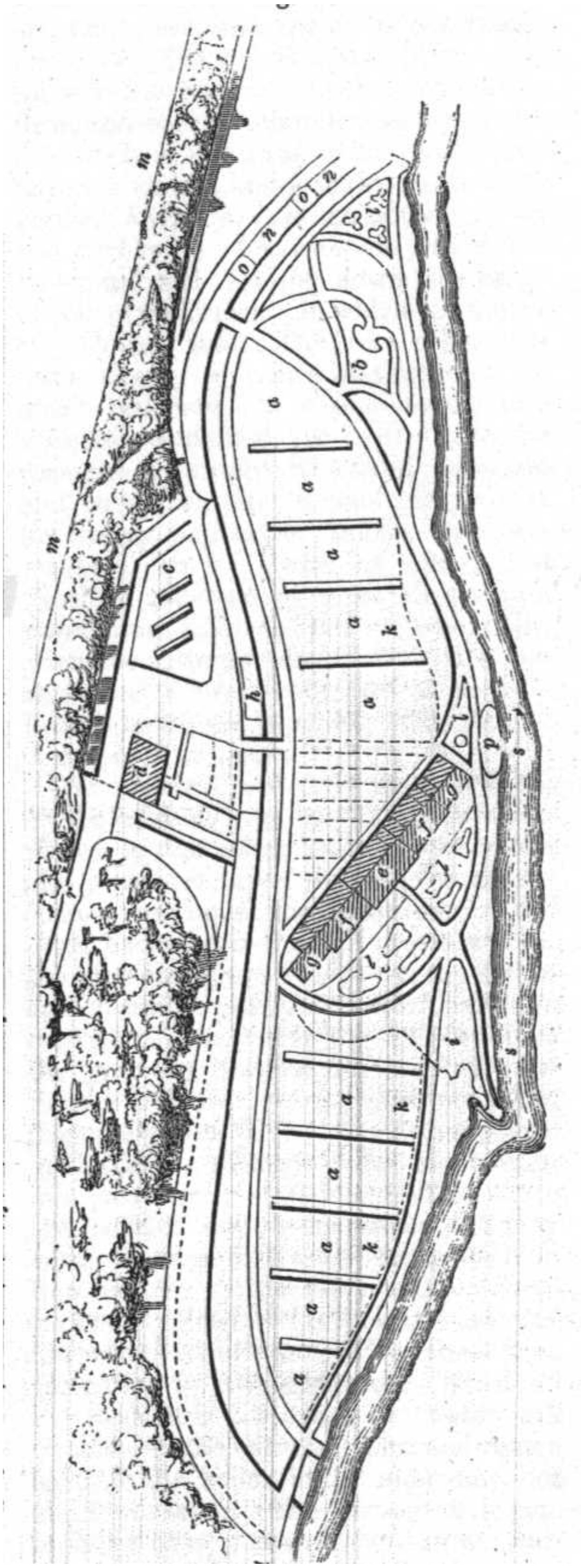


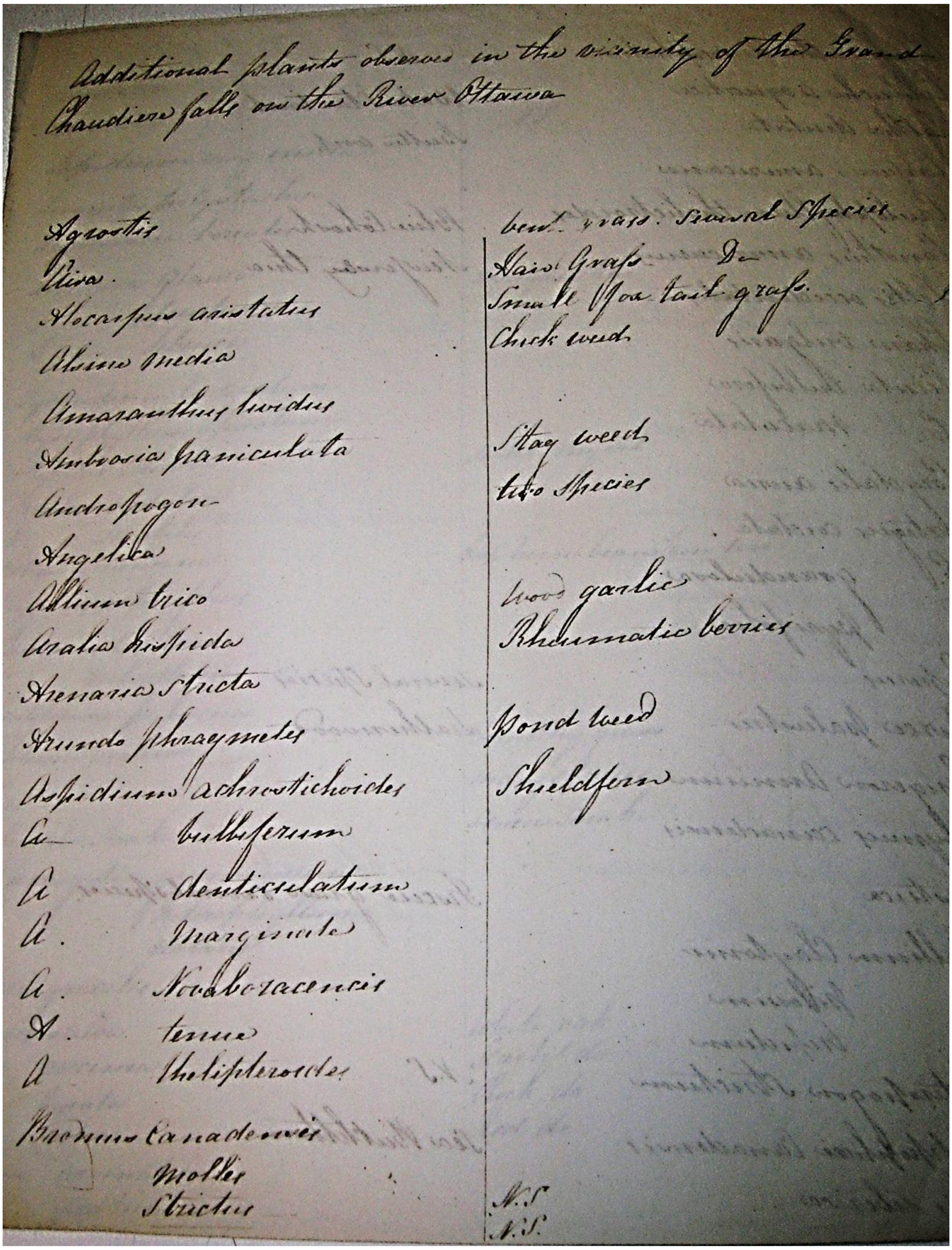
Figure 5.4

Plan of the garden at Dalhousie designed by John Hay in 1806.

Key:

a	vegetables and small fruit
b	border for American plants
c	melon ground
d	gardener's house
e	greenhouse
f	vineries
g	peach-houses
h	open shed
i	bank of rhododendrons
k	line of variegated hollies
l	flower-beds on grass
m	sunk fence
n	flued wall
o	stoke holes
p	shrubbery borders
q	walk towards castle
s	South Esk river

Source: Charles McIntosh, *The Book of the Garden* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1853), p.47.



Additional plants observed in the vicinity of the Grand Chaudiere falls on the River Ottawa

Agrostis	bent grass. several Species
Aira.	Hair Grass Do
Alocarpus aristatus	Small Fox tail grass.
Alsine media	Chick weed
Amaranthus lividus	
Ambrosia paniculata	Stag weed
Andropogon	two Species
Angelica	
Allium trico	wood garlic
Aralia hispida	Rheumatic berries
Arenaria stricta	
Arundo phragmites	Pond weed
Aspidium achrostichoides	Shieldfern
A bulbiferum	
A denticulatum	
A. marginale	
A. Novaboracensis	
A. tenue	
A thelipteroides	
Bromus Canadensis	
mollis	N.S.
Strictus	N.S.

Figure 5.5 Extract from the catalogue ‘Additional plants observed in the vicinity of the Grand Chaudière Falls’ made by Lady Dalhousie in 1819. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Nova Scotia Museum (NSM), 85.119.35.

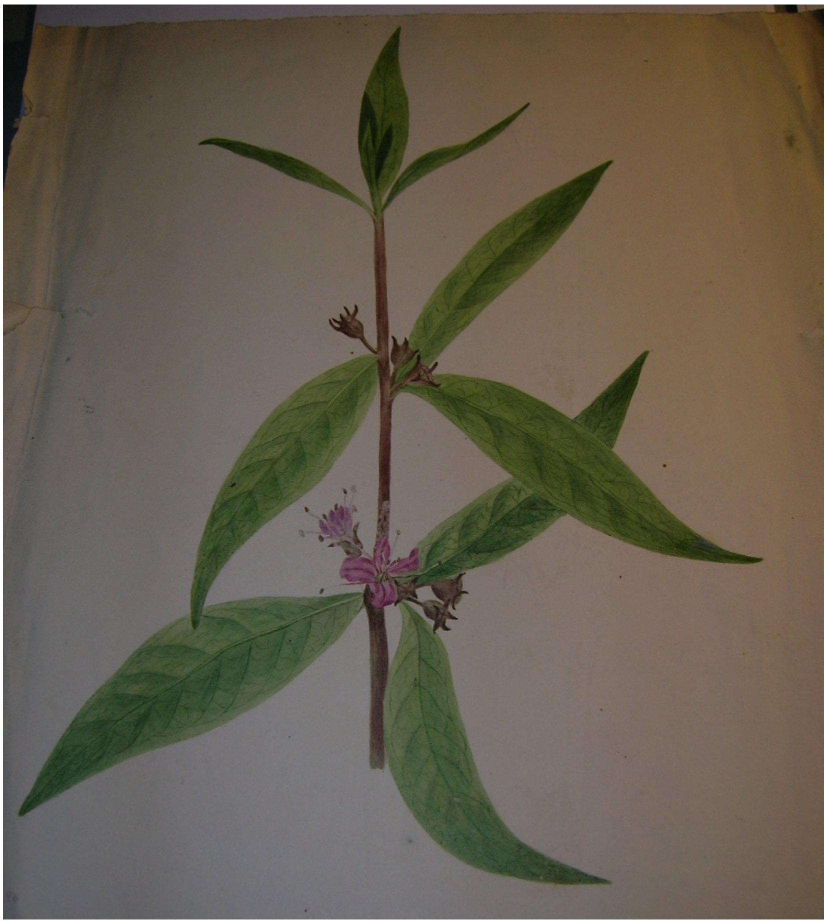


Figure 5.6

Early botanical watercolour by Lady Dalhousie c.1820.

Sourced and Reproduced with permission of the NSM, 85.119.29A-C.

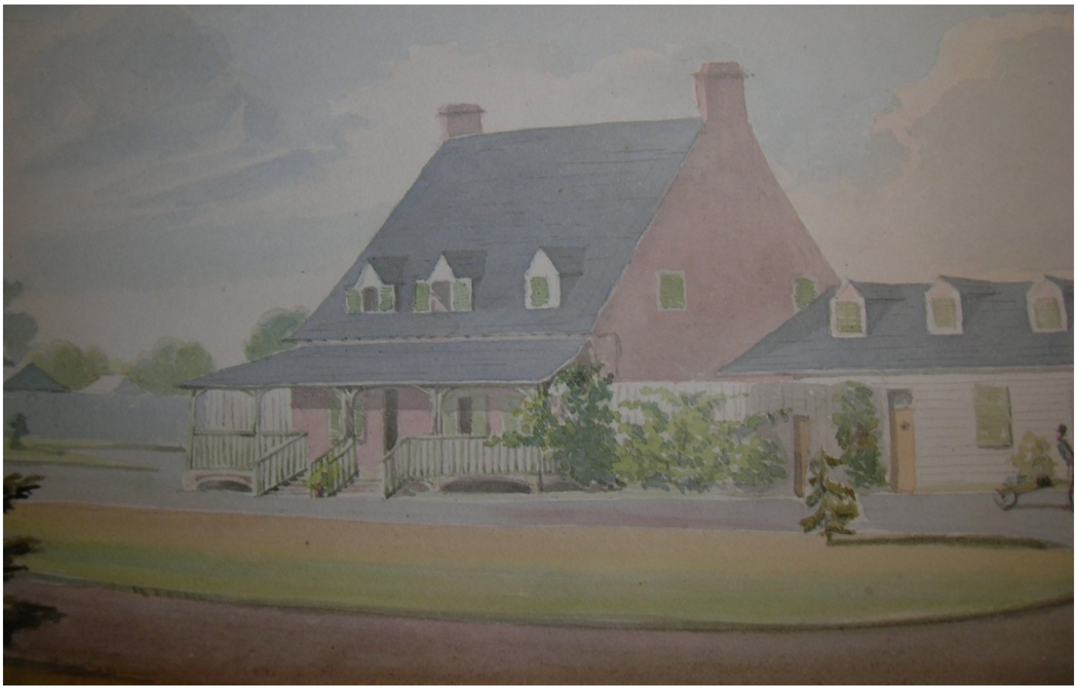


Figure 5.7 The official summer residence of Lord and Lady Dalhousie at Sorel, painted by John Frederick Fitzgerald De Roos in 1826. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NSM, 85.119.12

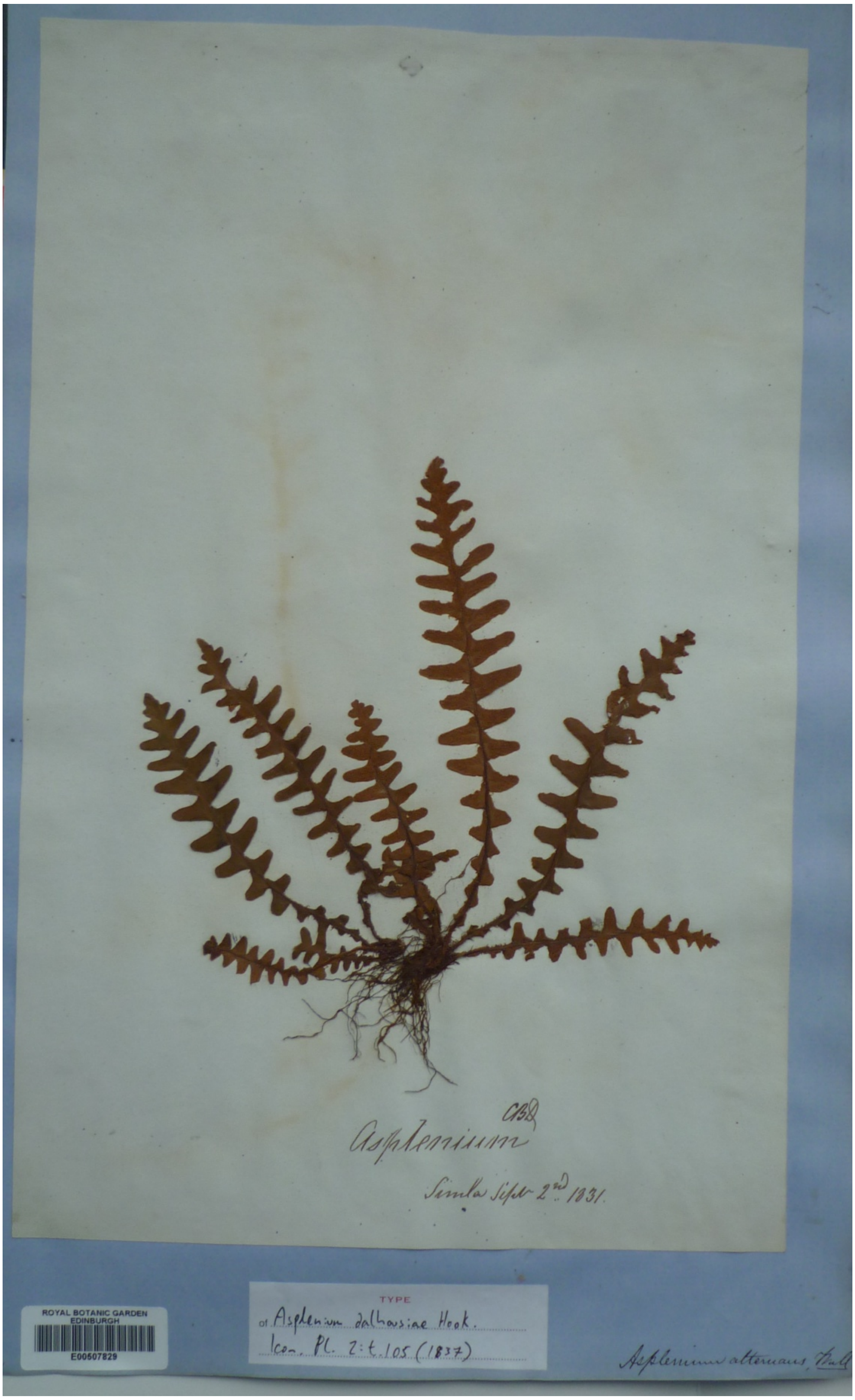
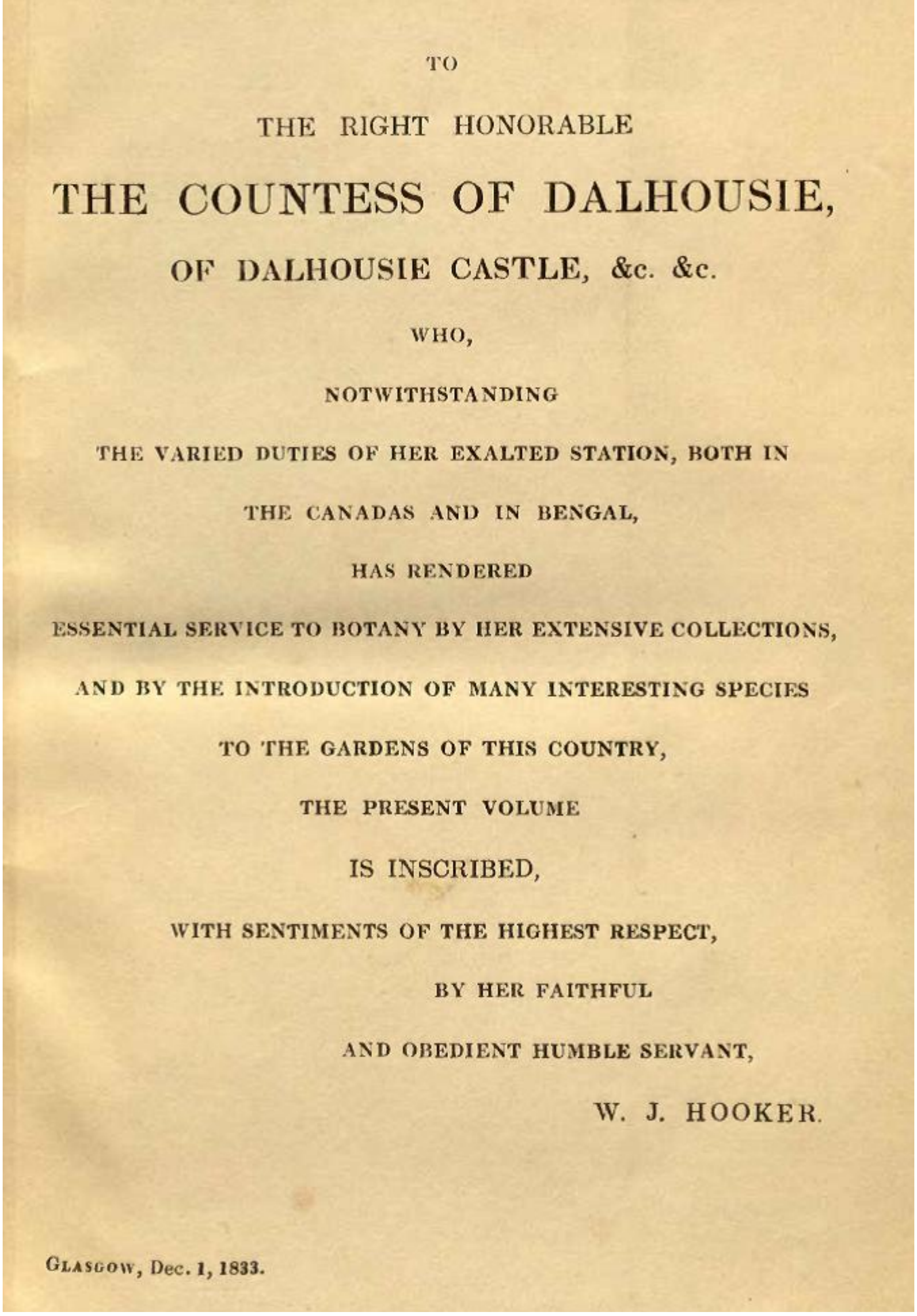

Asplenium
CBD
Simla Sept 2nd 1831.
ROYAL BOTANIC GARDEN EDINBURGH
E00507829
TYPE
of Asplenium dalhousiae Hook.
Icon. Pl. 2: t. 105 (1837)
Asplenium alternans, Wall

Figure 5.8 Type specimen of the fern, *Asplenium dalhousiae*, collected by Lady Dalhousie in 1831 and named after her by William Jackson Hooker. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh (RBGE).



TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

THE COUNTESS OF DALHOUSIE,

OF DALHOUSIE CASTLE, &c. &c.

WHO,

NOTWITHSTANDING

THE VARIED DUTIES OF HER EXALTED STATION, BOTH IN

THE CANADAS AND IN BENGAL,

HAS RENDERED

ESSENTIAL SERVICE TO BOTANY BY HER EXTENSIVE COLLECTIONS,

AND BY THE INTRODUCTION OF MANY INTERESTING SPECIES

TO THE GARDENS OF THIS COUNTRY,

THE PRESENT VOLUME

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF THE HIGHEST RESPECT,

BY HER FAITHFUL

AND OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

W. J. HOOKER.

Glasgow, Dec. 1, 1833.

Figure 5.9 William Jackson Hooker’s dedication to Lady Dalhousie in volume 60 of *Curtis’s Botanical Magazine*, December 1833.

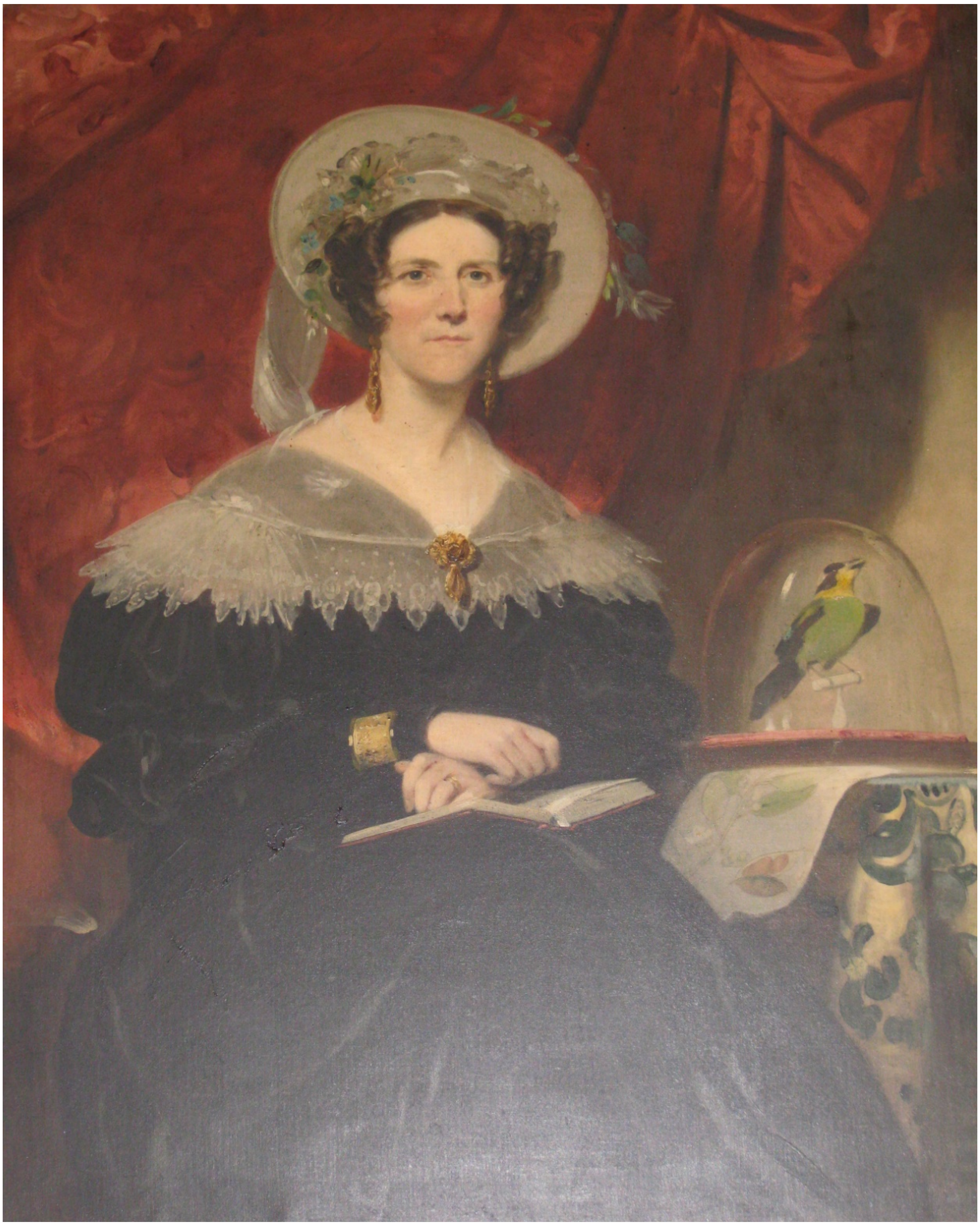


Figure 5.10 Portrait of Lady Dalhousie by Sir John Watson Gordon, 1837. Sourced and reproduced with permission from a private collection.

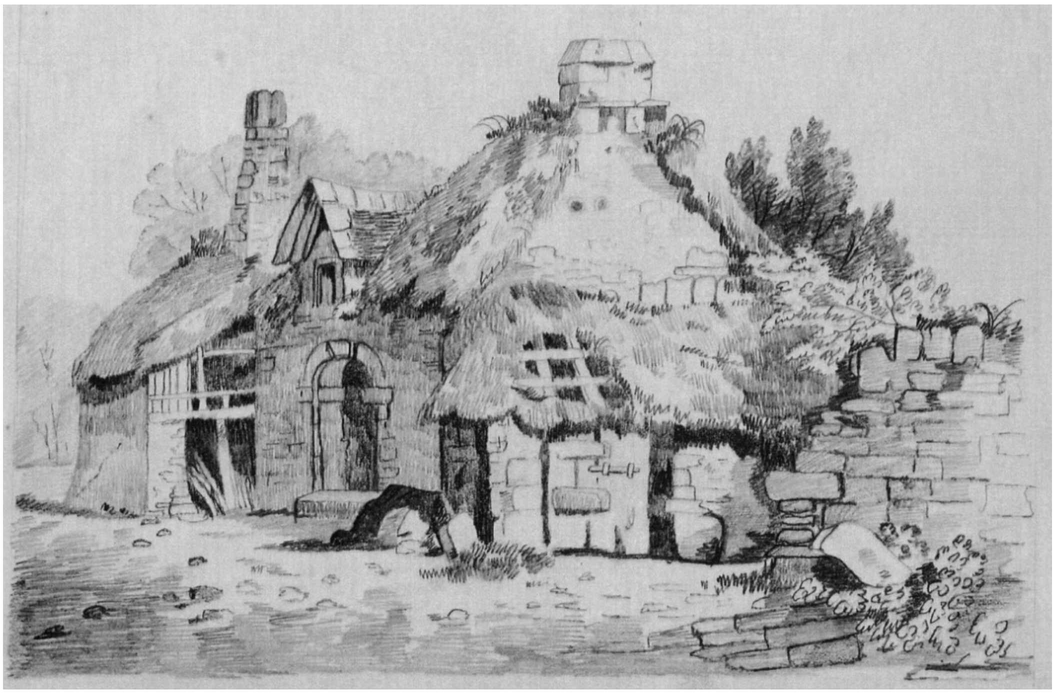


Figure 5.11 A sketch by Frances Jane Hope, 1834. Source: National Records of Scotland (NRS) GD253/57/3. Reproduced with permission of D. & J. H. Campbell W.S.

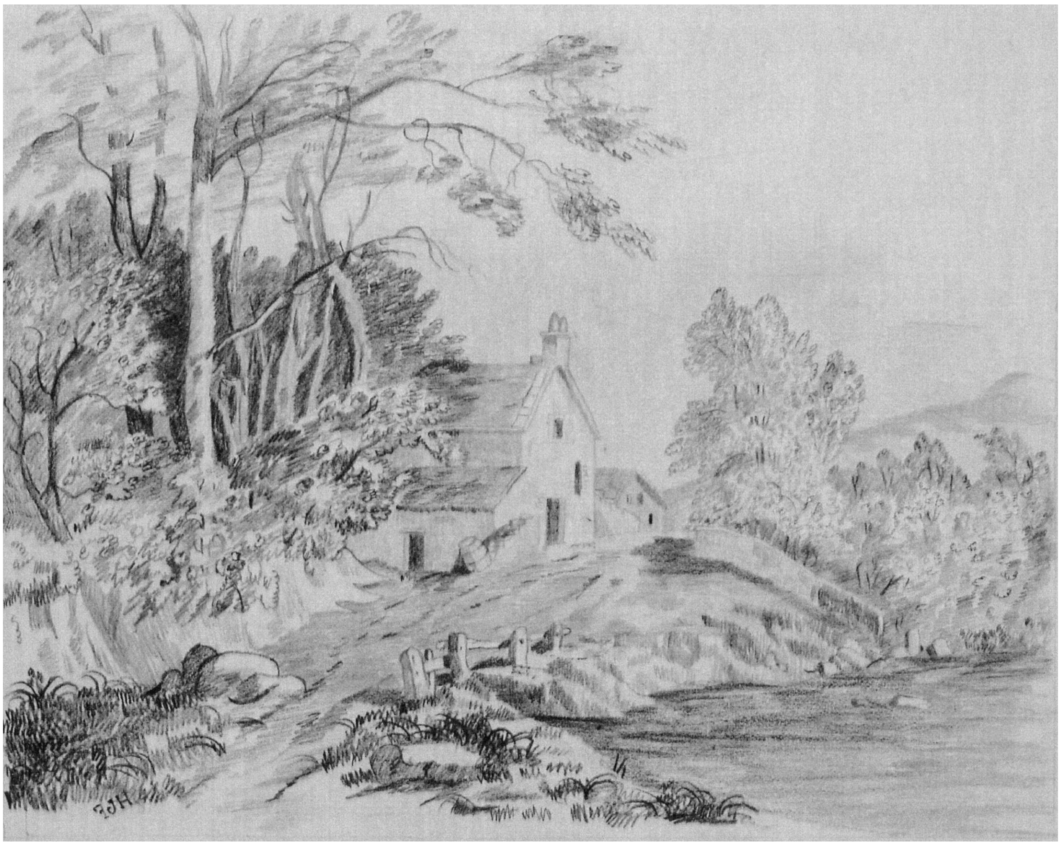


Figure 5.12 A sketch by Frances Jane Hope, 1835. Source: NRS GD253/57/3. Reproduced with permission of D. & J. H. Campbell W.S.

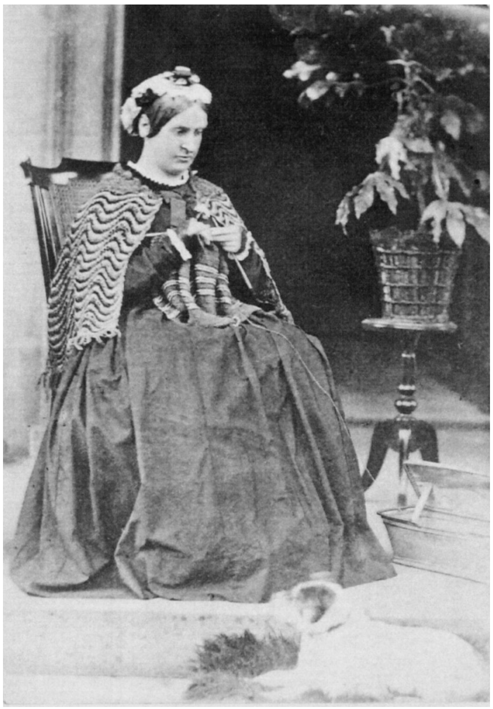


Figure 5.13

Undated photograph of Charlotte Hope sitting outside Wardie Lodge, Edinburgh.

Source: NRS GD253/54/7. Reproduced with permission of D. & J. H. Campbell W.S.

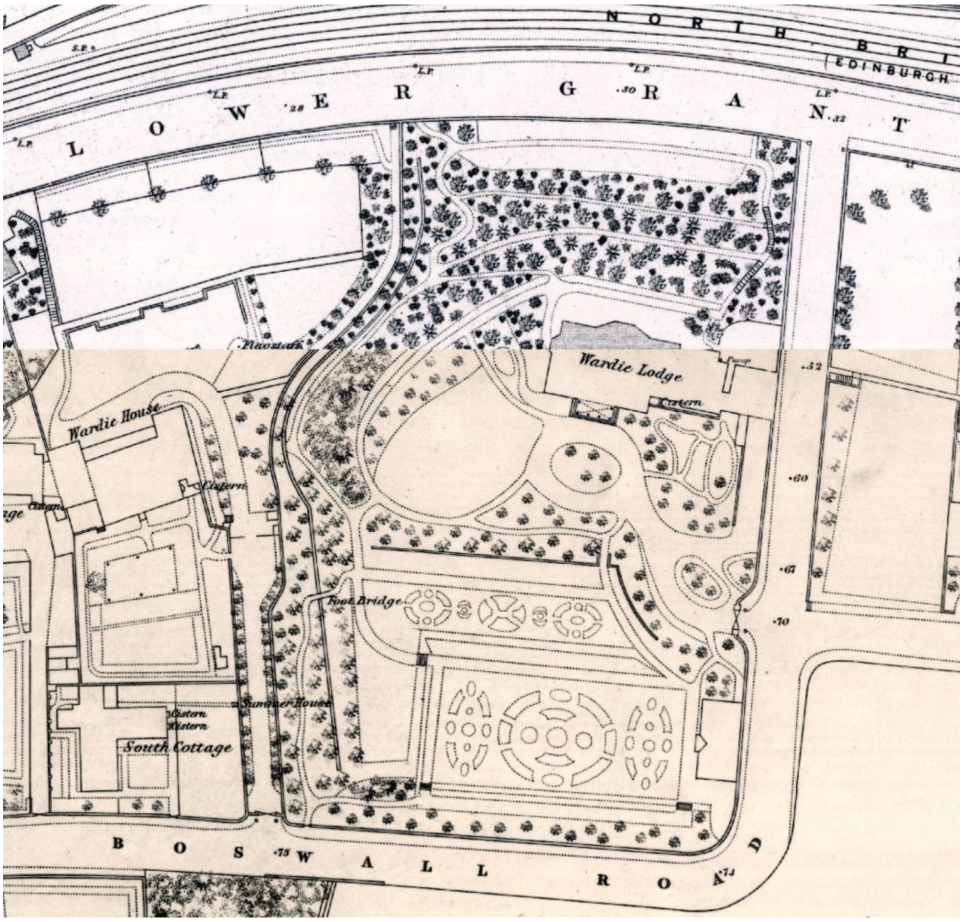

NORTH BRI
EDINBURGH
LOWER GRANT
Wardie Lodge
Pump
Cistern
Wardie House
Cistern
Foot Bridge
Summer House
Cistern
Cistern
South Cottage
BOSWALL ROAD

Figure 5.14 The gardens at Wardie Lodge in 1852: OS Large Scale Scottish Town Plans, Edinburgh 1852, sheets 5 and 10. Reproduced with permission of the NLS.

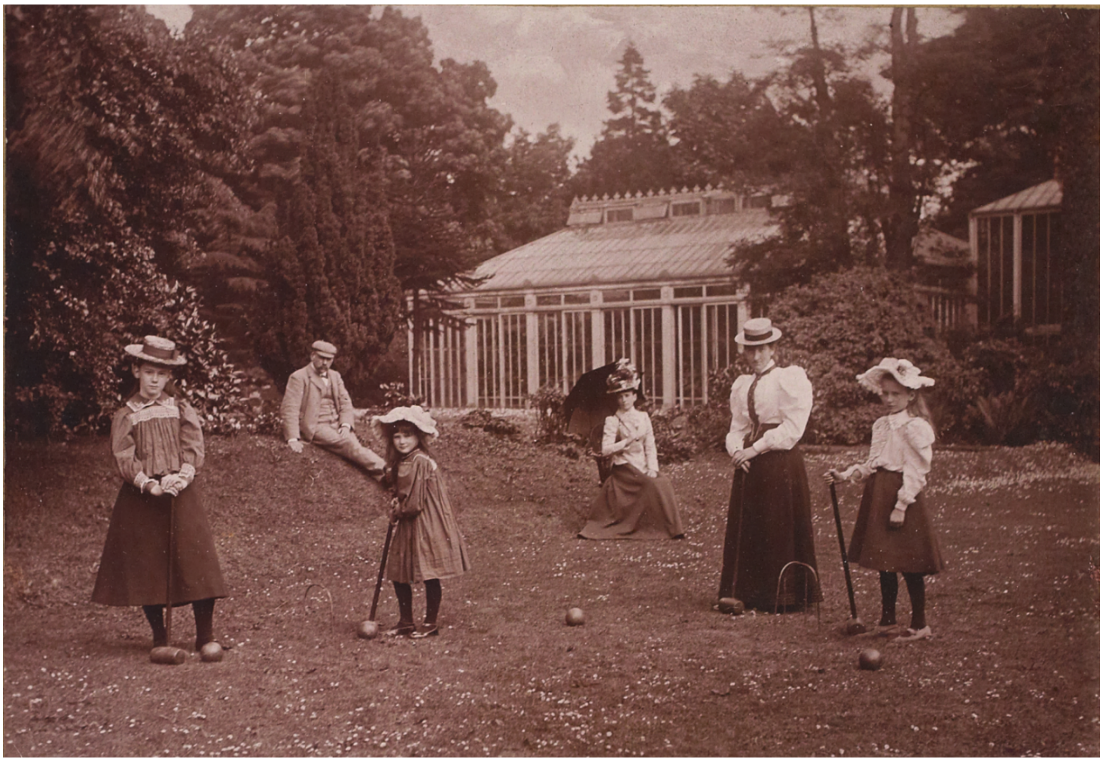


Figure 5.15 The Hutchison family in the garden at Carlowrie, Isobel on far right of picture, c.1897. Sourced from and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 9713/116.

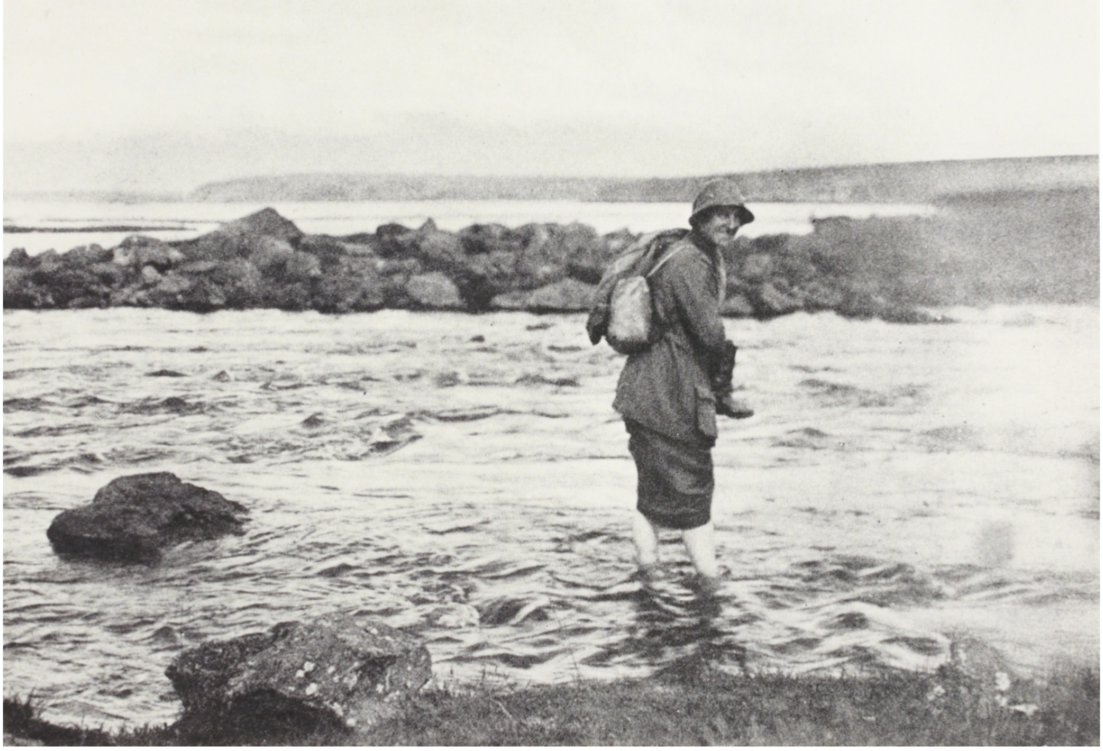


Figure 5.16 Plant collecting in Iceland in 1925. Sourced from and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 8138/10/5.

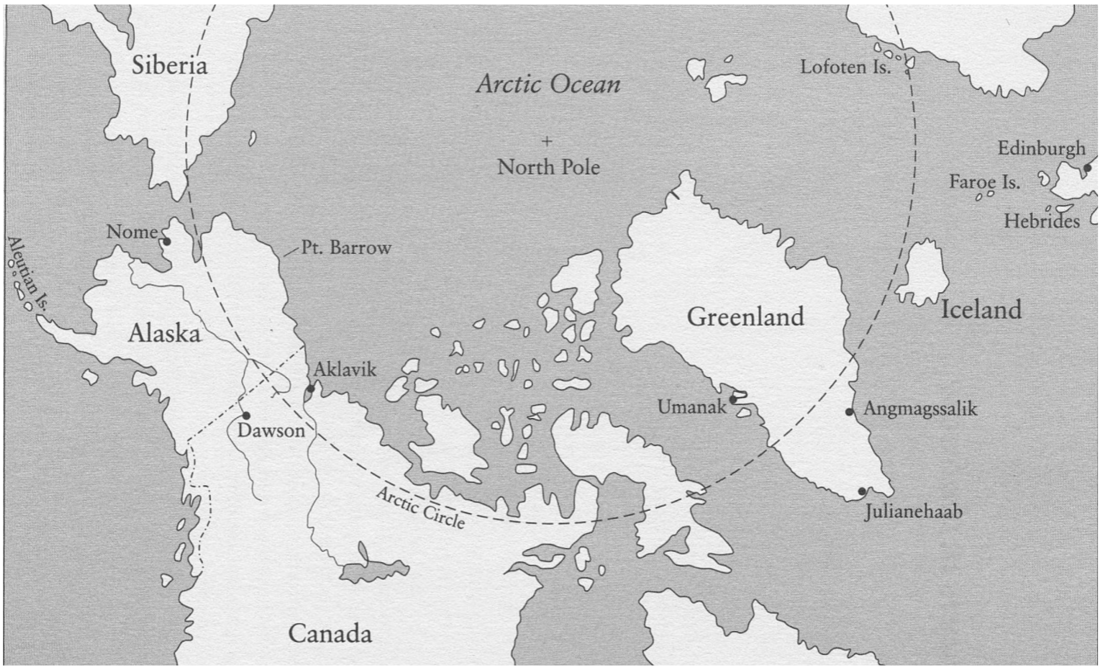

Siberia
Arctic Ocean
North Pole
Lofoten Is.
Edinburgh
Faroe Is.
Hebrides
Nome
Pt. Barrow
Aleutian Is.
Alaska
Greenland
Iceland
Aklavik
Dawson
Umanak
Angmagssalik
Arctic Circle
Julianehaab
Canada

Figure 5.17 The Arctic Circle destinations of Isobel Wylie Hutchison. Reproduced from *Flowers in the Snow* by Gwyneth Hoyle with permission of the University of Nebraska Press, copyright 2001.

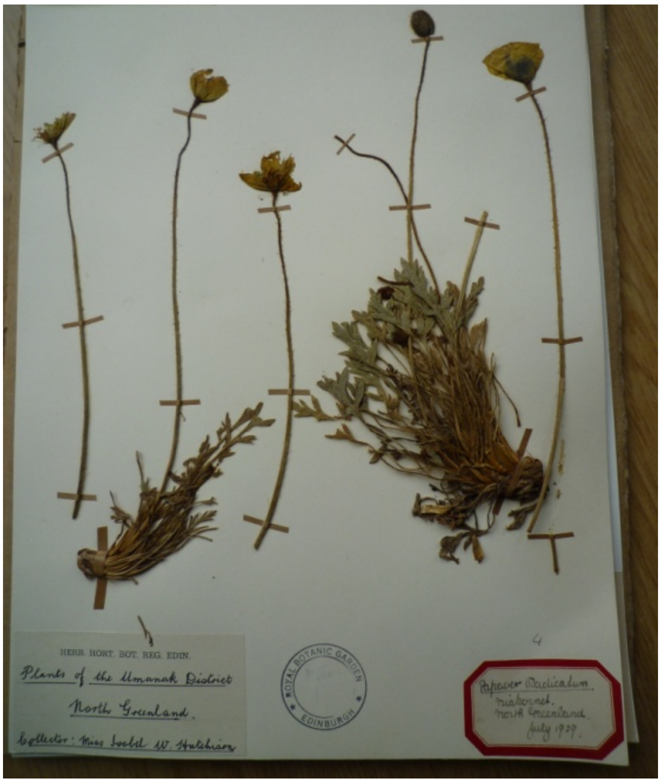

HERB. HORT. BOT. REG. EDIN.
Plants of the Umanak District
North Greenland
Collector: Miss Isobel W. Hutchison
Papaver Radicatum
North Greenland
July 1929

Figure 5.18

Papaver radicatum (Iceland poppy), one of many specimens collected by Isobel in North Greenland in 1929 and subsequently donated to the herbarium at the RBGE.

Sourced from and reproduced with permission of the RBGE.

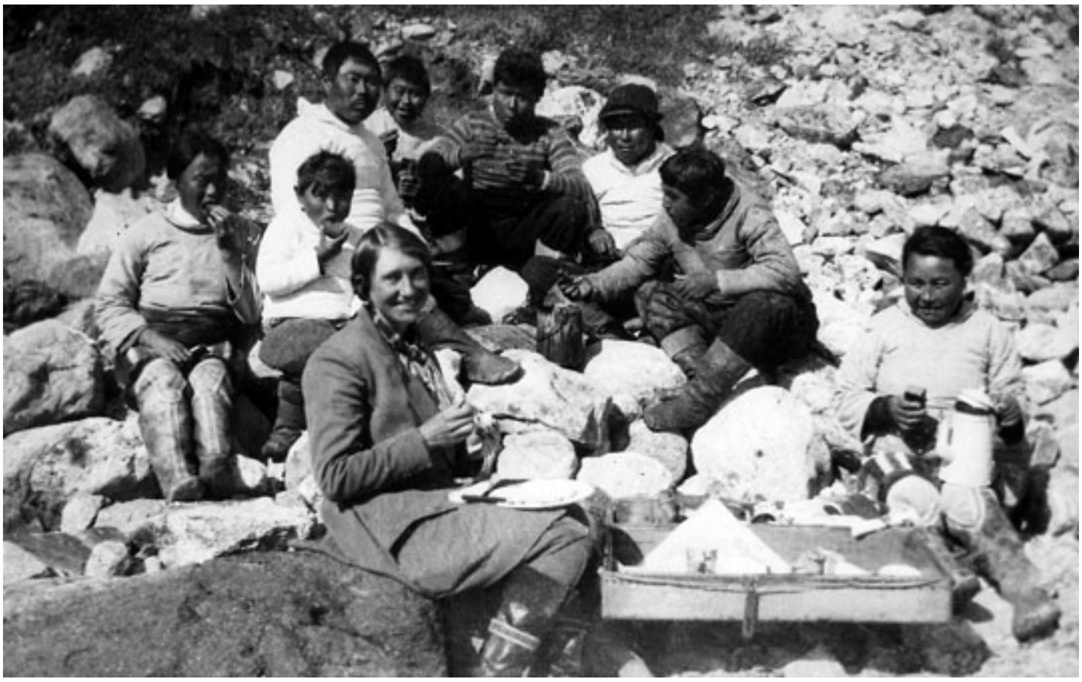


Figure 5.19 Isobel and crew of her umiak at lunch, Tasermuit Fjord, Greenland, 1927. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (RSGS).

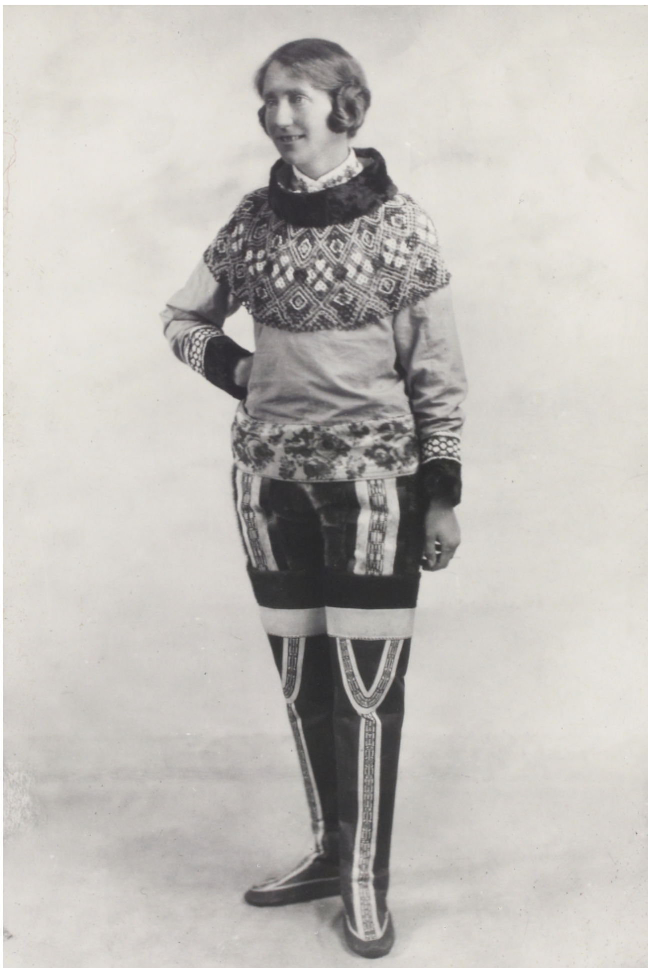


Figure 5.20

Isobel in traditional Greenland costume (undated).

Sourced from and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 8138/10/5.

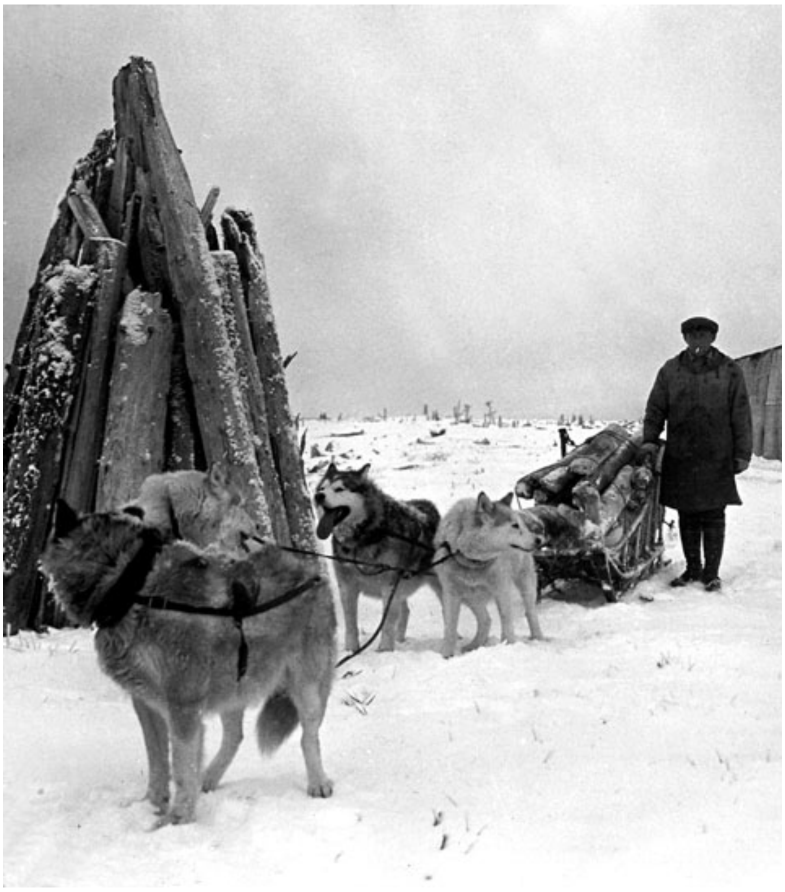


Figure 5.21

Gus Masik with dog team at his home on Sandspit Island, Martin Point, Alaska, 1933.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of the RSGS.

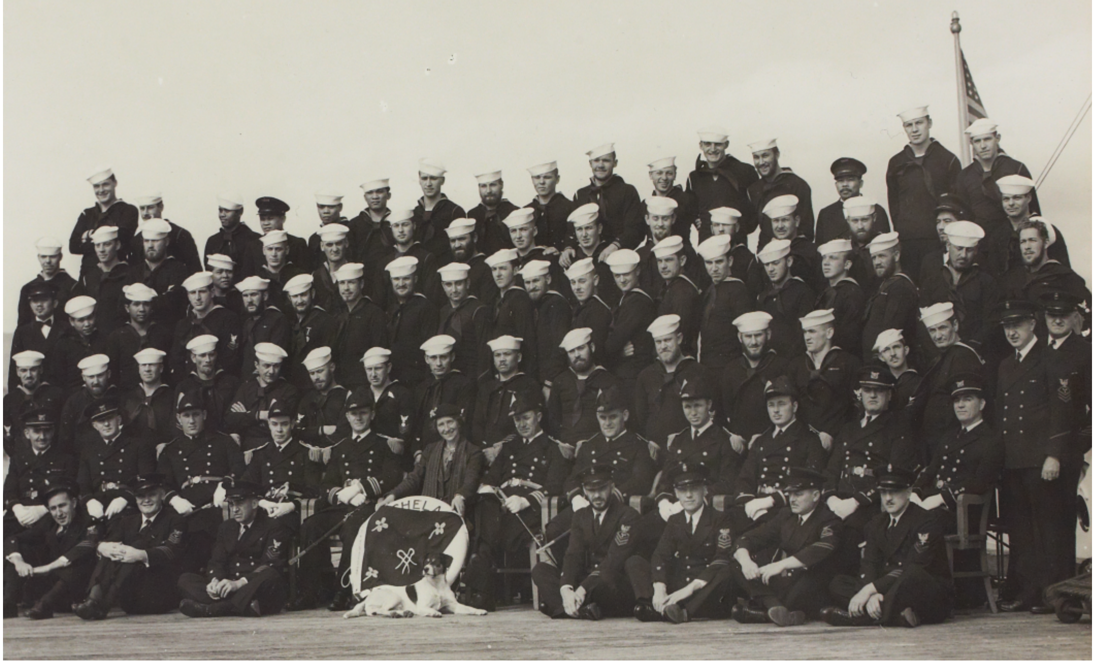


Figure 5.22 Isobel, centre holding flag, surrounded by the crew of *The Chelan*, 1936. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 8138/10/5.

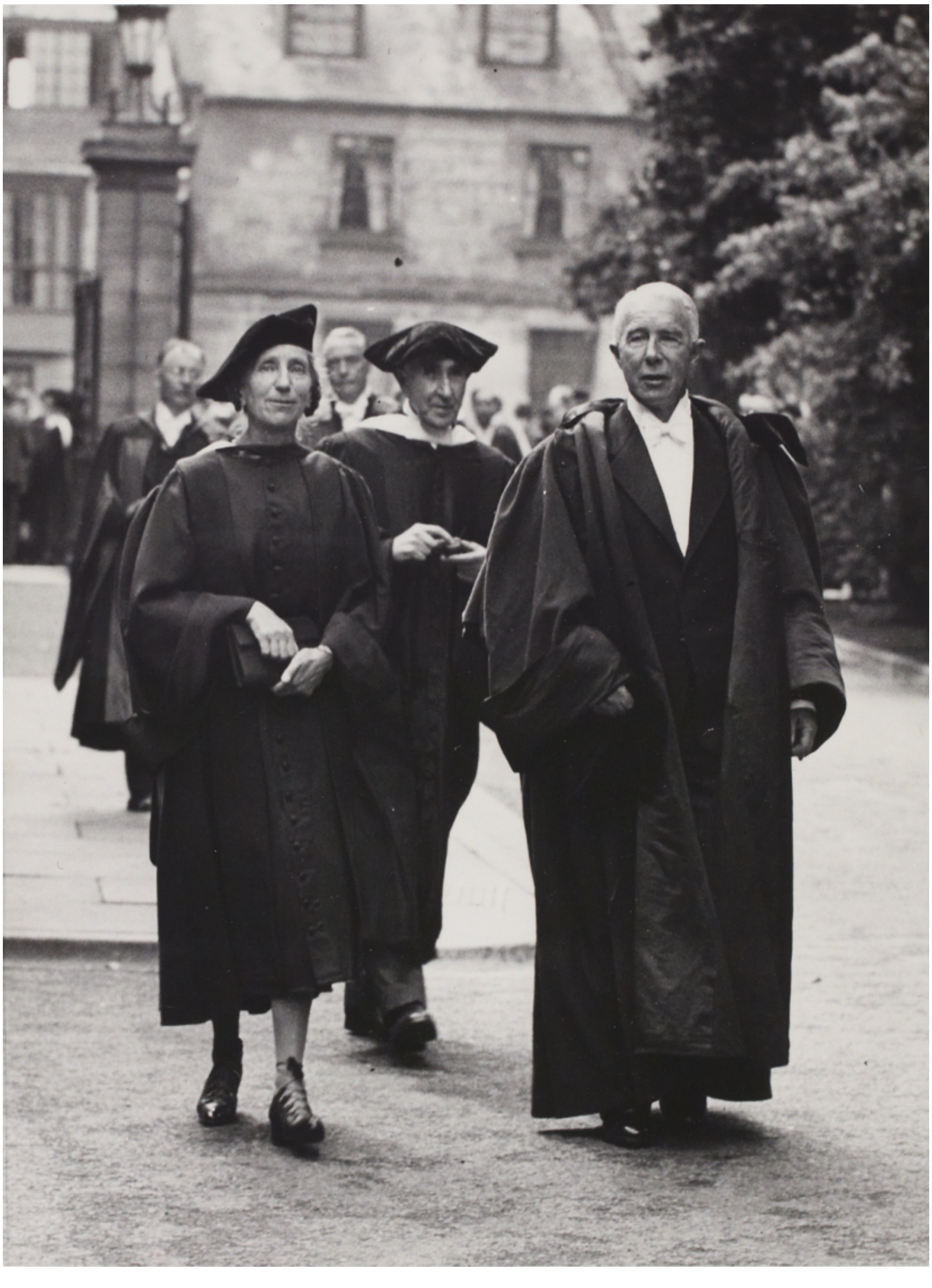


Figure 5.23 Isobel, left, receiving her Hon. L.L.B from St Andrews University, 1949. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 8138/10/5.

Chapter 6: Professional Gardening Women

Introduction

In this chapter, the challenges faced by women who wished to enter gardening as a profession in Scotland are unpacked. In the nineteenth century, the trade or craft of gardening became increasingly skills-based in response to advances in scientific and technological enquiry and emphasis was placed on a gardener's theoretical knowledge and the provision of practical training and education, membership of gardeners' improvement societies and formal qualifications such as the Examination of Gardeners introduced in 1866.[1] As a result, gardening underwent a process of professionalisation as gardening men sought to increase the status and value of their work through the introduction of more formalised apprenticeships and a theoretical education.[2] The chapter also puts forward the argument that this professionalising process led to the 'occupational closure' of gardening to women for much of the nineteenth century by highlighting the existence of exclusionary strategies and mechanisms which prevented women from acquiring the necessary education, training and practical experience to enter gardening as a profession.[3]

An exploration of the contribution made by four women gardeners who were instrumental in laying the foundations for women's professional entry into Scottish horticulture in the early part of the twentieth century, illuminates and considers the professionalising strategies and tactics they employed to challenge male exclusivity within gardening, the social networks and resources created or utilised by them, and the degree to which they sought to create roles for women to engage in gardening as a profession. A gendered analysis is made of the extent to which these four women can be defined as pioneers (the first women in their field) or pioneering (by opening or preparing the way for other women to follow). In addition, the degree to which their achievements had a beneficial impact within the wider, public sphere of horticulture in Scotland is addressed. Mary Elizabeth Burton (1865-1944) became the first woman in Scotland to obtain the position of head gardener and, in a career that spanned over four decades, her professionalism and horticultural expertise encouraged a growing acceptance of women gardeners. Annie Morison (1870-1948) and Lina Barker (1866-1929) were amongst the first women to study at the Horticultural College in Swanley, Kent, before becoming the first female trainee gardeners to be employed by the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh. In 1902 they set up Scotland's earliest, and possibly only, example of a gardening school for women and for more than twenty-five years were influential in gardening women's progress towards professional legitimacy. The quartet is completed by Norah Geddes (1887-1967), one of Scotland's earliest examples of a professional female garden designer, who created gardens in derelict spaces in Edinburgh's Old Town and in Dublin.

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[1] The Examination of Gardeners, administered by the Royal Horticultural Society and the Royal Society of Arts was held for the first time in April 1866, see Anon., 'News', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 9 December 1865, p.1154.

[2] Musgrave, pp.52-68.

[3] Witz, pp.43-53.

Mary Elizabeth Burton (1865-1944)

Mary Elizabeth Burton was born on the 8 June 1865, but despite spending the first seven years of her life living in the small village of Witley in Surrey, she was of Scottish descent.[4] Her father, William Paton Burton (1828-1883), a watercolour artist, was the son of an Army Captain from Aberdeenshire and her mother, Eliza Shiells, came from an Edinburgh family. Little is known about Mary's early years in Surrey, which came to an end in 1872 with the death of her mother.[5] It was decided to send Mary and her two younger brothers to Edinburgh, where they were placed under the care of their great aunt, Miss Mary Burton (1819-1909), a move which suggests that either their father was incapable of looking after them or was unable to support them financially. An educational and social reformer, Miss Burton was the unmarried sister of John Hill Burton (1809-1881), the Historiographer Royal in Scotland. In 1869, she had persuaded the directors of the Watt Institution and School of Arts of Edinburgh to open up classes to female students and when the Watt

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[4] Southport, General Register Office for England and Wales (hereafter GRO): entry of birth for Mary E. Burton, 1865, registration district of Hambledon, Surrey, vol. 2a, p.105, entry number 466.
[5] GRO: Entry of death for Eliza Garner Burton, June 1872, registration district of Guildford, Surrey, vol. 2a, p.46.

Institution merged with George Heriot's Trust to become the Heriot-Watt College in 1885, Miss Burton was made a life governor.[6] She was also an advocate of women's suffrage, one of the first women to serve on the School Board of Edinburgh and a pioneer of the training of girls in domestic economy.[7] When Mary came to live with Miss Burton at Liberton Bank in Newington, it was a cottage with almost two acres of garden (Figure 6.1) and it was here that she spent her formative years with her great aunt, who trained her and her brothers 'on the intellectual and practical side of life'.[8] It is likely that Mary's early love of gardening was developed during the years she spent living at Liberton Bank, although this is impossible to corroborate in the absence of personal papers and correspondence.[9]

Illuminating Mary's remaining time in Edinburgh has also been a difficult process due to gaps in knowledge and a lack of substantive evidence. At the age of fifteen, she is listed in the 1881 census as a scholar and still living at Liberton Bank, but trying to establish whether she attended a public school or was educated at home or privately has not been easy. In the mid-nineteenth century there were over 1,000 schools operating within Edinburgh, ranging from large public institutions to small, privately run girls' schools and many of the attendance records are no longer extant.[10] The 1891 census reveals her living 'on private means' in rented accommodation at Sharpdale in Liberton, following her father's death some years earlier.[11] It is not clear whether Mary was supported financially by her great aunt or a legacy from her father, but it is possible that at this stage in her life she would have wanted and/or needed to earn her own living. This is confirmed by evidence found in an article on Mary's subsequent career in horticulture, written by head gardener, Chas (Charles) Comfort for *The Scottish Gardener and Northern Forester*, in which he indicated that 'although a lady born, Miss Burton determined to earn her own livelihood in her own way, and so set about the work of preparation'.[12]

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[6] Pipes and others, pp.54-55.

[7] 'The Late Miss Mary Burton', *The Scotsman*, 22 March 1909, p.6.

[8] Ibid. Liberton Bank is now the Dunedin School for children with learning difficulties but much of the garden has been subsumed by the car park of the Cameron Toll Shopping Centre.

[9] A search of private and public archive collections has not revealed any extant personal documentation. Mary's death was registered by her unmarried niece, Helen Janet Rolls Burton, who died in 1982 and no other surviving relatives have been found.

[10] The City of Edinburgh Council holds records for around twenty of the city's schools operating at the time, less than 2% of the estimated total, according to the council's archivist, Mr Richard Hunter: telephone conversation, 7 October 2013. Those independent schools which are still in existence, such as George Watson's College, Mary Erskine and George Heriot's School, have been contacted but there is no record of Mary having attended any of them.

[11] GROS: Mary Elizabeth Burton, Census 1891, Civil Parish of Liberton [639/00 002/00 030]. Sharpdale was a small group of houses situated close to Liberton Bank, purchased in 1838 by Liberton Kirk Sessions and rented to the poor. By the time that Mary Burton came to live there, the social profile of tenants was, according to the 1891 census, working class rather than poor; see John Rennie, 'Nether Liberton [Part 2]', *Liberton Kirk Magazine*, April 2012, p.11.

As a young woman in her twenties, Mary's options to pursue a career in horticulture were limited. Up until the nineteenth century, the craft or trade of gardening had been learnt on the job in an age without formal horticultural education. The rapidly advancing art and science of gardening throughout the nineteenth century gave rise to an increasingly sophisticated horticultural industry and transformed both the plants in the garden and how they were grown.[13] Mass introductions of tender exotic plants required specialist cultivation, advances in glasshouse technology and techniques for growing new fruits had to be mastered, and scientific discoveries in areas such as chemistry, geology and plant physiology led John Loudon to conclude in 1827 that 'there is not a single operation, whether on the soil or on plants, that has not undergone improvement'.[14] Emphasis began to be placed on a gardener's skill based on theoretical knowledge and the provision of practical training and education. The established mechanisms in place for the provision of horticultural education and practical experience were, however, inherently exclusionary to women.

The first step in the process of becoming a professional gardener in Scotland was, in the majority of cases, to serve an apprenticeship. The term of indenture was usually for a minimum of three years, although Robertson provides evidence for a period of up to five years.[15] The garden or 'crock' boys, as first year apprentices were known in Scotland, progressed from washing pots to becoming proficient in maintaining the vegetable garden, shrubberies and flower beds, in addition to the lawns, frames and greenhouses. There was a clear transition from garden boy to improver and then top improver before graduating as a journeyman, with each stage completed under the supervision of the head gardener. Having served his apprenticeship, the journeyman moved on to another estate or property to gain experience of working in a new part of the country with different growing conditions. With the experience gained from this peripatetic existence from one estate to another, the journeyman might progress from first journeyman, to foreman and ultimately enter the 'exclusive fraternity of head gardeners'.[16] As Golden explained, 'women played no part in this gardening hierarchy, except as weeding women.'[17] Gardeners on private estates were male, usually from a rural, working-class background and many had fathers or brothers in the trade (Figure 6.2).[18]

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[12] Chas Comfort, 'Some Scottish Horticulturists', *The Scottish Gardener and Northern Forester*, 7 November 1908, p.697. Chas Comfort was the head gardener at Broomfield in Davidsons Mains, Edinburgh and would have known Mary during the many years he spent as a member of the Scottish Horticultural Association, including serving as its President in 1901-02; see Office Holders, *Transactions of the Scottish Horticultural Association* (hereafter SHA) (1897-1903) 1902, p.1.

[13] Musgrave, p.54.

[14] John C. Loudon, 'Catalogue of Books for a Garden Library', *The Gardener's Magazine*, 2 (1827), 108-120 (p.109).

[15] Forbes W. Robertson, 'The Working Life of Scottish Gardeners Between the Wars', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 10 (1996-97), 67-85 (p.68).

Theoretical instruction, in addition to the practical training, was delivered within this patriarchal environment. The bothy or dwelling in which trainee gardeners, any unmarried journeymen and in some cases, the foreman resided, was also the place where the theory of horticulture was taught. 'These all-male establishments', according to Robertson, 'must have presented a rather daunting experience for many a 13/14 year old coming straight from home', especially given that the only feminine presence would have been in the form of the cleaning lady who, if they were lucky, may also have cooked for the bothy boys.[19] After a full day's work in the garden, the head gardener would, usually for a fee, spend part of the evening instructing his apprentices in arithmetic, mensuration, drawing of plans, botany and the nomenclature of plants.[20] To augment their knowledge, gardeners' mutual improvement classes and societies were also set up in bothies throughout Scotland. The most well-documented was the Drumlanrig Gardeners' Mutual Improvement Association which met each week and discussed a selection of topics, including

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Ann Golden, 'Bothy Talk', *The Professional Gardener*, 97 (October 2002), 34-35 (p.35).

[18] Musgrave, p.58.

[19] Robertson, 'Working Life of Scottish Gardeners', p.69.

[20] S. A. J. Oldham, 'Scotland, the Home of Good Gardeners', *Horticulture 100 1892-1992: Proceedings of a Conference on Horticulture in Education and Conservation, 7-11 September 1992* (Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 1994), pp.95-102 (p.96).

'Vegetable Physiology', 'The Management of Pear Trees' and the 'Treatment of Stove Plants'.[21] There was no female equivalent of the bothy boy and the first formal gardening qualification to be offered in Scotland, the Course of Instruction for Practical Gardeners and Foresters, which was established by Regius Keeper, Professor Isaac Bayley Balfour at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh in September 1892, was not open to women.[22]

Mary was, however, clearly resourceful and circumvented the apprenticeship system by creating her own syllabus of instruction, which involved attending a selection of evening classes at Heriot-Watt College, thus benefitting directly from her great aunt's campaign for female education at the Institution.[23] In addition to gaining a qualification in freehand drawing, Mary passed the Science and Art and City and Guilds of London Examination in Advanced Principles of Agriculture in May 1889 and the following year was awarded college certificates in Principles of Agriculture (84%) and Agriculture (Dairying), achieving a score of 85% which placed her second in the class.[24] According to Comfort, she is also believed to have attended evening classes in botany, chemistry, geology and entomology, but this has been impossible to confirm because extant records at Heriot-Watt College only name students who gained class medals or certificates and do not provide lists of class attendees.[25] Participation in these classes would at least have given Mary some of the scientific grounding that she required in order to pursue a career in horticulture, but it must have been a somewhat daunting process since she is the only woman listed as having achieved certificates in these subjects and is therefore likely to have been one of only a small number of women who chose to study subjects such as agriculture.[26]

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[21] Anon., 'Drumlanrig Gardeners' Mutual Improvement Association', *The Gardener*, November 1876, p.515. William Thomson, editor of *The Gardener*, was a former gardener at Drumlanrig and agreed to publish the minutes of the Association on an annual basis from 1876.

[22] Oldham, p.99.

[23] Edinburgh, Heriot-Watt University Heritage and Information Governance (hereafter HWU): *Heriot-Watt College Calendar 1887-88*. On p.92, the *Calendar* lists Mary E. Burton as having passed the Science and Art and City and Guilds of London Institute Examination in Second Grade Art (Freehand Drawing) in May 1886.

[24] HWU: *Heriot-Watt College Calendar 1889-90*, Appendix p.4 and p.135.

[25] Comfort, p.697. Mary's attendance at these classes is also cited in Anon., 'Garden and Orchard', *The Scottish Field*, June 1906, p.358. Evening classes in horticulture, run by the Edinburgh School of Rural Economy, were offered at Heriot-Watt College from 1889 to 1905.

Years later, in an address to the Scottish Horticultural Association in 1920, Mary acknowledged the lack of horticultural training that was open to women at the time, stating that:

> Now-a-days women who want to take up outside work have a far better chance than when I started, as there are now good colleges open to women, with continuous horticultural courses, whereas my theory was got by attending evening classes, to which I had a good bit to walk after a day's hard practical work, which, however, I frankly admit I really liked.[27]

Her words reveal her determination at the time to gain the theoretical knowledge she required, despite the long walk involved, and this characteristic resolve was in evidence throughout Mary's long career in horticulture. She also admitted that theoretical training was 'of little value when real practical work was not obtainable', and for aspiring women gardeners this presented a real difficulty.[28] A virtually 'closed' system of recruitment operated within Scotland's gardening community in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as Robertson explained:

> The constant movement of skilled men between gardens up and down the country created a very effective grapevine of news and information. Head gardeners would know personally or by repute a large proportion of their counterparts and could use their contacts in recruiting staff and placing men who wanted another job.[29]

This 'grapevine' was supplemented by seedsmen and nurserymen, who operated as informal employment agencies to head gardeners.[30] Such informal networks provided a cheap and efficient method of placing male gardeners throughout

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[26] One of Mary's brothers, Eric K. Burton, also achieved the college certificate in Principles of Agriculture in 1890 and it is possible that he acted as his sister's chaperone; see HWU: *Heriot-Watt College Calendar 1889-90*, p.135.

[27] Miss M. E. Burton, 'President's Address', *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 3 (1916-20) 1920, 215-19, (p.219).

[28] Burton, 'President's Address', p.217.

[29] Robertson, 'Working Life of Scottish Gardeners', p.68.

[30] Ibid.

Scotland. Seedsmen did not charge for their services, since 'it was all part of the web of cordial relations, good-will and mutual trust established between them and the head gardeners throughout Scotland'.[31] This paradigm of protectionism, which operated into the twentieth century, made it almost impossible for women to gain practical gardening experience. The only exception to this, which was acknowledged by Mary, was certain firms who employed women, usually as weeders, to work in their plant nurseries.[32] To circumvent this problem, it is likely that Mary gained her practical horticultural experience by working in the gardens of her great aunt at Liberton Bank and her maternal uncle, Robert Shiells, at 6 Duddingston Park, near Portobello.[33] This is corroborated in part by Comfort, who described Mary as having the 'run of a large garden in Portobello', and by an editorial piece in *The Scotsman* newspaper, which reported that Mary had been one of the principal prize winners at the Portobello Horticultural and Industrial Society Show in 1899, which may well have been her local show.[34]

Mary was also able to benefit from the patronage of her great aunt, who was well-connected within Edinburgh society. Miss Burton and her niece, Mary Rose Hill Burton, were close friends of the social evolutionist and city planner, Professor Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) and his wife Anna, and it would appear that Geddes invited Mary to lay out the gardens at Crawford Bank, a large country house situated on the outskirts of Lasswade, four miles south of Edinburgh.[35] Geddes had purchased Crawford Bank in the hope of converting it into a retreat for members of the Old Town Community in Edinburgh and it was set in extensive, wooded grounds (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).[36] Both profiles on Mary in *The Scottish Field* and *The Scottish Gardener and Northern Forester* indicate that her first professional gardening appointment had come from Geddes and it is possible that Geddes may have taught Mary at Heriot-Watt College since he was a lecturer in botany there from 1886 to 1890.[37] Given the closeness of the two families, it is also possible that Geddes was aware of the difficulties that Mary had encountered in gaining practical horticultural experience and on purchasing Crawford Bank at some point between 1895 and 1896, he may have seen her as a suitable choice to help him tame the neglected gardens. There is one other connection which might provide a link between Mary and Crawford Bank and that is the latter's close proximity to Mavisbank Asylum, which is where Mary spent the next thirty-eight years of her working life. The Ordnance Survey map of 1895, see Figure 6.5, shows that Crawford Bank bordered the north-eastern-most tip of the Mavisbank estate and if Mary had been working there for Geddes, she would undoubtedly have known of the existence of the private mental asylum that operated at Mavisbank and may even have been in contact with people who worked there.

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[31] Ibid., p.69.

[32] Burton, 'President's Address', p.217.

[33] The 1901 census return shows Mary living at the home of her uncle at 6 Duddingston Park, near Portobello. GROS: Mary E. Burton, Census 1901, Civil Parish of Duddingston, Edinburgh [684/00 001/00 015]. This address is also listed for Mary in the 'Result of the Examination in Horticulture, 1901', *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* (hereafter RHS), 26 (1901-02), 267-72 (p.270).

[34] Comfort, p.697; 'Portobello Horticultural and Industrial Society Show', *The Scotsman*, 21 August 1899, p.9.

[35] Miss Burton's nephew, Cosmo Burton, was a student of Geddes and in 1890 he married Anna Geddes's younger sister, Bex, thus bringing the two families even closer together; see Paddy Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person: an introduction to the ideas and life of Patrick Geddes* (London: Gollancz, 1975), pp.122-23. Crawford Bank is also referred to as Craufurd Bank or Craufurd. Unfortunately, despite an exhaustive search of the Geddes papers held at the National Library of Edinburgh, Strathclyde University in Glasgow and the University of Edinburgh, no direct link between Mary and Crawford Bank has been established but the evidence connecting her to Geddes and the gardens at Crawford Bank, although circumstantial, carries some weight.

It is possible to estimate when Mary started work at Mavisbank because the profile on her, which ran in *The Scottish Field* in 1906, stated that she had worked at the asylum for ten years, which makes her start date 1896, and this is corroborated by Comfort, who wrote in 1908 that Mary had spent 'twelve years' well-directed energy' in the gardens of Mavisbank.[38] Unfortunately, it would appear that all the medical and administrative records for Mavisbank have been lost so how she initially came to work for the institution is less clear.[39] Following Mary's death in 1944, two obituaries described how she had been introduced by Patrick Geddes to Dr Batty Tuke, the medical superintendent at Mavisbank, but this does not correspond with her starting date of 1896, since the medical superintendent at that time was a Dr George Robert Wilson.[40] The Batty Tukes, father and son, did not take on the medical superintendence of Mavisbank until 1907.[41] There are several scenarios which could have taken place. Mary may have applied to a job advertisement looking for gardeners, but if this had been the case it would have been highly unusual for a woman gardener with little practical experience to have applied and been taken on, and there is no record of an advertisement being placed in the local newspapers in around 1896. Alternatively, Patrick Geddes, or her great aunt Miss Burton, may have known Dr Wilson and introduced Mary to him.[42] Comfort stated that her employment came via an invitation to 'try and interest the lady patients in gardening at the private asylum', which seems more plausible given that Mary had little professional experience of working in a garden before joining Mavisbank.[43]

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[36] Descriptions of the house and gardens can be found in Philip Boardman, *Patrick Geddes Maker of the Future* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p.276 and Abbie Ziffren, 'Biography of Patrick Geddes', in *Patrick Geddes: spokesman for man and the environment*, ed. by Marshall Stalley (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), pp.1-101 (p.39). Both authors state erroneously that 'Craufurd' was purchased by Geddes in 1898, but a letter from Anna Geddes indicates that Crawford Bank was in the family's possession in November 1896. NLS MSS 10577: memorandum from Anna Geddes to Mr Whitson re: Craufurd, dated 4 November 1896, fol. 24.

[37] Anon., 'Garden and Orchard', p.358; Comfort, p.697; HWU: *Heriot-Watt College Calendar,* 1886-87 to 1889-90 inclusive.

[38] Anon., 'Garden and Orchard', p.358; Comfort, p.697.

The correspondence of Anna Geddes also reveals a link to Mavisbank, for in November 1896 she arranged for a Miss Bell, late matron of Mavisbank, to stay at Crawford Bank until she found a new situation, and it is possible that Mary might have been involved in some way in this exchange.[44] What is certain, however, is that by 1900 Mary was working at Mavisbank according to the membership records of the Scottish Horticultural Association which list her as 'Miss Burton, Mavisbank Asylum, Polton', and in the census returns for 1901 Mary's stated occupation is 'lady gardener'.[45]

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[39] According to Laura Gould, the archivist at the Lothian Health Services Archive (hereafter LHSA), only two annual reports for Mavisbank House Asylum, dated 1887 and 1888, are in existence. It is highly likely that records of its time as a private mental hospital would have been destroyed when it closed. Edinburgh, LHSA GD17/1/24-25: *Asylum Reports Scotland*, 1887-88.

[40] Death of a Woman Horticulturist', *Dalkeith Advertiser*, 14 December 1944, p.2; Anon., 'Obituary', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 30 December 1944, p.248. For information on the history of Mavisbank, see Peter Gordon, *Mavisbank – Repeats its Love* (Bridge of Allan: Mossgrove, 2013).

[41] Gordon, *Mavisbank*, p.61.

[42] An article on the opening of the New Craig House Asylum in Edinburgh in 1894, which appeared in *The Scotsman*, listed amongst those in attendance, Miss Burton, Professor and Mrs Geddes and a large number of members of the medical profession, which could have included Dr Wilson; see 'The Opening of New Craig House Asylum', *The Scotsman*, 27 October 1894, p.10. Furthermore, Miss Burton had cared for Arthur Conan Doyle at Liberton Bank in the late 1860s and followed his career with interest. When Conan Doyle became a medical student at Edinburgh, his lecturer was Dr Joseph Bell, who was said to have inspired his fictional character Sherlock Holmes. Bell was also one of the founders of Mavisbank Asylum and it is highly likely that Miss Burton would have known of Dr Bell and his work at Mavisbank, see Gordon, *Mavisbank,* p.52.

[43] Comfort, p.697.

[44] NLS MSS 10577: memorandum from Anna Geddes re: Craufurd, fol. 24.

A villa in the Palladian style and set within a designed landscape, Mavisbank House was built in around 1725 by Sir John Clerk second Baronet of Penicuik (1676-1755), and was designed by William Adam (1689-1748).[46] The house was built on a platform looking north-east towards the Esk Valley and the landscaped gardens included a *patte d'oie* or goosefoot avenue, a long narrow canal and an oval walled garden (Figure 6.6).[47] Mavisbank remained in private ownership for over 150 years, but on the death of George Clerk Arbuthnot in 1876, the house and estate were advertised for sale in May of that year and it was bought by Edinburgh Aesculapians, Dr Joseph Bell and Dr George W. Balfour.[48] The two doctors set up Mavisbank Limited and used private investment to raise sufficient capital to open the Mavisbank Institution for the Nervous in 1877, effectively 'a hospital for the insane, and a home for mental and nervous invalids of the higher and middle classes'.[49] When Mary was taken on, the grounds of Mavisbank extended to 120 acres, and included a 'tennis green', golf course, cricket lawn, 'conservatories and vineries.'[50] Gentlemen patients were 'directed and assisted by a gardener-attendant' and helped to take care of the 'shrubberies, walks, terraces and flower borders, and of the tennis and croquet lawns' (Figure 6.7).[51]

'So successful was Miss Burton in her efforts' at Mavisbank, according to Comfort, 'that she was appointed head gardener at the institution' soon after her initial engagement.[52] This has provided the substance for claims at the time that Mary E. Burton was 'the first lady gardener in Scotland' and 'the first lady in Scotland to obtain the post as head gardener' and in the course of this research, no earlier examples of professional gardening women in Scotland have yet been found to contradict these assertions.[53] In the nineteenth century there were two principal gardening societies in Scotland to which aspiring and professional gardeners could belong, the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society and the Scottish Horticultural Association.[54] Proceedings for both organisations have been examined for evidence of examples of professional gardening women who may have predated Mary. Set up in 1809, the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society admitted its first female member, Lady Keith of Ravelstone, in 1835 and had a long tradition thereafter of female members.[55] An analysis of these women members from 1835 to 1897 has revealed a predominance of amateur plantswomen, including Frances Jane Hope, rather than any obvious examples of professional gardening women.[56] The membership profile of the Scottish Horticultural Association from its inception in March 1877 reveals only six female members up to and including 1897. Two were living in Ireland and the four remaining women were married and gave a residential rather than a business address, which makes it highly unlikely that they gardened on a professional basis.[57] As the earliest known example of a woman head gardener it is possible therefore to describe Mary as a female pioneer in professional gardening in Scotland (Figure 6.8).

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[45] 'List of Members in 1900', *Trans of the SHA*, (1897-1903) 1901, 62-84 (p.65); Mary E. Burton, Census 1901.
[46] Mark Turnbull Landscape Architect, 'Mavisbank Conservation Plan Landscape Report' (unpublished report, February 2005), pp.6-7.
[47] Tait, pp.21-23.
[48] Gordon, *Mavisbank*, p.46. The Aesculapian Club was a medical dining club which was set up by Dr Andrew Duncan in 1773.
[49] LHSA GD17/1/24: *Asylum Reports Scotland, 1887*, p.5.
[50] Ibid., pp.7-8.
[51] LHSA GD17/1/25: *Asylum Reports Scotland, 1888*, p.7.
[52] Comfort, p.697.

Her responsibilities at Mavisbank were extensive. She was in charge of the circular walled kitchen garden, which in itself measured over four acres, and she was required to provide the hospital with vegetables, fruit and flowers on a daily basis. We have only this description of the kitchen garden as it looked during Mary's tenure, but it does give some indication of the scale of her task there and the extent to which she was successful:

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[53] Ibid.; Anon., 'Garden and Orchard', p.358.

[54] The Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society (hereafter RCHS) was granted its first Royal Charter in 1824; see Minute of Special Meeting to discuss Memorial of the RCHS for the opinion of Council 22 December 1924, *Minutes of the Horticultural Society*, 14 (1924-28).

[55] Winter General Meeting 1835, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 3 (1835-38), fol.189.

[56] *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 3-10 (1832-1901).

[57] They are listed as follows: Miss Owen, Knockmullen, Cory, Ireland; Miss Gifford, Dalgan Road, Thurle, Headford, Co. Mayo; Mrs Haig, Ramornie, Ladybank; Mrs Anderson Watt, 15 Belgrave Crescent, Edinburgh; Mrs Cowan, Dukewood, Mortonhall Road, Edinburgh; Mrs Robert Stevenson, 48 Constitution Street, Leith; see Lists of members in *Trans of the SHA* (1878-1897).

> The fine brick walls are now clothed with healthy fruit trees, which yield good returns. Large brakes are filled with small fruit, among which Black Currants take a leading place. Vegetables in variety are liberally cultivated, as there are many mouths to fill. Numerous ample flower borders are tastefully planted with the cream of hardy and half-hardy plants. […] tomatoes are very largely and very successfully grown, all in boxes.[58]

In addition to the productive garden, Mary was also responsible for over 100 acres of policies, including maintenance of the golf course, cricket pitch, croquet and tennis lawns, and the day-to-day management of her gardening team.[59] Unfortunately, there is little anecdotal evidence on which to base an impression of how Mary was regarded by her team of gardeners, but the photograph in Figure 6.9, showing a seated Mary in the foreground holding a set of keys surrounded by her gardeners who are standing almost to attention with tools in hand, suggests that she was very much in control.[60] The photograph is also interesting because it shows that Mary must have employed female gardeners, since two of the women are holding gardening tools whilst the third woman, pictured holding a hen, probably helped in rearing the poultry. Figure 6.10 shows Mary with what she possibly considered to be her core gardening team of four men and one garden boy, since both photographs were taken at the same time. Her early years at Mavisbank appear to have given Mary the confidence and necessary experience to sit the Royal Horticultural Society's Examination in Horticulture, which was a rigorous test of both theoretical and practical horticultural knowledge, and Mary missed a first class pass by only five points.[61]

In 1907, the private patients at Saughton Hall Asylum in Gorgie, Edinburgh, were moved to Mavisbank and the hospital was renamed New Saughton Hall (Figure 6.11). Two new wings were added, one for ladies and one for gentlemen, and the number of patients rose by a third to ninety in total, presumably requiring Mary to increase her yield of fruit and vegetables to meet the increased demand.[62] This additional pressure does not appear to have affected her attention to detail however and in an excerpt from a Commissioners' Report of 1912, which appeared in a prospectus for New Saughton Hall, the sitting rooms and dormitories are described as being 'bright with plants and cut flowers'.[63] Perhaps in response to such an increase in patients, Mary took up residence on the estate and introduced sheep, pigs and poultry, with as many as 300 chickens reared annually, and she became something of an expert: 'Miss Burton is equally at home discussing the points of a blackfaced sheep, a "Long White" pig, a "chucky", or a Carnation.'[64] She seems to have been an enterprising businesswoman as various advertisements for 'eggs for sale' appear in *The Scotsman* from 1911 onwards together with classifieds announcing 'cockerells [*sic*] barred Plymouth Rocks, from my noted laying strain [by] Miss Burton' and 'prize poultry auction […] including consignments from Miss Burton'.[65] It is also alleged that Mary was not always scrupulously honest in her business practices. According to Craig Statham, a local historian, the carter from New Saughton Hall (Figure 6.12) would take a fattened pig each week to Campbell's the Butchers who would weigh and slaughter it, and pay the proceeds to Mary.[66] In later years Mr Campbell would recall that the pigs were always 'full of water' to make them heavier.[67]

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[58] Comfort, p.697.

[59] The policies are the lands included in a Scottish estate.

[60] I am grateful to local historian David Adams for showing me these photographs.

[61] 'Result of the Examination in Horticulture, 1901', *Journal of the RHS*, p.270. Mary scored 195 points out of a possible total of 300 and was awarded a second class pass. She was ranked joint 110th out of 225 candidates. This qualification replaced the Examination in Gardening.

On the death of Miss Burton in 1909, Mary inherited half of her great aunt's estate, the whole of which was valued at £1,289 3s 8d, but there is no indication that she reduced her workload, either within her workplace or in her leisure hours.[68] In the spare time available to her, Mary was a regular exhibitor at local horticultural shows, winning numerous medals and certificates for flowers, fruit and vegetables. In September 1911, she was the only female principal prizewinner at the Dalkeith and

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[62] Loanhead, Midlothian Council Local Studies and Archive, Acc. 941.3523: prospectus for New Saughton Hall, private mental hospital, Polton, Midlothian (n.d.).
[63] Ibid.
[64] Comfort, p.697. From 1907 until 1913, Mary's address is listed in the *Post Office Edinburgh & Leith Directory* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb) as 'The Garden, West Saughton Hall'.
[65] Classified advertisements in *The Scotsman*, 30 January 1918, p.9, and 5 January 1911, p.10.
[66] Craig Statham, *Old Loanhead* (Catrine: Stenlake Publishing, 2003), p.6.
[67] Ibid.
[68] GROS: last will and testament of Mary Burton, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Inventories, 30/04/1909 [SC70/1/490].

District Horticultural and Industrial Society Show and in the same show the following year, won the competition for the best collection of eight varieties of vegetables.[69] She continued to exhibit successfully at local shows for the next decade, including winning a gold medal for her cauliflowers and potatoes at the Rose and Vegetable Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1917.[70] In particular, Mary became a recognised expert on potatoes, winning second prize in a nationwide potato competition run by Messrs Dobbie and Co., Edinburgh, in which a total of 676 plates of six potato tubers were entered.[71] In 1921 she achieved the accolade of being a principal prizewinner at the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society's Potato Conference and Exhibition in London, and was congratulated on her success by the Chairman of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society.[72] What is significant about Mary's participation and subsequent success in these shows is that she was competing almost exclusively against male gardeners at the highest level. Gardening even by this time was essentially a gendered activity. Published lists of show exhibitors and winners from the 1900s onwards, reveal that women tended to specialise in flowers and jam-making, whilst men dominated in the growing of fruit and vegetables.[73] Mary chose vegetables, particularly potatoes, and in the lists of principal prize winners for the shows she competed in, she is the lone female representative. By successfully competing in this homosocial environment, Mary gained personal acceptance and credibility amongst her male contemporaries, and may also have helped counteract the prevailing prejudice shown to gardening women.

This was not the only area in which Mary made her mark as a woman. Reflecting on her first experience of a Scottish Horticultural Association meeting, Mary wrote the following account:

> I was keen on tomato growing, and I saw an advertisement in *The Scotsman* that a lecture on the tomato was to be given

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[69] 'Horticulture: Dalkeith', *The Scotsman*, 4 September 1911, p.5 and 9 September 1912, p.10.

[70] 'Rose and Vegetable Exhibition in Edinburgh', *The Scotsman*, 20 July 1917, p.3.

[71] Anon., 'Potato Show in Edinburgh', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 11 October 1913, p.258.

[72] 'International Potato Conference', *The Scotsman*, 18 November 1921, p.4; Minute of Council Meeting 6 December 1921, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 13 (1921-24).

[73] *Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society Show Schedules and Prize List* (1900-1955).

> [by the Association…]. On arriving at the hall I was informed by the attendant that women did not attend the meetings. I went away rather disappointed, but some years later a member of the Association to whom I told my story informed me that a lady was now attending the meetings. When I heard of this I resolved to become a member.[74]

Positive in the face of prejudice, Mary became a member of the Scottish Horticultural Association in 1900, and on being successfully nominated she was one of only thirteen female members from a total membership of 976.[75] Despite the predominantly male environment (Figure 6.13), she was an extremely active member of the Association from the outset and exhibited produce regularly at the monthly meetings for almost thirty years, frequently winning medals and cultural certificates for flowers such as gloxinias, sweet peas and arum lilies and for vegetables including carrots, cauliflowers, tomatoes, onions and of course, potatoes (Figure 6.14).[76] If Mary personally encountered further examples of direct prejudice on account of her sex, there is no evidence of it within the Association's transactions, but a paper delivered at a meeting of the Association in March 1903 reveals the disdain with which the emergence of professional gardening women in Britain and Ireland was greeted in some quarters at the time. In his paper, entitled 'The Gardener as a Man', Frederick W. Burbidge, Curator of the Trinity College Botanic Gardens in Dublin, dismissed the training of lady gardeners in England and Ireland as a 'fashionable fad', and suggested that 'not one young girl in a hundred was physically fitted for the necessary hard and rough labour of a garden'.[77] He ended his paper on this patronising note, which must have been difficult for Mary to accept knowing what she had already achieved at Mavisbank:

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[74] Burton, 'President's Address', p.215. The identity of the lady attendee is not known.

[75] 'List of Members in 1900', *Trans of the SHA*, 62-84.

[76] Mary received a cultural certificate for her 'Dobbie's Intermediate Carrot' from a crop of over seventeen tons per acre, an indication of the quality and quantity that she was able to produce; see Minute of Monthly Meeting 7 November 1916, *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 3 (1916-20), p.ix. All Mary's achievements are listed within the *Trans of the SHA* from 1900-1920 and on the Association's amalgamation with the RCHS in 1921, they are recorded in the *Mins of the Hort Soc* between 1921 and 1943.

[77] Frederick W. Burbidge, 'The Gardener as a Man', *Trans of the SHA* (1904-07) 1904, 25-32 (p.31). Burbidge was recognised for his botanical explorations in Borneo and was curator of the Botanic Gardens at Trinity College in Dublin from 1879-1905; see Trinity College Dublin, 'A Brief History of the Botanic Garden' <http://www.tcd.ie/Botany/botanic-garden/brief-history.php> [accessed 14 October 2013].

> Given a becoming costume and robust health, the bonnie lassies are quite welcome to come and play in the garden. We are all glad to see them, they are, God bless'em, as welcome as was Eve in Paradise, as welcome as are the flowers in May. But the tall and braw lads in the bothy will pity their struggles with the spade, and hasten to assist them, for pity, as every mother's son doth know, is nearly akin to love.[78]

Burbidge's comments were echoed several years later by Mr F. J. Baker, a lecturer in Horticultural Science and Rural Economy at The Horticultural College in Swanley, Kent who delivered a paper on 'Horticultural Education' to the Royal Horticultural Society in 1906.[79] Despite having taught lady gardeners at Swanley for almost fourteen years, Baker was critical in his assessment of their capabilities. 'Although physically weak', he declared, 'they do not apply their limited strength to the best advantage nearly to the same extent that their male competitors do,' and amongst other failings he suggested that women had 'little ability to discriminate between sound prosaic advice and hollow poetic suggestions'.[80] However there was a contra-view. Writing as President of the Scottish Horticultural Association in 1907, David Thomson not only welcomed the appearance of 'lady-gardeners' but also saw them as serious competitors for gardening jobs:

> Ever since Adam and Eve were placed in the Garden of Eden, gardening has been looked on as a man's profession. Now, however, we have lady-gardeners entering the arena of horticulture, and, I believe, they have come to stay. We welcome them with all our hearts, and as we all know the interest and energy the members of the fair sex throw into whatever they devote themselves to, young gardeners must make up their minds that in the ladies they have formidable competition.[81]

It is not clear to what extent Thomson's sentiments were shared by his fellow gardeners in Scotland but Mary's experience as a woman gardener does appear to have been predominantly positive and is an indication perhaps of her horticultural ability, hard work and determination to succeed which earned her a level of respect amongst her male contemporaries. The fact that she was in the minority and therefore did not, on her own account, pose a threat to the job security of her male contemporaries may have contributed to her acceptance. It is also possible to ascribe a measure of her success to her great aunt's social networks and specifically the intervention of Patrick Geddes who first enabled Mary by giving her the opportunity of practical gardening experience at Crawford Bank, which in turn may have helped her to secure employment at New Saughton Hall.

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[78] Burbidge, p.31.

[79] F. J. Baker, 'Horticultural Education [lecture given on 23 October, 1906]', *Journal of the RHS,* 22 (1907), 152-62.

[80] Ibid., p.160.

[81] David W. Thomson, 'Gardening of the Future', *Trans of the SHA*, (1904-08) 1907, 27-34 (p.30).

Keen to share her expertise, Mary also found time to present papers at Association meetings. The first was on the cultivation of 'Begonias' in 1909, 'Geraniums' followed in 1912, and finally one entitled 'The Brassica Tribe' was delivered by Mary in 1915.[82] It is obvious on reading them that all three papers had been meticulously researched and they demonstrate Mary's sound practical skills and comprehensive theoretical knowledge of the plants involved. Within a public forum, she gave detailed advice on the best varieties, propagation methods and step-by-step growing instructions for the benefit of male and female gardeners. Glimpses of her personality are rare but towards the end of her paper on Brassicas, her views on the correct way to prepare and cook vegetables were forthright and critical. 'The amount of vegetable food which is wasted', she remarked, 'through improper preparation is scandalous', and she went on to state that 'as every gardener knows, many a dish of good vegetables, which he may have had no end of worry and trouble in producing, has been rendered uneatable through bad cooking, and for which he very often has been blamed instead of the proper party'.[83] The First World War may in part have influenced her opinion but it is equally possible that Mary was voicing similar sentiments to those of her great aunt, from whose upbringing she had benefitted.[84]

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[82] 'Begonias by Miss Burton, New Saughton Hall, Polton', *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 1 (1908-11) 1909, 110-15; 'Geraniums by Miss Burton, New Saughton Hall Gardens, Polton', *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 2 (1912-15) 1912, 38-44; 'The Brassica Tribe by Miss M. E. Burton, New Saughton Hall Gardens, Polton', *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 2 (1912-15) 1915, 293-98.

[83] 'The Brassica Tribe', p.298.

[84] As a member of the Edinburgh School Board, Miss Burton had promoted classes in sewing, knitting and cookery for both girls and boys, see Pipes and others, p.55.

Mary's commitment to Association business was rewarded by her election to the council in 1914, the first woman to serve as a council member, and she retained her position until 1916.[85] A few years earlier, she had also found time to put herself forward for membership of the Royal Horticultural Society and was duly elected a Fellow in 1912.[86] In 1917, she was voted one of six vice-presidents of the Scottish Horticultural Association, becoming the first female to hold the office, and she fulfilled her duties conscientiously, rarely missing a committee meeting and regularly chairing the Association's business.[87] In addition to devoting a significant amount of her time to the Association, it is clear that Mary also had the respect of the predominantly male membership for at a meeting on the 20 January 1920, she was unanimously elected as the Association's first female president.[88] In her presidential address to the Association, Mary took the opportunity to champion the cause of women gardeners by first recognising the contribution made by women during the First World War, both on the land and in munitions factories, and then by admitting that whilst women were not as physically strong as men, their thorough approach to gardening more than compensated for their lack of strength.[89] She was, however, astute enough to recognise that horticulture as an occupation was not suited to all women and she tempered her comments by assuring her audience that they had no fear of being usurped by female gardeners:

> It is a profession that requires a lot of perseverance and hard work, and will only be taken up in earnest by women who have a liking for it, and have to make a living out of it, which many of them have to do now. There is no short road to success in gardening.[90]

Her speech reveals a degree of ambivalence from a feminist perspective. Whilst she maintains that women could potentially garden as well as men, her argument contains repeated gender differences which seem designed to reassure her audience that only certain types of women, presumably those like her who were interested in gardening and committed to working hard, could make successful gardeners. Any feminist views that Mary may have held appear therefore to have been grounded in practical reality and her non-confrontational approach when advocating women gardeners in her presidential acceptance speech, which appears to demonstrate an unwillingness on her part to challenge the status quo to any great extent, may also have played a part in the acceptance of her by her male colleagues.

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[85] 'List of Council Members', *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 2 (1912-15), p.xlvi.

[86] General Meeting 5 March 1912, *Journal of the RHS*, 38 (1912-13), p.xviii. In the early part of the twentieth century, it was the custom for the RHS to call all its members Fellows. Candidates were proposed and elected by other Fellows and paid an annual subscription fee; electronic communication with Jenny Auton, Librarian at RHS Lindley Library, Wisley, dated 24 September 2013.

[87] Minutes of Monthly Meetings, *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 3 (1916-20).

[88] Minute of Annual Business Meeting 20 January 1920, *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 3 (1916-20), p.ci.

[89] Burton, 'President's Address', pp.216-17.

[90] Ibid., p.217.

During her time as president, Mary continued to exhibit at monthly meetings and carefully stewarded the Association during its amalgamation with the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, which took effect in 1921.[91] Despite its long tradition of female members, office holders of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society had, up until the merger, been exclusively male.[92] Mary was about to change that. On the 12 January 1921, she was elected onto the Society's council and for the next three years as a councillor, she was a regular attendee at the monthly meetings, took an active part in discussions and was appointed to judge the vegetable section at the Society's horticultural shows.[93] More importantly from a feminist perspective, she used her authority at the meetings to propose women members, including a Miss Tyrie of South Lodge, New Saughton Hall who, given the address, might possibly have been one of her own gardeners although there is no firm evidence to support this, and Miss Edith Logan Home of Edrom Nurseries in Berwickshire, whose contribution to Scottish horticulture is covered in Chapter 7.[94] Wielding her influence to vote in women members is evidence of the inclusionary tactics employed by Mary to increase female participation in the social institutions of horticulture in Scotland. At the Annual General Meeting in January 1924, Mary became one of four vice-presidents and continued to be the only female office holder in the Society.[95] She retained the vice-presidency until 1928 and remained an active member for the rest of her life. A minute of the council meeting held on 6 March 1928 is particularly significant because for the first time in its 119-year history, more women than men were elected as members of the Society at the meeting, a fact which Mary may have viewed with some pleasure. It is also evidence of the pioneering nature of her work, which prepared the way for women to be represented within Scotland's horticultural establishment.[96]

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[91] In 1910, Mary had been the sole female representative at tentative merger discussions between the two organisations; see Minute of Joint Meeting of the Councils of this Society and the Scottish Horticultural Association, 7 January 1910, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 12 (1908-1919). She subsequently chaired the Special General Meeting of the Association, during which the resolution to incorporate the two institutions was unanimously passed; see Minute of Special General Meeting 7 September 1921, *Trans of the SHA*, ser. 2, 3 (1916-20), p.cv.

[92] An analysis of the Minute Books of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society from its inception in 1809 to 1920 confirms that all office holders, including presidents, vice-presidents and councillors, had been male.

[93] *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 13 (1921-24).

[94] Minute of Council Meeting 4 July 1922, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 13 (1921-24); Minute of Council Meeting 4 September 1928, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28).

Remaining single, Mary spent thirty-eight years working at Mavisbank before leaving to 'undertake private work in laying out gardens', a fact that has been impossible to substantiate, although given her capacity for hard work, it would not be a surprise to learn that she continued to undertake gardening work in her seventies.[97] Her contribution was recognised during her lifetime when she became the first and only Scottish woman to date (2015) to be awarded the Royal Horticultural Society's Associate of Honour Medal in 1934 for her distinguished service to horticulture, a significant achievement given that it is a national award limited to a hundred recipients at any one time.[98] However, in an indication of how quickly Mary's contribution was forgotten, Miss Mary Page, an English horticulturist from Wye College who was the second woman to receive the award twenty-six years later, was erroneously congratulated for being the first woman to have attained the Associateship of Honour at the Society's awards ceremony in 1960.[99]

From a Scottish perspective, Mary E. Burton's contribution was also recognised when she was unanimously nominated by the council of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society for the award of The Dr Patrick Neill Medal 'in recognition of her outstanding work as a Horticulturist for many years'.[100] The Neill Medal was subsequently presented to Mary at the Society's Annual General Meeting on the 13 January 1943, together with a cheque and an inscribed copy of Sir Herbert Maxwell's book on Scottish gardens.[101] In its ninety-two year history, the Neill Medal had never before been awarded to a woman and it was to be twenty-one years before the next female recipient, Mrs Mary Knox Finlay at Keillour Castle in Perthshire, who was honoured jointly with her husband.[102] *The Gardeners' Chronicle* reported the death of Mary E. Burton in December 1944 and provided this testimonial to her contribution as one of Scotland's pioneering women horticulturists:

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[95] Minute of Annual General Meeting 9 January 1924, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28). Mary was eventually joined on the council by a Miss Todd in January 1925.
[96] Minute of Council Meeting 6 March 1928, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28). Sixteen women were nominated for election at the meeting compared to twelve men.
[97] Anon., 'Obituary', p.248.
[98] Listing in *Journal of the RHS*, 60 (1935), p.vi. The Associate of Honour medal was established in 1930 for those who gave distinguished service to horticulture during their employment.
[99] Annual General Meeting 28 February 1961, *Journal of the RHS*, 86 (1961), p.150.

> She was an outstanding figure in the horticulture of her time. Her loyalty to her calling, her sense of the fitness of woman's place amidst flowers, fruits, and vegetables, her nobleness of purpose and resolution in the execution of her work made her an example to all. Her many friends will all miss that quiet lady of character now called to the everlasting garden.[103]

Despite the *Chronicle's* description of her as 'an outstanding figure in the horticulture of her time', Mary's contribution is forgotten today. Her many achievements; as Scotland's first woman head gardener, as president of the Scottish Horticultural Association, as an acknowledged expert on the cultivation of flowers and vegetables, as the first female recipient of the Neill Medal and RHS Associate of Honour, and as a champion of women's entry into professional gardening, remain unrecorded in traditional and modern narratives of gardening history.[104]

Furthermore, Mary succeeded in an environment dominated by men. She transcended the lack of formal horticultural education on offer by putting together

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[100] Minute of Meeting of Council 1 December 1942, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 17 (1941-51), p.73. Patrick Neill (1776-1851) was a founding member and secretary of the Caledonian Horticultural Society for forty-two years. On his death in 1851, he left £500 to the Society in order to found a medal for distinguished Scottish botanists or cultivators; see Forbes W. Robertson, *Patrick Neill, 1776-1851: Doyen of Scottish Horticulture* (Caithness: Whittles Publishing, 2011), p.48.

[101] Minute of 132nd Annual General Meeting 13 January 1943, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 17 (1941-51), p.80.

[102] Anon., 'The Patrick Neill Medal', *The Caledonian Gardener* (1999), 21-22 (p.21). See Knox Finlay, Mary in Appendix III.

[103] Anon., 'Obituary', p.248.

[104] There is no mention of Mary E. Burton's contribution to horticulture in any of the gardening literature reviewed as part of this study.

her own syllabus and attending evening classes in subjects which would help to augment her theoretical knowledge concomitant with exploiting family and social connections, such as Patrick Geddes, who emerges as an important enabler for Mary, helping her to gain practical gardening experience that was otherwise unavailable to women at the time. Although a woman of independent means, she eschewed a life of idleness and chose instead one of hard work and it is this characteristic, together with her own brand of passive feminism, which helped to earn her the respect of her male colleagues, in spite of a prevailing prejudice against the emergence of professional women gardeners. By 'seeking absorption into existing networks in which masculinity was intrinsically valued', such as the council of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society and exhibiting at shows, Mary was able to gain a foothold from which to promote other women as members and to encourage the acceptance of gardening women.[105] It is possible that this was a deliberate tactic on Mary's part to ensure that she was part of the horticultural establishment and could influence from within, which she may have viewed as a more effective approach than being a lone separatist voice on the 'outside'. It seems to have worked given the significant recognition for her horticultural work that she attained during her lifetime. As Scotland's first female head gardener she was also an important role model for aspiring gardening women by setting the precedent that women could not only enter professional gardening in Scotland, they could also be successful.

Annie Morison (1870-1948) and Lina Barker (1866-1929)

Mary E. Burton was not alone in her desire to encourage female participation in professional gardening. Annie Morison and Lina Barker, however, followed a different strategy from that adopted by Mary through the creation of a school of gardening for women, thought to be the first and only example of its kind in Scotland for the study period, which provided professionally trained gardening women. Annie Morison was born in Leeds on 25 January 1870, the oldest of three daughters born to William and Annie Morison of Dumfriesshire. Her father, a well-known Presbyterian minister, inducted at churches in Leeds and Manchester before moving his family to Edinburgh in 1877 and transferring to Rosehall United Presbyterian Church in Newington.[106] Little is known about Annie's early life in England or of her elementary schooling in Edinburgh. It is clear from the student records, however, that she did not attend the Edinburgh Ministers' Daughters' College and may therefore have been educated privately or at a local day school.[107] Since there is no record of her in the census returns for 1881 or 1891, a gap exists in our knowledge of Annie's movements from the age of eleven to twenty-five (Figure 6.15).

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[105] Cowman and Jackson, 'Introduction: Women's Work', p.16.

However in October 1895, she is listed as a new student on the two-year diploma course at The Horticultural College in Swanley, Kent where she met, presumably for the first time, her future business partner, Lina Barker.[108] Even less is known about the early life of Jane Torr Lina Barker other than that she was born on 1 July 1866 at sea on a voyage from Australia, to parents Alfred Torr Barker a Treasury official and his wife Sarah, and lived in Yorkshire before taking up a place at The Horticultural College in 1894 at the age of twenty-eight.[109] This college, which later became known as the Swanley Horticultural College for Women, was a mixed institution when Lina and Annie attended.[110] Women were admitted on 13 June 1891 and the college became 'the first place [in Britain] to open its doors to women students who wished to obtain a thorough training in horticulture'.[111] Lina and Annie were therefore amongst the first female students in Britain to benefit from a formal horticultural education and both women distinguished themselves at the college.[112]

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[106] W. H. Marwick, 'Reverend Dr William Morison', *University of Edinburgh Journal*, 28 (June 1977), 53-54. The Revd William Morison was a published author and biographer. He became the first minister of the newly formed Rosehall congregation with a stipend of £500, and remained there until his retirement in 1912. Rosehall is now known as Priestfield Parish Church and is located in Marchhall Place, Edinburgh.

[107] NRS CH2/1139: records of Edinburgh Ministers' Daughters' College 1866-1924. The college was situated on Kilgraston Road in the Grange district of Edinburgh and dealt with the education of daughters of Ministers of the Church of Scotland and the daughters of Professors in the Scottish Universities.

[108] London, Imperial College London Archives (hereafter ICLA): *The Horticultural College Record*, 1.3 (December 1895), p.23.

[109] RBGE Archive: staff records of garden staff 1889-1911, box 20; GROS: entry of death for Jane Torr Lina Barker, 1929, district of Corstorphine, Edinburgh [685/13 0011]; *The Horticultural College Record*, 1.1 (April 1895), p.27.

[110] Elsa Morrow, 'A History of Swanley Horticultural College', *Wye: the Journal of the Agricola Club and Swanley Guild*, 12.1 (1985), 63-142 (p.90). The college became a female institution in 1902.

[111] The Hon. Frances Wolseley, *Gardening for Women* (London: Cassell, 1908), p.127.

In her first year, Lina was awarded college prizes in chemistry, geology, botany and agriculture, and in the South Kensington Science and Art Examinations she achieved first class passes in 'Advanced Agriculture' and 'Advanced Botany'.[113] Despite scoring five points less than she needed to gain a first class pass in the Royal Horticultural Society Examination, Lina successfully graduated from Swanley with a diploma in 1896.[114] She was clearly a sociable and active member of the college, giving a recitation on 'Etiquette' at the annual Sing-Song event, which was recorded in the student newsletter as having contributed to the evening's enjoyment, as well as 'efficiently' undertaking 'the systematic labelling of all the plants in the Herbaceous borders with their natural orders, and English and Generic names' which was 'of great advantage to the students in enabling them to become acquainted with the names as well as the appearance of many garden flowers'.[115] Annie joined the college a year after Lina but sat the Royal Horticultural Society Examination after only one year of study. Having only managed to score 115 points, a third class pass, she resat it a year later and this time achieved a first class pass with 264 marks.[116] She was subsequently awarded the College Diploma in 1897.[117]

The Horticultural College's decision to accept female students proved a watershed in the provision of horticultural training for middle-class women in England. The Lady Warwick Hostel at Reading was the next horticultural training school for women to open in 1898, and in the years between 1900 and 1940 nineteen private gardening schools in England, according to Meredith, offered training to women who wanted to take up work as professional gardeners in addition to a number of market gardens and plant nurseries which also took on female trainees.[118] Employment opportunities for women gardeners in England were also emerging. In 1896 Alice Hutchings (Figure 6.16) and Annie Gulvin, contemporaneous students of Lina Barker at The Horticultural College, became the first two women to be, as Alice later stated, ‘taken on trial at Kew’ by the Director William Turner Thiselton-Dyer ‘to whose kindness the success of the experiment is chiefly due’.[119] Kew’s willingness to employ female trainee gardeners was an important step towards women’s acceptance and recognition within the traditionally male world of horticulture. This did not, however, prevent these pioneering women from facing ridicule in the satirical press of the day on account of the uniform they were asked to wear, as evidenced by this extract from a ditty which appeared in *Fun* magazine:

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[112] A college list published in 1895 comprised twenty-three female students including Lina Barker and thirty-two male students; see *The Horticultural College Record*, 1.1 (April 1895), p.27.

[113] *The Horticultural College Record*, 1.2 (September 1895), p.14; ICLA: *Our Magazine*, 5 (December 1896), p.16.

[114] In 1895, new regulations decreed that a College Diploma was dependent on gaining a first class pass in the RHS examinations, but this does not seem to have been applied in Lina's case, see Morrow, p.86.

[115] *The Horticultural College Record*, 1.4 (April 1896), p.19; *Our Magazine*, 6 (February 1898), p.20.

[116] 'Examination in Horticulture 1897', *Journal of the RHS*, 21 (1898-99), 122-28 (p.122).

[117] *Our Magazine*, 6 (February 1898), p.18.

> A rumour went forth, and the town was aglow
> From Greenwich to Richmond, from Peckham to Bow –
> And the man-in-the-street made a fine how-de-do,
> When he heard of the ladies who gardened at Kew.
>
> They gardened in bloomers the newspapers said,
> So to Kew without waiting all Londoners sped;
> From the roofs of the ‘buses they had a fine view
> Of the ladies in bloomers who gardened at Kew.
>
> These ladies in bloomers are treated as ‘freaks,’
> In future they’d all better garden in ‘breeks’ –
> *Now* they look so like men no one rushes to view –
> And a pastoral quiet has settled on Kew.[120]

Meanwhile, at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, Professor Isaac Bayley Balfour, the Regius Keeper, was under pressure to follow the example at Kew and admit female practitioner gardeners. His reluctance to do so was later recorded in a newspaper article which reported that ‘knowing Edinburgh well, the Professor considered it was not quite the place for pioneer work in this direction'.[121] However, bowing to pressure in 1897, Lina Barker became the first of two women to be engaged by Bayley Balfour to work as garden 'boys' under similar conditions to those women employed at Kew.[122] The other successful applicant was Constance Hay Currie, also a graduate of The Horticultural College. In a letter that survives from Bayley Balfour to Hay Currie, dated 9 April 1897, the terms of employment were made explicit, whilst care was also taken to incorporate an exit clause:

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[118] Meredith, ‘Middle-Class Women’, p.148. In December 1903, Lady Warwick moved her students from Reading to Studley and established the Studley Horticultural College for Women; see also Meredith, ‘Horticultural Education’, p.70.

[119] Alice Hutchings, ‘Horticulture for Women’, in *Progress in Women’s Education in the British Empire being the report of the education section, Victorian Era Exhibition*, ed. by Frances Evelyn Greville (Countess of Warwick) (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897), pp.150-52 (p.152).

[120] Anon., ‘London’s Kewriosity’, *Fun*, 18 September 1900, p.95.

> I am now in a position to offer you a place on our Staff should you still be desirous of entering. Your position would be that of a 'boy' with a wage of 10/- a week. I believe that you are fully aware of the conditions as regards uniform and so forth in operation at Kew and these would be attached to your employment. I have offered a similar position to another Swanley student [Lina Barker]. I only wish to add that your employment like that of your companion must be understood to be entirely experimental and whilst we as I have no doubt you also will endeavour in every way to make the experiment a success, yet should I find from one cause or another whether on our side or yours it was not going to be so we should have to bring it to a close.[123]

As a reluctant employer of women gardeners, Bayley Balfour's intentions were clear, both in his letter to Hay Currie and in a copy of her completed application form (Figure 6.17). If women gardeners were to be successful at the botanic garden, they had to accept being referred to as 'boys', be happy to be dressed in a male uniform and consent to be part of an experiment which Bayley Balfour reserved the right to end at any time; hardly an example of equality in the workplace.[124] The reaction of both women is interesting and ultimately fortuitous. Hay Currie refused to wear the boy's uniform, stating in a letter to Bayley Balfour that she could not bring herself:

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[121] 'The Lady Gardeners in Edinburgh. Refusal to Wear Male Attire', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 November 1897, p.4.

[122] RBGE Archive: staff records of garden staff 1889-1911, box 20, fol. 70.

[123] RBGE Archive, Employment of Women Gardeners and Regulations as to Dress – Papers and Leaves, 1896-99: letter from Isaac Bayley Balfour (hereafter IBB) to Constance Hay Currie (hereafter CHC), 9 April 1897.

[124] The boys uniform consisted of 'a flannel shirt with turn over flannel collar, boy's tie, boy's sack coat (with waistcoat desirable), boy's knickerbockers or half breeks – not bloomers, boy's cap under which the hair should also be worn, shoes with gaiters, a gardener's apron and an overcoat (Ulster or Inverness Cape) to be worn when coming to and from work – not a skirt'; see RBGE Archive, Employment of Women Gardeners: note from IBB to CHC, 22 October 1897.

> […] to accede to your wishes in the matter of costume. Apart from the fact that the dress you object to has in no way impeded the convenient performance of my work, I beg you to believe that it would be quite impossible for me to wear the masculine costume you propose.[125]

In a subsequent interview with Bayley Balfour and assistant head gardener, Mr Harrow, it is obvious that Hay Currie was not prepared to sacrifice her femininity for gardening, even though her stance resulted in dismissal:

> Currie maintained her position that nothing would induce her to wear the costume stated. She considered it an advantage to show herself a woman in order to encourage women to take up gardening […]. Result:- a week's wages & conclusion of employment. No certificate printed because not long enough here.[126]

Lina's approach was fundamentally different. Perhaps recognising the advantages of her position at the garden and the unique opportunity it provided for her to gain practical paid experience, she was complicit in the wearing of the boy's apparel, and Hay Currie's dismissal after only six months in the position, signalled the arrival of Annie Morison to take her place.[127]

For Bayley Balfour, the whole experience had been most unpleasant and it had not ended with Hay Currie's departure.[128] Determined not to leave quietly, Hay Currie protested to her local MP and by the summer of 1898, a question regarding the dress worn by women workers in the botanic garden was put to the House of Commons.[129]

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[125] RBGE Archive, Employment of Women Gardeners: letter from CHC to IBB, 24 October 1897. Bayley Balfour had initially allowed the women to wear their own costume until they could afford to purchase the boy's uniform and had come to regret allowing his 'sympathies to over-ride my judgement'; see RBGE Archive, Employment of Women Gardeners: memoranda between Mr Brett [Office of Works] and IBB, 27 June 1898.

[126] RBGE Archive, Employment of Women Gardeners: interview with CHC, IBB and Mr Harrow, 2 November 1897.

[127] RBGE Archive: staff records of garden staff 1889-1911, box 20, fol. 81. Annie started work at RBGE on 4 January 1898 and, like Lina, she complied with the wearing of the male uniform.

[128] Little is known about Hay Currie's movements on leaving RBGE for an address in Surrey and then London, until she is listed in the inaugural report of the RBGE Guild Magazine as Mrs Long, residing in Reading, Berkshire; see 'A Provisional List of those […] Eligible for Membership of the Guild', *The Journal of the Edinburgh Royal Botanic Garden Guild* (hereafter *The Guild*), 1.1 (January 1914), p.47.

[129] At this time, the Office of Works was the government department responsible for overseeing the work of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh.

Asked to prepare a briefing note in advance of the Commons debate, Bayley Balfour defended his actions on the grounds of health, comfort and convenience of the workers:

> A worker amongst plants wearing a skirt would certainly cause damage by the skirt catching hold of them […]. A worker wearing a skirt could not with propriety ascend a ladder or climb on a rockwork for the purpose of syringing plants, tying them up, weeding and doing other ordinary gardening work. Knickerbockers make all these possible.[130]

However, it would appear from this later, contradictory statement in his report, that Bayley Balfour's uniform policy was an act of expediency, designed to unsex women in order to successfully integrate them within his workforce:

> Whilst the regulations are framed in no spirit of a desire to unsex women, yet it is a distinct advantage for the whole staff to have the consciousness of a difference in sex between co-workers reduced as it is by the costume prescribed.[131]

Press opinion at the time appeared to be less than balanced, favouring the stance taken by Bayley Balfour. This extract, taken from an article in the *Edinburgh Evening News,* appeared on 13 November 1897:

> A cock-and-bull story having gone the rounds of Edinburgh yesterday to the effect that one of the lady gardeners employed at the Royal Botanic Gardens had been summarily dismissed because she refused to wear knee-breeches, a flannel shirt and a man's coat and waistcoat, and to conceal her hair under a cap, an 'Evening News' representative went to Professor Balfour, Regius Keeper of the Gardens, to learn the facts of the case.[132]

The findings of this 'Evening News representative' led the article's author to conclude that 'acting as pioneers in the movement [to employ women gardeners]', the authorities at the botanic garden found it 'absolutely necessary as being conducive to efficient work and requisite for health' that women wear the male uniform.[133] The fact that Hay Currie and Barker had satisfactorily worked in the garden for six months wearing long skirts is omitted from the article.

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[130] RBGE Archive, Employment of Women Gardeners: memoranda between Mr Brett [Office of Works] and IBB, 27 June 1898.

[131] Ibid.

[132] 'The Lady Gardeners in Edinburgh', p.4.

Despite this inauspicious start, the conduct of Lina and Annie was ‘in every respect most satisfactory’ during their time spent in the gardens, although they only actually gained experience in the Glass Department, where their work was recorded as being ‘carefully, skilfully and intelligently performed’.[134] Both scored well in the examinations set by the botanic garden, higher than most of their male contemporaries, each obtaining a distinction with an average mark in excess of 80%.[135] Although they had proved themselves to be both hard-working and intelligent, Annie and Lina were not offered a permanent position at the end of their training and left the garden on 4 November 1899. A month later, in a memorandum to the Board dated 6 December 1899 and signed by Bayley Balfour, the Regius Keeper revealed his decision to end the experiment of employing women gardeners and his description of his treatment of Annie and Lina gives some clue as to the reason for their departure:

> Various reasons prevented my carrying out my original intention of employing them chiefly in the Herbaceous Department and their work has been entirely under glass. In this Department they have done their work fairly well, but of course they are unable to undertake every kind of work […]. I find my Staff is too small to permit of my continuing the experiment.[136]

Not only is there a discrepancy in Bayley Balfour’s muted assessment of their work in the Glass Department compared to the excellent evaluations noted in the staff record book, there also appears to have been deficiencies in their training on account of their gender and the perception that there were certain tasks, not made explicit, that were better undertaken by men. Reading through Bayley Balfour’s papers in relation to Lina and Annie’s employment, there is an obvious sense of his relief at their departure coupled with a feeling that Lina and Annie were left with little option but to seek work elsewhere. In one example, Bayley Balfour ends his memorandum to the Board by reporting that Miss Barker and Miss Morison had found posts together as head gardeners at Dumfries House, Ayrshire, at the estate of the Marquess of Bute and appears to free himself of any reproach regarding their training: 'in any case, I am pleased that so far as we are concerned they left the Garden under happy auspices.'[137] Despite his aversion to women gardeners, Bayley Balfour had a very different attitude toward female scholars. He agreed, in around 1910, to supervise a young Carnegie Research Scholar, Bertha Chandler, and in addition to publishing many botanical papers, Bertha became one of the first women to have conferred on her the Degree of Doctor of Science by the University of Edinburgh in 1913.[138] During her time at the botanic garden, she was recruited by Bayley Balfour as Head of the Laboratory, becoming the first woman to be appointed onto the garden's management team.[139]

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[133] Ibid.

[134] RBGE Archive: staff records of garden staff 1889-1911, box 20, fols 70 and 81.

[135] Ibid. Lina Barker’s average was 88.9% compared to 81.5% achieved by Annie Morison.

[136] RBGE Archive: memorandum from IBB to the Board of RBGE, 6 December 1899. Unlike RBGE, Kew continued to employ women and at the start of the Second World War, twenty-seven female gardeners worked at the gardens, see Horwood, p.331.

An analysis of staff records at the garden has revealed Bayley Balfour's continued reluctance to take on trainee gardening women following the departure of Annie and Lina. Only two, Amelia Scott and Mary Ord, were employed as practitioner gardeners in 1919 and 1920 respectively, although Mary offered her services on a voluntary basis during the First World War and took charge of the Alpine and Herbaceous Plant Department when the foreman left for military duty.[140] She is recorded as having 'managed her department exceptionally well', handing it back to the foreman on his return 'with an abundance of young healthy stock'.[141] No other formal record of women working at the garden during the war, either on a paid or voluntary basis, has been found and only two further women were employed as trainees before 1930.[142] Edith Cairns was engaged as a practitioner gardener from 1922 to 1924 and Ruby Collett took up her training in August 1924.[143] Ruby left two and a half years later to take up a position as Assistant Inspector in Horticulture with the Ministry of Agriculture in Worcestershire.[144] Within six months, she had been promoted to inspector, a notable achievement for a woman according to this article which appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* in 1934:

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[137] Ibid.

[138] Anon., 'Mrs C. Norman Kemp M.A. D.Sc. (née Bertha Chandler)', *The Guild*, 1.1 (January 1914), p.34.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Amelia Scott from Edinburgh completed her probationary training and left RBGE in September 1921. No record has been found of her subsequent employment and in 1926 her death, at the age of thirty, was recorded in the RBGE Guild magazine; see 'Amelia Scott', *The Guild*, 1.2 (January 1926), p.8.

[141] RBGE Archive: staff records of garden staff 1911-1924, box 21. Originally from Co. Durham, Mary left the botanic garden in June 1923 and was listed in *The Guild* as having married in 1926 and moved to Darlington; see 'Marriages' and 'List of Members', *The Guild*, 1.3 (1927), p.8 and p.31 respectively.

> Miss Collett for the last six and a half years has held a unique position as Inspector under the Ministry of Agriculture. During the war one or two women did a certain amount of inspection work, but Miss Collett was the first woman to be appointed to her particular class of work, and her feminine colleagues are few […] posts such as Miss Collett's, though nominally open to both sexes, have traditionally been given to men.[145]

Anecdotal evidence does, however, exist which indicates that women were taken on by the botanic garden at the outbreak of war. Harry Bryce, who entered service as a boy probationer at the garden in 1913, recalled that two unnamed women graduates from Swanley were put in charge of the Seed Department in 1914 and a further two women, who he described as 'simmered down' suffragettes, were briefly employed in the outdoor department, where they experienced prejudice and discrimination not only from Professor Bayley Balfour but also from their male co-workers:

> Two of these mesdames arrived in the Garden and Stewart [Head of the Propagating Department] with a touch of humour assigned them to help me. I was a lad of 16 and was a wee bit 'wary' of them but I got along with them rightly. After a period of time their Suffragette principles got the better of them and they thought they should have the same pay as the gardeners! They saw the Prof and practically

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[142] There are no photographs in the RBGE archive of women working in the garden during the First World War and nothing was chronicled as the production of *The Guild* was suspended in 1915 and did not appear again until 1926.

[143] Originally from Sunderland, Edith met and married a gardener whilst working at RBGE and had emigrated to Canada by 1927; see 'Marriages' and 'List of Members', *The Guild*, 1.3 (1927), p.8 and p.26 respectively.

[144] 'Appointments', *The Guild*, 1.3 (1927), p.7.

[145] Anon., 'At Work on the Land. Miss Collett Talks of Women in Agriculture', *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2 May 1934, p.9. Following her career as an Inspector, Ruby Collett bought a flower farm in Cornwall in 1932 and employed female horticultural students who wished to gain experience of working in a commercial environment; see Meredith, 'Middle-Class Women', p.172 and p.209.

> demanded the same pay as the gardeners. No one ever demanded anything from the Prof and before you could say ‘jings’ they were on their way out.[146]

Despite having been trained at Swanley, their contribution was clearly not valued. Condescendingly referred to as ‘mesdames’, they were intentionally assigned to work for the boy apprentice as if to undermine them further and were clearly paid less than the men.

Returning to Annie and Lina, no evidence was found within gardening staff records at the time to indicate that the two women worked as paid gardeners at Dumfries House.[147] Details of the whereabouts of both women following their departure from the botanic garden can be found in the 1901 census which shows them living with Annie’s parents in Edinburgh, with their listed occupation as ‘gardener [own account]’.[148] The following year, they were listed in the Post Office Directory for 1902-03, as market gardeners at Shiels [*sic*] Park Nurseries in Musselburgh.[149] An advertisement, placed in *The Scotsman* on 25 November 1901, is the first indication of Annie and Lina’s intention to set up a school devoted to the training of women in horticulture:

> SCHOOL OF GARDENING FOR WOMEN, SHIELL’S PARK NURSERY, INVERESK, near Edinburgh. OPENS IN JANUARY. Miss BARKER and Miss MORISON (diplomées Swanley Hort. College, cert. Edin. Botanic Garden.) Prospectus on application.[150]

Their decision to set up the school is likely to have been influenced by Bayley Balfour’s injunction to end the employment of female probationary gardeners at the botanic garden and a subsequent feminist desire on their part to provide equal opportunities for women to train as gardeners. By founding the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, Annie and Lina challenged the gendered exclusion in operation at the Royal Botanic Garden by employing what feminist historian Anne Witz has described as a 'separatist credentialist' tactic in order to 'establish the means whereby the link between education and occupation could be made by women as well as men'.[151] The school, which was opened by Annie and Lina in January 1902, equipped middle-class women with the horticultural training and education necessary for them to either earn a living from gardening as an occupation or to break into the ranks of professional gardeners, and was the only one of its type in Scotland.[152] It thus gave gardening women in Scotland a unique opportunity to accrue institutionalised 'cultural capital', a term used by Pierre Bourdieu in his conceptual study of differing forms of capital and explained by Cowman and Jackson in their analysis of women and work culture, as the ability to 'look the part' through the attainment of formal educational qualifications.[153]

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[146] Harry Bryce, ‘Reminiscing on an era many decades ago’, an attachment in *RBGE Guild News*, (March 1980), p.14.

[147] The Bute Archive at Mount Stuart, uncatalogued, DE 414: manuscripts relating to Dumfries Estate.

[148] GROS William Morison, Census 1901, Civil Parish of Newington, Edinburgh, [685/05 082/00 019].

[149] *Post Office Edinburgh and Leith Directory* (1902-03), p.1095.

[150] ‘School of Gardening’, *The Scotsman*, 25 November 1901, p.1. This advertisement also appeared in the paper on 9 December 1901, p.1.

Clearly ambitious to provide trained, professional women gardeners, there is evidence to suggest that Lina and Annie were committed feminists. At the school's official opening, a letter sent to Annie Morison by Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren (1815-1906), a leading campaigner for women's rights and the first President of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, was read out, in which she cordially commended the gardening school.[154] Further evidence of their links to and support for the women's movement can be found in the reminiscences of one of the school's former students, Madge Elder, who described the principals as 'fervid suffragettes' whose 'enthusiasm and genuine ideals' infected those around them.[155] When Madge joined the school in 1910, the suffragettes were at their most militant, but in the absence of membership records it is only possible to speculate as to whether Annie and Lina were members of a suffrage organisation such as that headed by Mrs Bright McLaren.[156] However, as a search of the census taken on 3 April, 1911 has uncovered no record of the two women, it is probable that they supported the militant suffragettes' boycott of the 1911 census on the grounds that as women were not considered full citizens, they would not allow themselves to be counted. As Leneman explained, women in Scotland went to extreme lengths to avoid the count, including hiring a large café for members of the Women's Social and Political Union who did not wish to be counted and dressing up as waxwork dummies (Figure 6.18).[157] Where Annie and Lina were on the night of the 3 April 1911 will, most likely, remain a mystery, but it is tempting to imagine them and their students camped out in one of the School's glasshouses in order to avoid the count.

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[151] Witz, pp.88-89.

[152] The school was one of only six gardening schools for women established in Britain by 1908, see Wolseley, pp.116-159.

[153] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society*, ed. by A. H. Halsey and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.46-58 (p.47); Cowman and Jackson, 'Introduction: Women's Work', p.15.

[154] 'The Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women', *The Scotsman*, 24 October 1903, p.12.

[155] Madge Elder, 'We Were The Pioneers', *The Scots Magazine*, March 1974, pp.640-648 (p.640).

Despite an extensive search, no trace of a prospectus for the school has been found. However, the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh's Despatch Book, which is a complete register of outgoing seeds and plants from the garden, contains a list of eighty-one herbaceous perennials and shrubs forwarded to Miss Barker of Shiells Park Nursery, Inveresk on 18 March 1902, which could possibly have been used as teaching plants for the new school.[158] Whilst student records are not believed to have survived, it is clear from this advertisement placed in *The Scotsman* on 9 August 1902, that after only six months in operation larger premises for the school were already required:

> THE PROPRIETORS of School of Gardening for Women, Inveresk, are open to rent garden of about one acre, with glass houses, in suburbs of Edinburgh; no objection to dwelling-house attached: if moderate rent.[159]

Information on the workings of the school was found in an article in *The Practical Teacher* in the spring of 1903, which also indicated the rarity of professional gardening women in Scotland.[160] Citing the success of The Horticultural College at

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[156] The National Library of Scotland holds a significant archival collection on the women's suffrage movement but membership records for the various suffrage organisations were not typically held in case they fell into the wrong hands.

[157] Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause. The women's suffrage movement in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), p.101.

[158] RBGE Archive, *Despatch Book 1899-1912*: plants forwarded to Miss Barker 1902, fols 66-69.

[159] 'The Proprietors', *The Scotsman*, 9 August 1902, p.2.

[160] Anon., 'A Technical School for Women', *The Practical Teacher*, 23 (April 1903), 498-99.

Swanley and the work of the Countess of Warwick in Reading, the article dealt first with the advent of the female Scottish gardener:

> To say that the training of [women] gardeners has spread to Scotland may seem somewhat like the discovery made by a Southern golfer the other day, that golf had now spread as far north as St. Andrews; for in all respectable works of fiction in which a gardener appears he is invariably a Scotsman, and this habit is founded on a considerable amount of fact. The Scotswoman has not yet appeared as gardener in our novels, but she may be expected to make her *début* shortly in that character; she has begun to study the part.[161]

It then gave an outline of the school's curriculum, which detailed the extent of the practical instruction given by Annie and Lina:

> The curriculum at Inveresk strikes one as very complete. The full course extends over two years […]. The practical work includes training in the culture of plants under glass and in forcing-houses, the growing of flowers, fruit, and vegetables in the open, with the practice of bee-keeping.[162]

There are also photographs of the female students at the school, which show them at work in the garden dressed in long skirts rather than breeches, suggesting perhaps that, although outwardly complicit, Annie and Lina were inwardly resentful of having to dress in the boy's uniform during their training at the Royal Botanic Garden and chose to adopt a feminine uniform for their school.[163] Further light is thrown on the activities of the school with its removal from Inveresk to new premises in Corstorphine in the spring of 1903.[164] Situated on the southern slope of Corstorphine Hill, two miles from the west end of Edinburgh, the school was ideally placed for easy access to buses and trains (Figures 6.19 and 6.20). Within six months of its relocation, the school was formally opened by the Countess of Aberdeen on 23 October 1903.[165] An ardent promoter of women's interests and President of the Women's Liberal Federation, the Countess had previously presented prizes at the Horticultural College in Swanley and it is testimony to the business acumen of the co-principals, Annie and Lina, that they were able to secure her presence at the opening of the school. Also in attendance were Mr J. W. McHattie, Edinburgh City Gardener, and Professor Bayley Balfour, who was asked to propose a vote of thanks to Lady Aberdeen, further evidence of the principals' shrewdness by including such important and potentially useful contacts amongst the attendant VIPs.[166] If they had hoped that networking in this way would have led to employment opportunities for their students they were to be disappointed for no evidence of graduates at the school working either for Edinburgh City Council or the Royal Botanic Garden has been found. Lina, however, was missing from the ceremony due to the illness of her mother. To be absent from such an important occasion in her life must have been a disappointment but as a daughter she would have been expected to place her filial duties above those of other concerns.

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[161] Ibid., p.498.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Unfortunately the quality of these photographs is poor and as a result they have not been reproduced in this thesis.
[164] An advertisement for the school at its new location appeared in *The Scotsman*, 13 March 1903, p.1.
[165] 'The Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women', *The Scotsman*, 24 October 1903, p.12.

The opening resulted in favourable press coverage and in her address the Countess of Aberdeen was reported to have dismissed the idea that women 'could not dig any more than they could hit nails on the head', and stated that capable women who had a real interest in gardening would now have the opportunity to take it up as a 'profession' within Scotland.[167] It is possible that Lady Aberdeen's use of the word profession to describe gardening may have been a conscious attempt to convey the serious intentions of the work of the school and the desire of its founders to produce dedicated women, intent on gaining a horticultural qualification and making a career of gardening. In his vote of thanks, however, Bayley Balfour was reported as being less than emphatic in his endorsement of the school and its prospective students:

> He would only express the hope that it would carry out to the full the intentions of its initiators […]. And he would only further hope that the School would not be afflicted by an incubus which was apt to attend upon institutions which were established in connection with a new movement – the affliction of having a number of applicants who were unfitted to benefit thoroughly by the work to be done.[168]

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[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

Furthermore, his uncertainty as to the suitability of women as working gardeners was in evidence once again:

> Whilst the vocation of gardening was really, after all, one that could only be pursued successfully by those who had a real love of plant life and plants, people were very apt to mistake a love of flowers as being very much the same as the growth of those flowers. Now, to grow flowers successfully required a great amount of patience. The path as a rule was a very rough one, and there was a vast amount of drudgery to be done. It might be a misfortune for this School if a number of women thought that because they had merely a love of flowers they were to flow in to it, because they would not really profit by the education they might obtain there.[169]

Unlike Lady Aberdeen, Bayley Balfour chose to link women with gardening as a hobby rather than a profession. What he seems to have implied is that whilst women's love of flowers might suggest gardening to them as a calling in life, he doubted their ability to convert their passion into unrelenting hard work and patience, attributes he deemed necessary to become a professional gardener. Despite Bayley Balfour's gendered cynicism, Annie and Lina were clearly determined to succeed. Further press coverage reveals that the school was equipped with 'vinery, peach, tomato, and cucumber houses, all in the most excellent working order', with additions such as a forcing house for rhubarb and a mushroom house also planned.[170] The published aims of the school were fourfold; to prepare women for the various branches of practical professional gardening, to fit them for managing a market garden, to teach them to take charge of a private garden, and to give instruction to those who wished to devote themselves to gardening as a private interest (Figures 6.21 and 6.22).[171] Fees were marginally cheaper than at Swanley and Studley, (resident students paid £70 a year and non-residents £40, the equivalent in today's money of over £7,000 and £4,000 respectively), but still high enough to ensure that most students came from middle-class rather than working-class backgrounds.[172] By the time of its official opening, the school had eight students enrolled.[173]

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[169] Ibid.

[170] Anon., 'Scottish Notes', *The Queen*, 31 October 1903, p.685.

[171] Wolseley, p.144.

In contrast to Mary E. Burton's piecemeal experience of gaining a horticultural education, Annie and Lina wanted to ensure that their school was 'primarily a Technical School for women', and in order to provide the best scientific training possible, they took advantage of the establishment in 1901 of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture and enrolled their students on evening classes in the sciences, horticulture, land surveying, botany and drawing.[174] Although the College offered evening classes in horticulture, a formal qualification known as the College Certificate in Horticulture, was not introduced until 1908, whereas the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women started to produce diploma graduates in horticulture, some of whom had also attained the Royal Horticultural Society Examination in Horticulture, from as early as 1904.[175] Of the three agricultural colleges in Scotland at the time, Edinburgh was the first to introduce a horticultural qualification, thus making Annie and Lina's school the first institution in Scotland to offer women a diploma in horticulture.[176]

Shedding light on the personalities of these two pioneering women is difficult in the absence of extant personal correspondence. Only one paper, written by Lina Barker, has been found, and provides the only evidence of her active participation as a member of the Scottish Horticultural Association.[177] It was read at an Association meeting on 3 July 1906, which may possibly have been attended by Mary E. Burton. In her paper, Lina appears to have attempted to influence from within the horticultural establishment by discussing the suitability of women for the profession of gardening and made a measured, unemotional and balanced appeal for the acceptance of women gardeners:

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[172] Ibid.

[173] Anon., 'Scottish Notes', p.685.

[174] Anon., 'A Technical School for Women', p.498. The college replaced the Edinburgh School of Rural Economy, which was established in 1896 as a centre of instruction for the study of agriculture; see NRS AF70/411/1: correspondence relating to the formation of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Agricultural College (EESAC) 1901. Evening classes were initially held at Heriot-Watt College in Chambers Street, Edinburgh, before being moved in 1905 to the new headquarter premises of the EESAC in George Square, Edinburgh; see HWU: HWC1/2/20: minute of meeting of Heriot-Watt College Committee, 15 June 1905.

[175] G. Stuart, 'Horticulture Teaching in the East of Scotland', *The Journal of the Edinburgh Royal Botanic Garden*, 2.1 (1929), 19-21.

[176] Lectures in horticulture at the West of Scotland Agricultural College were offered from 1907; see David J. Martin, *Auchincruive. The history of the West of Scotland Agricultural College* (Edinburgh: Scottish Agricultural College, 1994), p.31. At the North of Scotland College of Agriculture in Aberdeen, horticulture was not part of the curriculum until the establishment of the Craibstone School of Rural Domestic Economy in 1923; see Aberdeen, Scotland's Rural College (SRUC) Archive: prospectus of Craibstone School of Rural Domestic Economy, 1923.

> Certainly no one in his senses will argue that a woman can get through as much digging as a man, or that she is capable of wheeling as heavy a load. But surely if we exclude the very heaviest work, there is no reason why a woman should not do well all that is required in a garden, from the simplest job of thinning a crop or keeping it clean to the culture of the most exacting plant that can be raised.[178]

Like Mary E. Burton, she was pragmatic enough to encourage only those women interested in gardening and committed to working hard to enter the profession, recognising that in order to compete successfully with their male contemporaries, the school's gardening students would need to be tough and determined. Her paper was also a clever appeal for help. The success of the school ultimately rested on the ability to place students in suitable gardening positions, which were difficult for women to secure at the time. Lina was keen to maximise as many openings as possible and to ensure that her students had parity with male gardeners by finding them opportunities to work their way up through the gardening ranks:

> The applications we get for gardeners almost always require someone to take entire charge of a good garden. A woman who really means business may do this immediately after finishing her course of training, but it would be of very great advantage if she could first have some experience as an under-gardener. If those who have under-gardeners' posts at their disposal would now and then offer them to women gardeners they would do them a great service, and would not regret it themselves.[179]

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[177] Miss L. Barker, 'Women Gardeners', *Trans of the SHA* (1904-08) 1907, 52-55. Lina became a member of the SHA in 1898, see *Trans of the SHA*, 1897-1903, but no membership records have been found for Annie Morison within the Association's transactions.

[178] Barker, p.53.

[179] Ibid., p.55.

The zeal and determination of both Annie and Lina is apparent in the following description of them by Madge Elder:

> I suppose they would be considered the 'new women' of their day, a type I had not met before. Both were sturdily independent, and, as gardeners, already had weathered complexions and work-a-day hands. They were dedicated to their job of turning out thoroughly trained gardeners. They had no use for dilettantes, dabblers, or 'fair weather gardeners'. No man was employed to do the heavy work. We dug, manured, forked and hoed with man-sized tools, and tools in these days were much heavier.[180]

Madge also provided fleeting glimpses of the women's very different personalities:

> Miss Barker was English, and […] Miss Morison was the daughter of a well-known Church of Scotland Minister. Contrary to the accepted idea of national characteristics, Miss Barker was reserved and Miss Morison quite voluble. Miss Barker was extremely practical, her instructions were concise and confined to the job in hand, while Miss Morison was apt to be side-tracked by some interesting topic.[181]

Lina was evidently more taciturn, the businesswoman of the partnership, whereas the impression gained of Annie is more personable (Figure 6.23). In the potting shed, where all the 'chat' took place, we learn that 'it was something of a Forum […] with Miss Morison as pivot'.[182] Despite their differences in personality, they lived and worked together for over twenty-five years and their successful partnership may have been helped by the strength and support they drew from one another. Ironically the issue of uniform is raised by Madge, who expressed her surprise at having to wear long skirts:

> Our Principals were not sufficiently 'advanced' to devise a suitable working uniform for us. We still wore our usual blouses, and skirts down to our ankles, the only professional touch being green serge gardeners' aprons over them, and our long hair was pinned up […]. Also we were still bound by that 'abomination of abominations', boned and laced corsets,

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[180] Edinburgh, Turnbull Family Private Archive: Madge Elder, *The Sheltering Tree* (unpublished autobiography, n.d.), p.94. I am indebted to Margery Turnbull, the niece of Madge Elder, for allowing me to read her aunt's autobiography.

[181] Ibid., p.95.

[182] Ibid., p.97.

> with their hard steel frontal bands of hooks and eyes that dug into one's breast bones when stooping. I don't know what the others did, but I returned to my only recently discarded soft 'maids' corsets.[183]

Whilst her words convey a sense of growing emancipation and a desire for change, what Madge failed to comprehend was the symbolism that both the principals attached to the wearing of a feminine uniform, free from the enforced suppression of their femininity.

In around 1910, a small rock garden was laid out in the grounds of the school, anticipating the great vogue for alpines, and on its completion the principals operated an alpine and rock plant nursery from the site in addition to providing instruction in horticulture, no doubt in an attempt to augment the school's income. One plant catalogue survives, printed in 1929, and is a fitting memorial to the women's love of plants, each one meticulously listed and beautifully described. Plants such as *Dianthus squarrosus* 'Nanus' with its 'fringed flowers of an excessive fringiness, like a whirlwind of lace', *Sempervivum arachnoidum* 'the curiously beautiful or beautifully curious cobweb horseleek', and *Calceolaria polyrrhiza* 'an indispensable and indestructible charmer.'[184] Teaching appears to have stopped by the end of 1925. A letter written by Annie's nephew, found in The Corstorphine Trust's archives, indicates that Annie's involvement in the school had diminished by the early 1920s, since she was required at home to nurse her ageing parents.[185] As one sister was married and the other away studying medicine, the care of her parents fell to Annie. Lina Barker carried on running the alpine nursery from the school with the help of a former pupil, Miss Johnston, and only chose to become a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society in the summer of 1927.[186] Although difficult to evidence, it is possible that Lina's decision to join the Society at such a late stage may have been taken because she saw membership as beneficial to the running of the plant nursery rather than the school. On her death from influenza at the age of sixty-two in 1929, the school/nursery was finally closed and the effects sold off. It is assumed that Annie carried on caring for her parents until their deaths in 1937 and 1939, leaving only a few years before her own demise in 1948.

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[183] Ibid., p.96.
[184] Edinburgh, McIntyre Private Family Archive: catalogue entitled List of Rock Plants for Sale, Edinburgh School of Gardening, Corstorphine.
[185] Edinburgh, The Corstorphine Trust Archives, DA 1278: letter to Miss Cowper from William McIntyre, nephew of Annie Morison, 4 September 1986.
[186] Minute of Council Meeting 5 July 1927, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28).

Tracing students of the school and their career history has proved a painstaking process and there are many gaps in knowledge which are worthy of further research. Attempts to quantify the attendance at the school have been handicapped by a lack of surviving information. Appendix V contains a list of sixteen women who attended the school between 1904 and 1915 and passed the Royal Horticultural Society's Examination in Horticulture, but it does not give a complete picture of the student population since there may have been women at the school who graduated with a diploma but did not sit the Royal Horticultural Society's examination. Using all available sources of information, Appendix VI holds a list of actual and possible students of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women. Piecing together the careers, where possible, of some of these former students has helped to determine the relative success of the school.

One of its first graduates was Miss Georgina G. Balfour, who had gained a second class pass in the Royal Horticultural Society Examination in Horticulture in 1904 and been awarded the Wemyss Prize for advanced botany, a class medal in agricultural chemistry and certificates in elementary botany and horticulture from Heriot-Watt College.[187] A chance discovery of a news item in a New Zealand newspaper, the *Otago Witness* dated 15 December 1904, revealed that Georgina had recently been appointed head gardener to the Guthrie Industrial School for Girls at Gilmerton in Edinburgh.[188] The editorial carried this comment on Miss Balfour's appointment, which highlights the prejudice faced by women in general but also by those who chose gardening as a profession:

> Those who look askance at the feminine invasion of masculine occupations, which is making such rapid progress in these unsettled times, will probably shake their heads at

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[187] 'Examination in Horticulture 1904', *Journal of the RHS*, 29 (1904-05), 161-65 (p.161); *Heriot-Watt College Calendar*, 1903-05. Georgina was the daughter of the Rev. Dr R. G. Balfour of Edinburgh, Moderator of the United Free Church.

[188] 'Women Gardeners', *Otago Witness*, 8 March 1905, p.88. I am indebted to Graham Hardy, Serials Librarian at RBGE, for drawing this reference to my attention.

> this last evidence of it, and say that Eve is giving up spinning and taking to delving in competition with Adam.[189]

Like Mary E. Burton, Georgina Balfour is a rare example of a female head gardener in Scotland in the opening years of the twentieth century, and proof of the early effectiveness of Annie and Lina's training. Another, Madge Elder, was determined to reverse the gendered bias shown to gardening women and described how it felt to be a student at the school in 1910:

> We were pioneers in a new career for women and were determined to prove our worth, not unaware that we were regarded with indulgent amusement by the outside world and dubbed 'lady gardeners' – just as pioneering medical women were called 'lady doctors', as if we were not quite the real thing.[190]

The analogy that Madge makes between gardening and medicine is an interesting one. By enrolling at the school, Madge was benefitting from the separatist strategy employed by Annie and Lina in the same way that the London School of Medicine for Women, opened in 1874, provided women with a gender-specific route of access to medical education.[191] But it is clear from Madge's comment above that one of the repercussions of such a strategy was lack of acceptance, both in the medical and gardening profession.

However, in an indication of the extent to which the First World War had opened up gardening to women, Madge was eventually successful in securing a professional position. In August 1918, she saw an advertisement for the post of head gardener at Bowhill, the Selkirkshire estate of the Duke of Buccleuch, and although 'greatly daring', she applied and was called for an interview, only to encounter scepticism from the matron who 'doubted my qualifications for such an authoritative post'.[192] After some persuasion, Madge was accepted on a month's trial. Her main responsibility was to ensure that the house, which was being used as a hospital for the duration of the war, was supplied with fruit and vegetables from the kitchen garden and to keep the formal areas around the house tidy. 'We were to bless our teachers when the First World War came', she wrote in her memoirs, 'for we were then fully trained practical workers, fit to tackle the men's jobs turned over to us.'[193] For the remainder of the war, she successfully managed the gardens at Bowhill, but like so many women who undertook war work, she had to relinquish her position following the head gardener's return from the war. Madge's subsequent career as a nurserywoman is covered in Chapter 7, together with that of her fellow student and business partner Bessie Mitchell.

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[189] Ibid.

[190] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.95; Elder, 'We Were the Pioneers', p.642.

[191] Witz, p.91.

[192] Madge Elder, 'First of the Female Cultivators', *The Scotsman*, 14 August 1973, p.16.

In 1915, Miss E. M. Mercer graduated from the school and at some point secured a gardening position at Masson Hall, the first residence and union for women students at the University of Edinburgh, where she is believed to have had at least two assistants working for her.[194] In 1926, she also employed Elizabeth Beveridge, one of the last women known to have attended the school of gardening. In her memoirs, Elizabeth described how hard it was to find gardening positions and how grateful she was to her former principals who had put her in touch with Miss Mercer as a prospective employer.[195] This is further evidence of the difficulty faced by female students of the school when they came to secure gardening work in male-run establishments and the reliance that was consequently placed on Annie and Lina to adopt another separatist tactic, through the creation of structures and networks of women within gardening to provide training and employment opportunities for their graduates. Elizabeth Beveridge's memories of the school of gardening and her subsequent career in horticulture are of interest, not only because she is further proof of the success of the school but also because her experiences reveal some of the barriers she encountered as a gardening woman.

Born into a middle-class family in 1891, Elizabeth was educated at Harris Academy in Dundee and went up to St Andrews University where she studied Greek, French, natural philosophy (physics), English literature and moral philosophy, graduating in 1912 with an ordinary degree. She would have liked to stay on to study honours in both English and Greek, but as her two elder sisters had left the family home, her parents asked her to live at home and help.[196] During the First World War, Elizabeth worked for The Board of Agriculture for Scotland in Edinburgh, but the work involved long hours and complex calculations and following a bout of flu which affected her weak heart Elizabeth left in 1917. Although no reason is given for her decision to study at the school of gardening, she became a student there from 1923. According to her memoirs, Elizabeth had a happy time at the school, working from 9.30am until 12.30pm in the winter months and attending classes in the evening at the East of Scotland Agricultural College (Figure 6.24). In summer the hours were 9am until 4pm with lunch eaten in the peach house on wet days and anywhere in the gardens in fine weather. On Saturdays, there were botanical excursions into the country or the botanic garden.[197] In her first year, there were five students on the course with her but for much of the second year, she was the only student, which again suggests that teaching was being wound down by the time of her departure.[198]

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[193] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.94.

[194] Minute of Council Meeting 6 June 1922, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 13 (1921-24). At the meeting, a letter was read from Miss E. M. Mercer enquiring whether she and one of her two assistants could sit the RCHS's newly introduced Certificate in Horticulture examination. Permission was not granted since neither woman had served a horticultural apprenticeship.

[195] Edinburgh, Beveridge Family Private Archive: Elizabeth Beveridge, *The Prig's Progress*, (unpublished autobiography, c.1970), p.90. I am indebted to Tertia Griffiths, the great niece of Elizabeth Beveridge, for allowing me to read her great aunt's autobiography.

Having passed both the school's oral and practical examinations, she graduated with a diploma in 1925 and secured employment at a smallholding called The Rock, near Kinaldie, Aberdeenshire, where the owners had decided to 'try' a lady gardener.[199] She was employed to single-handedly tend a large walled vegetable garden extending to one acre, for twenty shillings a week and was lodged in a room over the garage and coal shed. The work tested the very limits of Elizabeth's strength and her pay barely covered her food and laundry. After a year, she decided to return to Edinburgh, but not before she had dug over the vegetable beds, completed the early sowings and pruned the fruit and rose trees. According to Elizabeth's memoirs, her replacement, who had served his apprenticeship under a head gardener on a large estate, confessed that he could not have made a better job himself:

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[196] It was some years later that Elizabeth learned the real reason. The family doctor had advised that further study would be too much for her and could lead to a breakdown; conversation with Tertia Griffiths, 24 March 2012.

[197] Beveridge, p.92.

[198] Beveridge, p.93

[199] Beveridge, p.83.

> He approved my cropping plan which I had carefully made out, with the depth of digging indicated for each crop. 'Three spits deep, good for you Missie. I reckoned I'd have all the trenching to do myself. My word! You've changed all my ideas of lady gardeners! If they're all like you, we old stagers'll soon be out of a job![200]

This patronising assessment is underlined by the realisation that women gardeners could compete on the same terms as the men but, in addition to the lingering prejudice they faced, gardening women were also constrained by post-war austerity and the slow but gradual decline of landed estates and gardens. The Victorian style of estate and garden management had, as Robertson highlighted, been 'irrevocably damaged by the First World War and the consequences of rising costs, death duties and changing values progressively led to the reduction of all categories of staff, the run-down of the big gardens and the falling into neglect and decay of the greenhouses'.[201] Once back in Edinburgh, Elizabeth worked for Miss Mercer at Masson Hall but struggled to find full-time gardening employment.

By the end of 1926, following a short spell as a companion/gardener, Elizabeth had taken on a number of small design commissions (Figure 6.25), including a courtyard garden for the Girls' Friendly Society Hostel on the Mound in Edinburgh.[202] Surrounded by high walls, with little available space or light, Elizabeth described the job as one of the hardest she had tackled, yet she managed to achieve a royal seal of approval: 'The Duchess of York (as she then was) on an official visit to the Hostel exclaimed: "Oh, what a sweet little garden! Whoever would have expected to find such a charming spot in a situation like this?".'[203] The success of this garden ensured a steady stream of work and yet Elizabeth felt unable to wholly capitalise on her skills:

> I rarely charged more than a guinea for the design, however long it had taken me to work out (as I had had no training in garden design and felt too much of an amateur to ask a

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[200] Beveridge, p.90.

[201] Robertson, 'Working Life of Scottish Gardeners', p.83.

[202] These design commissions included remodelling the private gardens owned by Mrs Rossie Brown at Balgreen Road, Murrayfield in Edinburgh and laying out the gardens belonging to two committee members of the Girls' Friendly Society, see Beveridge, p.109.

[203] Beveridge, p.109.

> professional fee), and as I was only entitled to the statutory rate for a jobbing gardener, viz one shilling and sixpence an hour, for my practical work, it is obvious that I could not have made a living by it had I not been able to live at home.[204]

Despite being a fully-trained and qualified gardener with some years' experience of designing gardens, it is interesting that she still lacked the confidence to charge a professional fee for her design work. Unlike today, there was no culture of professional female garden designers in Scotland and Elizabeth struggled to make ends meet. Her business did however benefit from her time at the gardening school since one of her most profitable clients, Mrs Rossie Brown, came to her through a referral from Lina Barker. Gradually she built up a client base and was able to engage the services of William Kelly, a jobbing gardener, to help her maintain the gardens she had created.[205]

Elizabeth was also one of the first contributors to a new weekly magazine, *Scottish Gardening*, and wrote a regular feature entitled 'What is Wrong with Your Garden? By a Working Gardener' which ran from March to June 1929.[206] Using case studies of actual gardens she had worked on, Elizabeth examined design defects and how they might be remedied. Her first article tackled the importance of proportion:

> I have seen a well-kept garden ruined in effect by the fact of the border being too narrow and the path too wide; while another garden of my acquaintance, shockingly ill-kept though it is, always contrives to look charming by reason of the perfect balance and harmony of all its parts.[207]

In subsequent issues, she transformed an unkempt, ill-planned north-facing garden into a 'lovesome thing'; suggested using colour to maximise the effect of viewing flower beds at the end of a garden, and advocated the judicious use of open trellis of rustic larch to break the view of a garden and suggest a glimpse of what was beyond.[208] In addition to referring to herself as a 'Working Gardener', Elizabeth chose to sign off her articles with the pseudonym 'Edinensis', perhaps fearing recognition by one of her clients, but also possibly preferring to disguise her sex for fear of not being taken seriously.

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[204] Ibid.

[205] Beveridge, p.190. Kelly had served a seven-year apprenticeship at Alnwick Castle and risen to be second gardener before joining up to fight in 1914. At the end of the war, he too struggled to find employment since estates in Scotland could no longer afford to retain seven or eight gardeners.

[206] *Scottish Gardening*: *A Journal for Amateur Gardeners, Plotholders, and Smallholders* was published from 1928-32, in response to an upsurge in suburban gardening in Scotland.

[207] Edinensis, 'What is Wrong with your Garden? By a Working Gardener', *Scottish Gardening*, 29 March 1929, p.3.

'What is Wrong with Your Garden?' was followed by a series of articles entitled 'Leaves from Windygap', the first of which was published in *Scottish Gardening* on 29 November 1929.[209] Each article took the form of a letter addressed to a fictional friend called Monica, in which Elizabeth described the design, laying out and planting of the garden of a new, out-of-town house she had just moved in to.[210] This format allowed Elizabeth to impart advice on topics such as double-digging, seeding a new lawn and planting up summer-flowering window boxes, but more importantly, it gave her the opportunity to engage with and encourage the magazine's female readership to take on the design of their own gardens. Elizabeth's gardening and writing career is evidence of a slow, yet growing acceptance of women gardeners and yet prejudice amongst women as well as men remained. Elizabeth described the reaction she faced from her own sister, who had evidently never envisaged that Elizabeth would have to make a living from gardening:

> It must have been a sore trial to her to have a sister on the spot who was a jobbing gardener […]. During the war it was romantic and patriotic to be a 'land girl', but in peace time it was quite another matter! Her social circle was shocked at such a phenomenon, and when I ran into any of her friends in the village when in working kit, they were so embarrassed that they would plunge across the road or dive into a shop to avoid having to recognise me.[211]

Although Elizabeth struggled to gain professional employment she was able to use her gardening credentials obtained at the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women to earn a living through gardening. She did therefore fulfil one of the objectives of the school and earlier students, such as Georgina Balfour, Madge Elder and Miss Mercer, are examples of women who gained professional legitimacy thanks to Annie Morison and Lina Barker, and bear witness to the effectiveness of the gardening school. Yet despite its success, neither Annie nor Lina were recognised or honoured for their contribution to horticulture in Scotland, which is perhaps not surprising given the separatist tactics they employed. Unlike Mary E. Burton, they were not part of the horticultural establishment because they operated at its margins and consequently lacked what Bourdieu has described as 'social capital', by which he meant the institutionalised networks of mutual acquaintance that signify membership of a group from which solidarity and recognition accrues.[212]

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[208] Edinensis, 'What is Wrong with your Garden', 5 April 1929, p.3; 10 May 1929, p.3; 17 May 1929, p.3.

[209] Elizabeth, 'Leaves from Windygap', *Scottish Gardening*, 29 November 1929, p.171. There were twenty-one letters in total, the last being published on 31 October 1930.

[210] In May 1927, Elizabeth and her parents moved into a new house in Edinburgh at 38 Broomhouse Road (now known as Ladywell Gardens) and it is the garden for this new house that Elizabeth describes in her 'Leaves from Windygap' series; see Beveridge, p.123.

[211] Beveridge, p.134.

Faced with varying degrees of misogyny and prejudice from the start of their gardening careers, Annie Morison and Lina Barker overcame the indignity of being treated as 'boys' and the frustration of receiving less instruction than their male counterparts whilst working as practitioner gardeners at the botanic garden in Edinburgh. Within the context of profound inequalities of power, they successfully challenged prevailing gender constructs of the time, taking advantage of increasing female emancipation, which allowed them to set up the school, the first and only example of its kind in Scotland. Determined to give women in Scotland the opportunity to take up gardening as a profession, they dedicated almost twenty-five years to training women in all aspects of horticulture, both theoretical and practical. Eleven of the known graduates of the school went on to set up their own businesses or take up positions as gardeners and head gardeners.

Women's entry into professional gardening was not however a smooth process. A prevailing opposition to 'lady' gardeners that was not always confined to a masculine perspective led to low-level acceptance and restricted employment opportunities. Some were only able to find positions within female-run institutions, such as Miss Mercer at Masson Hall and Georgina Balfour at the Guthrie Industrial School for Girls. The advent of the First World War provided much needed openings and

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[212] Bourdieu, p.51

Madge Elder was successful in procuring a head gardener's role at Bowhill, but only after having persuaded the hospital's matron, who doubted her qualifications. Once the men had returned from the war and taken up their former positions, Madge was no longer required. The economic slump in the 1920s did little to increase opportunities for professional gardening women in Scotland. Elizabeth Beveridge struggled to fulfil her potential, only managing to support herself by living at home, despite the numerous jobbing gardener posts and design commissions she secured. Even as late as the 1930s she faced prejudice from her own sister, who was ashamed that her sibling earned her living as a gardener.

The expectation placed on these women by their own families is a recurrent theme running through their lives and impacting on their chosen career paths. Lina Barker missed the opening ceremony of the school she had worked so hard to open in order to care for her sick mother, whilst Annie Morison was forced to step down from the school to care for her ailing parents. Yet in spite of these restrictions, Annie and Lina left an important legacy. They had achieved what few women before them had been able to do, by breaking down some of the barriers which prevented women from becoming professional gardeners in Scotland, as evidenced by this article on the employment of women gardeners which appeared in *The Glasgow Herald* on 15 August 1930:

> Without doubt the demand for women gardeners is increasing, and the prejudices against them that head gardeners do not like them because they crocked up or caused the men employed with them to be discontented have died away, and most large places now engage two or three of them to undertake particular branches.[213]

Annie and Lina's enthusiasm and determination unrecognised by Scotland's horticultural establishment both then and now, provided the opportunity for women to take up gardening as an occupation and helped contribute to a slow but steady acceptance of women gardeners who were able to take their place alongside their male contemporaries.

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[213] 'The Woman Gardener: Prospects and Opportunities', *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 August 1930, p.8.

Norah Geddes (1887-1967)

As the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women entered its fourth year in operation and whilst Mary E. Burton was establishing herself at Mavisbank, Norah Geddes decided in 1906 at the age of nineteen to become a landscape gardener. It is no coincidence that the four women discussed throughout this chapter were building their gardening careers in the first decade of the twentieth century. Opportunities for women like them had not existed in the previous century and they were part of a small number of pioneering women of their generation who recognised and exploited opportunities for female emancipation in their chosen careers. For Norah, there was no precedent of Scottish female garden designers to follow and formal training in garden or landscape design was not available in Scotland at that time for men or women.

'I was born in the Old Town […] in the heart of a slum', is how Norah described the start of her life in Edinburgh in 1887.[214] It was an accurate description of the medieval closes and back wynds of the city centre's old town which were, at that time, inhabited by the poorer classes who had migrated from the Scottish Highlands and parts of Ireland.[215] Living conditions were overcrowded and unhealthy and in contrast to the parks established in the more fashionable Georgian New Town, green space was at a premium. At the time of her birth Norah's father, Patrick Geddes, a professor of botany (the same Patrick Geddes who had invited Mary E. Burton to help him at Crawford Bank) and her mother Anna, had chosen to live in No. 6 James' Court, a slum tenement in Edinburgh, and in one of his earliest social experiments, Geddes converted their home into a clean pleasant space and encouraged his neighbours from the working classes to improve their own living environment.[216] This social consciousness together with an awareness of nature, gardening and botany was to be a feature of Norah's peripatetic upbringing and education.

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[214] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences of Norah Geddes on childhood and diary, fol. 1.

[215] Jean Bareham, *Hidden Gardens of the Royal Mile. Unexpected green gems in Edinburgh's Old Town* (Edinburgh: Greenyonder Tours, 2011), p.77.

[216] Ziffren, p.20. See also Michael J. Bannon, 'The Making of Irish Geography, III: Patrick Geddes and the emergence of modern town planning in Dublin', *Irish Geography*, 11 (1978), 141-48 (p.142).

For the first seven years of her life, she lived at James' Court punctuated by summer months spent in Tayside, whilst her father taught summer sessions in botany at University College Dundee, and some months in Europe. This extract from Norah's memoirs reveals an early appreciation of the beauty of the flora she encountered on a visit to Montpellier:

> Of this episode in my young life I recall clearly the sight of red anemones under the olive trees a contrast in red & grey: its beauty must have struck me. Another flower memory is of masses of white tasseta narcissus growing in green meadows & the delight of finding one large snowflake or leucojum growing in the ditch, such a pleasure.[217]

On the family's return from France, Patrick Geddes consolidated his presence in the Old Town. He purchased a building complete with a camera obscura on the north side of Castlehill in 1892 and converted it into a centre of civic and regional study and a museum of geography, history and sociology called the Outlook Tower, and the following year developed Ramsay Garden, a block of flats on the Castle Esplanade.[218] 14 Ramsay Garden became the Geddes' family home in 1894 and Norah's earliest memory is of the decorative panels which adorned the internal rooms, painted with 'a scene of daffodils, of apple blossom, of hedgerow tall umbellifers & on the other side the autumnal undergrowth in the Highlands with rose hips & tawny bracken in abundance'.[219]

Patrick and Anna Geddes eschewed a formal education for their children, preferring instead to educate Norah and her two younger brothers Alastair and Arthur at home. Philip Boardman, a friend and biographer of Geddes, gives this description of the freedom of the children's upbringing:

> As soon as they were able to crawl about and talk a little, he [Geddes] provided not merely dolls and building-blocks; he saw to it that they had daily 'beauty-feasts': simple arrangements of fruits, flowers, and branches varied with pretty shells and minerals […]. Then came excursions into

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[217] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 17.

[218] Jim Johnson and Lou Rosenburg, *Renewing Old Edinburgh: the enduring legacy of Patrick Geddes* (Glendaruel: Argyll, 2010), p.74.

[219] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 26. The panels were the work of Mary Rose Hill Burton (1857-1900), the aunt of Mary E. Burton.

> the surrounding world, father and children rambled through fields and woods, up and down hills, along rivers and seashores, having delightful times together.[220]

There were frequent visits to Mount Tabor (Figure 6.26), Geddes's family home near Perth, with its garden full of flowering cherry trees, 'an amazing number of gooseberry bushes & not a few trees', and 'delightful' trips to Boleskine, Mrs Hill Burton's estate in Inverness.[221] Sundays were reserved for Geddes's 'thinking lessons' or talks with his children and in one he reveals the extent to which he encouraged his children to think about garden design at a young age:

> You remember, for instance, how we looked at our garden early last spring, and saw it was very poor in bulbs, so we dreamed of it rich and bright with snowdrops and crocuses, and daffodils for another year. Then as autumn came on we planned how to arrange these. Gradually the plan developed in our heads, with its patches of white and lines of gold, with its circles and groups of varied colours, its dotting over the lawns and its massing under the trees.[222]

In around 1897, the family lived for a time at Crawford Bank and in a letter to his father, Geddes referred to Norah and Alastair as 'good little gardeners, planting whole long borders of daisies and crocuses and sticking to their work very well'.[223] Although he was often away, Norah felt the influence of her father's teaching as evidenced by this extract from a letter that Geddes sent to his children in 1899:

> I wish I could watch the crocuses and all else we planted […]. We haven't had enough botany of late, have we? Well this is the time to begin again – to look and remember, to design and choose, to tend and help and weed! To draw sometimes, to dissect sometimes too, and read about the flowers in Chambers. Learn all you can.[224]

Geddes's exuberant approach to educating his children and the methods he used to do so were not always appreciated by Norah who felt from an early age that she did not always meet her father's expectations: 'My father would ask us questions on botany that were remote from my interest in flowers, he looked for intelligent answers which were not forthcoming.'[225] With little instruction given, the children were also expected to care for a pig, hens, a collie dog and a donkey during the two years they spent at Crawford Bank and learning was invariably achieved on a trial by error basis (Figure 6.27).

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[220] Boardman, p.269.

[221] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 20. Kathleen Hill Burton, wife of the Historiographer Royal, was also a close friend of the Geddes family.

[222] Patrick Geddes, *The World Without and The World Within. Sunday talks with my children* (London: George Allen, 1905), pp.8-9.

[223] NLS MSS 10508: letter from Patrick Geddes to his father, 16 April 1898.

[224] NLS MSS 10508: letter from Patrick Geddes to his children, February 1899.

A year in Paris for the Exposition Universelle of 1900 spent, according to Norah, 'wandering long days in exhibition picture galleries & other exhibits with me (13 years old) as sole guardian', was followed by another move for the family, this time to Innesforth in Valleyfield, Dunfermline, where Anna Geddes together with a close friend Jeannie Bothwell Currie set up a home school for the children.[226] Lessons began at 7am until lunchtime, followed by 'time to garden or play shinty' before lessons began again in the early evening.[227] Time spent in the garden was not play time. The children referred to themselves as 'working bees' and would undertake a number of gardening tasks including collecting gravel from the shore to create new paths, planting fruit trees or gathering leaves on a large scale.[228] Norah and her brother Alastair also produced a home magazine in monthly instalments which gave her the opportunity to write 'long articles on the seasons and their changing character, which out of my nature experience I made very vivid'.[229] At the age of thirteen, Norah had taken her father's botany class at Dundee and she participated in his summer school botany excursions over the next four summers. In her fifteenth year, she attended Professor D'Arcy Thompson's zoology class at University College Dundee in the company of first year medical students and recalled attending fifty lectures and undertaking a hundred hours of practical work.[230] The following summer, Norah received her only formal schooling when she was sent to a small private school run by the Misses Weymans in order to sit her leaving certificate and she subsequently passed her higher English, French and German but not, as she recalled, without being 'an object of curiosity at this school, if only because of the mixture of my knowledge and the gaps in it'.[231]

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[225] NLS MSS 19266, reminiscences, fol. 35.
[226] Glasgow, Strathclyde University Archives (hereafter SUA), The Papers of Patrick Geddes, GB249 T-TYR/1/8: Alastair Geddes, notes on education of [written by Norah Geddes Mears].
[227] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 38.
[228] SUA GB249 T-TYR/1/8: Alastair Geddes, notes on education […].
[229] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 44.
[230] Ibid., fol. 47.

Her unusual education, which was both fragmented and isolated from her contemporaries, combined with the 'autocratic waywardness' of her father resulted in an inner conflict for Norah, torn between striving to live up to her father's expectations and, as Kitchen has pointed out, 'obeying the dictates of her own temperament and capacity.'[232] Kitchen also remarked that in family photographs of the Geddes children, Norah looks to have been the most determined and strongest-featured of the three (Figure 6.28).[233] Tensions between Norah and her father surfaced throughout her adolescence and early adulthood with the root cause revealed in a letter from Geddes to his daughter some years later in which he expressed surprise by her disclosure that she felt judged only by her performance of tasks, rather than loved more simply for herself.[234] On returning to Edinburgh in 1904, Norah was scheduled to sit higher maths before embarking on an M.A. degree at the university but decided instead to become 'a garden designer or landscape architect as it is sometimes called'.[235] Although Norah states in her memoirs that she had decided 'in her own mind' to become a garden designer, it is possible that her career choice may also have been driven by a desire to please her father.[236] Geddes was characteristically enthusiastic at her decision as this letter to his daughter reveals:

> Do you know I think we could devise between us the finest gardens in the world! With wonderful pagodas – each great window looking over flowering shrubs and trees and herbs! So be designing and painting for all your worth – and we'll perhaps try it next spring, who knows – if I can only find a client or two![237]

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[231] Ibid., fol. 50.
[232] Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p.8; Kitchen, p.196.
[233] Kitchen, p.196.
[234] NLS MSS 10508: letter from Patrick Geddes to Norah, 12 November 1920.
[235] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 77.
[236] Ibid.
[237] NLS MSS 10508: letter from Patrick Geddes to Norah, October 1905.

Norah is believed to have taken drawing lessons at the School of Art in Edinburgh in around 1905/06, but unfortunately there is a gap in student records for the period 1904 to 1907 so it has not been possible to corroborate her attendance.[238] In the autumn of 1906, Norah took a break from her drawing and went first to Paris and then to Montpellier to stay with a professorial family for 'seven delightful months', where she studied botany at the University.[239] Whilst there she felt, once again, the pressure of her father's expectations. 'One idea I have', he wrote, 'is to ask Miss Wilmott (or Miss Jekyll) if she can give you any experience. […] I don't want to cut short your free time, but I feel very strongly that if you intend to learn something of gardening and architecture you must be doing something before you mature as a woman.'[240] It is interesting that Geddes suggested approaching Miss Wilmott and Miss Jekyll, two of England's pioneering garden designers, perhaps because he recognised that it would be more likely for a woman to take on his daughter in a gardening capacity but also because there were no equivalent female garden designers working in Scotland at the time. An exchange of letters between Norah and her mother during her time in Montpellier indicated that gardening experience was not easy to obtain and Geddes had found it more difficult than he expected to secure landscape gardening work for his daughter.[241] He did however enrol Norah in a summer course of gardening at the Swanley Horticultural College for Women from 6 June to 18 July 1907, although there is no record of her impressions of the time she spent there.[242]

Norah was particularly interested in garden design but as there was no course in Edinburgh to prepare her for this profession, she attended classes in architecture at the newly renamed Edinburgh College of Art for the 1907/08 academic session and spent her time copying diagrams of the four orders of classic architecture.[243]

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[238] Electronic communication with Rachel Hosker, Edinburgh College of Art Archivist, 25 November 2013. The Trustees Academy School of Art became the Edinburgh College of Art in 1907/08.
[239] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol. 81.
[240] NLS MSS 19256: letter from Patrick Geddes to Norah, 26 February 1907.
[241] NLS MSS 19257: letter from Anna Geddes to Norah, 24 March 1907.
[242] Ibid: letter from Anna Geddes to Norah, 13 May 1907. Student records for Swanley, held at Imperial College London, confirm Norah's attendance in the summer of 1907.
[243] Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art Archives: Trustees Academy School of Art, Student Record Book, 1907-1908.

Although she also received some perfunctory lessons in perspective drawing, the course was inadequate preparation for becoming a garden designer and, like Mary E. Burton, Norah realised that in order to establish her career, she would need to gain practical experience of designing and planting out gardens. With few opportunities open to her, Norah started work as her father's assistant at around the same time that a young architect called Frank Mears was taken on by Geddes to help with his Survey of Edinburgh for the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at the Royal Institute of British Architects' Conference in 1910, and to act as secretary of the Outlook Tower. One of the first projects Norah worked on was at Roseburn Cliff, a development of seven villas to the west of Edinburgh's city centre which Geddes had envisaged as a small garden suburb. She was responsible for designing the communal garden but it was not a straightforward project as she admitted to her father:

> This garden is a difficult business. The Roseburn Terrace people look after the nice easy straightforward bits - & very rightly – while we have to toil at the thankless jobs such as those dreadful shrubberies that won't grow & won't look tidy.[244]

Support and guidance from Geddes was not always forthcoming. He was spending an increasing amount of time in London and, in what was to become a pattern, Norah experienced for the first time the practical difficulties of implementing her father's schemes in his absence.

In 1908, the Outlook Tower Open Spaces Committee had been set up by Geddes 'to turn into gardens the waste spaces of the Old Town, for the benefit of the neighbouring population, old and young', and Norah was actively involved from the outset.[245] Mears produced a map of derelict sites with development potential, known as Open Spaces, in Edinburgh's High Street and Canongate (Figure 6.29) and one of the first sketches produced by Norah was a plan of the Outlook Tower garden with twenty plots which could be worked by local schoolchildren.[246] Unfortunately her plan has not survived, but a sketch by Norah which is believed to be an early design for the first Open Space to be developed at Castle Wynd below Johnston Terrace, subsequently named the White Hart Garden, has survived and can be seen in Figure 6.30. Its execution is rather amateurish, exemplifying Norah's lack of technical training. In addition to designing the garden, Norah was instrumental in its implementation and it was noted in the minutes of an Outlook Tower Executive Committee meeting that Norah had overworked in the run up to the opening and that if the intention was to obtain further Open Spaces, more help would be required.[247] The garden was formally opened on 7 May 1909 to much acclaim. Children from the nearby Castle Hill School, who were to use the garden in nature study classes, marched in procession from the Outlook Tower to the garden, where they danced around a maypole and sang a number of songs (Figure 6.31).[248] An article on the opening, which appeared in *The Scotsman,* stated that the garden had been prepared by Miss Norah Geddes and Miss Louisa Mears, sister of Frank Mears and believed to be the same Miss L. E. Mears who had graduated from the Edinburgh School of Gardening a few years earlier, see Appendix VI.[249] The *Edinburgh Evening News* provided this description of the garden itself:

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[244] NLS MSS 19258: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, 19 September 1907.

[245] Edinburgh, Edinburgh City Library, Acc. B43398: Leaflet No.2 Gardens in Old Edinburgh Courts and Closes, dated May 1910, p.1.

> The area created is of considerable extent as waste spots in big cities go, and it has been laid out to the best advantage. The central plot has been covered with turf surrounded on three sides by flower beds. Between the dividing walks and the encircling walls, shrubs and bushes have been planted and the general effect has been considerably enhanced by the construction of a sloping bank facing the south.[250]

Despite her lack of formal training, it is clear from the implementation of Norah's early design that she maximised the available space and aspect, using an aesthetically pleasing yet practical combination of paths, recreational space and planting (Figure 6.32). In 2015, White Hart Garden is one of the few Open Space gardens that is still extant. Renamed the Johnston Terrace Wildlife Garden, it is administered by the Scottish Wildlife Trust which aims to demonstrate through the garden how a small urban area can be valuable for biodiversity (Figure 6.33).[251]

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[246] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/6/1: minutes of the meetings of the Outlook Tower Executive Committee, 1 September 1908.
[247] Ibid., 7 May 1909.
[248] 'Slum Gardens: An Interesting Edinburgh Experiment', *The Scotsman*, 8 May 1909, p.9.
[249] Ibid.
[250] 'The Waste Spaces of the Old Town', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 8 May 1909, p.5.

A further Open Space, St John's Church Garden on Victoria Street was also planned by Norah and although her sketch of the garden can be found in the Patrick Geddes Papers held at the University of Strathclyde, it was too fragile to be reproduced for use in this thesis.[252] It does however show her skill at creating a small space which was both attractive and functional and in this case the garden, which also opened in 1909, was used by a local boy scouts club. In addition to working for the Open Spaces Committee, Norah also secured some private gardening work in the winter of 1909 and subsequently wrote to her father saying she felt she had made 'a good impression last winter over those two gardens – I heard again through Mother from Mrs Whyte', a family friend.[253] One of the gardens to which she referred may have been at St Colm's College, 23 Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh, which was the United Free Church of Scotland's Women's Missionary College. Designed by a young Scottish architect Gordon Lorimer Wright, the newly-built college opened in October 1909 and Norah was commissioned to landscape the grounds which covered almost an acre (Figure 6.34).[254]

Norah's planting plans for St Colm's College have not been found but Figure 6.35 gives a glimpse of some of the areas planted by her and although no reference to Norah's work was found within the minute books of the college, a letter to her from the secretary of the United Free Church in 1910 enclosed payment for gardening tools which she had purchased on behalf of the Women's Missionary College.[255] Little remains today of Norah's landscape there, apart from several mature trees which are thought to be original, and the house and gardens are now in private ownership.[256] Reference is also made by Norah to planting ‘trees, shrubs & ivies into the Law College court’, which may relate to green space which was attached to the original Advocates Library prior to the development of the National Library of Scotland building on George IV Bridge, Edinburgh.[257] Despite working as a gardener in Scotland, no evidence has been found of Norah’s involvement with horticultural clubs and societies, such as the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society.

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[251] <http://scottishwildlifetrust.org.uk/reserve/johnston-terrace-garden> [accessed 3 December 2013].
[252] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/18: plan of St John's Garden, St John's Church, 1909.
[253] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, 20 November 1910.
[254] Ibid: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, undated.
[255] NLS MS 7946: United Free Church Archives correspondence 1910, letter to Norah Geddes from C. Crawford, 25 February 1910, fol. 3.

By February 1910, two new Open Spaces at Candlemaker Row and West Port, adjoining the Grassmarket, had been granted to the committee by the Town Council bringing the total to five gardens, with a sixth in the pipeline.[258] Still in her early twenties, Norah began to feel the strain of managing the Open Spaces projects and her own private commissions and tensions surfaced between Norah and her father. In one letter, Geddes wrote to Norah saying that he had ‘often feared I had nearly lost you, and the feeling of half estrangement which came or seemed to come sometimes between us […] has grieved me more than it deserved’.[259] Perhaps as a result of these tensions Norah became ill and it was decided that she and her mother would spend the spring and early summer visiting friends in France and Italy. Never far from the influence of her father, Geddes wrote frequently to his wife and daughter encouraging them to visit as many of the great gardens as possible, including Miss Willmott’s garden, La Boccanegra near Ventimiglia in Italy, and Chateau Thorenc, one of the show gardens of Cannes owned by the British politician Lord Rendel (1834-1913).[260]

On their return, Anna Geddes joined her husband in London from where she wrote to Norah about the possibility of a garden design commission in Richmond: ‘We went first, by the way, to Richmond & looked at the Gardens, where D. [Daddy] pointed out a field he wants Mayor T to let him (and you!) lay out as a formal garden.’[261] It is possible that an undated sketch by Norah for a rose garden in Richmond (Figure 6.36) may relate to this aforementioned 'field'.[262] Drawn to scale and using a cross section to denote level changes, the execution of the sketch reveals Norah's growing confidence as a garden designer. She was, however, keen to develop her drawing skills further and, having given her occupation as 'Garden Maker', was listed as having paid ten shillings to attend drawing classes at the Edinburgh College of Art for the 1910-11 session.[263] In a candid letter to her father around this time, she wrote of her hopes and aspirations for a career in garden design:

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[256] Telephone conversation and site visit with the current owner, Marcus Dean at Marcus Dean Associates, Edinburgh on 3 December 2013.
[257] The University of Edinburgh’s Old College quad was ruled out on the basis that it has never in its history been planted.
[258] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/6/1: minutes, 1 February 1910.
[259] NLS MSS 10508: letter from Patrick Geddes to Norah, January 1910.
[260] Ibid: letter from Patrick Geddes to Norah and Anna Geddes, March 1910.
[261] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Anna Geddes to Norah, 12 July 1910.

> I have been feeling new hope & more confidence in myself as future garden-maker. I began to be able to see gardens again, in the dark or elsewhere & to feel that I could also enjoy the carrying out part. To have on the one hand more prospect of steady drawing practice & study & on the other hand, the possibility of training the imaginative powers for original design (for I begin to realise how) is very encouraging. As time goes on, the study of facts, the practice of technique & the subconscious powers awakened & controlled, can all be continued and will interact.[264]

It is possible that Norah lacked confidence perhaps because she felt inadequately equipped, due to lack of education and training, to become a successful garden designer; education, or more precisely the want of it, acting as a barrier to women's achievement being a leitmotif throughout this study.

The Open Spaces gardens continued to occupy Norah's time over the next two years and she began to produce some of her most accomplished plans and sketches. The King's Wall garden, which was attached to the training college at Johnston Terrace and almost adjacent to the White Hart Garden, witnessed her development as both garden designer and architect as her designs shown in Figures 6.37 and 6.38 demonstrate. The first is a well-executed watercolour of both the hard and soft landscaping elements within the garden that reveals Norah's love of flowers and colour. The second is a scaled architectural plan of the proposed steps for the garden, complete with sections and elevation dimensioned to half-inch precision. Before and after photographs of the King's Wall garden, which can be seen in Figures 6.39 and 6.40, indicate the extent of the transformation effected by Norah from derelict site to recreational garden area. She did however seem to prefer the design work to the implementation, referring in one letter to being tired of 'grubbing in the Open Spaces' and making the following disparaging comment on one thousand sale bulbs which had been donated: 'I wonder how many of the miserable things will flower'.[265] Fortunately for Norah, the committee decided to take on the services of a Miss le Maîstre who took charge of operations in the gardens thus freeing Norah to concentrate on designing the newly acquired Open Spaces.[266]

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[262] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/5/38(i): Undated sketch plan and section of part of Rose Garden at Richmond, London by Norah Geddes.

[263] Edinburgh College of Art Archives: Edinburgh College of Art Fee Book, 1910/11. Subsequent fee books reveal that Norah continued to attend drawing classes at the college until 1916.

[264] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, n.d.

In March 1911, the Open Spaces committee finally secured the lease of a 'fine bit of open ground in the Canongate', known as Chessel's Court, a sketch of which in its derelict state Norah had prepared a few years earlier, see Figure 6.41.[267] The committee had been keen to develop Chessel's Court and hoped to make it the pièce de résistance of their operations that season and Norah's involvement in the project is made apparent in a letter to her father in which she stated that she had 'made sketch plans from suggestions by Mr [Frank] Mears & Ph. [Phoebe] Traquair, thought out the modus operandi & tested the soil of which there is none, only builders rubbish'.[268] The only extant sketch of what is believed to be the finished design for the Chessel's Court garden drawn by Norah can be seen in Figure 6.42, which shows how cleverly she had widened the space, by suggesting trees as a green border and a central statue and flowerbed to provide a focal point whilst also creating a practical amenity. The degree of accomplishment in these drawings can perhaps be attributed to the lessons she received at the Edinburgh College of Art.

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[265] Ibid: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, 20 November 1910.

[266] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/6/1: minutes, 7 June 1910. Flowering plants of genera such as *Helenium*, *Papaver* and *Rudbeckia* were despatched by RBGE to Miss le Maîstre for the Open Spaces gardens, see RBGE Archive, *Despatch Book 1912-14*, fol. 6.

[267] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/6/1: minutes, 7 February 1911.

[268] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, 6 February 1911. Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936) was an artist and proponent of the Arts and Crafts movement in Edinburgh, whose work was inspired by her friendship with Patrick Geddes; see Elizabeth S. Cumming, 'Traquair , Phoebe Anna (1852–1936)', *ODNB*, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38949> [accessed 5 December 2013].

Lileen Hardy, who ran the Saint Saviour's Child Garden Nursery from a ground floor flat in Chessel's Court gave this detailed impression of how the finished garden looked:

> Then at the back of our house, in Chessel's Court, a wonderful transformation has been made. The greater part of the middle square of the Court was a disused and neglected builder's yard, and was just the usual refuse heap which a derelict spot always is in the slums. The Outlook Tower has cleared away the refuse, removed remains of fallen houses, and laid out a delightful garden. A high, sordid, unsightly wooden paling has been replaced by an open iron railing of good make, and the dignity which the large open space gives to the really fine old houses is very striking. We have the pleasure of it as we pass to and from the Canongate; and the sense of joy and relief which the sight of it gives can hardly be realised except by those who habitually suffer from the depressing effect of ugly surroundings.[269]

Her description bears a striking resemblance to Norah's original sketch, suggesting the integrity of her design given that few material changes were seemingly made during the development of the garden. Miss Hardy's evident delight in the space, and the sense of well-being that she derived from it, also conveys the value attached to Norah's work in Edinburgh's slum areas, credit which is often attributed to her father rather than to Norah herself. The garden was officially opened by Lady Glenconner on 25 May 1912 in the presence of around 200 VIP guests, including the Lord Provost and Lord Salvesen, the first President of the Royal Zoological Society of Scotland.[270]

Whilst Norah was busy implementing her father's vision for the derelict spaces in Edinburgh's Old Town, Patrick Geddes had been invited to exhibit his Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at *Ui Breasail*, a health and industrial exhibition which was staged at the Royal Dublin Society, Ballsbridge, Dublin from 24 May to 7 June 1911.[271] The event had been organised by the Women's National Health Association of Ireland, spearheaded by Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Viceroy of Ireland, in an attempt to promote the public well-being of the citizens of Ireland through health and housing initiatives.[272] In the years leading up to the First World War, housing throughout Ireland was chronically substandard with overcrowding and insanitary conditions a feature in many urban areas. Slum conditions in cities such as Dublin, which gave rise to high infant mortality rates and widespread tuberculosis, have been well documented by social historians (Figure 6.43). As president of the Women's National Health Association of Ireland, Lady Aberdeen created a network of more than 150 association branches throughout Ireland and had recruited around 19,000 members by 1912.[273] It was a highly efficient organisation responsible for projects such as the development of a pasteurised milk depot in Dublin, a travelling health and anti-tuberculosis exhibition, a series of lectures and health talks at branch level and babies' clubs which were designed to give instruction to working-class mothers on the care of their infants.[274]

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[269] Lileen Hardy, *The Diary of a Free Kindergarten* (London: Gay and Hancock, 1917), p.169.

[270] 'The Lord High Commissioner', *The Scotsman*, 27 May 1912, p.6; SUA GB249 T-GED/7/6/1: minutes, 4 June 1912.

[271] Dublin, National Archives of Ireland (NAI), PRIV 1212/WNHA/4/3: *Sláinte. The Journal of the Women's National Health Association of Ireland*, 3 (1911), 200-204.

Whilst working with Patrick Geddes during the staging of *Ui Breasail*, Lady Aberdeen had been inspired by the Open Spaces project in Edinburgh and was keen to replicate the provision of children's gardens and playgrounds in the slum areas of Dublin under the auspices of the Women's National Health Association. It would appear that Geddes had recommended the services of his daughter to Lady Aberdeen as Norah noted in her memoirs that her father had 'turned up from Dublin and said "away you go to Dublin and organise Open Spaces gardens there", where I had never set foot'.[275] Correspondence between Geddes and his wife suggests that Norah was not as enthusiastic as her father and in this excerpt, taken from a letter to Anna his wife, Geddes revealed that Norah may have preferred to forge her own career and had taken steps to secure work for 'Miss Agar', although it is not clear in what exact capacity:

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[272] Lady Aberdeen or Ishbel Maria Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair (1857-1939) had set up the Women's National Health Association of Ireland (hereafter WNHA) on 13 March 1907 'to arouse public opinion, and especially that of the women of Ireland, to a sense of responsibility regarding the public health'; see Dublin, National Library of Ireland (NLI), Ir 6140941 w2 annual reports by the WNHA of Ireland: *First Annual Report of the WNHA of Ireland 1908*, p.5.

[273] 'Number of Branches', *Fifth Annual Report of the WNHA of Ireland, 1911-12*, p.7.

[274] 'Fourth Annual Meeting of the Council of the WNHA of Ireland', *Sláinte*, 3 (1911), p.181.

[275] NLS MSS 19266: reminiscences, fol.81.

> I have written to Norah strongly advising her to go on with Lady A[berdeen] even if she has to wait for Miss Agar […] Draughtsmen and assistants – the first better and the second as good as she – can be got by Miss Agar, but she will think of Norah as far more like a partner when she has been doing such independent and responsible work, and under such public auspices. It will be long before she gets such another chance if she loses this one. Do keep her courage up to it! She has the necessary amount of ability, never fear!.[276]

Bowing to paternal pressure, Norah found herself in Dublin in the summer of 1911 where she was taken on a tour of potential open spaces by her brother Alastair, who was also in Ireland to help his father.[277] Despite her initial reluctance, Norah agreed to work for the Association's Central Branch and was listed as one of two 'trained lady gardeners superintending [the] formation of Garden Play-grounds in derelict City Spaces and available for Branches desiring advice or lectures'.[278] She was based at the Association's headquarters in Ely Place, Dublin and worked alongside fellow gardener Henrietta C. Tuke (1886-1966) of whom little is known other than being of English origin.[279] Both women were engaged on a professional basis and accounts for the Association for the year ended December 1911, show that in the first six months of their employment they were paid a total of £57 15s or the equivalent of £5,800 (2015), including expenses.[280] One of Norah's first tasks was to prepare a report on the utilisation of derelict spaces as children's gardens and playgrounds in which she drew on her experience of the Open Spaces gardens in Edinburgh and examples in American cities that she had also researched. In her report, she made a convincing argument for their development:

> Garden Play-grounds, as they are developed and multiplied will bear on many sides of the City's life; on its Health, on Housing Reform, Street Amenity, and Town Planning, on the

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[276] NLS MSS 10508: letter from Patrick Geddes to Anna Geddes, 17 July 1911. Madeline Agar was a graduate of Swanley who went on to set up her own garden landscaping business in London and became landscape gardener to the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association in 1906, see Horwood, pp.320-322.

[277] NLS MSS 19258: letter from Alastair Geddes to his father, 3 July 1911.

[278] 'List of Officers', *Fifth Annual Report of the WNHA of Ireland, 1911-12*, p.5.

[279] GRO: Entry of death for Henrietta C. Tuke, June 1966, registration district of St Pancras, London, vol. 5D, p.929.

[280] 'Financial statement for year ended 31 December 1911', *Fifth Annual Report of the WNHA of Ireland, 1911-12.*

> diminution of Juvenile Crime, and on the increase of skilled as contrasted with unskilled labour. To the child they will mean much, to its health and character, and in bringing it some share of joy, some beauty into life.[281]

She presented her report to a meeting of the Association's executive in November 1911 and later that same month, Norah delivered a lantern slide lecture on the Dublin gardens project to a large gathering of members of the Dublin Lend-A-Hand Club at its annual meeting.[282]

Together with Miss Tuke, Norah started work on two plots at Cook Street and St Augustine Street in the slum areas of Dublin. The Cook Street Cowboy's Camp Garden, as it was subsequently named, required significant levelling as part of the ground rose to a height of almost four metres above street level and retaining walls were constructed to provide a flat area for the playground. The walls were colour-washed and flower beds were created to provide as 'cheerful an air as possible'.[283] The second derelict piece of ground in St Augustine Street was renamed St Monica's Garden as it was intended to be used as an adjunct to the St Monica's Babies Club which was also set up by the Women's National Health Association (Figure 6.44). Norah and Henrietta started to lay out the garden and playground in December 1911. They designed the southern end as the garden area, complete with lawn, flower borders and seating, whilst a sand pit and shelter occupied the sunny northern end of the site (Figure 6.45).[284]

St Monica's Garden was opened by the Earl of Aberdeen, in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant, to much public acclaim on 2 April 1912 and he paid tribute to the 'active and skilful work' of Norah and Henrietta and praised them for their 'patience and perseverance' in the transformation of such an unpromising site.[285] The Earl also made reference to their work in many of the small gardens attached to other Babies' Clubs run by the Association and in the grounds of the Allan A. Ryan Home, a hospital for tuberculosis patients in Dublin.[286] Unfortunately information relating to the extent of their work in the hospital garden has not been found, but it is clear from the Association's newsletters and annual reports that in addition to lecturing on the benefits of gardens and playgrounds to local branches throughout Ireland and providing them with a planning and design service, Norah and Henrietta were also kept busy with projects in Dublin's city centre, the most significant of which was the derelict site of Ormond Street Market, at Ormond Quay, on the north bank of the river Liffey.

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[281] Norah Geddes and H. C. Tuke, 'Garden Play-Grounds in Crowded Cities', *Sláinte*, 4 (1912), 356-361 (p.359).

[282] 'Dublin Lend-A-Hand Club Annual Meeting', *The Irish Times*, 18 November 1911, p.5.

[283] Geddes and Tuke, p.359.

[284] Ibid., p.361.

[285] 'Garden Playground. Opening by Lord Lieutenant', *The Irish Times*, 3 April 1912, p.10.

In March 1912, three plots of ground at Ormond Market were taken on by the Association and were described by Henrietta as 'being piled with rubbish of every description'.[287] Norah and Henrietta were in charge of clearing the site of nearly twelve hundred tons of detritus, creating a garden and playground on the two open plots and refurbishing a circular roofed structure, complete with concrete floors, washing facilities and sleeping accommodation, to be used as a boys' camp on the other.[288] Despite the logistical effort and hard work involved, the Ormond Market boys' camp and garden playground was completed in less than five months and officially opened in the last week of August.[289] The garden playground was particularly successful and regularly attracted upwards of 200 children despite being designed to accommodate only half that number (Figure 6.46). A central games space was bordered on three sides by flower beds and an all-weather shelter in one corner provided a space where the children could play, sing songs or read stories together.[290]

Any designs that Norah may have produced for the Dublin garden playgrounds do not appear to have survived, but one plan of a garden playground that she prepared for a branch of the Association at Nenagh in Co. Tipperary was recently added to the

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[286] Ibid. The 24-bed hospital was established by the WNHA in around 1907 but ceased to exist in the 1950s and no trace of its gardens remains today; see Joseph V. O'Brien, *Dear Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899-1916* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
[287] Henrietta Tuke, 'Ormond Market', *Sláinte*, 4 (1912), p.466.
[288] Ibid.
[289] 'News of the Week', *The Weekly Irish Times*, 7 September 1912, p.2.
[290] 'Garden Playgrounds', *Sixth Annual Report of the WNHA of Ireland, 1912-13*, p.21.

Sir Patrick Geddes archive at the National Library of Scotland (Figure 6.47).[291] Norah was commissioned to design the garden playground by Nenagh Urban Council in November 1912 following a presentation to them and she described her delight at securing the project in a letter to Alastair:

> Did you hear of my adventure in Nenagh? How I went there to advise at a joint meeting of the WNHA & the Urban Councillors on a children's playground. That I expected to have to work my inadequate powers of persuasion on [them], but they were prepared to go further than my most sanguine hopes – to choose the site, strike the rate & ask for a plan. The site allows of an extension as public park & play field, is first class for a playground & I am very happy about it. I believe I've got a good scheme.[292]

She also wrote a letter to her mother in which she described the large garden playground at Nenagh as the 'handsomest I've yet had to deal with', and she revealed that she had asked the councillors to consider her for the opportunity to design a proposed public park in her own professional capacity rather than as a representative of the Association.[293] The Nenagh project is significant on several levels. It shows Norah's increasing expertise as a garden designer but also her emergence, despite reference to her 'inadequate powers of persuasion', as an adept businesswoman. Unlike previous presentations which took place within the familiar, feminine setting of the Women's National Health Association, Norah was faced with the predominantly male environment of the Urban Council but managed to acquit herself with ease and confidence, displaying a maturity beyond her twenty-five years of age. However, Norah later confessed in a letter to her father that she had often felt challenged in her role as a professional garden designer, owing more to lack of formal education and training rather than any gendered bias:

> Do you know I have too many bitter memories of those years of struggle with professional work. So often a master's responsibility with the experience only of the apprentice: so

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[291] NLS Acc. 13319 Papers of Sir Patrick Geddes: sketch plan of proposed playground for Nenagh by Norah Geddes, 1912. This plan is part of a new accession which was presented to the NLS in 2012.
[292] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Norah to Alastair Geddes, 24 November 1912.
[293] NLS MSS 19994: letter from Norah to Anna Geddes, 10 November 1912.

> often most difficult & adverse conditions with no memory of
> past triumphs to carry one's confidence through.[294]

She had clearly felt out of her depth in certain professional situations and it is possible to detect in her words an implied criticism of her father who had left her to supervise the Open Spaces in Edinburgh during his long absences and who had been the main protagonist in her reluctant decision to go to Dublin.

Norah's remaining time in Ireland, however, was successful and busy. She continued to work on extensions to the Ormond Market project and was back in Nenagh in January 1913 to present her plans for the garden playground to the local branch of the Association.[295] She was also involved in the planning of prospective garden playgrounds throughout Ireland, notably in Cork, Limerick, Carlow, Blackrock and Pembroke.[296] Unfortunately Norah's tangible legacy in Ireland was short-lived and no trace remains today of any of her garden playgrounds, either in Dublin or beyond, but the contribution which the gardens she created made to the health and well-being of the local community, particularly in Dublin, was significant at the time. One visitor to St Monica's garden playground described how wonderful it was 'to observe the subtle, civilizing influence that the Garden has on children', and how it gave them 'an interest in flowers' where formerly old bottles and rubbish had been thrown.[297]

By the spring of 1913, Norah was required in Edinburgh. Her father and his colleague Frank Mears had been commissioned to design a new zoological park for the city and Norah was given the responsibility of planning the landscape features for what has become Edinburgh Zoo on Corstorphine Hill.[298] The nature and extent of her work there is difficult to assess since many of the original manuscripts relating to the landscaping of the park were irreparably damaged when the basement area in which they were held flooded, and much of the original planting has disappeared or been replaced.[299] A plan of the zoological park, prepared by Geddes and Mears (Figure 6.48), shows the enormity of the task that Norah faced, with planting required over an area of twenty-seven acres. At the time of the Zoo's official opening in July 1913, many of the press articles concentrated on descriptions of the animals rather than the environment in which they were kept but one article in *Country Life Illustrated* provided the following brief descriptions of Norah's likely input:

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[294] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Norah to Patrick Geddes, 20 November 1918.
[295] 'WNHA Special Council Meeting, January 1913', *Sláinte*, 5 (1913-14, supplement to January edition), 1-22 (p.20).
[296] 'WNHA Meeting of General Council, June 1913', *Sláinte*, 5 (1913-14, supplement to June edition), 1-34 (p.6).
[297] 'Fifth Annual Meeting of the General Council of the WNHA, May 1912', *Sláinte*, 4 (1912, supplement to May edition), 1-10 (p.10).
[298] A successful visitor attraction, Edinburgh Zoo celebrated its centenary on 22 July 2013.

> The sea lion pool is in the course of construction while near the entrance gates is a beautiful little tarn ornamented with bamboos and water plants, with rocky islets and promontories, on which various wild fowl show themselves.[300]
>
> To the west of the mansion house are the enclosed gardens, and great ingenuity is being shown in converting these to their new purpose.[301]

Geddes was often away during the completion of the Zoo and Norah was once again in the position of implementing her father's ideas in his absence, which included liaising with the Zoo's trustees. To outward appearances at least, her confidence appears to have grown during this period according to a friend and contemporary of Geddes, Amelia Defries, who described Norah as a young girl whose 'work seemed no strain to her: she was mistress of the art'.[302]

In addition to the project at the Zoo, Norah worked on a number of design commissions in Edinburgh including a proposal to alter the playground and approach for St Peter's School, in which she recommended the following practical yet aesthetically pleasing changes to the entrance:

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[299] Meeting with Simon Jones, Gardens Manager at Edinburgh Zoo, 13 May 2013. Only a small archive remains at Edinburgh Zoo and there are no manuscripts relating to Norah Geddes and the landscaping of the park.

[300] E. P. Stebbing, 'The Zoological Park at Edinburgh', *Country Life Illustrated*, 27 September 1913, p.418.

[301] Ibid.

[302] Amanda Defries, *The Interpreter Geddes: the Man and his Gospel* (London: Routledge, 1927).

> Narrow the road beyond the tree to 9ft by widening the south side border: using for this the soil removed from nearer the gate. This arrangement would get rid of the unsightly earth in which nothing grows; clothe the bare walls; catch the papers and stop the draught from the street.[303]

She was also invited by St George's School for Girls to submit a plan for the proposed layout of the school's gardens and her coloured sketches, too delicate to be reproduced, can be seen in the Geddes archive at Strathclyde University.[304] Norah appears to have developed a growing reputation for her work, as evidenced by a letter to her from the Scottish architect Sir Robert Rowand Anderson (1834-1921) inviting her to attend a meeting with him to discuss a garden project in which he wrote: 'Mr Balfour Paul tells me that I am sure of good sound advice from you.'[305]

Although proficient in her design work in Dublin and Edinburgh, there is some evidence in Norah's surviving correspondence which suggests that she would have preferred the opportunity to design beautiful gardens rather than garden schemes for cities and slum clearances. 'I am in danger', she wrote, 'of being absorbed into cities too much, & not making sufficient real progress in gardens' and she lamented not having had more opportunity to visit great gardens from which to draw inspiration.[306] In the summer of 1914, Norah submitted three designs for the Little Garden Planning Competition which was run by *The Garden*, a national publication. Competitors were asked to supply designs for four typical town or suburban garden sites. Her designs provide further proof of her desire to create aesthetic gardens and although she did not win any of the categories for which she had entered, she was one of only three competitors to win three prizes.[307] The judges paid Norah this compliment on her design for site two (Figure 6.49), which failed to be placed because she had devoted too much of the garden to flowers at the expense of a kitchen garden area:

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[303] SUA GB249 T-GED/12/1/182: preliminary report by Norah Geddes on St Peter's School, Falcon Avenue, Edinburgh for the Rev. John Gray, February 1914.

[304] SUA GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/1-6: plans for proposed layout of garden at St George's School for Girls, Edinburgh, June 1914.

[305] SUA GB249 T-GED/9/1265: Letter from Sir Robert Rowand Anderson to Norah Geddes, 28 July 1914. The architect, Mr Balfour Paul was a partner in Sir Robert's practice.

[306] NLS MSS 10507: Letter from Norah Geddes to Patrick Geddes, n.d.

[307] Around 400 entries were submitted and Nora won three book prizes, each to the value of half-a-guinea, for her designs for sites 2, 3 and 4: Anon., 'The Little Garden. Results of Our Competition', *The Garden*, 17 October 1914, p.507.

> Another simple but very effective design was the one sent in by Miss Norah Geddes. Perhaps in many respects this design in the hands of those who love the cultivation of flowers in preference to the calculated niceties of design would prove most successful. The effect across the lawn as seen from the windows would be quite good, and the little orchard at the end of the garden would, in its season, be quite as enjoyable as that in the first prize.[308]

Unable to escape the influence of her father, she was the only competitor to be singled out for being the daughter of Patrick Geddes, 'whose illuminated enthusiasm has done so much for the art of town planning, with which garden design is closely allied in principle.'[309] Although evidence of her feelings on the subject has not been found, it must have been difficult at times for Norah to operate within her father's shadow. The results of the garden planning competition were delayed due to the outbreak of the First World War, and Norah's career was effectively put on hold. In July 1915, she married Frank Mears and produced three children over the next five year period. In a letter to her father after the birth of her first son, Kenneth, she revealed how she was torn between her role as garden designer and mother:

> You were holding before me the idea of accomplishing great park & garden schemes for cities & slum clearances. I may return to that work of which I began on a smaller scale. Meantime I cannot live fully & happily with a divergeance [*sic*] between my ideals & the work in hand – which is the care of Kenneth.[310]

In fact, Norah never returned to professional garden design, dedicating her life instead to her role as wife, mother and business agent for her father following the deaths of her brother Alastair and her mother in 1917.[311] A sense of lost potential is palpable in Norah's decision to commit herself to her family and charitable works, just as she appeared to have found a new sense of confidence in her own ability and career, but social conventions of the time dictated that having married, middle-class women gave up their jobs to stay at home and look after their family.

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[308] George Dillistone, *The Planning and Planting of Little Gardens* (London: Country Life Limited, 1920), pp.53-54.

[309] Anon., 'The Little Garden', p.507.

[310] NLS MSS 10507: letter from Norah Geddes to Patrick Geddes, 20 November 1918.

[311] Alastair Geddes was killed in action in France in April 1917 and Anna Geddes died of a fever in May 1917, whilst accompanying her husband on a trip to India.

Like Annie Morison and Lina Barker, Norah did not receive any formal recognition for her gardening and design work during her lifetime. She had chosen a career which was in its infancy, not officially established in the UK until 1929 with the founding of the Institute of Landscape Architecture (now known as the Landscape Institute).[312] As a result, there were no mechanisms in place at the time to reward her for her pioneering work in the provision of green spaces throughout the slum areas of Edinburgh and Dublin, and the Institute has not honoured her contribution retrospectively. Her work did not fit neatly into that of plantswoman or gardener and she was not a member of any horticultural society, which may also account for her lack of recognition from a gardening perspective. Whilst she benefitted greatly from her father's patronage, through his personal and business interests, her career was undoubtedly overshadowed by the success of his own.[313] Posthumous recognition of her work has tended to be limited to brief references within biographies of her father.[314] All trace of her work in Dublin has vanished but the garden at West Port has been brought back to life by volunteers from the West Port Gardening Group and thanks to funding from Edinburgh World Heritage and the City of Edinburgh Council, an interpretation panel detailing Norah's involvement in the original design of the garden was erected in August 2014.[315]

In some ways Norah benefitted from her unorthodox education which instilled in her a profound love of nature and plants and prompted the desire to make a career of garden design. Gaining the necessary skills and knowledge to practise was a challenge and Norah effectively trained herself by merging the science of horticulture and botany and the craft of gardening with courses in art and architecture to forge a new profession. However, Norah often lacked confidence in her own ability throughout her career because she did not have the professional legitimacy that education and formal training opportunities would have provided. She was fortunate to have had both the emotional and financial support of her family, but her father's influence and encouragement of her participation in social projects was at times overwhelming, prompted perhaps by his own social radicalism and belief in the civilising status of woman. This is evidenced in a lecture delivered by him in 1921 entitled 'Women, the Census and the Possibilities of the Future', in which he appealed to women to join with men to help restore cities and towns damaged by the destruction of the First World War, and ended with the following plea for action:

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[312] Patrick Geddes was one of the first professionals in the UK to use landscape architecture as a designation.

[313] Patrick Geddes finally accepted a knighthood in 1932, the year of his death.

[314] With the exception of Walter Stephen, 'A Dreamer's Daughter: Norah Geddes (Mears) (1887-1967)', in *Learning from the Lasses*: *Women of the Patrick Geddes Circle*, ed. by Walter Stephen (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2014), pp.109-122.

[315] 'Geddes Garden reveals its story', Edinburgh World Heritage <http://www.ewht.org.uk/news/457/102/Geddes-Garden-reveals-its-story> [accessed 2 September 2014].

> This call of woman is urgent. It needs a movement in every land, no less intense than that for women's suffrage, and needs too to be far more deeply felt and more fully organised. Only here and there as yet is a woman actively grasping it. Yet here is an opportunity as unparalleled as is the danger; here is scope for vital and educational initiative, for saintly and heroic founders of sisterhoods […] new Sisterhoods of Social Service amongst the peoples of every land.[316]

Unable to find suitable employment as a garden designer in her own right, Norah was somewhat reliant on her father's business to supply her with design work and there is a sense that the direction she took was not always personally fulfilling. Many of the projects she worked on, apart from those provided by her father's business, were in feminine environments, such as the Women's Missionary College, St George's School for Girls and the Women's National Health Association, echoing the experiences of students of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women.

Nevertheless, Norah broke new ground as one of Scotland's first female garden designers and as a pioneer of urban regeneration, producing gardens and children's playgrounds in derelict areas of Edinburgh's Old Town. The influence of her work extended beyond Scotland, with the development of gardens and play spaces in the slum areas of Dublin and other Irish towns and on returning home, Norah's expertise and reputation as a garden designer continued to grow. The First World War halted her career, with marriage and family effectively ending it before she had the opportunity to create aesthetic gardens on a larger scale. There were no mechanisms in place for formal recognition at that time, due to the newness of landscape architecture as a profession and the pioneering nature of her work, and modern narratives have concentrated on the achievements of her father, with only fleeting references to Norah's input.[317] However, the importance of her work still resonates today as city planners look for ways to incorporate and design spaces in urban centres for the benefit of public health and tactics, such as guerrilla gardening, have been employed by individuals and community groups to create green spaces and plantings within built-up environments. Whilst the only tangible legacy that remains of her work are the gardens which still exist at Johnston Terrace and at the West Port in Edinburgh's Old Town, it can be argued that as an early pioneer, Norah helped establish the practice of garden design as a suitable profession for women and pioneered the use of green spaces within urban areas for the benefit of public health.

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[316] Patrick Geddes, *Women, the Census and the Possibilities of the Future* (London & Edinburgh: 1921), p.12.

Summary and Conclusions

Unlike Christian Ramsay and Frances Jane Hope, Mary E. Burton, Annie Morison, Lina Barker and Norah Geddes were born at a time of growing female emancipation which allowed them to transform their interest in gardening into professional careers. As such they were examples of early female pioneers in their respective occupations of head gardener, horticultural educationalists and garden designer. However, in the same way that Cowman and Jackson concluded that middle-class women choosing to enter the professions in the nineteenth century were 'blocked by their lack of both "institutionalised" cultural capital (their inability to possess educational qualifications) and "embodied" cultural capital (on account of their femininity)', the four gardening women analysed in this chapter found their own entry into professional gardening thwarted, in varying degrees, by inadequate practical experience and/or educational provision arising from male exclusionary strategies.[318] Each chose to adopt different tactics to achieve either personal or, in the case of Annie and Lina, third party professional legitimacy.

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[317] See the work of Boardman; Defries; Johnson and Rosenburg; and Kitchen.
[318] Cowman and Jackson, 'Introduction: Women's Work', p.16.

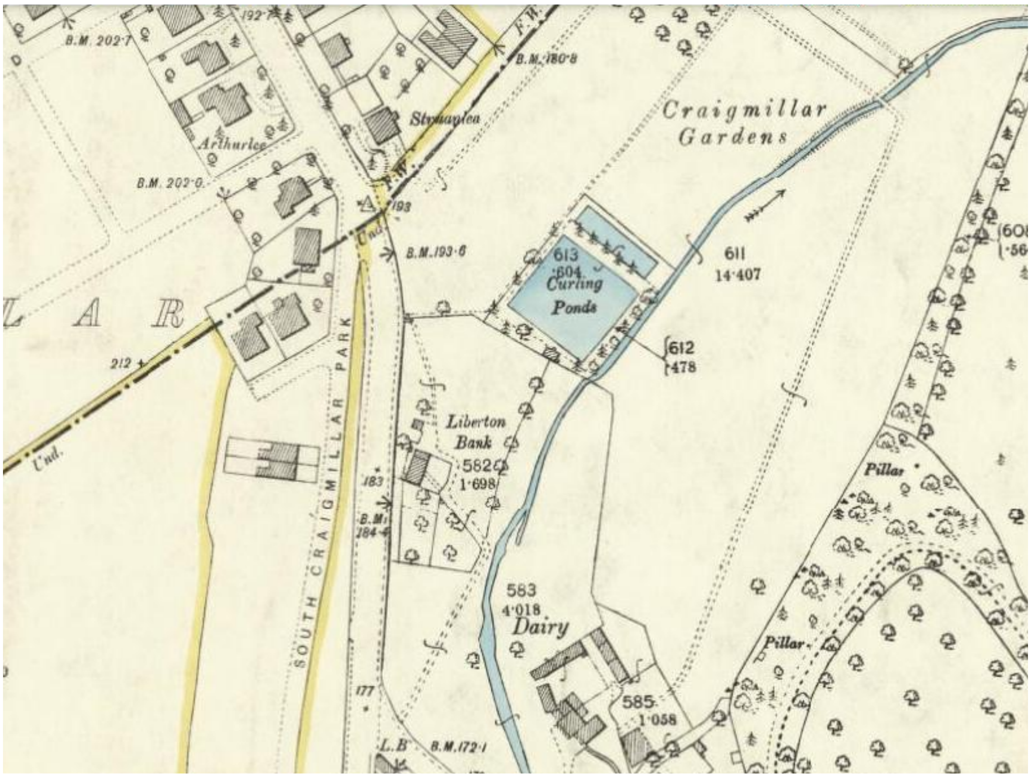
Mary E. Burton was able to circumvent the traditional male route of apprenticeship and journeyman training by tailoring her own curriculum of horticultural education, based on what little was available to women in Scotland, through the attendance of evening classes in the sciences. She also utilised her network of family and social connections to obtain practical experience and employment opportunities and to establish herself as Scotland's first female head gardener. Her adoption of an absorption strategy, by becoming part of the horticultural establishment of the day, allowed her to gain personal credibility and recognition and, more importantly, to promote and foster acceptance of gardening women in Scotland.

At the outset of their gardening careers, Annie Morison and Lina Barker were also keen to engage with the horticultural establishment. They took advantage of newly emergent training opportunities in England and gained sufficient 'institutionalised cultural capital' to allow them to secure probationer training at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh. However, they suffered from a lack of 'embodied cultural capital', in simple terms they did not fit in, and faced diminished training opportunities on account of gender prejudice and sex discrimination. Seemingly unable to advance as professional gardeners and driven by a desire for female equality in response to the exclusion of women probationers at the Royal Botanic Garden, Annie and Lina decided on a separatist strategy by setting up the first and only example of a gardening school for women in Scotland. The effect of such a strategy on the principals and their students was a double-edged sword. Whilst successful in producing qualified women, some of whom went on to take up positions as professional gardeners, acceptance of them by male employers and contemporaries was slow to gain momentum and Annie and Lina were reliant on the creation of feminine structures and networks to generate employment opportunities for their students within female-owned and run establishments.

The approach of Norah Geddes was characterised by hybridisation. Her unorthodox childhood kept her at the margins of established educational structures but like Mary E. Burton, she formulated her own timetable of learning to prepare for a career in garden design by participating in classes run by the College of Art in Edinburgh. Although she briefly attended the Swanley Horticultural College for Women, a separatist tactic, she went on to work as a garden/landscape architect within the auspices of her father's business and it can therefore be argued that an element of her professional credibility was as a result of Patrick Geddes's patronage. Due to the infancy of landscape architecture as a profession, there were no opportunities for institutionalised cultural and social capital and Norah experienced intermittent feelings of inadequacy and lack of confidence as a result. Like students of the gardening school, Norah's private commissions tended to come from all-female institutions, such as the Women's Missionary College, and her work in Ireland was at the invitation of the Women's National Health Association.

Success for all four women was defined in varying degrees by male enablers. In addition to cultivating his daughter's career, Patrick Geddes was instrumental in opening up the profession of gardening to Mary E. Burton by offering her the chance of practical work at Crawford Bank which led to her employment as head gardener at New Saughton Hall. Whilst Mary's experience was positive, Norah's attitude to her father's involvement in her career was ambivalent. Although she might have preferred to chart her own course, Geddes's influence resulted in Norah's pioneering work in the slum areas of Edinburgh and Dublin. Outlining the role played by Isaac Bayley Balfour in the success or otherwise of Annie Morison and Lina Barker's work is problematic. On the one hand, he opened up to them the possibility of a professional career through the provision of probationer training and certification and appears to have been the unwitting catalyst for the creation of the school of gardening; whilst on the other, he limited their personal achievements by not providing equal training opportunities and was dismissive of the school and the students who passed through it. Apart from help in funding the school, which may have come from Annie's father, the two women were the most independent of male patronage, which could be due in part to the feminist practices they created and the strength and support they drew from one another which ensured an effective and cohesive partnership.

It can be argued that as female pioneers all four were significant characters within the history of gardening women in Scotland. Mary E. Burton was the first woman head gardener, Annie Morison and Lina Barker were the first to set up a gardening school for women and Norah Geddes is believed to have been the first female in Scotland to use the designation landscape architect. Mary E. Burton's horticultural expertise was as good, if not better, than many of her male colleagues, leading to a considerable number of awards at gardening shows and positions of authority within gardening associations. She influenced from within the industry and this may account for the recognition she accrued throughout her career, the only woman of the four to be honoured by the horticultural establishment. Norah Geddes's reluctant, yet avant-garde development of green spaces in derelict city spaces for the benefit of public health and urban renewal still resonates with city planners today, but her work was overshadowed by the success of her father and has yet to be officially recognised. Marriage and children ended Norah's professional career, just as family commitments forced Annie Morison to step down from teaching at the school of gardening, a consequence of being the unmarried sibling, but not before she and Lina Barker had secured roles for gardening women in Scotland. All four played their part in the slow but steady acceptance of gardening women in Scotland.


Craigmillar Gardens
Curling Ponds
Liberton Bank
Dairy
SOUTH CRAIGMILLAR PARK
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613
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585
1·058
B.M. 202·7
B.M. 202·0
B.M. 193·6
B.M. 180·8
B.M. 172·1
L A R

Figure 6.1 Liberton Bank cottage and gardens. Source: OS Edinburghshire, III.16, 1:2500, revised 1893, published 1896. Reproduced with permission of the NLS.

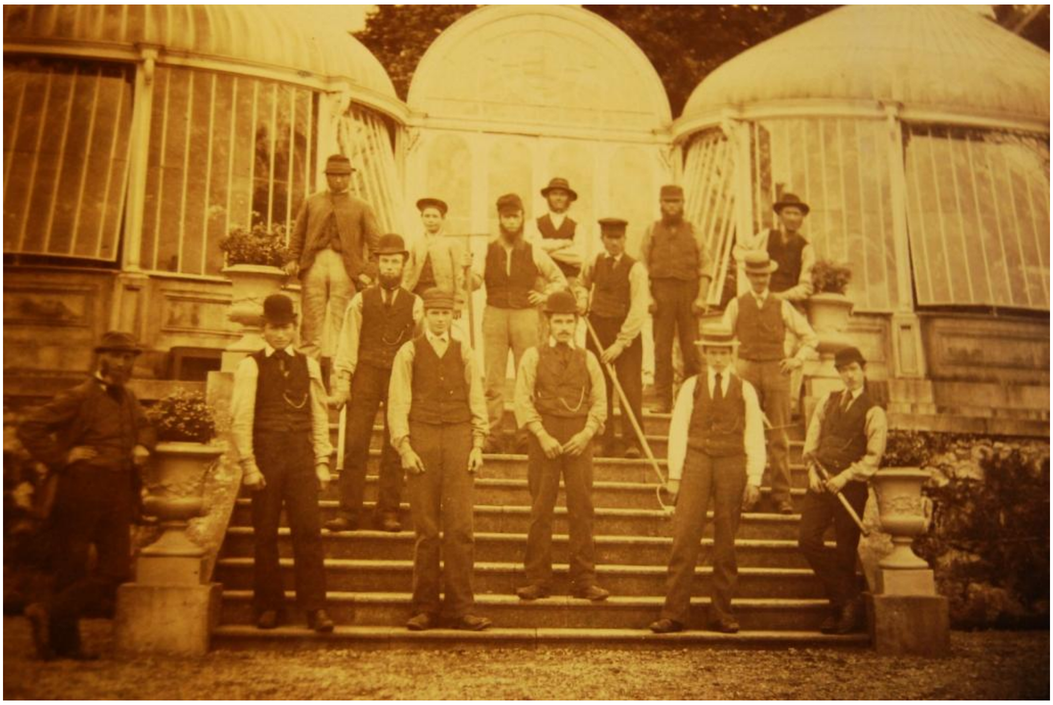


Figure 6.2 Gardening men at Haddo House, Aberdeenshire c.1884. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair and the National Trust for Scotland.

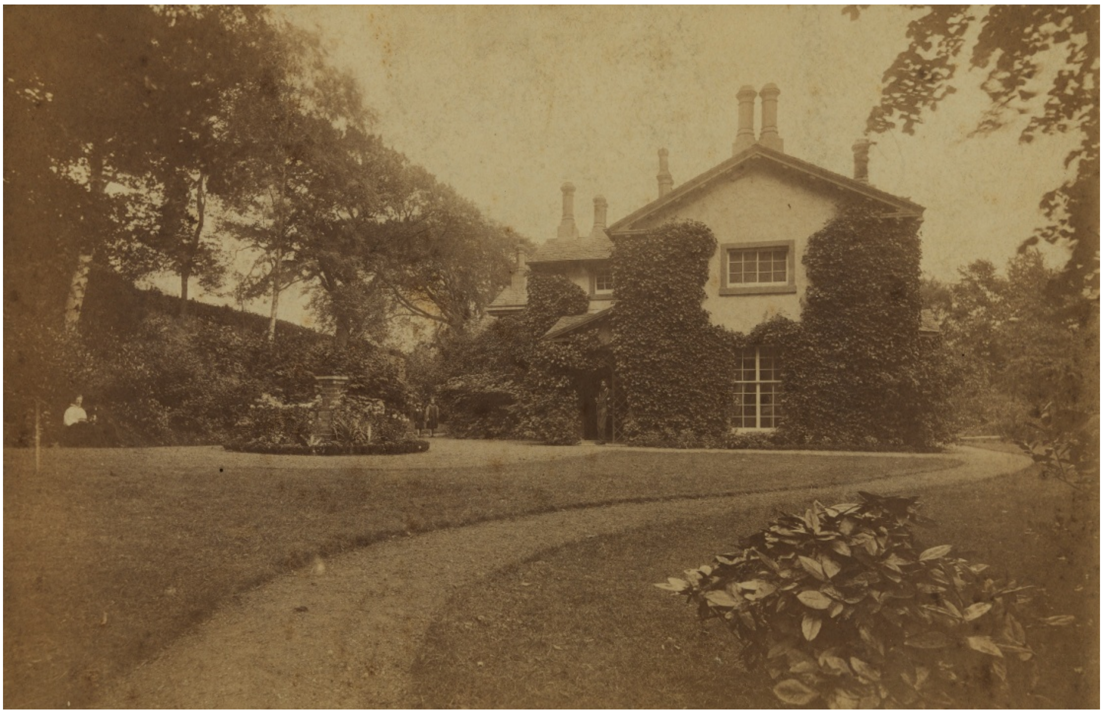


Figure 6.3 The front garden at Crawford Bank, Lasswade, c.1897-98. Sourced from and reproduced with permission of Edinburgh University, Centre for Research Collections (CRC), COLL 1167 A6PGF143.

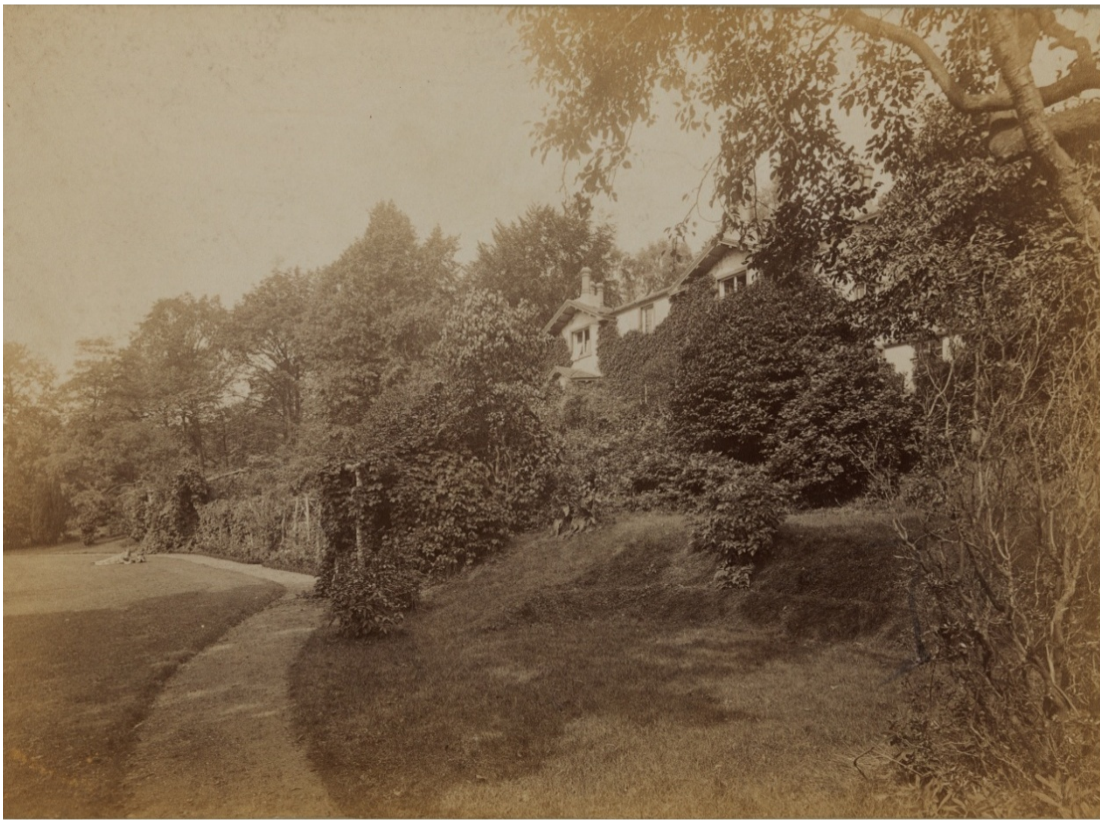


Figure 6.4 The rear gardens at Crawford Bank, Lasswade, c.1897-98. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the CRC, COLL 1167 A6PGF174.

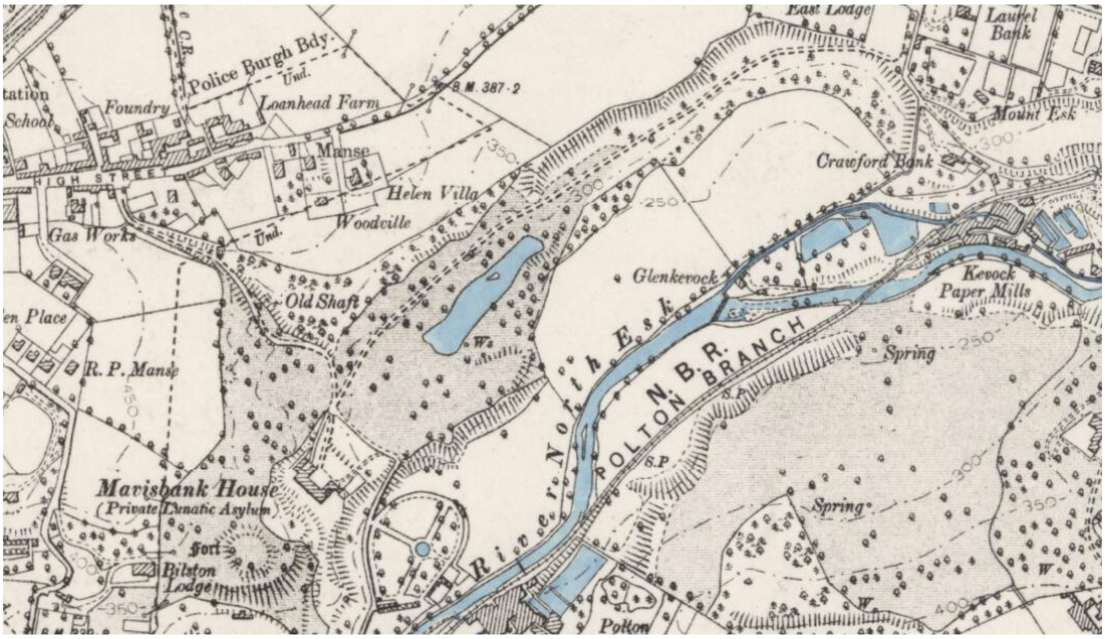

Police Burgh Bdy.
Und.
Loanhead Farm
B.M. 387·2
East Lodge
Laurel Bank
Mount Esk
Foundry
School
HIGH STREET
Manse
Helen Villa
Woodville
Gas Works
Und.
Crawford Bank
Glenkevock
Kevock Paper Mills
Old Shaft
River North Esk
N.B.R.
POLTON BRANCH
Spring
R. P. Manse
Mavisbank House
(Private Lunatic Asylum)
Fort
Bilston Lodge
S.P.
Spring
Polton

Figure 6.5 Map showing proximity of Crawford Bank to Mavisbank. Source: OS Edinburghshire, VIII.SW, 1:2500, publication date 1895, date revised 1893. Reproduced with permission of the NLS.

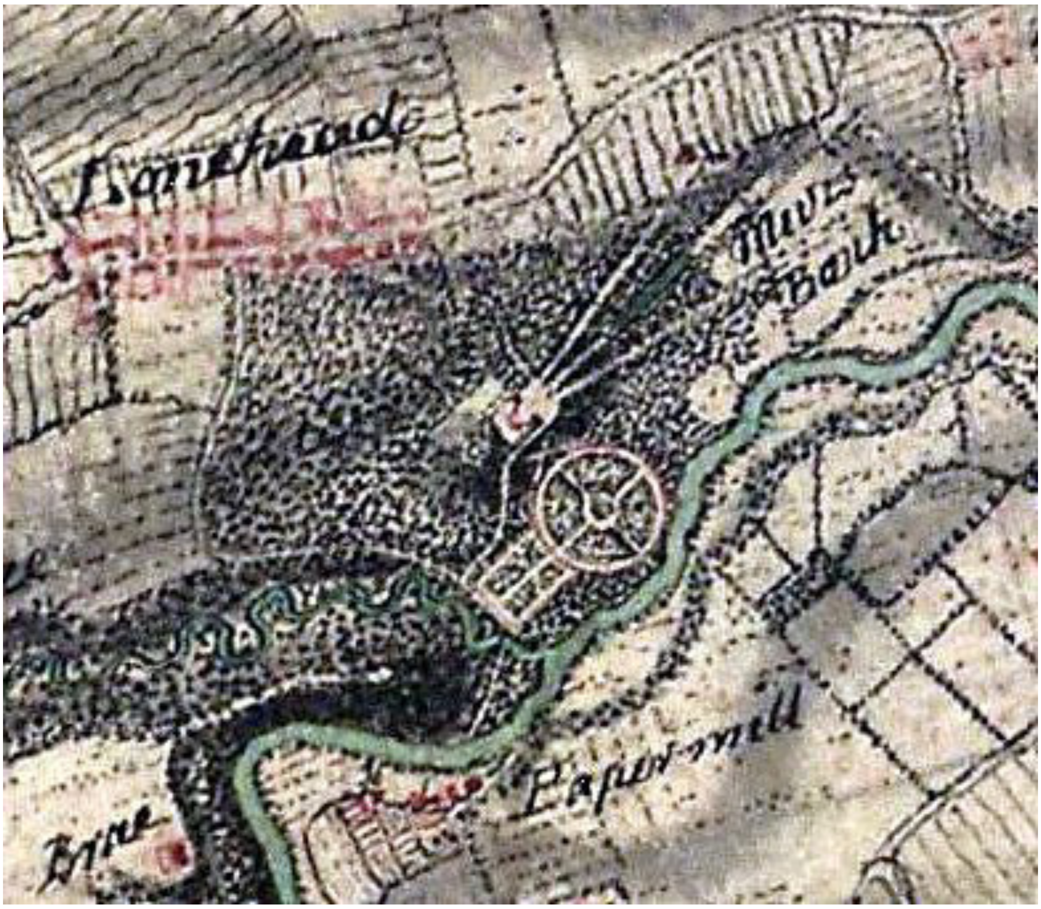

Lonehead
Mavis Bank
Papermill

Figure 6.6 Mavisbank with goosefoot avenue and circular walled garden. Source: Roy Military Survey of Scotland 1747-1755. Reproduced with permission of the NLS.

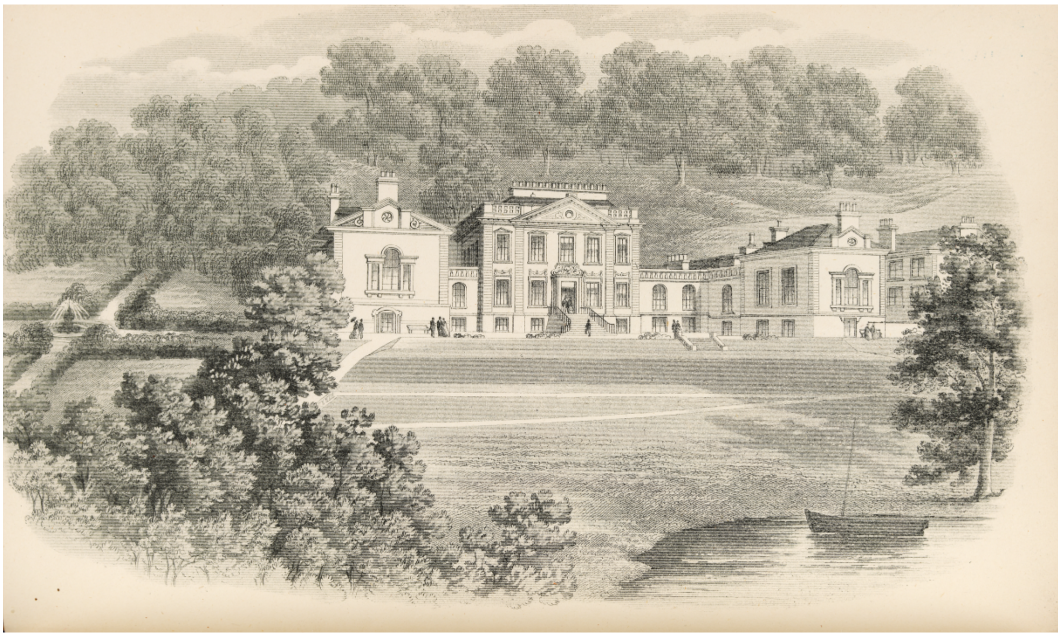
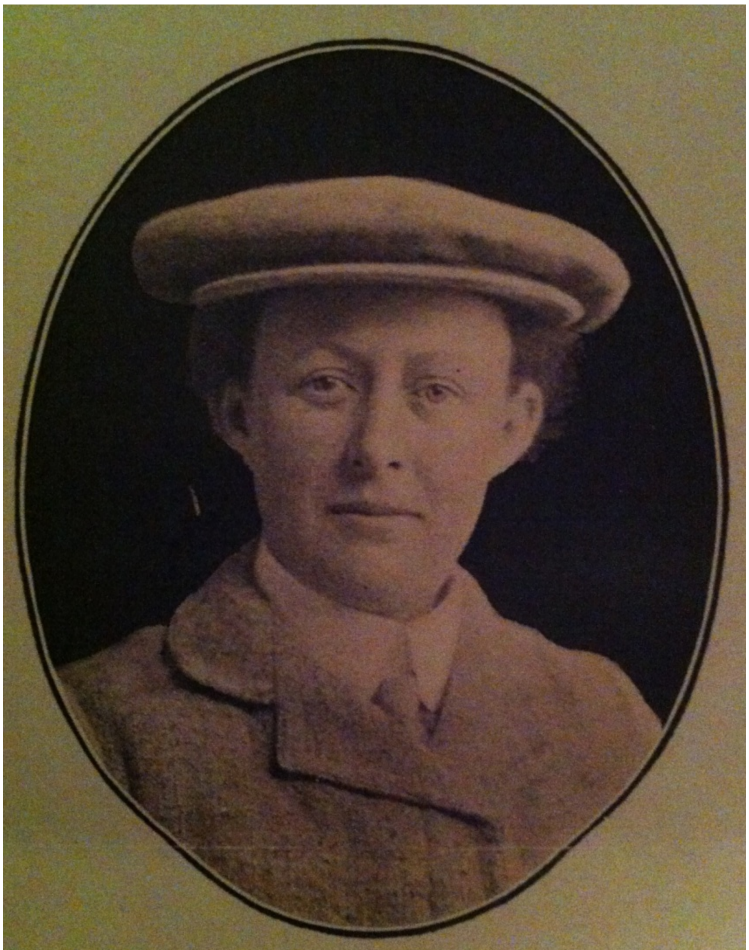


Figure 6.7 Sketch of Mavisbank Asylum and gardens c.1888. Sourced and reproduced with permission of Lothian Health Services Archive, GD17/1/25.



MISS MARY E. BURTON.

Figure 6.8

Head gardener, Mary E. Burton, thought to have been taken in 1906 when she was 41 years old.

Source: *The Scottish Field*, June 1906, p.358.

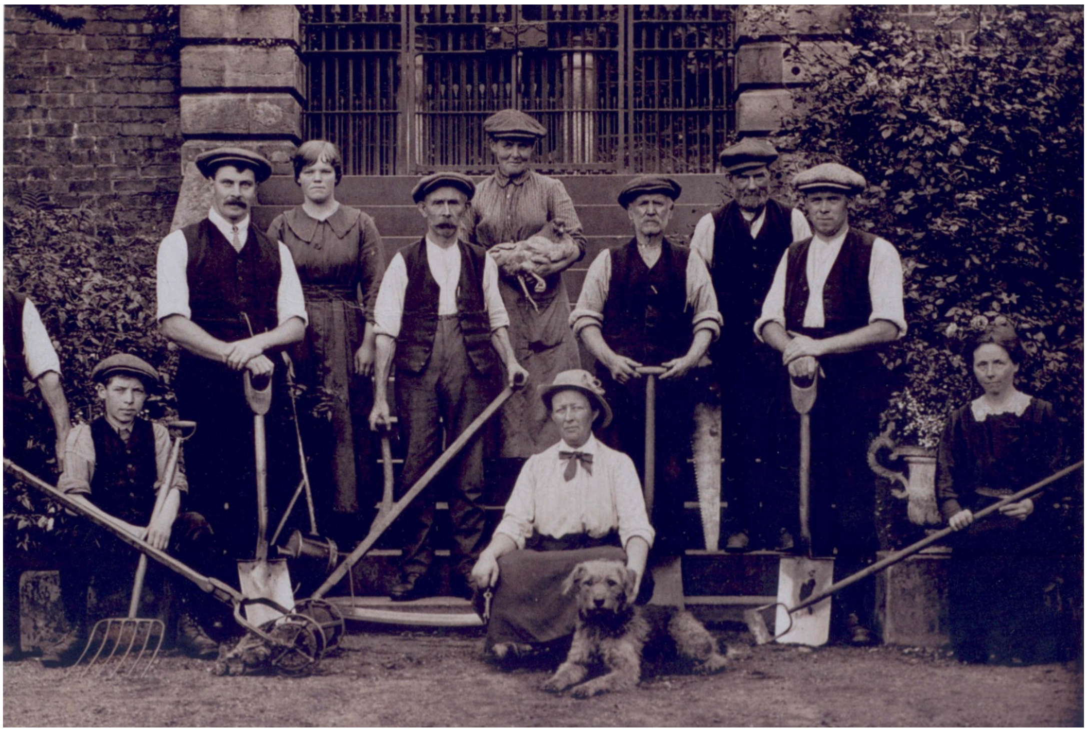


Figure 6.9 Mary E. Burton, seated centre, with her gardeners at New Saughton Hall c.1914. Sourced and reproduced with permission of Midlothian Council and Local Studies Archive (MCLSA), Acc. 6077.

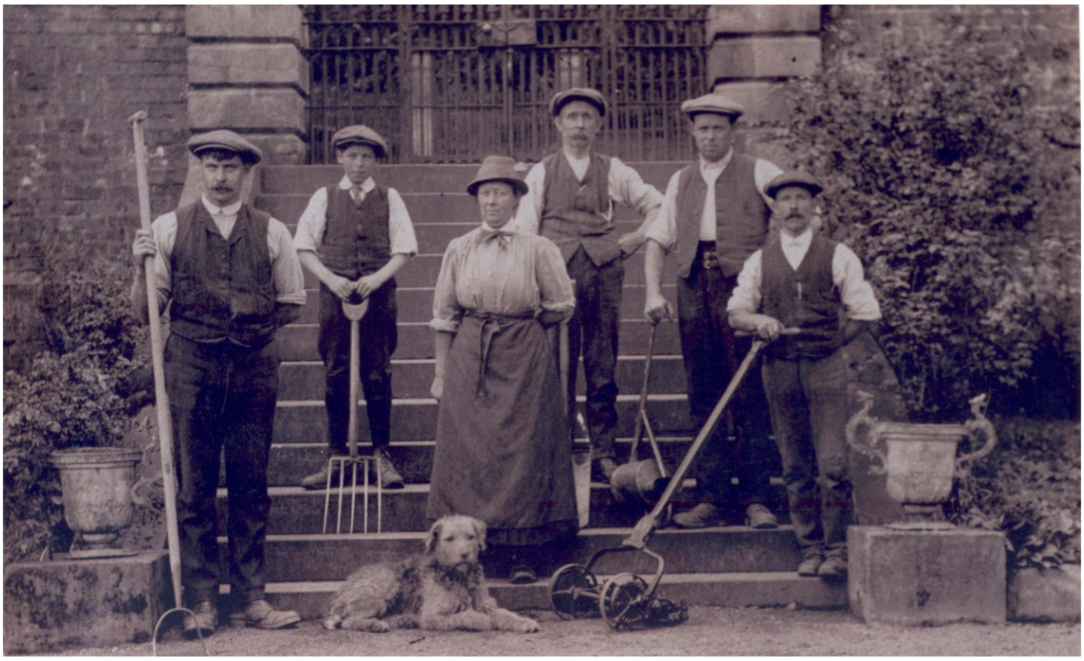


Figure 6.10 Head gardener Mary E. Burton centre with her core gardening team of left to right J. Stewart, unknown, D. Munro, D. Plowman and J. Wallace c.1914. Sourced and reproduced with permission of MCLSA, Acc. 6076.

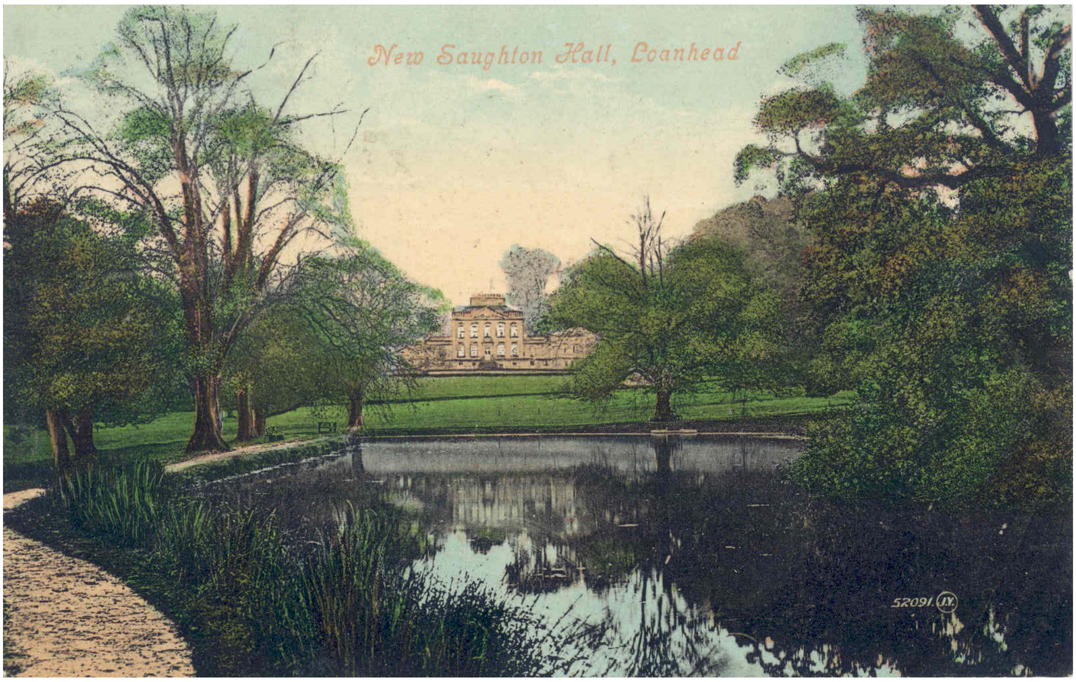

New Saughton Hall, Loanhead
52091. J.V.

Figure 6.11 Postcard of the gardens at New Saughton Hall c.1908. Sourced and reproduced with permission of MCLSA, Acc. 3664.

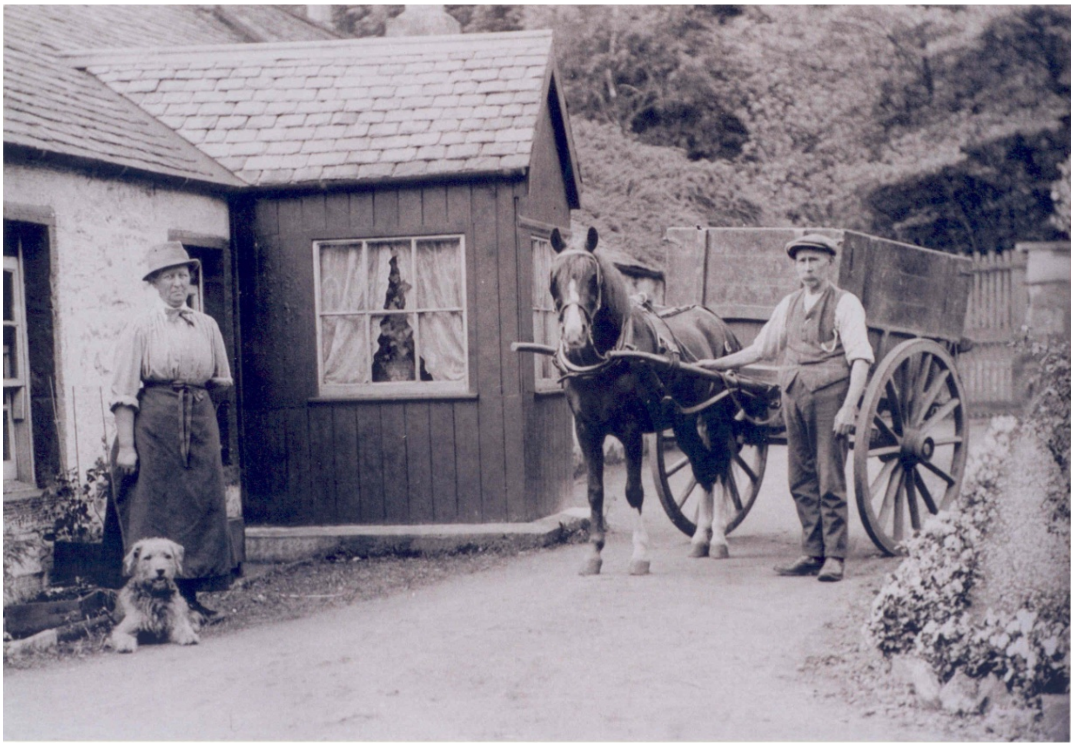


Figure 6.12 Head gardener Mary E. Burton with carter Donald Munro c.1914. Sourced and reproduced with permission of MCLSA, Acc. 6291.

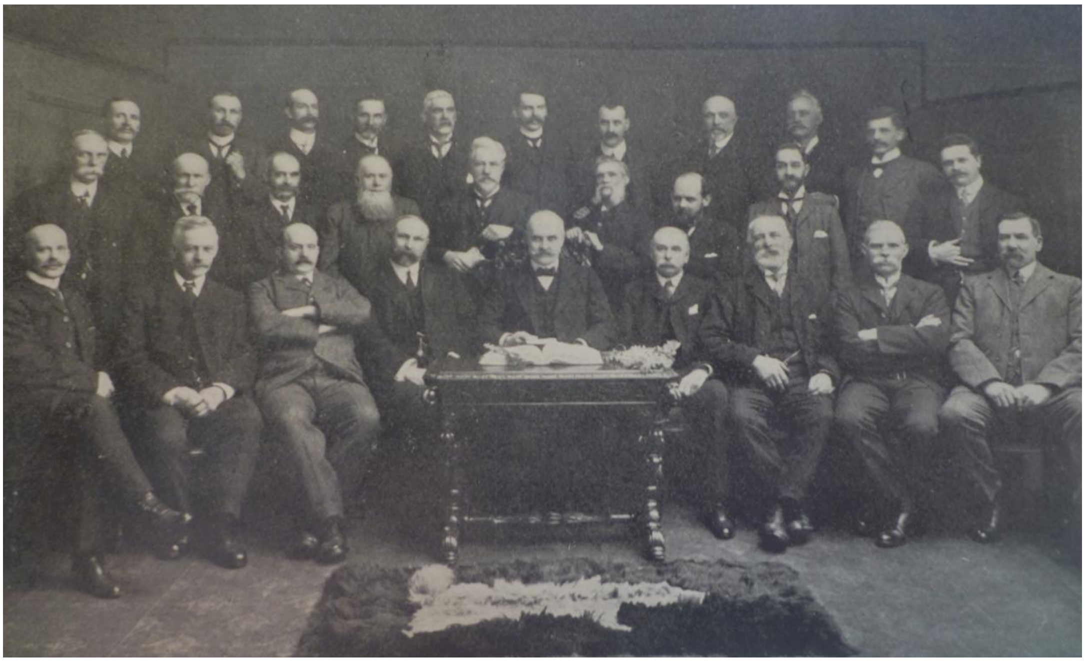


Figure 6.13 Office holders of the Scottish Horticultural Association 1911. Source: *Transactions of the Scottish Horticultural Association*, Ser. 2, 1 (1908-11), after p.174.

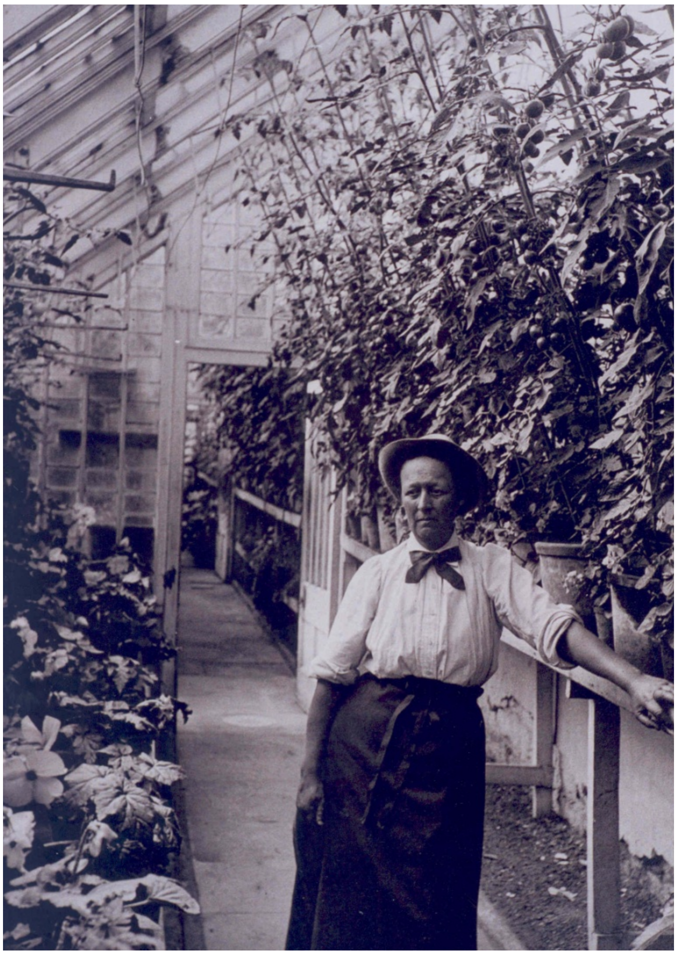


Figure 6.14

Mary E. Burton in the glasshouses at New Saughton Hall with her tomatoes c.1914.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of MCLSA, Acc. 6075.

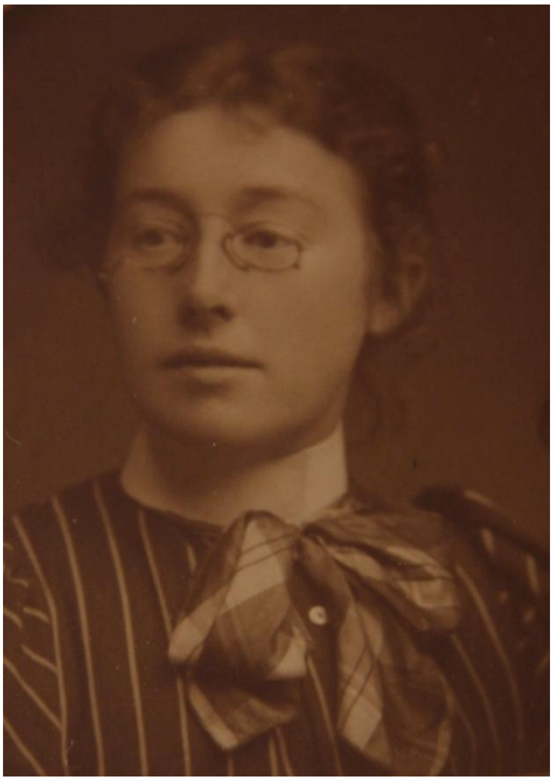


Figure 6.15

Undated photograph of Annie Morison as a young woman.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of the McIntyre family.

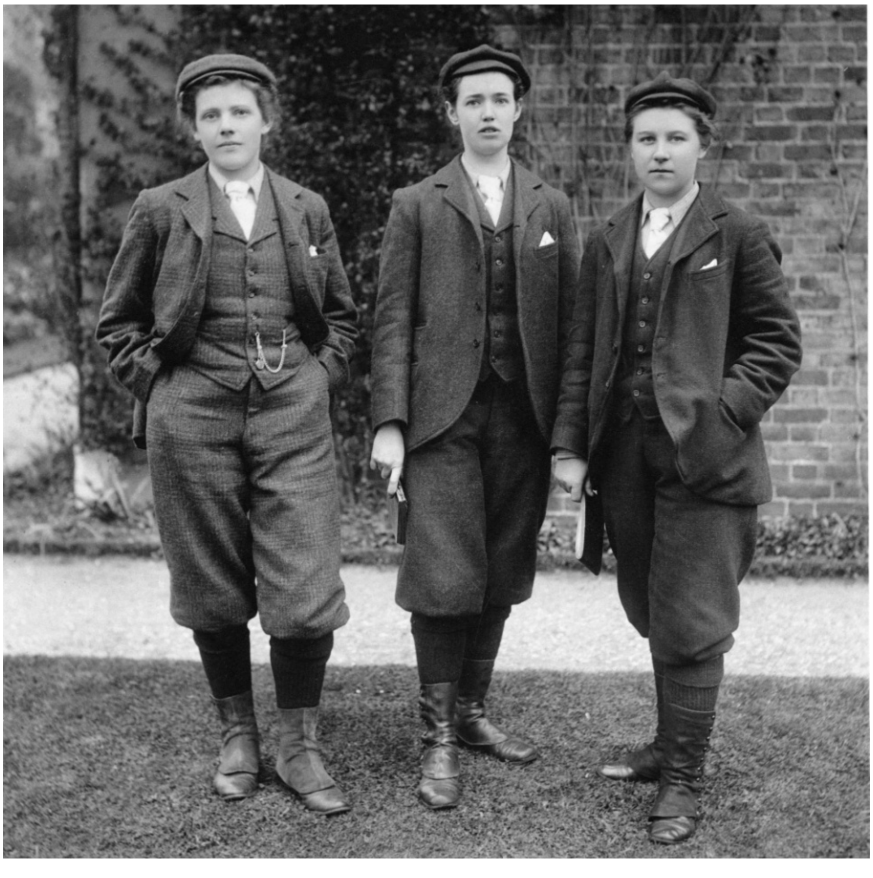
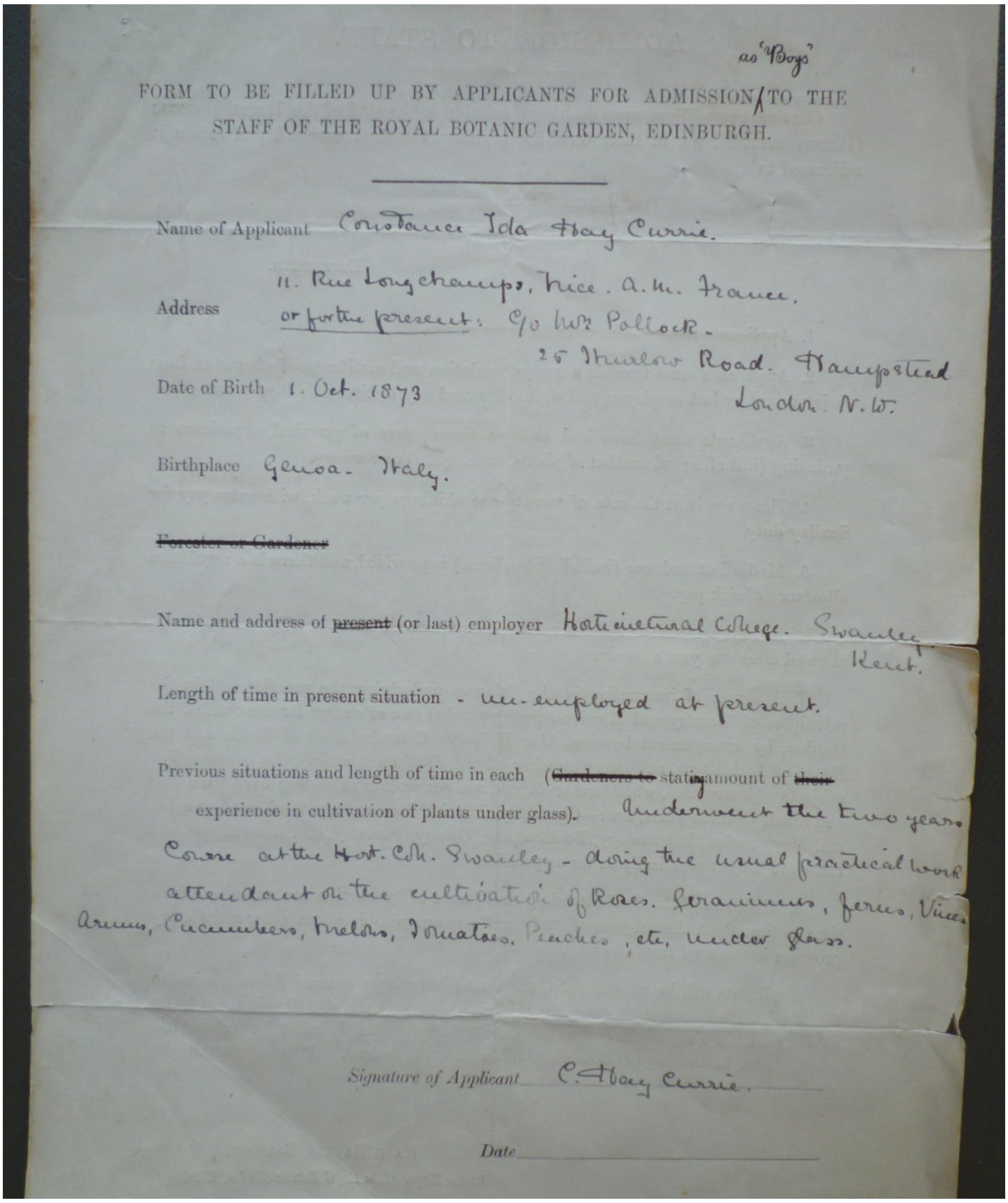


Figure 6.16 Alice Hutchings, Gertrude Cope and Eleanor Morland, early gardening women at Kew c.1896-97. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



as "Boys"

FORM TO BE FILLED UP BY APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION as "Boys" TO THE STAFF OF THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDEN, EDINBURGH.

Name of Applicant Constance Ida Hay Currie.

Address 11. Rue Longchamps, Nice. A.M. France.
or for the present: C/o Mrs Pollock.
25 Thurlow Road. Hampstead
London. N.W.

Date of Birth 1. Oct. 1873

Birthplace Genoa. Italy.

~~Forester or Gardener~~

Name and address of ~~present~~ (or last) employer Horticultural College. Swanley. Kent.

Length of time in present situation - un-employed at present.

Previous situations and length of time in each (~~Gardeners to~~ stating amount of ~~their~~ experience in cultivation of plants under glass). Underwent the two years Course at the Hort. Coll. Swanley - doing the usual practical work attendant on the cultivation of Roses. Geraniums, Ferns, Vines Arums, Cucumbers, Melons, Tomatoes. Peaches, etc, under glass.

Signature of Applicant C. Hay Currie.

Date

Figure 6.17 Constance Hay Currie's application form for the position of practitioner gardener or 'boy' at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 1896. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh.

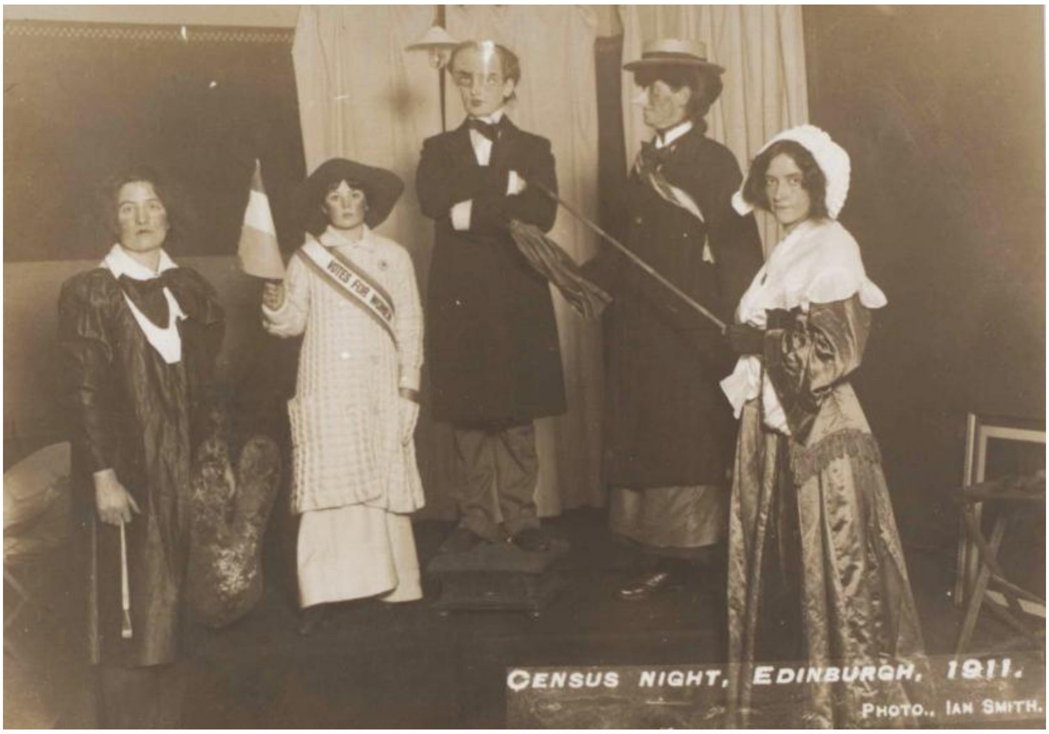

VOTES FOR WOMEN
CENSUS NIGHT, EDINBURGH, 1911.
PHOTO., IAN SMITH.

Figure 6.18 Suffragettes in Edinburgh dressed as waxwork dummies to avoid the 1911 census count. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 4546.

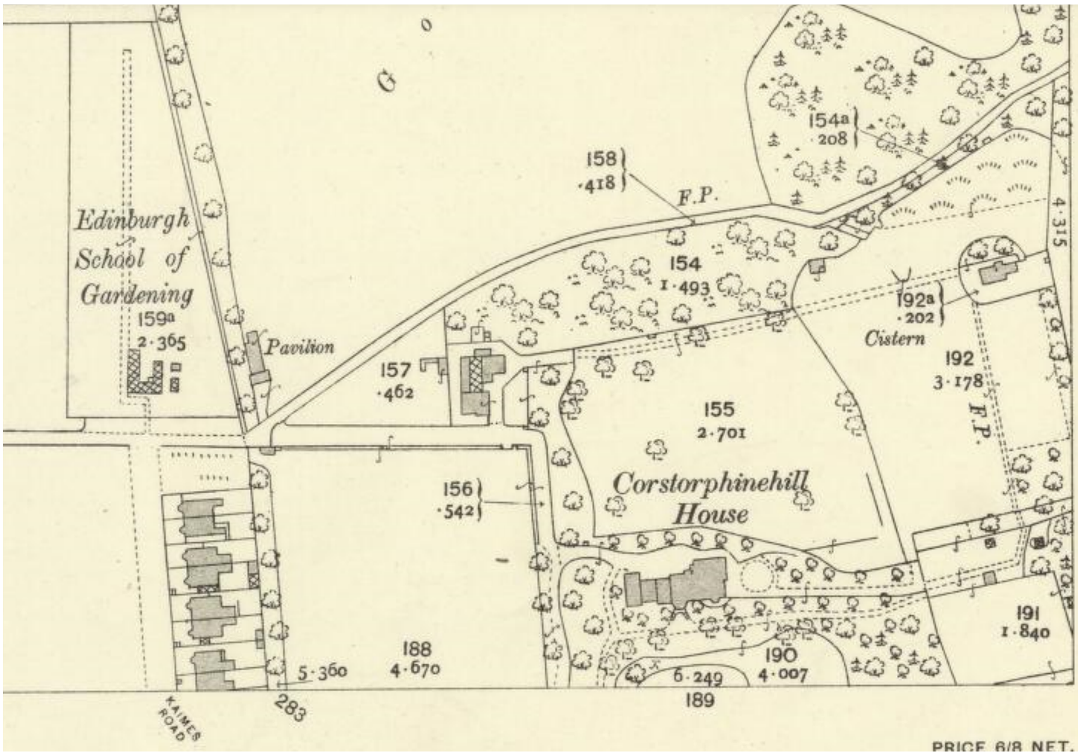

Edinburgh School of Gardening
159a
2·365
Pavilion
158
·418
F.P.
154a
·208
154
1·493
157
·462
192a
·202
Cistern
192
3·178
F.P.
4·315
155
2·701
156
·542
Corstorphinehill House
188
4·670
5·360
283
KAIMES ROAD
190
4·007
6·249
189
191
1·840
PRICE 6/8 NET.

Figure 6.19 The 2.4 acre site of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women at the north end of Kaimes Road, Edinburgh. Source: OS Edinburghshire, 1:2500, sheet 003.05, publication date 1914, date revised 1912. Reproduced with permission of the NLS.

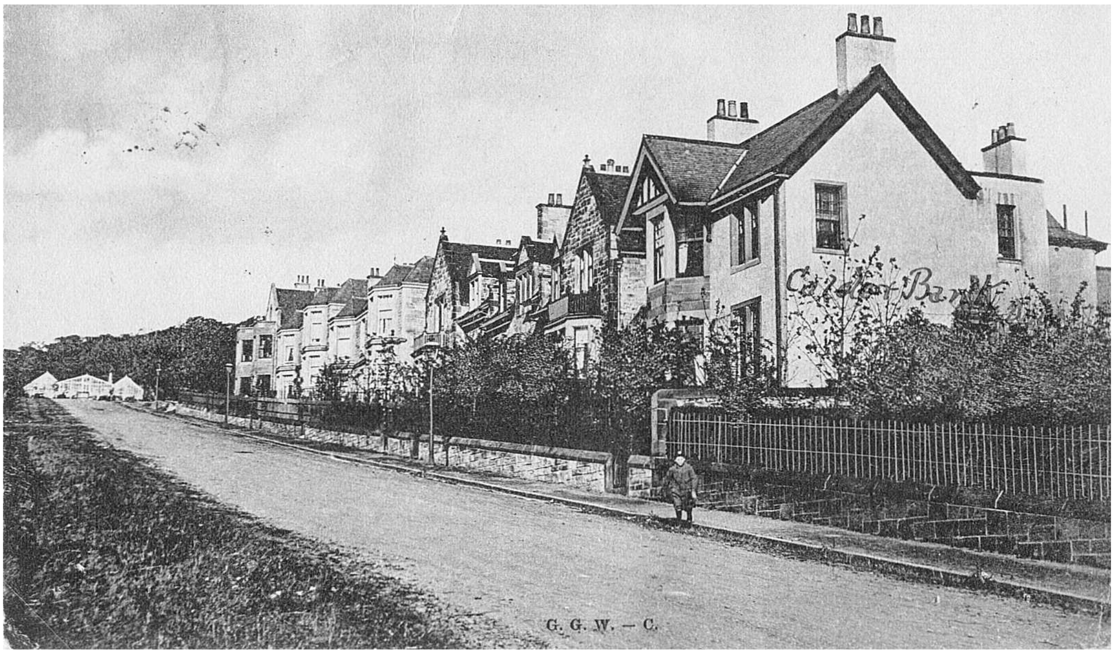


Figure 6.20 A distant view of the glasshouses of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women taken from Kaimes Road c.1910. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Corstorphine Trust.

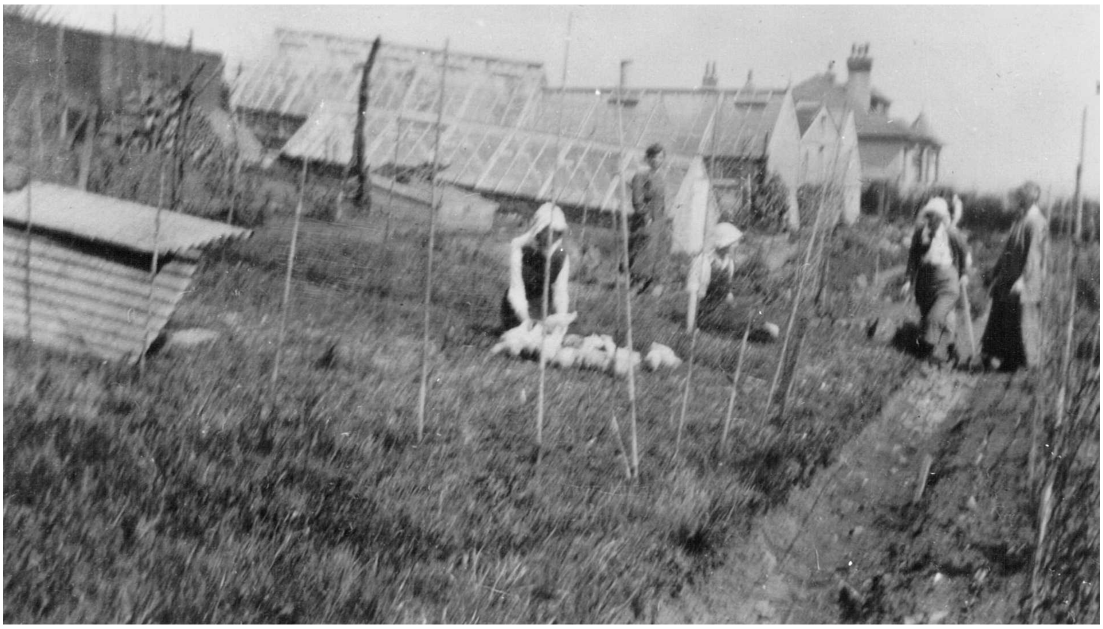


Figure 6.21 Students of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women working in the gardens c.1916. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the McIntyre family.

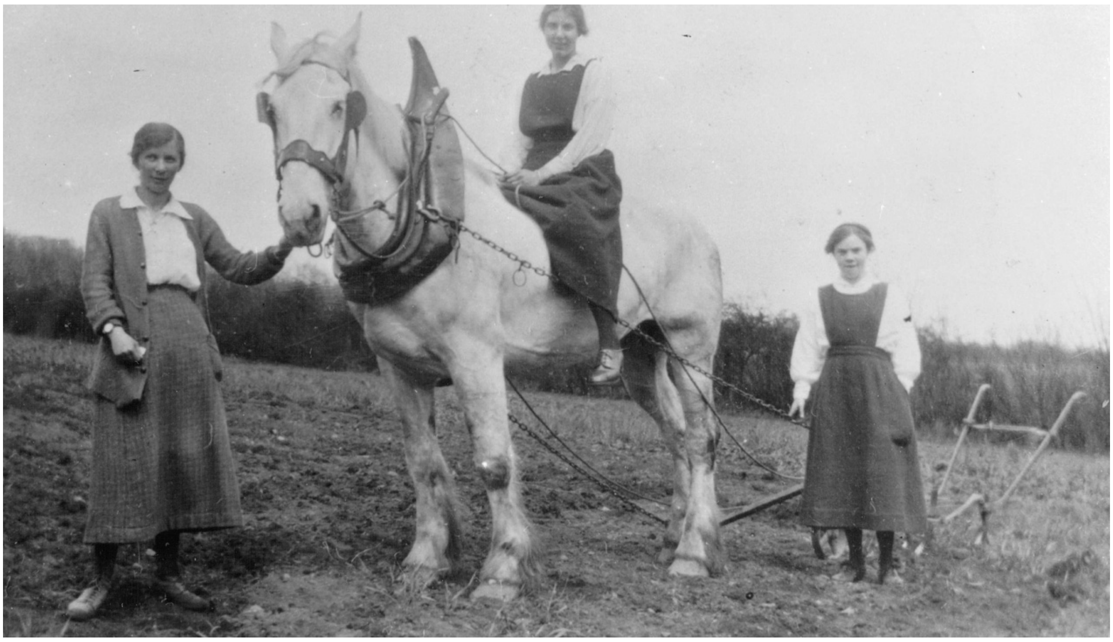


Figure 6.22 Ploughing was one of many activities undertaken by the gardening school's students c.1916. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the McIntyre family.

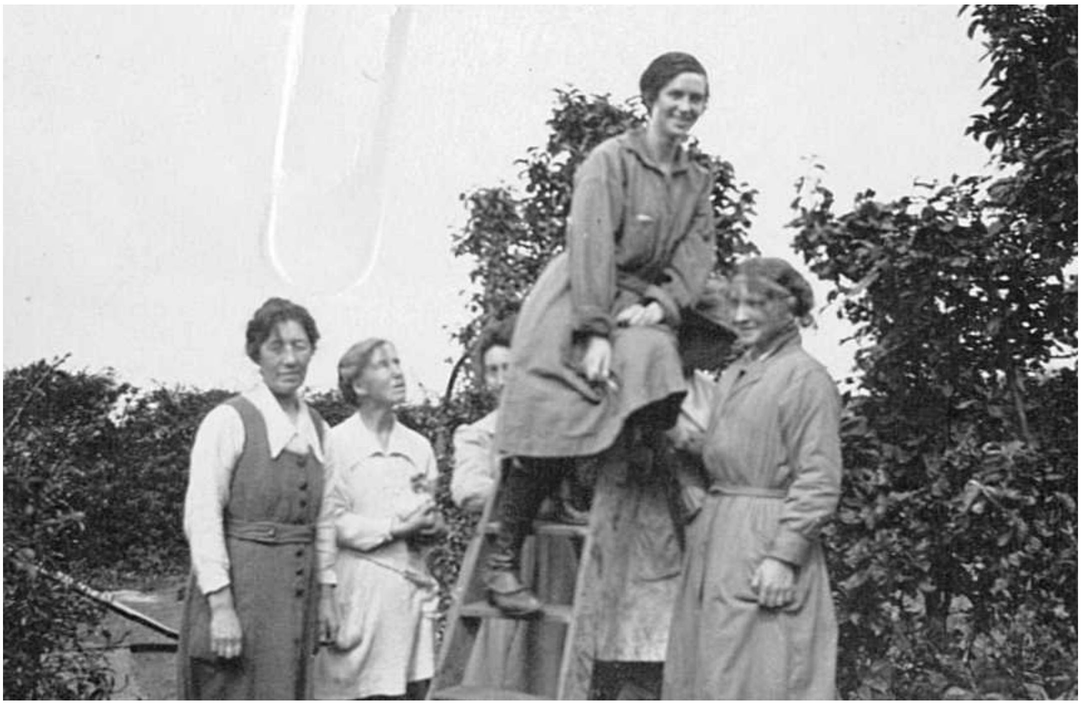


Figure 6.23 Annie Morison, left, possibly standing next to Lina Barker, with some of the students of the school c.1916. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the McIntyre family.

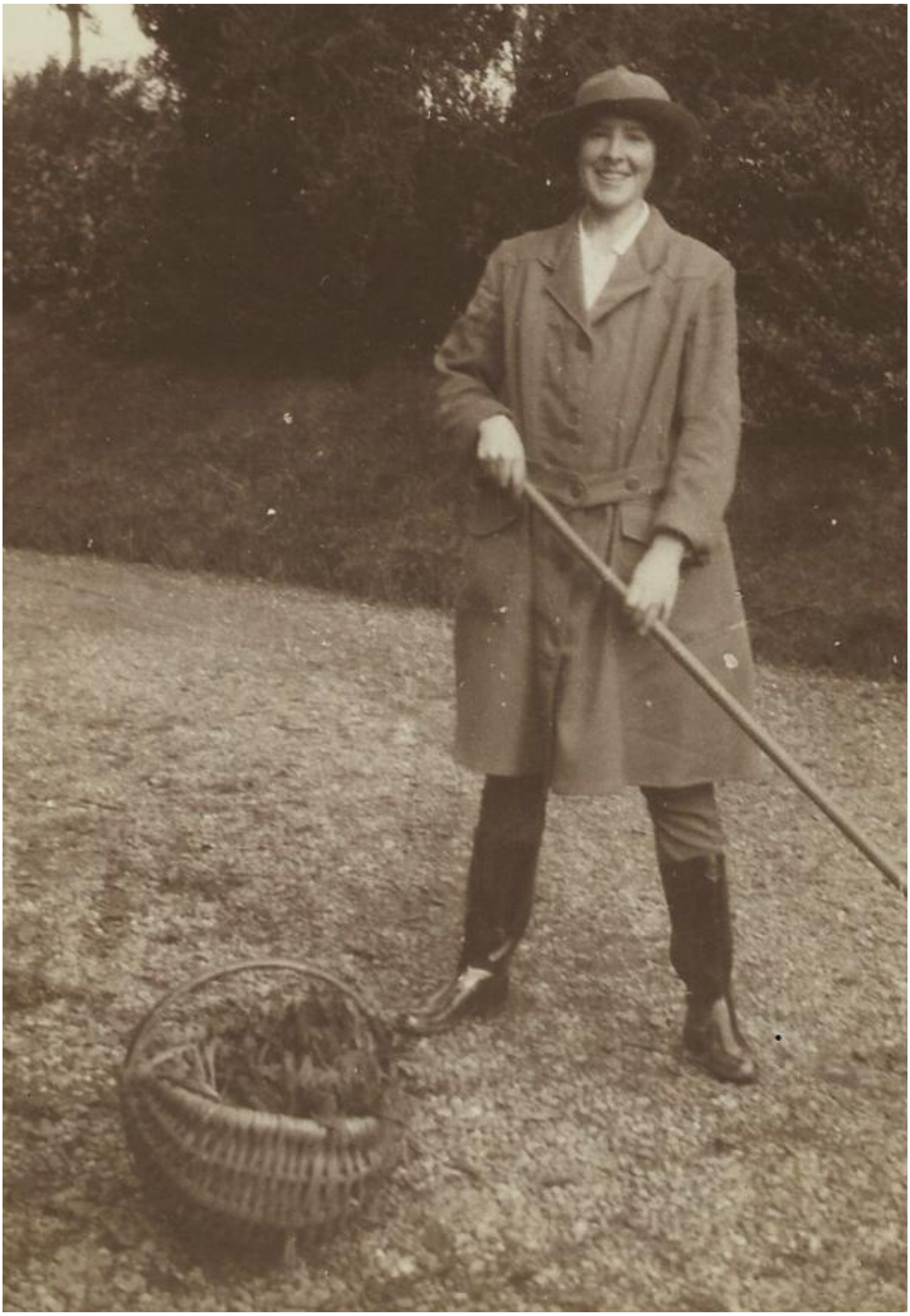


Figure 6.24 Elizabeth Beveridge in 1923. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Beveridge family.

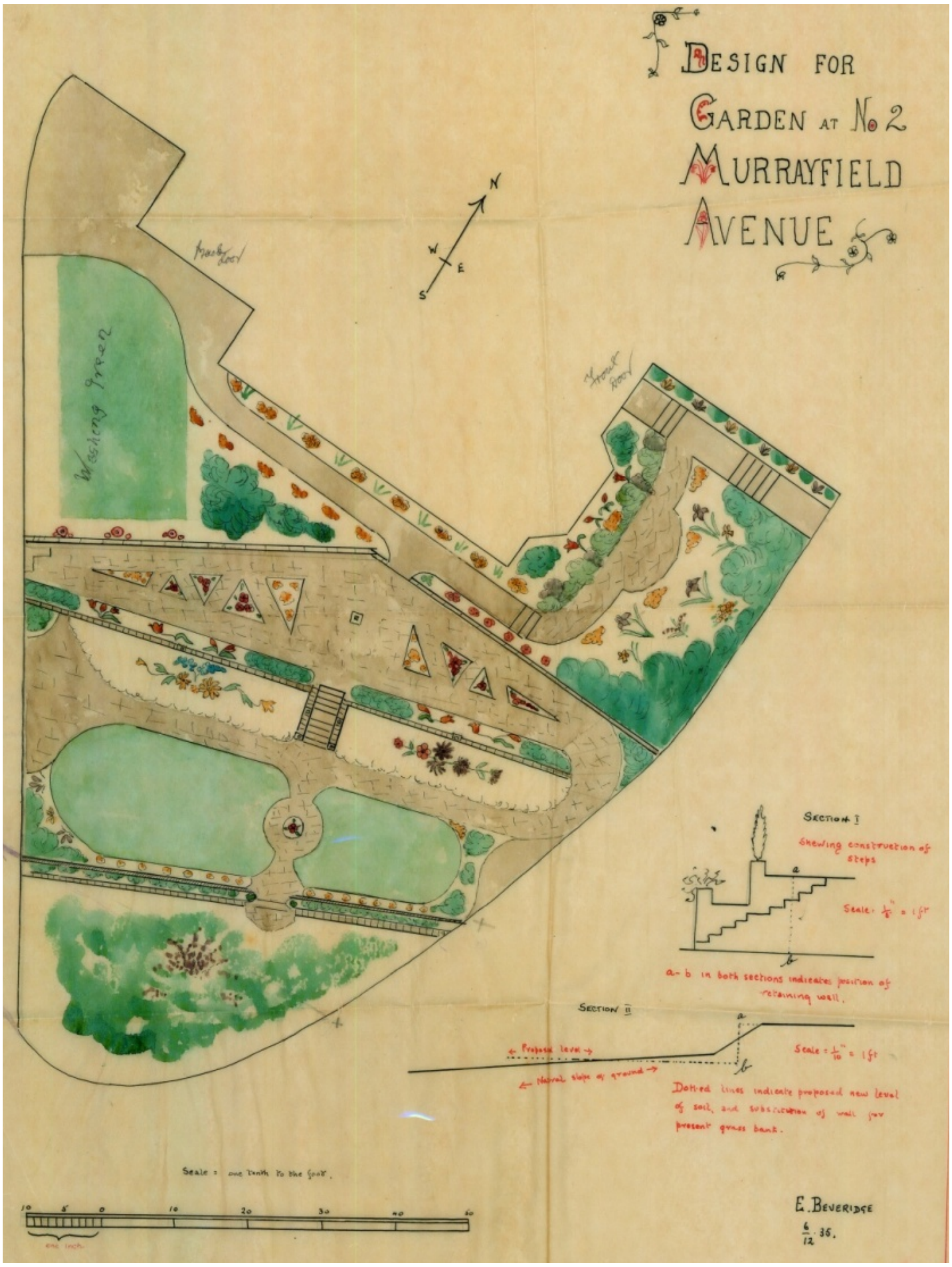

Design for Garden at No 2 Murrayfield Avenue
N
W
E
S
Back door
Front door
Washing green
Section I
Shewing construction of steps
a
b
Scale: 1/8" = 1 ft
a-b in both sections indicates position of retaining wall.
Section II
← Proposed level →
← Natural slope of ground →
Scale = 1/10" = 1 ft
Dotted lines indicate proposed new level of soil, and substitution of wall for present grass bank.
Scale = one tenth to the foot.
10
5
0
10
20
30
40
50
one inch
E. Beveridge
6/12. 35.

Figure 6.25 A hand-drawn design for a garden in Edinburgh by Elizabeth Beveridge, 1935. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Beveridge family.

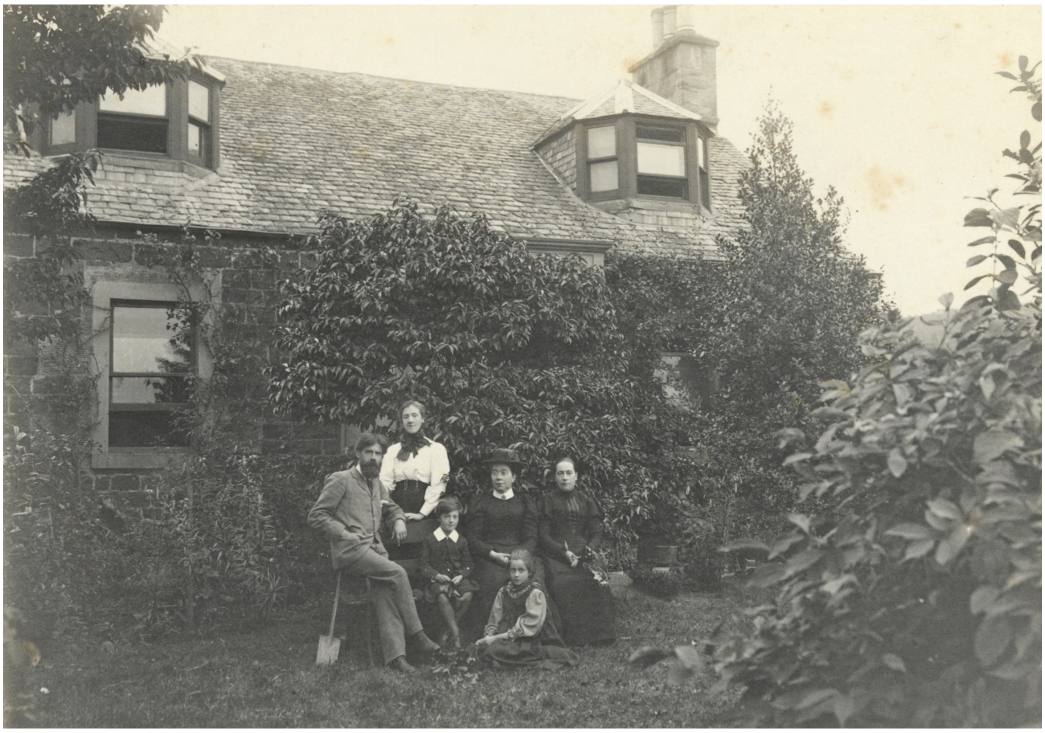


Figure 6.26 Norah Geddes, seated centre front, with from left to right her father, mother and brother Alastair at Mount Tabor, Perthshire, c.1898. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the CRC, COLL 1167 A6PGF13.

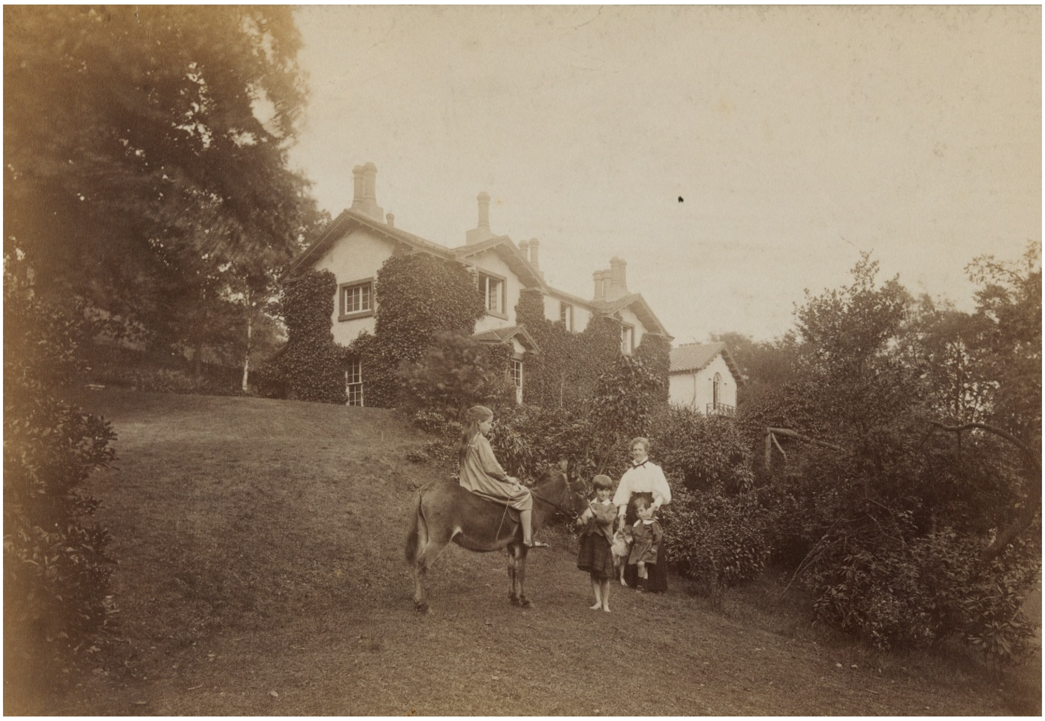


Figure 6.27 Norah seated on donkey with her mother and brothers at Crawford Bank c.1897-8. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the CRC, COLL 1167 A6PGF106.

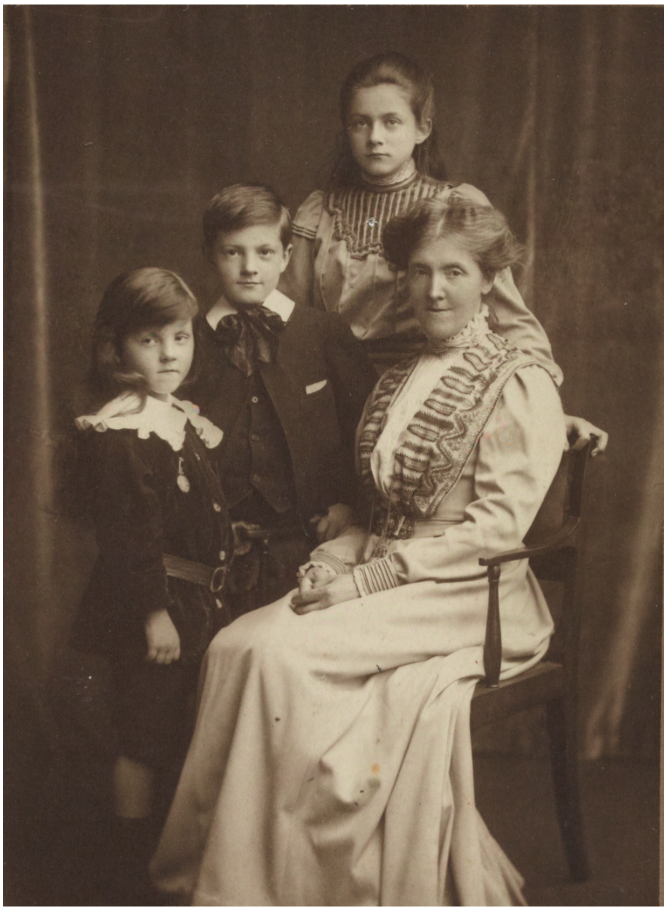


Figure 6.28

Norah, aged thirteen, with her mother and brothers, summer 1901.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, MSS 10606 fol. 30.

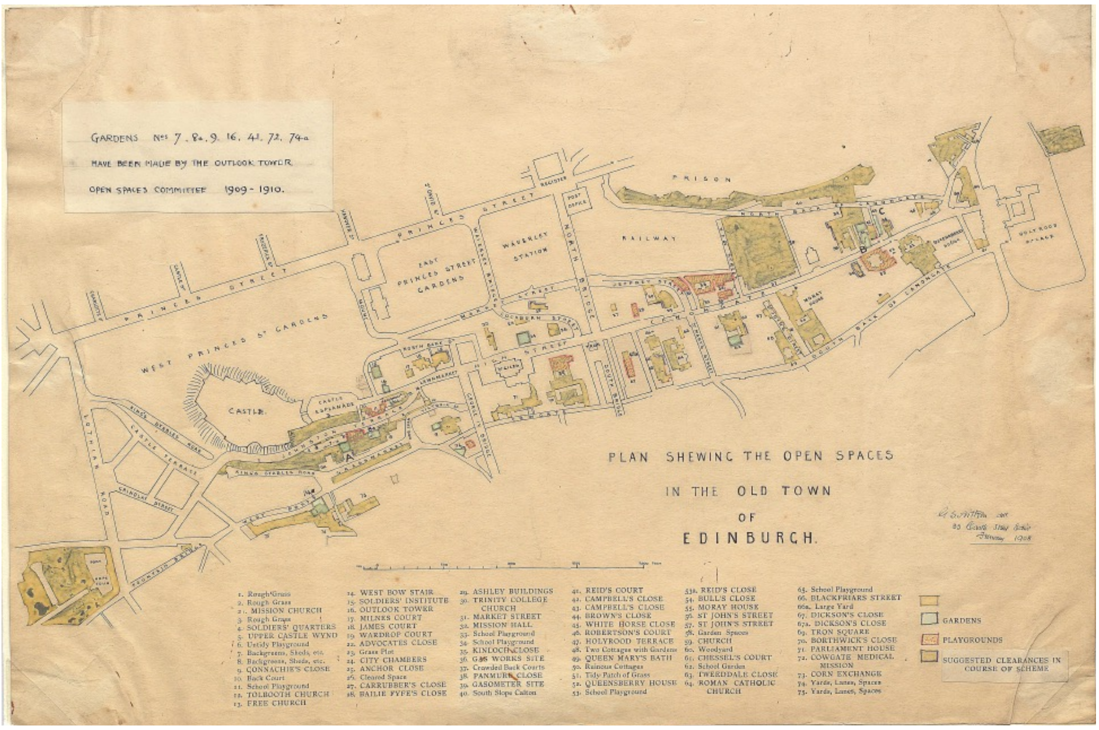

GARDENS Nos 7. 8a. 9. 16. 41. 72. 74a
HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE OUTLOOK TOWER
OPEN SPACES COMMITTEE 1909 - 1910.
PLAN SHEWING THE OPEN SPACES
IN THE OLD TOWN
OF
EDINBURGH.
1. Rough Grass
2. Rough Grass
2a. MISSION CHURCH
3. Rough Grass
4. SOLDIERS' QUARTERS
5. UPPER CASTLE WYND
6. Untidy Playground
7. Backgreens, Sheds, etc.
8. Backgreens, Sheds, etc.
9. CONNACHIE'S CLOSE
10. Back Court
11. School Playground
12. TOLBOOTH CHURCH
13. FREE CHURCH
14. WEST BOW STAIR
15. SOLDIERS' INSTITUTE
16. OUTLOOK TOWER
17. MILNES COURT
18. JAMES COURT
19. WARDROP COURT
22. ADVOCATES CLOSE
23. Grass Plot
24. CITY CHAMBERS
25. ANCHOR CLOSE
26. Cleared Space
27. CARRUBBER'S CLOSE
28. BAILIE FYFE'S CLOSE
29. ASHLEY BUILDINGS
30. TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH
31. MARKET STREET
32. MISSION HALL
33. School Playground
34. School Playground
35. KINLOCH CLOSE
36. GAS WORKS SITE
37. Crowded Back Courts
38. PANMURE CLOSE
39. GASOMETER SITE
40. South Slope Calton
41. REID'S COURT
42. CAMPBELL'S CLOSE
43. CAMPBELL'S CLOSE
44. BROWN'S CLOSE
45. WHITE HORSE CLOSE
46. ROBERTSON'S COURT
47. HOLYROOD TERRACE
48. Two Cottages with Gardens
49. QUEEN MARY'S BATH
50. Ruinous Cottages
51. Tidy Patch of Grass
52. QUEENSBERRY HOUSE
53. School Playground
53a. REID'S CLOSE
54. BULL'S CLOSE
55. MORAY HOUSE
56. ST JOHN'S STREET
57. ST JOHN'S STREET
58. Garden Spaces
59. CHURCH
60. Woodyard
61. CHESSEL'S COURT
62. School Garden
63. TWEEDDALE CLOSE
64. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
65. School Playground
66. BLACKFRIARS STREET
66a. Large Yard
67. DICKSON'S CLOSE
67a. DICKSON'S CLOSE
69. TRON SQUARE
70. BORTHWICK'S CLOSE
71. PARLIAMENT HOUSE
72. COWGATE MEDICAL MISSION
73. CORN EXCHANGE
74. Yards, Lanes, Spaces
75. Yards, Lanes, Spaces
GARDENS
PLAYGROUNDS
SUGGESTED CLEARANCES IN COURSE OF SCHEME

Figure 6.29 Plan showing the Open Spaces in the Old Town of Edinburgh, 1909-1910. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 13319.

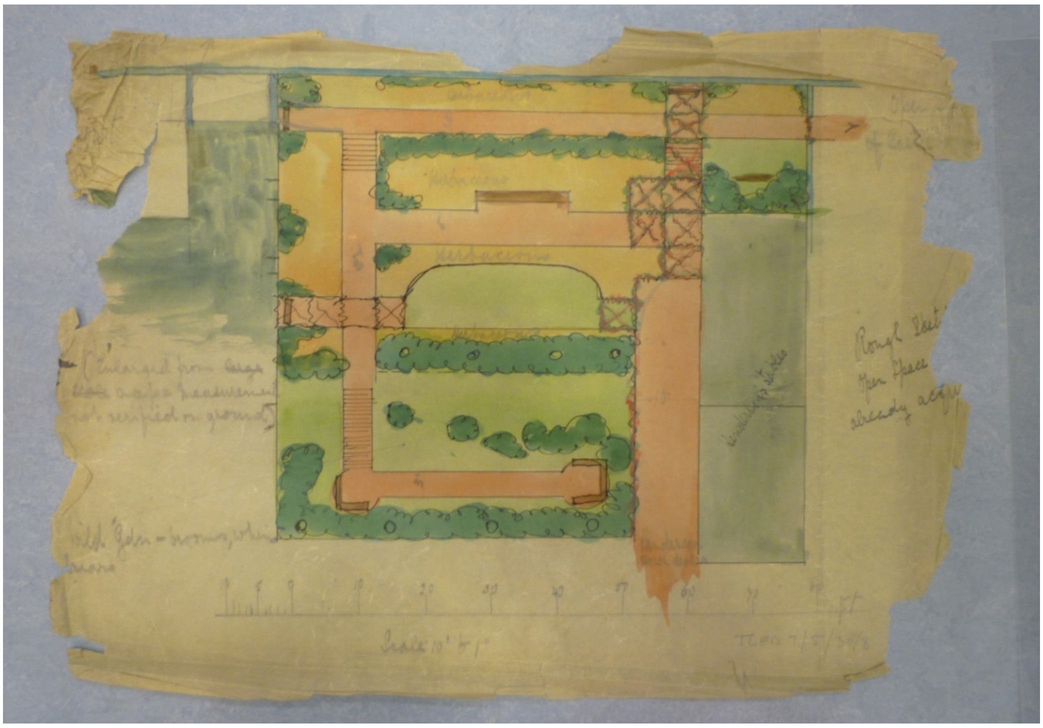

Herbaceous
Herbaceous
Herbaceous
(Enlarged from large scale as far measurement not verified on ground)
Wild Gdn – brooms, whins
Rough Vest
Open Space already acq
Scale 10' to 1"
T-GED 7/5/30/8

Figure 6.30 An early, undated design by Norah Geddes of the first Open Space garden in Edinburgh at Castle Wynd below Johnston Terrace, subsequently referred to as the White Hart Garden. Sourced and reproduced with permission of Strathclyde University Archives (SUA), GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/8.

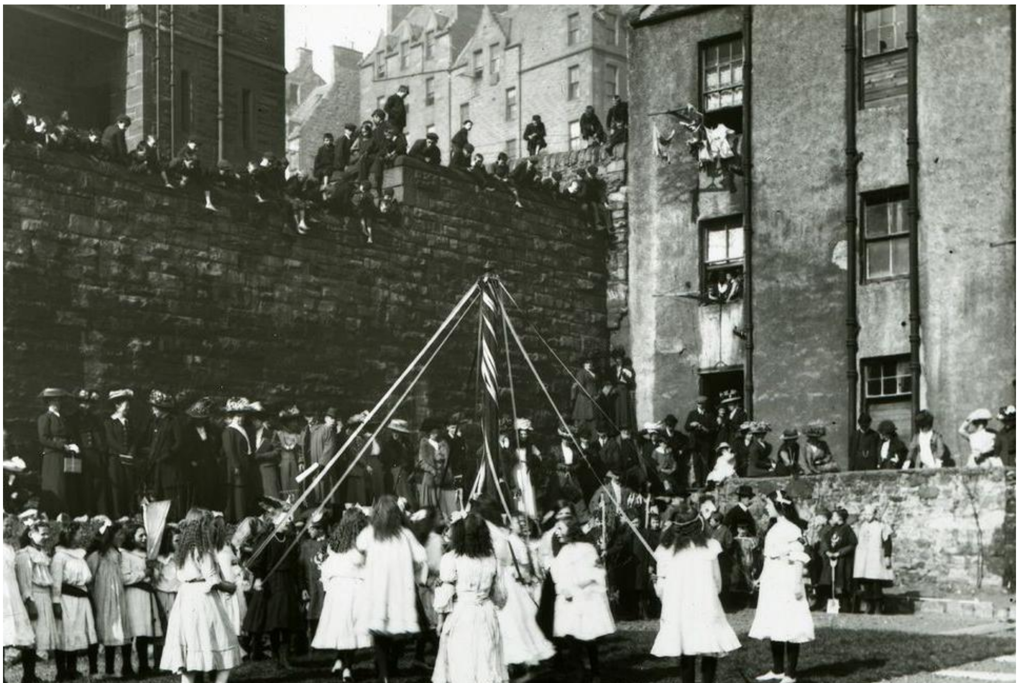


Figure 6.31 Girls dancing round a maypole to celebrate the opening of the White Hart Garden, 7 May 1909. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/22/1/535/2.

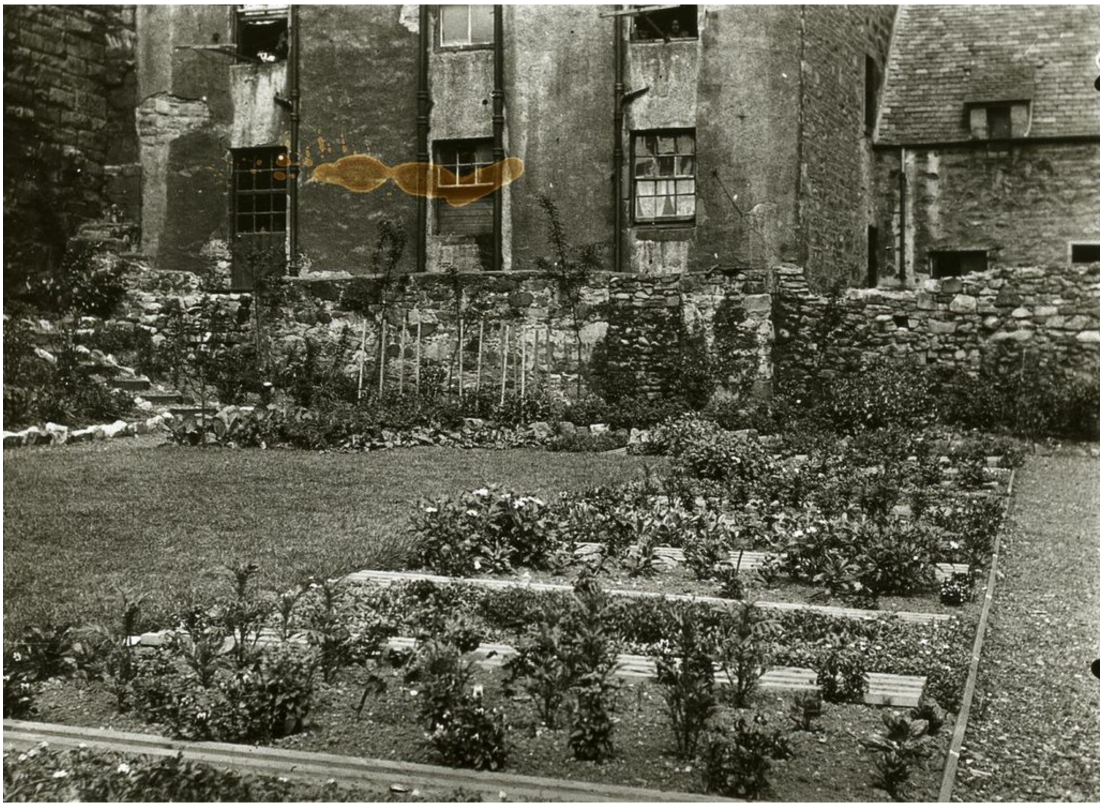


Figure 6.32 One of few surviving photographs of the newly-planted White Hart Garden c.1909. Sourced from and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/22/1/535/4.

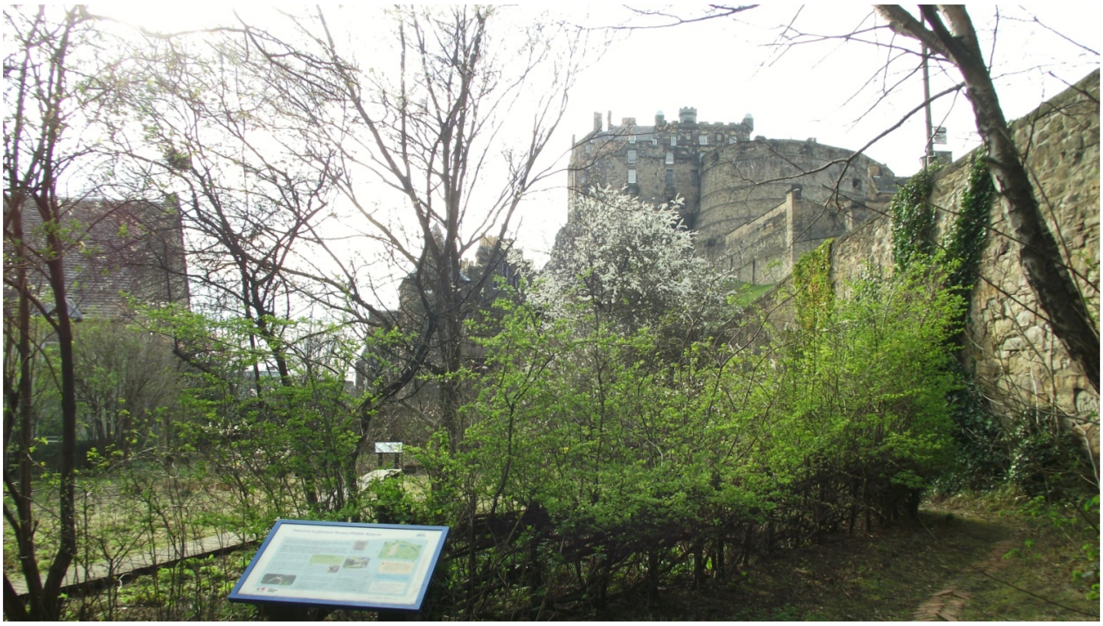


Figure 6.33 The White Hart Garden, renamed the Johnston Terrace Wildlife Garden, is administered by the Scottish Wildlife Trust and open to the public at designated times of the year. © John Gordon 2011.

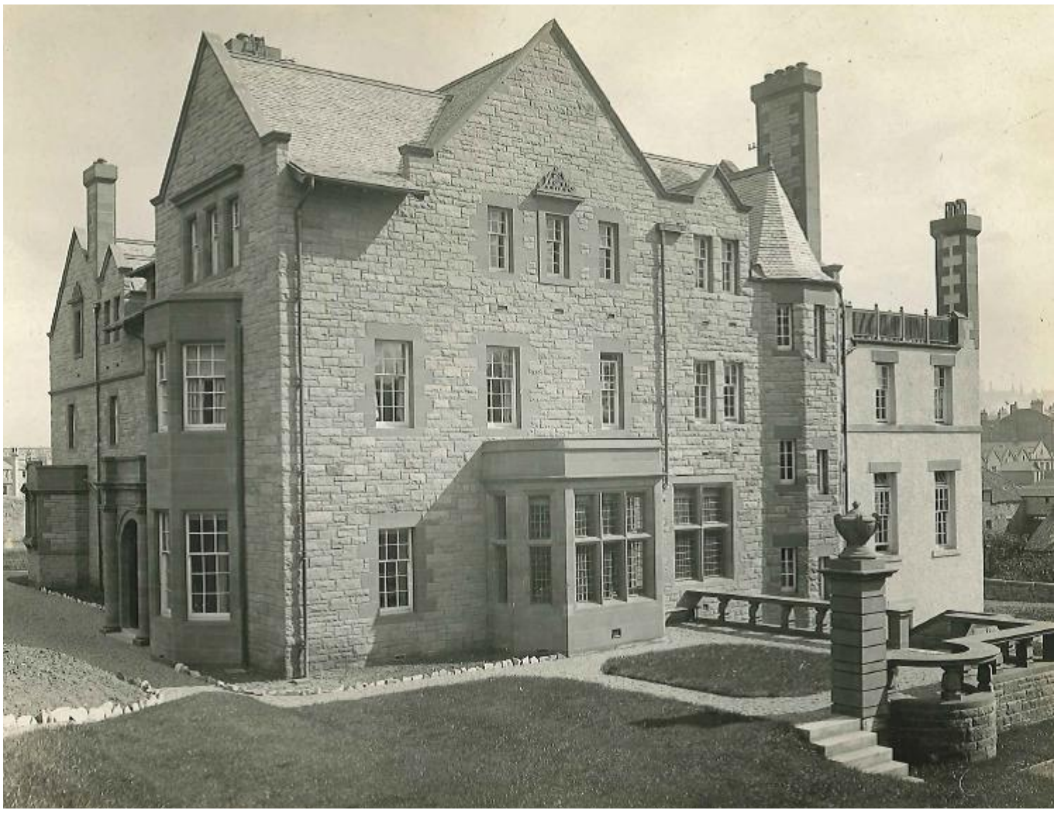


Figure 6.34 St Colm's College on its completion in 1909. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 13301/189.

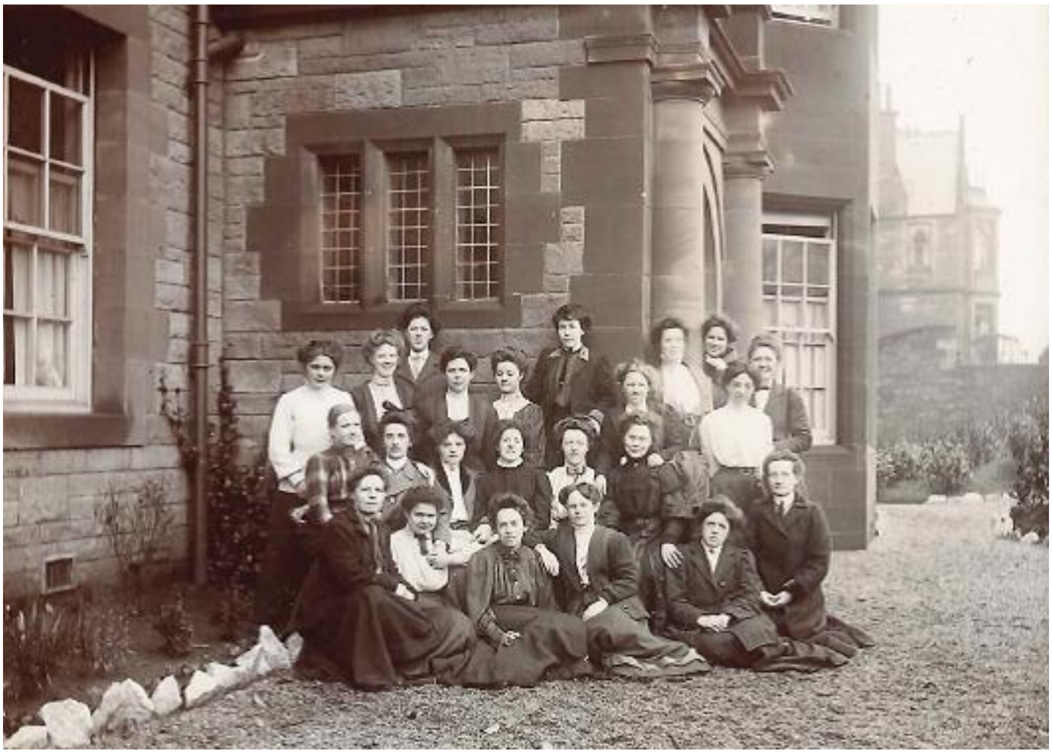


Figure 6.35 One of few photographs to reveal some of the planting carried out by Norah Geddes at St Colm's College, summer 1910. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 13301/189.

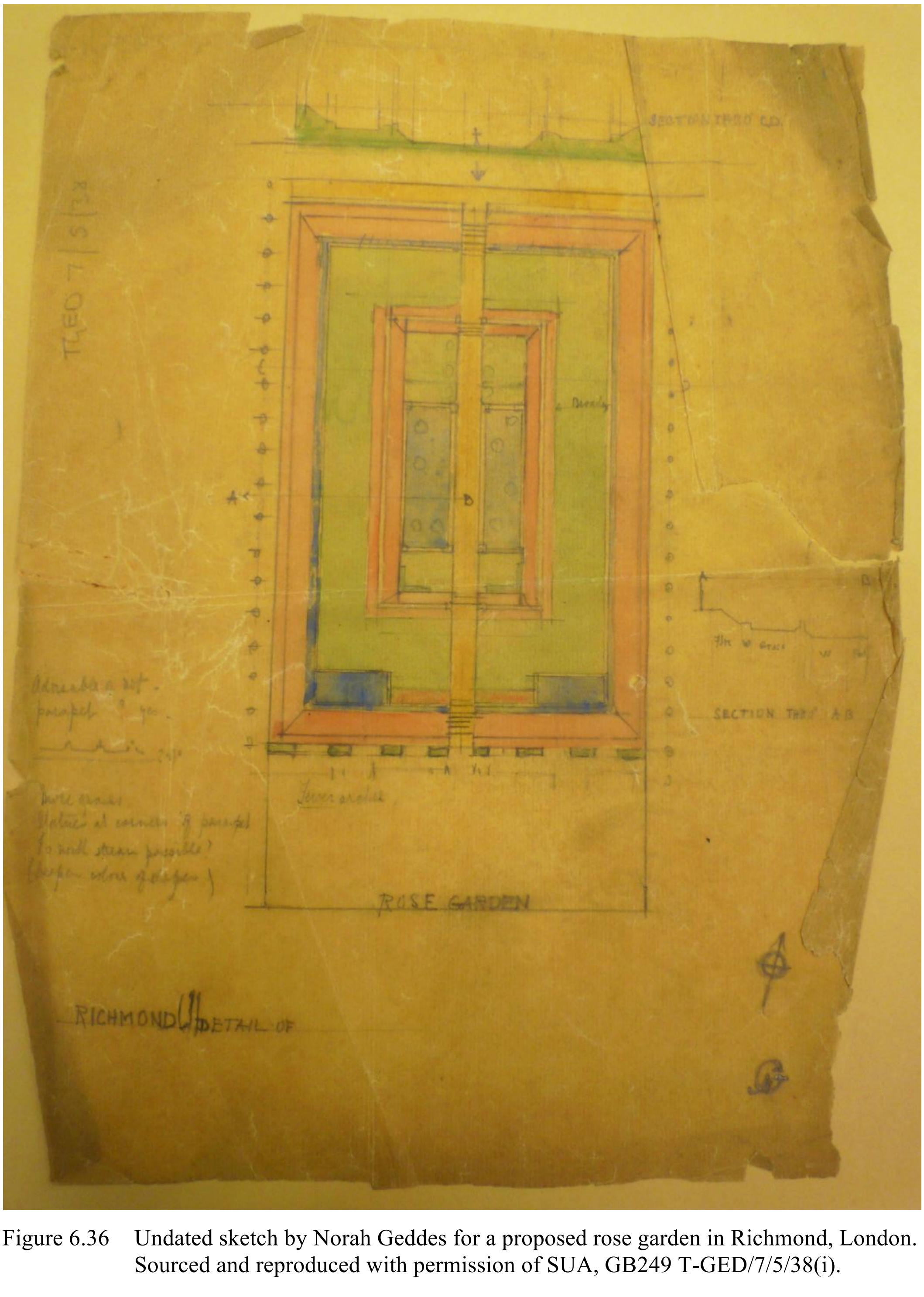

T-GED 7/5/38
SECTION THRO' A B
ROSE GARDEN
RICHMOND DETAIL OF

Figure 6.36 Undated sketch by Norah Geddes for a proposed rose garden in Richmond, London. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/7/5/38(i).

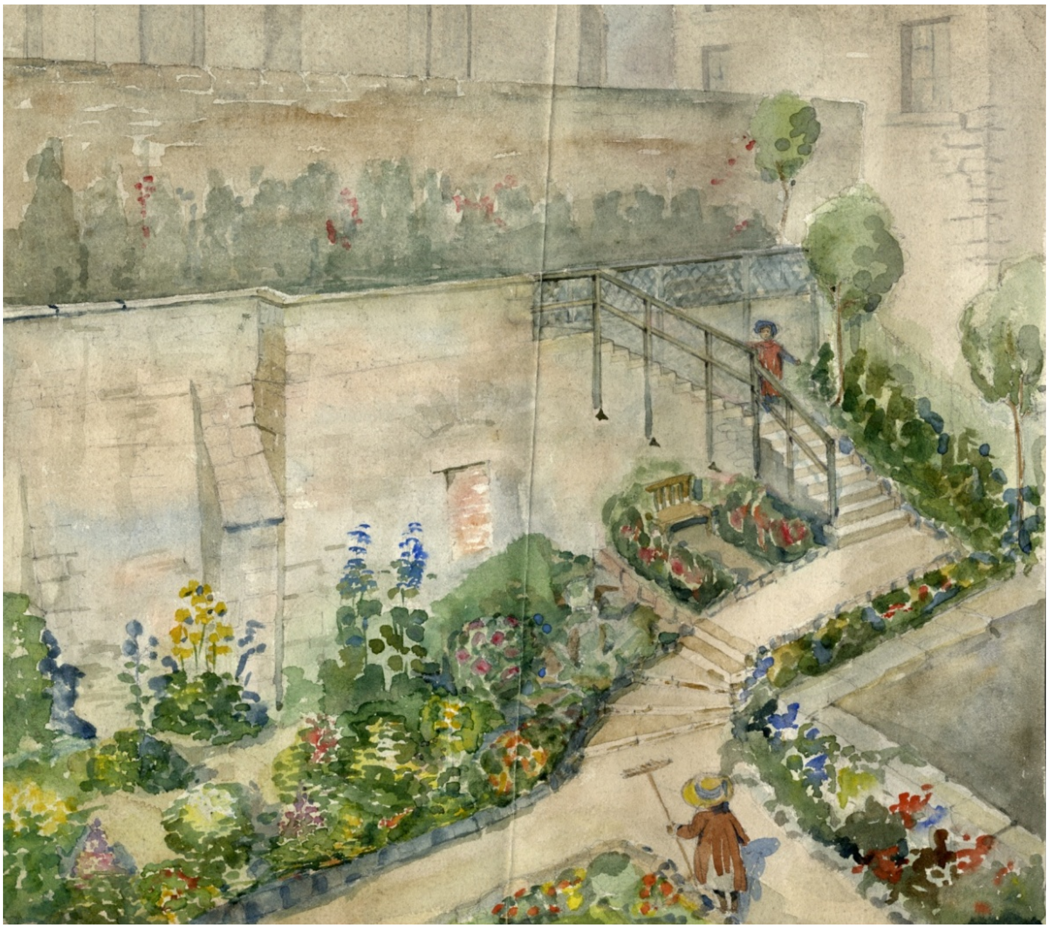


Figure 6.37 A watercolour sketch of the King’s Wall Garden by Norah Geddes c.1909-10. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/14.

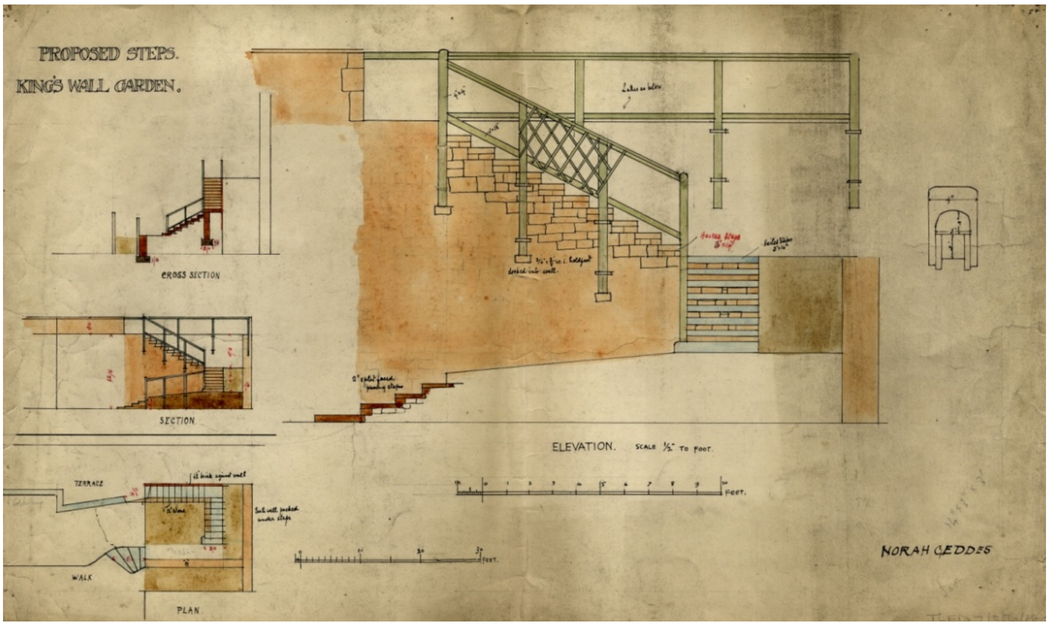

PROPOSED STEPS.
KING'S WALL GARDEN.
CROSS SECTION
SECTION
ELEVATION. SCALE ½" TO FOOT.
FEET.
TERRACE
WALK
PLAN
NORAH GEDDES

Figure 6.38 Plan, elevation and sections showing the proposed steps for the King’s Wall Garden by Norah Geddes c.1909-10. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/16.

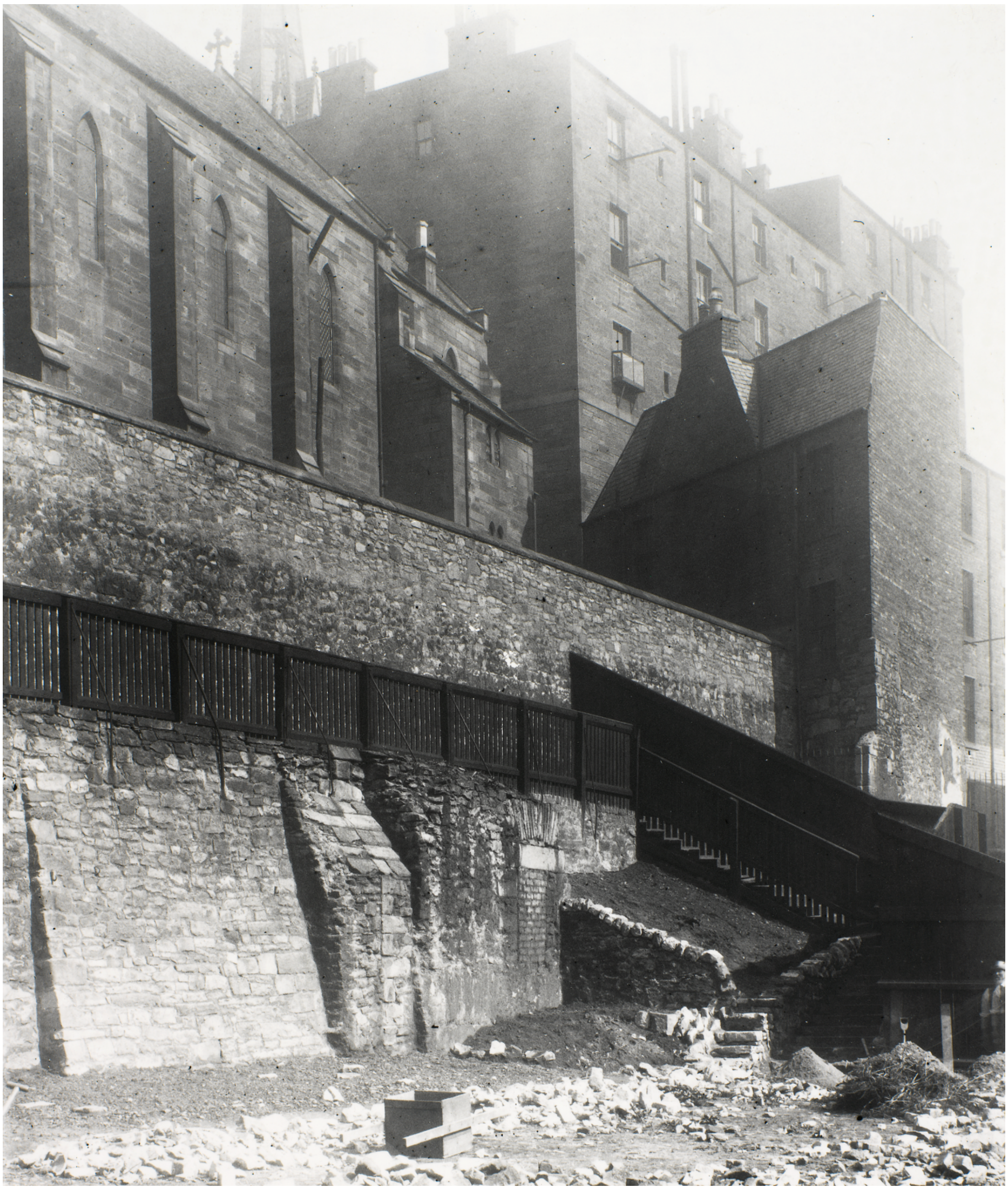


Figure 6.39 The proposed steps in the King's Wall Garden under construction c.1909-10. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the CRC, Geddes Photographs, J9.

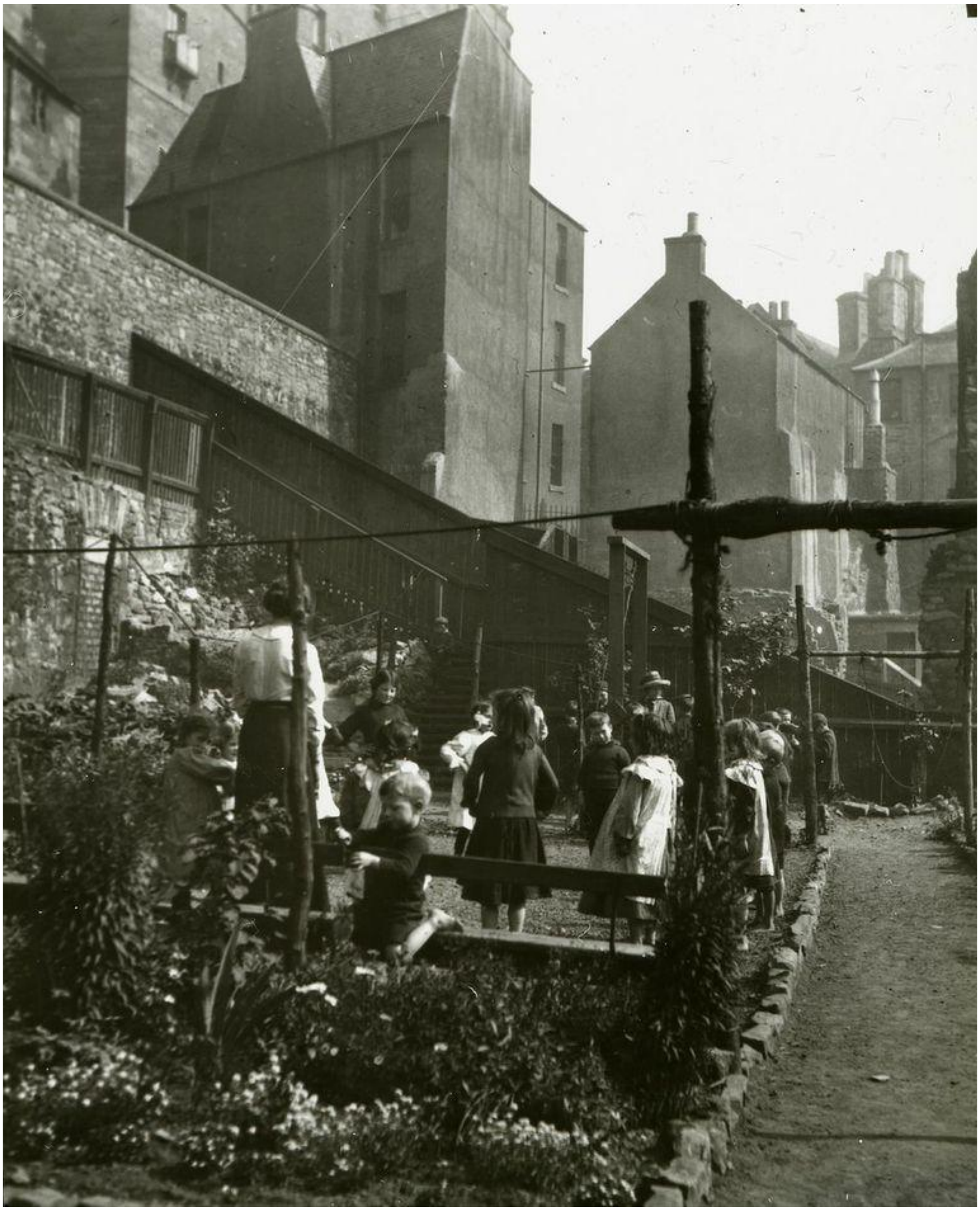
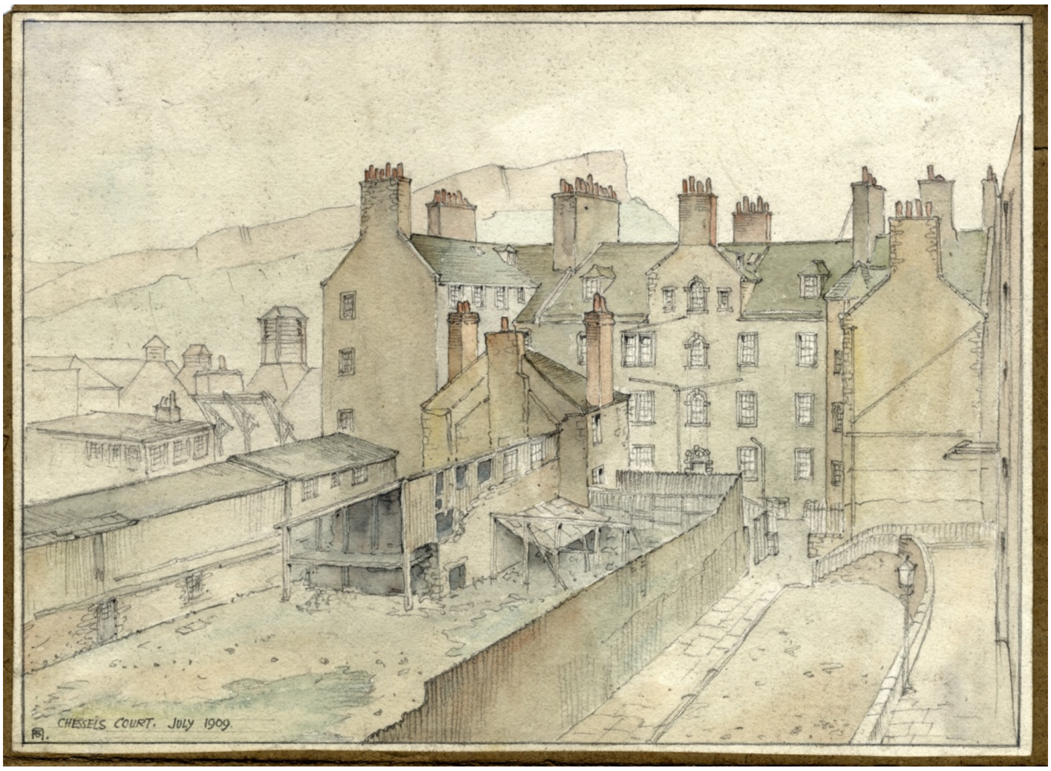
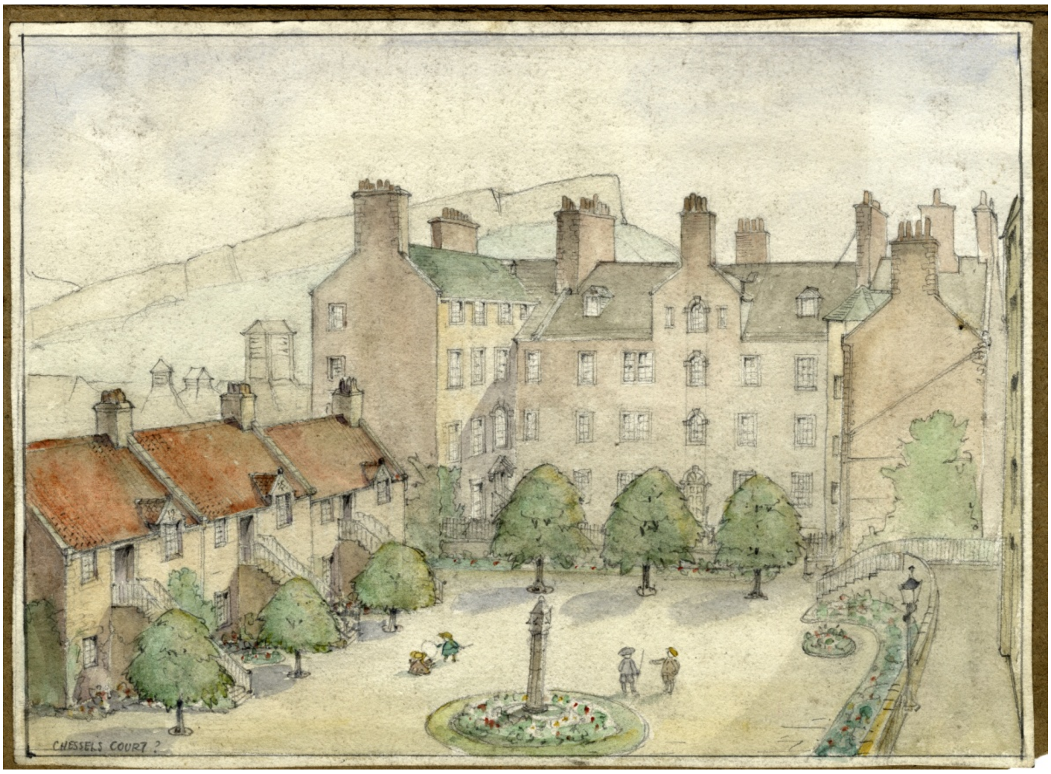


Figure 6.40 Children enjoying the newly created King’s Wall Garden c.1910. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/22/1/535/38.



CHESSELS COURT. JULY 1909.

Figure 6.41 Sketch of Chessel's Court by Norah Geddes before its development, July 1909. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/19.



CHESSELS COURT ?

Figure 6.42 An undated design sketch of Chessel's Court Garden by Norah Geddes. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/7/5/30/19.

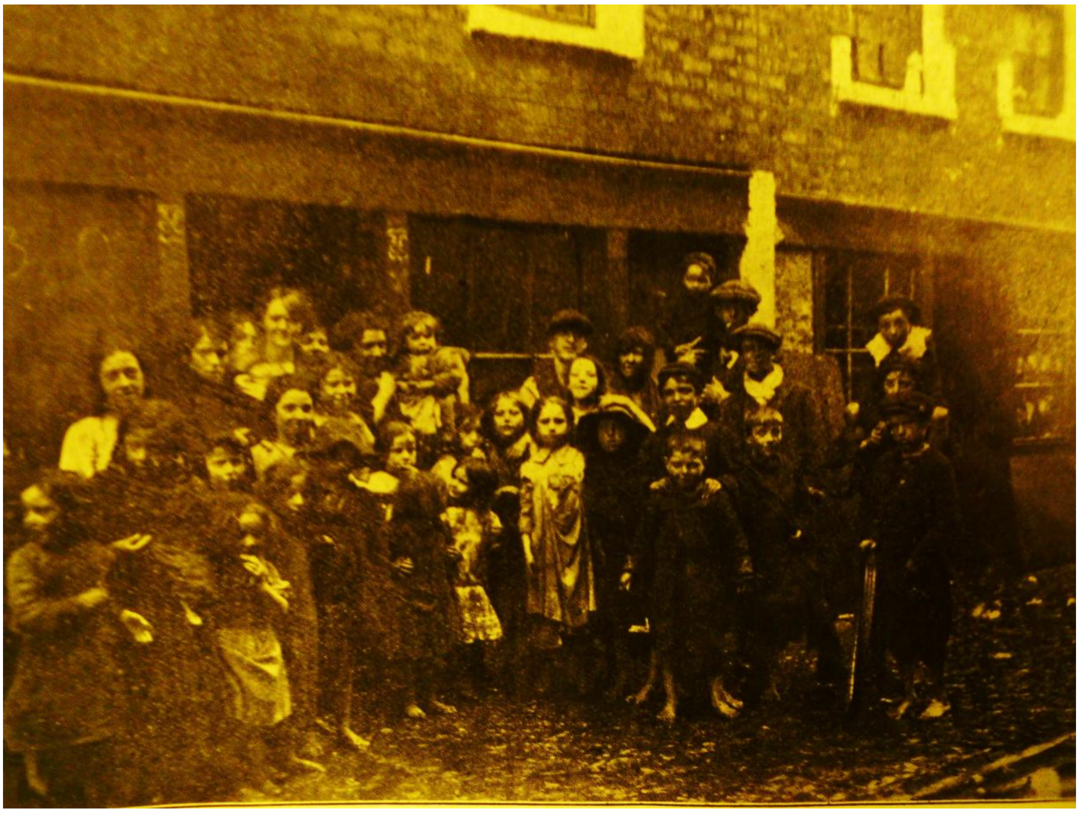


Figure 6.43 Children from Dublin's slum areas c.1913. Source: *Sláinte*, November 1913, p.725.

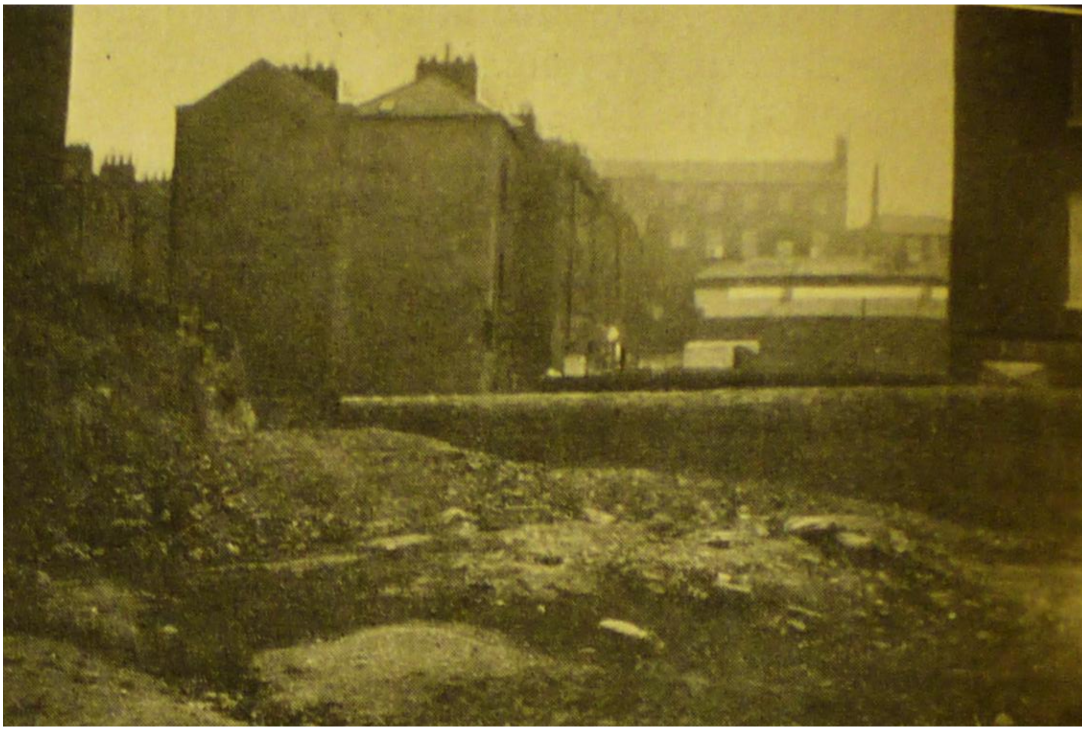


Figure 6.44 Original derelict condition of St Monica's Garden Playground, Dublin c.1911. Source: *Sláinte*, March 1912, p.360.

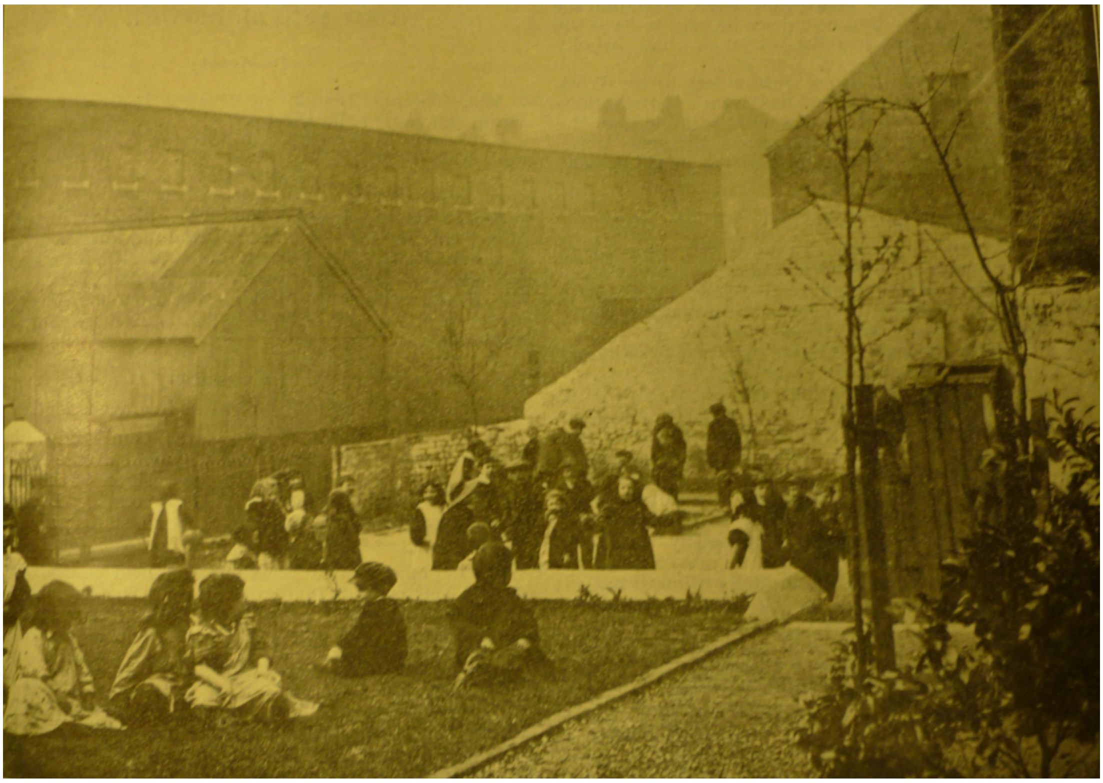


Figure 6.45 St Monica's Garden Playground, St Augustine Street, Dublin, c.1913. Source: *Sláinte*, February 1913, p.560.

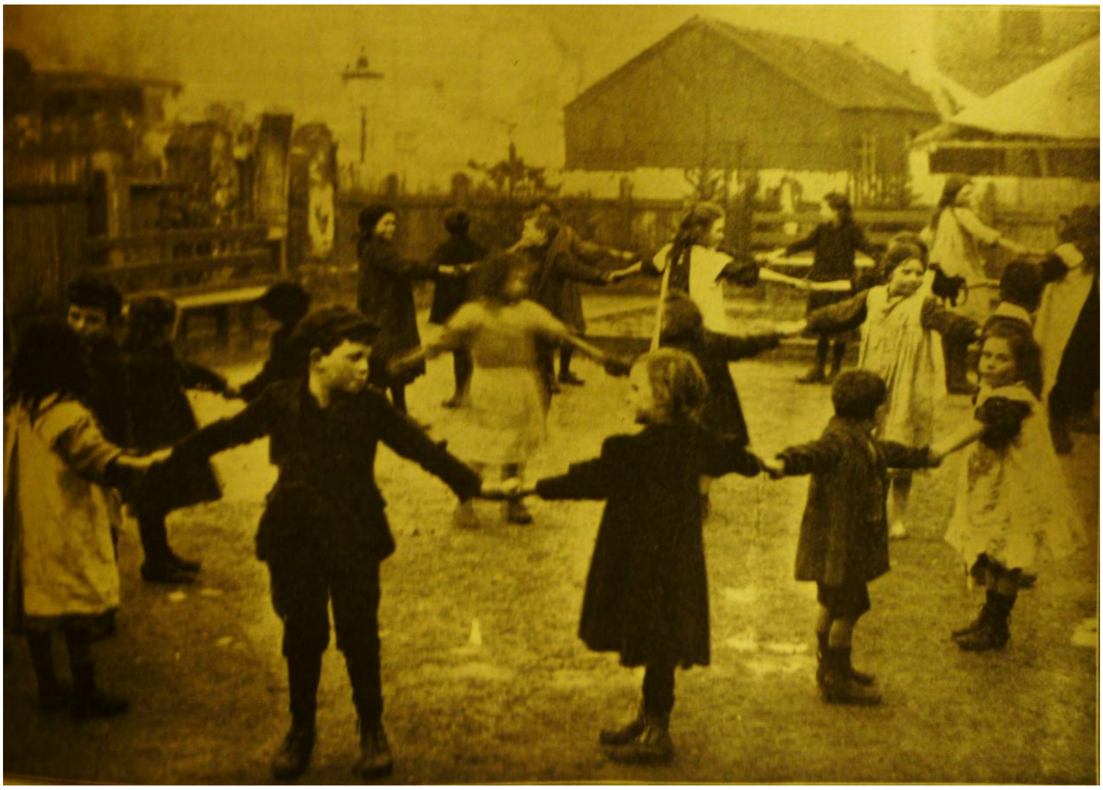


Figure 6.46 Ormond Market Garden Playground, Dublin c.1913. Source: *Sláinte*, June 1914, p.863.

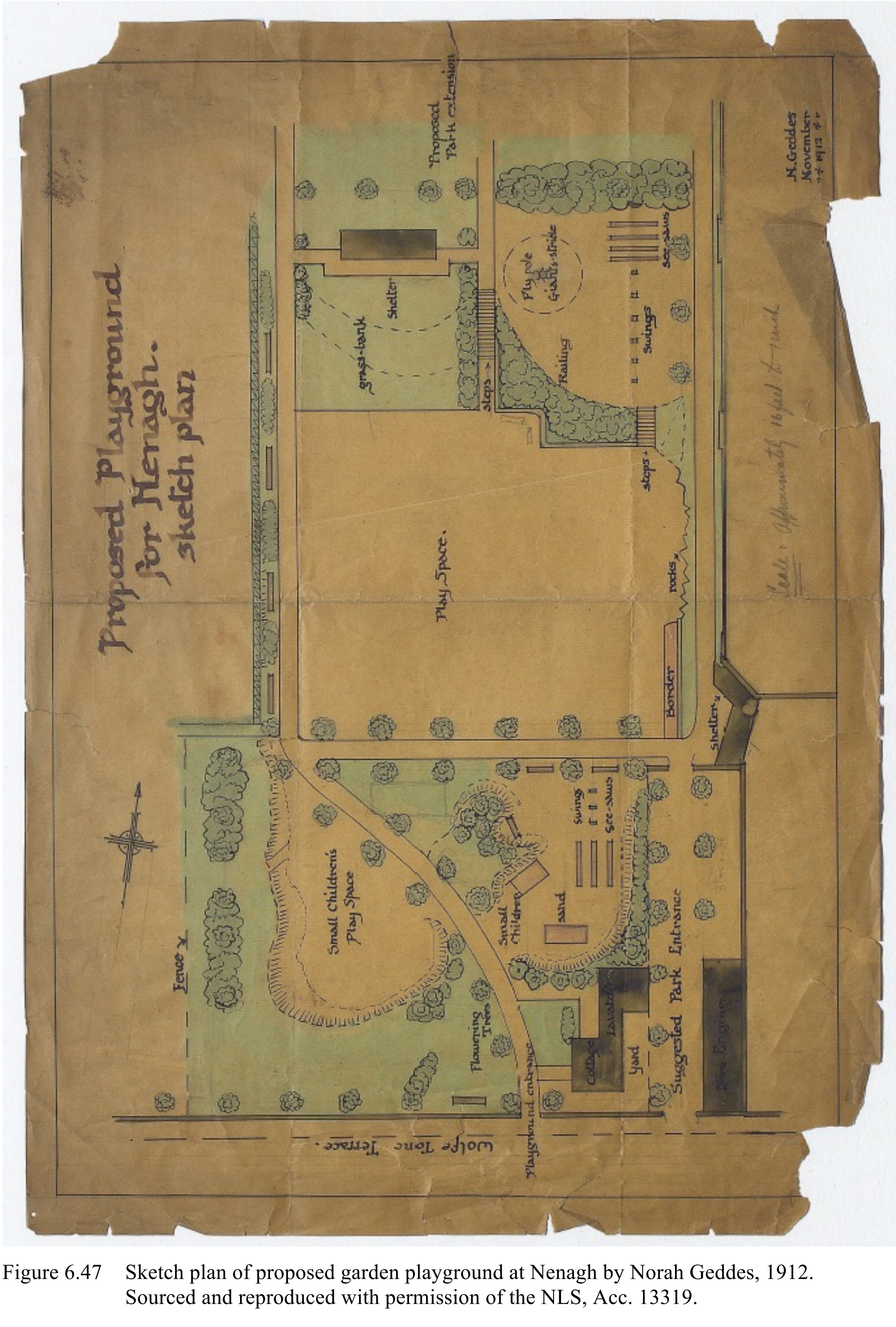

Proposed Playground for Nenagh. sketch plan
Proposed Park extension
N. Geddes November
Shelter
grass-bank
steps
Railing
Play pole Giant's stride
swings
see-saws
steps
roots
Play Space.
Border
Shelter
Small Children's Play Space
Small Children
sand
swing
see-saws
Fence
Flowering Trees
Playground entrance
Cottage
Lavatories
Yard
Suggested Park Entrance
Fire Engine
Wolfe Tone Terrace.
Scale: Approximately 16 feet 1 inch

Figure 6.47 Sketch plan of proposed garden playground at Nenagh by Norah Geddes, 1912. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the NLS, Acc. 13319.

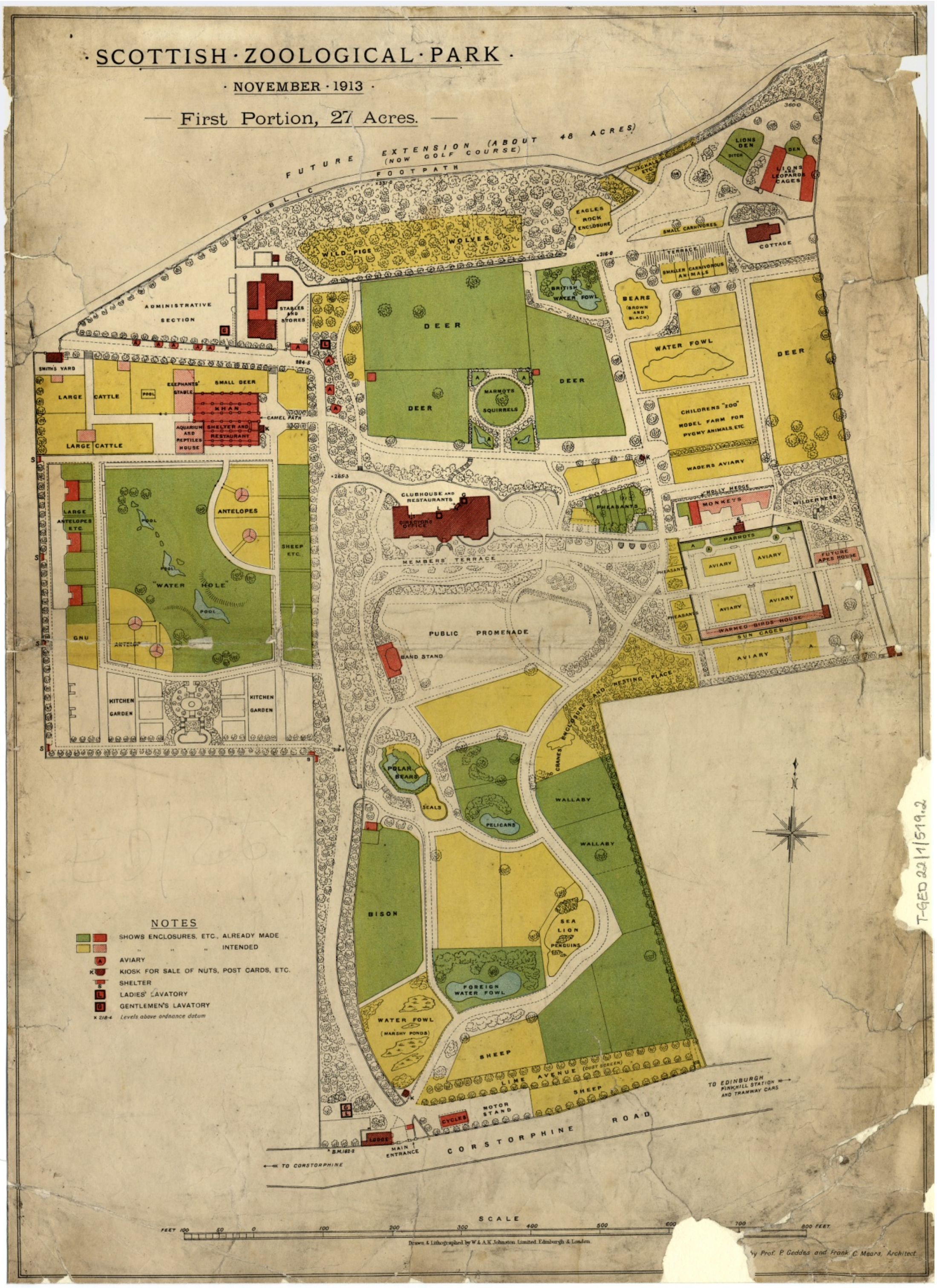

SCOTTISH · ZOOLOGICAL · PARK
NOVEMBER · 1913
First Portion, 27 Acres.
FUTURE EXTENSION (ABOUT 48 ACRES) (NOW GOLF COURSE)
PUBLIC FOOTPATH
LIONS DEN
DITCH
DEN
LIONS AND LEOPARDS CAGES
JACKALS ETC.
EAGLES ROCK ENCLOSURE
SMALL CARNIVORES
COTTAGE
WILD PIGS
WOLVES
TERRACE
SMALLER CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION
STABLES AND STORES
DEER
BRITISH WATER FOWL
BEARS (BROWN AND BLACK)
WATER FOWL
DEER
SMITH'S YARD
LARGE CATTLE
POOL
ELEPHANTS' STABLE
SMALL DEER
KHAN
CAMEL PATH
AQUARIUM AND REPTILES HOUSE
SHELTER AND RESTAURANT
LARGE CATTLE
DEER
MARMOTS SQUIRRELS
DEER
CHILDRENS "ZOO" MODEL FARM FOR PYGMY ANIMALS, ETC
WADERS AVIARY
HOLLY HEDGE
MONKEYS
WILDERNESS
LARGE ANTELOPES ETC.
POOL
ANTELOPES
SHEEP ETC.
CLUBHOUSE AND RESTAURANTS
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE
PHEASANTS
PARROTS
AVIARY
AVIARY
FUTURE APES HOUSE
MEMBERS' TERRACE
"WATER HOLE"
POOL
PHEASANTS
AVIARY
AVIARY
WARMED BIRDS HOUSE
SUN CAGES
AVIARY
GNU
ANTELOPE
PUBLIC PROMENADE
BAND STAND
NESTING PLACE
CRANES' ENCLOSURE AND
KITCHEN GARDEN
KITCHEN GARDEN
POLAR BEARS
SEALS
PELICANS
WALLABY
WALLABY
BISON
SEA LION
PENGUINS
FOREIGN WATER FOWL
WATER FOWL (MARSHY PONDS)
SHEEP
LIME AVENUE (DUST SCREEN)
SHEEP
TO EDINBURGH PINKHILL STATION AND TRAMWAY CARS
MOTOR STAND
CYCLES
LODGE
MAIN ENTRANCE
B.M.162·2
CORSTORPHINE ROAD
← TO CORSTORPHINE
NOTES
SHOWS ENCLOSURES, ETC., ALREADY MADE
" " " INTENDED
AVIARY
KIOSK FOR SALE OF NUTS, POST CARDS, ETC.
SHELTER
LADIES' LAVATORY
GENTLEMEN'S LAVATORY
× 218·4 Levels above ordnance datum
SCALE
FEET 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 FEET
Drawn & Lithographed by W. & A.K. Johnston Limited Edinburgh & London
by Prof. P. Geddes and Frank C. Mears, Architect
T-GED 22/1/519.2

Figure 6.48 Plan of the Scottish Zoological Park in Edinburgh, prepared by Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears, November 1913. Sourced and reproduced with permission of SUA, GB249 T-GED/22/1/519.2.

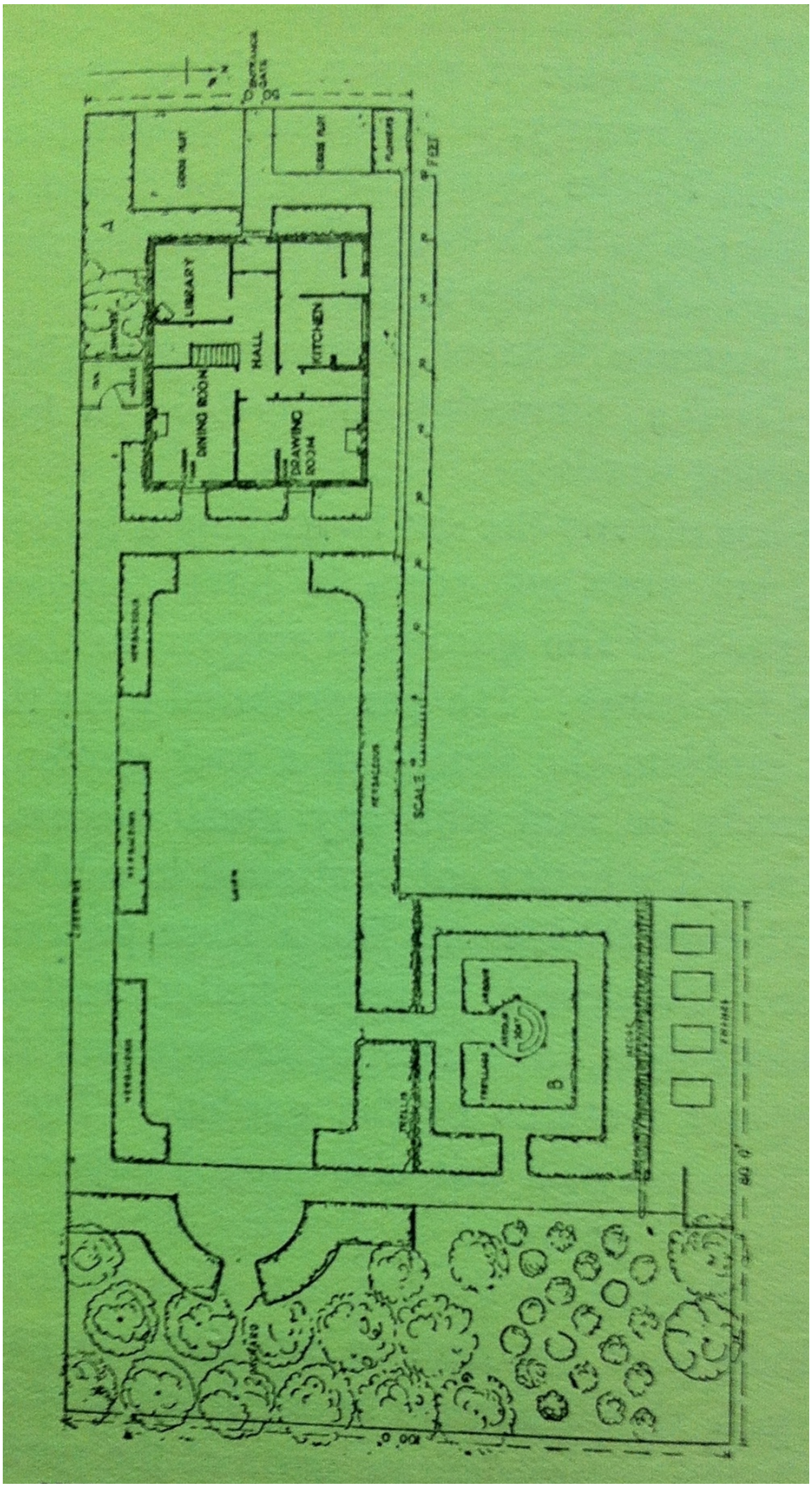

ENTRANCE GATE
50'
GRASS PLOT
GRASS PLOT
FLOWERS
FEET
LIBRARY
HALL
KITCHEN
DINING ROOM
DRAWING ROOM
SCALE
B
80' 0"
100' 0"

Figure 6.49 Norah's design entry for site 2 of the Little Garden Planning Competition, 1914. Source: Dillistone, *Planning and Planting of Little Gardens*, p.52.

Chapter 7: Seedswomen and Nurserywomen

Introduction

The contribution of seedswomen and nurserywomen to horticulture in Scotland has been one of the most difficult areas to research. Many of the nurseries operating during the study period did not exist by the late twentieth century and such records as nurserymen made are, according to Wilson, rarely extant.[1] Although some seed and plant catalogues for nurseries operating in Scotland throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century have been preserved, they give little information about the people behind the businesses and, as a result, primary sources are largely restricted to Scottish genealogy records, advertisements placed in the local press, listings in trade directories, and articles in the gardening magazines and journals of the day.[2] However, in the case of the latter, the predominance and success of Scottish seedsmen and nurserymen, particularly throughout the nineteenth century, shaped an enduringly masculine narrative in many of the contemporary gardening publications in which the role of women was largely elided and, consequently, they have been of limited use in uncovering female representation. Despite this, it has been possible to find evidence of women's involvement in the nursery trade in Scotland and this chapter endeavours to highlight women who transcended the menial tasks usually allotted to female nursery workers and either contributed to the success of a nursery business or established a nursery in their own right.

Widows of nurserymen, such as Sarah Carstairs, fall into the first category as they appear to have played a pivotal role in maintaining the family business on the death of their husbands and handing it on to future generations. How these women were able to use their marital status to make a contribution as nurserywomen and the degree to which they were successful is analysed through a gendered lens within this chapter. Finding women who established nursery businesses of their own has been less easy, particularly across the nineteenth century, as the pioneering seedsmen and nurserymen of earlier centuries introduced their sons and grandsons into the business or formed partnerships with other nurserymen to consolidate their hold on the nursery trade in Scotland, with the result that fewer, but larger and more professional male-run nursery businesses dominated the marketplace.[3] However, evidence of nurserywomen operating as founding proprietors can be seen from the early part of the twentieth century and the remainder of this chapter concentrates on three nursery women and examines the strategies they employed to become part of the nursery trade in Scotland. The first, Madge Elder, set up plant nurseries in Edinburgh and Melrose, whilst the Misses Cadell operated The Dean Gardens Nursery in Longniddry, East Lothian, and the Misses Logan Home set up Edrom Nurseries in Berwickshire.

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[1] Wilson, E. J., 'Commercial Gardening Records I. The Records of Nurserymen', *Archives*, 12 (Spring 1976), 121-126 (p.121). Limited archival holdings have been found for only two nurseries in Scotland: Laird & Sinclair and Austin & McAslan; see University of Dundee Archive Services, GB 254 MS 1, William Pringle Laird (of W. P. Laird & Sinclair, Dundee c.1837-1971) and Glasgow University Archive Services, GB 248 UGD 027: Papers of Austin & McAslan Ltd. (1717- c.1960s).

[2] The RBGE library holds a selection of these extant catalogues in its collection, see *UK and RoI Nurseries, Nurserymen and Seed Catalogues*, ed. by Lynda Marquis (Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 2010).

Sarah Carstairs (1806-1878)

It is ironic that several widows of notable seedsmen and nurserymen operating in Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century were responsible for helping to establish some of the largest and most successful male-led nurseries, which came to dominate the Scottish nursery scene in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, leaving little room for women's entry. In 1741 for example, Mrs Duncan McAslan succeeded her husband and is thought to have carried on for some time the nursery business that he and his brother John had founded in 1717 on rented ground at the back of Hutcheson's Hospital in Glasgow.[4] Trading as Mrs Duncan McAslan, the retention of her husband's name in the business title was, according to Nenadic, a common occurrence in situations where the widow acted as a caretaker manager within a small family firm.[5] By around 1760, she was able to hand on the business to her son, John McAslan, who subsequently formed a partnership with the nursery's foreman Robert Austin and the enterprise was handed down through brothers, sons and grandsons and was eventually styled Austin and McAslan.[6] The firm was responsible for the development of many varieties of Scots rose which were popular during the first half of the nineteenth century and, until its demise in the 1960s, was the oldest established nursery firm in Scotland.[7]

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[3] This view is supported by an analysis of nineteenth century Scottish nursery businesses listed in Desmond, *British and Irish Botanists*, which has revealed that most were in male ownership. A further search of the transactions of the SHA (1877-1900) and the RCHS (1809-1900) found no evidence of any nursery business established or run by a woman in Scotland in the nineteenth century.

[4] Anon., 'Messrs. Austin and McAslan', p.147.

[5] Stana Nenadic, 'The Small Family Firm in Victorian Britain', in *Family Capitalism*, ed. by Geoffrey Jones and Mary B. Rose (London: Frank Cass, 1993), pp.86-114 (p.95).

Equally influential was Margaret Murray, second wife of Archibald Eagle, official seedsman to the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, who took on her husband's business in Edinburgh on his death in 1760.[8] Over a fifteen-year period, she ran a seed shop, had established a nursery at Fountainbridge, and was cultivating plants and selling them on as the following extract from an advertisement placed in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1775 reveals:

> SEEDS and NURSERY, &c. MRS EAGLE'S SHOP, Near the Fountain-Well, Edinburgh. A Large Collection of GARDEN, FLOWER, TREE, and GRASS SEEDS:- Amongſt which are, fine Engliſh Acorns, Beech, Cheſnuts, Walnuts, Silver and Spruce Firs, Scots and other Pines […]. At Mrs EAGLE's Nurſery, at Fountainbridge, are to be Sold at the loweſt prices, A Large Aſſortment of FRUIT TREES of her own propagating […].[9]

Before retiring, she formed a partnership with Alexander Henderson, taking in his nurseries at Meadowbank and Jock's Lodge.[10] By 1822, the firm had become Henderson & Co. and was described by John Loudon as 'an extensive establishment, judiciously managed'.[11] Mrs Murray can also be said to have played a part in the success of another of Scotland's leading nurseries in the nineteenth century. Following her husband's death, she had taken on Peter Lawson as an apprentice gardener and in 1770 he founded the Lawson Seed & Nursery Co., which was subsequently inherited by his son George in 1820.[12] Trading as Peter Lawson & Son the business thrived for much of the century, becoming something of an authority on the cultivation of grasses and other forage plants such as clover and trefoil, and in 1853 Messrs Lawson were appointed the Queen's seedsmen for Scotland.[13] Cox asserts that 'at the height of its success Lawson was certainly as large as, if not larger than, the great London firm of James Veitch & Son'.[14]

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[6] Anon., 'Messrs. Austin and McAslan', p.148.

[7] Robertson, *Early Scottish Gardeners*, p.199; Cox, p.162.

[8] Robertson, *Early Scottish Gardeners*, p.199; Minay, 'Edinburgh Seedsmen and Nurserymen', pp.8-9. Founded in 1723, members of the Honourable Society of Improvers were drawn from the Scottish aristocracy, gentry and professional classes.

[9] 'Seeds and Nursery', *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 February 1775, p.1.

[10] Minay, p.9.

[11] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening,* (1822), p.1250.

Like Archibald Eagle, Patrick Drummond also died in 1760 and his widow carried on his seed business in the Lawnmarket in Edinburgh until a few years later when she appears to have acquired a nursery on the north side of Edinburgh and taken on partners to form Drummond, Anderson and Whyte.[15] By the time of her retirement the business, under the trading name of W. Anderson and Company, had prospered and by 1800, it had been taken over by Dickson and Shade, a branch of the well-known Kelso and Edinburgh firm of Dicksons & Co., run by James Dickson and Thomas Shade.[16] On James Dickson's death several years later, his widow, son and son-in-law took over the business and one of the first catalogues they produced in 1802, which ran to twenty-eight pages, reveals that they specialised in fruit trees, roses and thirty-three species of forest trees, including ash, oak and rowan (Figure 7.1).[17] Mrs Dickson's sons, George and James, took the business forward and by the 1840s the company, trading as Messrs James Dickson & Sons, had become a 'major force in the seed and nursery trade' in Scotland.[18] Unlike Mrs Dickson, another widow, Elizabeth Campbell Clark, had no sons to whom she could hand on the business of her husband, John Clark seedsman and nurseryman in the West Bow, on his death in 1762, so she singlehandedly ran his nursery in Edinburgh and another at Pinkie in Musselburgh for another eight years before eventually retiring in 1770.[19]

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[12] Minay, p.24.
[13] H. N. H., 'The Lawson Nurseries', p.120.
[14] Cox, p.169. The firm is believed to have been dissolved in 1884.
[15] Minay, p.10; 'To be Sold', *The Caledonian Mercury*, 29 October 1763, p.519.
[16] 'Nursery Plants', *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 17 December 1798, p.1.
[17] The catalogue can be found in Joseph Archibald, *The Botanist's and Nurseryman's Companion* (Edinburgh: 1781). The only known extant copy of the first edition of Archibald's book is held in the library at RBGE.
[18] Minay, p.20.
[19] Retirement announcement by Mrs Campbell Clark in *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12 February 1770, p.1. See also Minay p.17.

It is possible that Mrs McAslan, Mrs Murray, Mrs Drummond, Mrs Dickson and Mrs Campbell Clark are part of a larger group of women contributing to the success of nursery businesses throughout Scotland from the eighteenth to the early-twentieth century who have yet to be rescued from obscurity.[20] It can be inferred from their experiences, that it was both possible and socially acceptable for the widow of a nurseryman to take on the running of a nursery business in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Examples of such women active in the nineteenth century have been much harder to identify. One contribution that has come to light during this research is that of Mrs Carstairs. Born in England, Sarah Carstairs (1806-1878) was the daughter of a Scottish shipping agent called John Mackerness and his wife Martha Payne.[21] She married John Carstairs, a nurseryman and fruiterer, and bore him four sons and one daughter.[22] The family settled at No. 8 Howe Street in Edinburgh and John ran his nursery business from Warriston Lodge on Inverleith Row, directly opposite the Royal Botanic Garden (Figure 7.2).[23] There is no evidence to suggest that Mrs Carstairs was actively involved in the business prior to her husband's death at the age of forty-eight in May 1852, but within a year of being widowed she was running the Warriston Nursery, had established a city-centre retail outlet named 'The Royal Emporium' at 106 George Street and was advertising 'Hot-House Strawberries and Grapes, Giant Asparagus and Cucumbers' and a 'Variety of flowering plants in Pots, German Cactuses and Fancy wire stands'.[24]

She appears to have become a proficient businesswoman, cleverly using the plants available to her in the nursery to maximise retail opportunities in the Emporium, and in this extract from an article in *The Scotsman* in 1854, it seems she played a part in introducing decorated Christmas trees to the Scottish public:

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[20] The women highlighted here were discovered following an analysis of advertisements placed in the contemporary press and lists of nursery businesses appearing in Post Office directories. In the case of the latter, it was difficult to establish whether nurseries were run by men or women as initials and surnames listed gave no clue as to the sex of the nursery owner. It is possible that an extended search of every Post Office directory in Scotland for a given period might reveal the existence of other female-run nurseries, but such an analysis would entail many hours of painstaking research, which was not achievable within the scope of this study.

[21] GROS: Entry of death for Sarah Carstairs, 1878, District of Kelvin, Glasgow City [644/09 0347].

[22] GROS: John Carstairs, Census 1851, District of Edinburgh, Midlothian [685/01 132/00 017].

[23] Classified advertisement for 'John Carstairs', *The Scotsman*, 21 December 1850, p.3.

[24] Classified advertisement for 'The Royal Emporium', *The Scotsman*, 14 May 1853, p.3.

> **Model Christmas Tree:-**
> Of various specimens of this "tree" pretty nearly a novelty in this country, that exhibiting in the premises of Messrs. Knox, Samuel and Dickson, is a very interesting and pretty object, the result of considerable expense and art. The monopoly of Christmas trees, long maintained by the Germans, seems breaking up, and ere long we may expect a forest of them growing in Scotland at Christmas time. At the Royal Emporium also any of our readers may have an opportunity of seeing several specimens "raised" by Mrs Carstairs, laden profusely with bonbons, variegated lamps, Russian cannon balls, etc.[25]

The following year, she was selling bedding plants priced at 3s to 6s per dozen from her Warriston Lodge Nursery and a 'great variety' of flowering plants in pots and bouquets for the hand and table.[26] By the close of 1859, Mrs Carstairs had consolidated her nursery business at Inverleith Row and was able to supply vegetable plants, shrubs, evergreens, and flowering bulbs including snowdrops.[27] She also found time to exhibit and at the annual chrysanthemum and vegetable show of the Edinburgh Horticultural Society, 'the pears and apples exhibited by Mrs Carstairs were remarkably fine', and 'in chrysanthemums, Mrs Carstairs was first for both classes of nurserymen.'[28]

Styling her nursery at Inverleith 'The Rosary', she offered 'strong [rose] plants of all the best varieties' and appeared to specialise in cut flowers.[29] According to one advertisement placed in *The Scotsman*, her bouquets, which she was able to supply 'at all seasons for Marriages, Balls and Dinner Parties' had gained first and second prizes at a 'Competition open to Great Britain'.[30] Although it has not been possible to corroborate the claims made in her advertising copy, Mrs Carstairs appears to have been a persuasive communicator and successful businesswoman who was described in the 1861 census as the head of the household and living in a twelve-roomed house at 45 Inverleith Row, an affluent area of Edinburgh, with three of her sons, two of whom worked in the business, and two servants.[31] The business traded under the name Carstairs and Sons and in around 1865, it was granted a royal warrant to provide flowers and fruit to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.[32] Sarah Carstairs is believed to have retired a few years later, having passed the business on to her son, Thomas.[33]

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[25] 'Model Christmas Tree', *The Scotsman*, 20 December 1854, p.3. The custom of decorated Christmas trees within the homes of the masses in England was not widespread until the late 1850s, according to Alison Barnes, 'The First Christmas Tree', *History Today*, 56 (December 2006), 2-3 (p.3).

[26] Classified advertisements for 'Warriston Lodge Nursery', *The Scotsman*, 11 April 1855, p.1 and 16 May 1855, p.3.

[27] Classified advertisements for 'Mrs Carstairs Nursery', *The Scotsman*, 8 March 1856, p.3 and 2 November 1859, p.3.

[28] 'Edinburgh Horticultural Society', *The Scotsman*, 12 December 1860, p.2.

[29] Classified advertisement for 'The Rosary', *The Scotsman*, 7 December 1860, p.3.

[30] 'Christmas Queries', *The Scotsman*, 28 December 1859, p.3.

The examples of Mrs Carstairs, and the nurserymen's wives that predate her, indicate the significant role that widows played in the continuance of their husbands' firms, many of which became major players in the seed and nursery business in Scotland throughout the nineteenth century. Their place in history as successful nurserywomen is not a result of inherited wealth or education or vocational training but a function of their marital status. It appears to have been acceptable for women to take on their husband's business if there were no sons to take on the role or if the sons were too young to do so. No evidence of a nursery business being passed on to daughters was found in this study. The fact that these widows were successful is of interest because it reveals that gender did not appear to be a limiting factor in their success as nurserywomen and that women by default could run commercial nurseries, albeit in a caretaker role. This being the case, the question of why it has been so difficult in this study to find examples of women who established their own nursery businesses in the nineteenth century remains. The answer does not appear to rest entirely on the premise that second and third generation seedsmen and nurserymen had, by then, such a dominant hold on the nursery trade that few commercial opportunities existed for women. It would also appear to be linked to the lack of education and practical horticultural training opportunities open to women who may have wished to enter the nursery business. Just as there was no female equivalent of the 'bothy boy', apprenticeships within nurseries were not available to women and their involvement was restricted to menial activities such as weeding and transplanting seedlings, as Cox highlighted in his description of the Lawson Seed and Nursery Company in Edinburgh in the 1850s:

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[31] GROS: Sarah Carstairs, Census 1861, District of St George, Edinburgh [685/01 081/00 020].
[32] Listing for 'Carstairs and Sons' in Scottish Post Office Directories, Edinburgh and Leith Directory, 1865/6, p.51.
[33] Ibid., 1868/9, p.37.

> The firm, however, were more famous as propagators, so much so that many young Belgian and Dutch nurserymen used to come to Edinburgh for training as apprentices. This training was intensive and the work was very hard. Most of the nursery work was done by apprentices with the exception of weeding, for which old women from the Green Market were paid 9s. a week.[34]

For many aspiring gardening men, training in a nursery environment was considered an important part of the journeyman process as evidenced by this extract from the reminiscences of Scottish gardener, David Taylor Fish (1822-1901), who was apprenticed at Scone Palace, Perthshire in the 1830s:

> The curriculum for apprentices was also a useful and an unvarying one. One year (the first), fires and houses;[35] the second, serve the kitchen;[36] and the third, work in the flower garden. Custom generally gave a fourth as a journeyman, to establish more perfectly "prentice hands" by practice in all departments before changing to another place or going into an Edinburgh nursery.[37]

Having completed his apprenticeship, Fish progressed to second and then first foreman in gardens in England before joining the Royal Exotic Nursery business of Knight & Perry on the King's Road in Chelsea, London. His description of life in the nursery reveals the patriarchal nature of the nursery environment:

> The nursery is a most useful school for young men, and all ought to pass through it. A fuller knowledge of men, business, and plants can be gleaned in nurseries than in private gardens. The mental culture and intellectual advancement of the men in the nursery were also stimulated and cared for at that time [and in …] the establishment of the study, &c., we had the germs of those more perfect arrangements that have been made by the Messrs. Veitch and

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[34] Cox, p.170.

[35] Working with the hot house plants and keeping the fires stoked in the glasshouses.

[36] Producing the fruit and vegetables for the kitchens of the 'big house'.

[37] David T. Fish, 'British Gardeners – XVIII. David T. Fish', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 22 May 1875, p.655.

> others for the intellectual culture and physical comfort of the men in their employment.[38]

Many nurserymen started their careers as gardeners and having gained the necessary training and experience open to them as garden boys and journeymen, set up plant nurseries as a means of generating an independent income. George Don (1764-1814) from Angus was one such example who, according to Cox, was employed as a gardener at Dupplin Castle in Perth, Hewall Hall in Worcestershire and as head gardener at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, before running his own nursery business in Forfar until his death in 1814.[39]

In addition to the training opportunities available to them as apprentices and journeymen, Scotland's gardening men and nurserymen also benefitted from membership of gardeners' societies, which flourished in the nineteenth century. These fraternities, known in Scotland as the Lodges of Free Gardeners, were designed to promote, regulate and support the craft of gardening and in so doing, provided further opportunities for education and learning in the form of lectures and debates. By 1911, there were around eighty lodges throughout Scotland and more than 12,000 free gardeners.[40] Open to gardeners and non-gardeners but not women, many of these societies accumulated legends, rituals and craft practices similar to freemasonry, except that much of the symbolism was horticultural and characterised by plants and produce, such as pineapples, grapes, roses, thistles and working tools, such as a crossed spade and rake (Figure 7.3). What Witz described as 'gendered exclusionary mechanisms' operated in these institutions of civil society, and within patriarchal environments of commercial nurseries and landed estates, to effectively exclude women from gardening education and practical training.[41]

It is perhaps not surprising therefore that examples of nurserywomen running their own businesses within the study period did not emerge until the advent of the twentieth century. Even then, the lack of vocational training and work experience opportunities available to women continued for many ensuing years. In 1915, Mrs Roland Wilkins conducted an enquiry on behalf of the Women's Farm and Garden Union for the purpose of ascertaining what openings existed for educated women to take up some form of agricultural or horticultural work as a profession.[42] Her findings led her to conclude that 'in the case of women, they have so far been practically debarred from gaining instruction in commercial gardens, where employers, as a rule, do not care to admit them'.[43] She also acknowledged that women who wished to set themselves up in a commercial garden were faced by 'competition with men who have probably served their apprenticeship from the age of 14, and have had life-long experience in their profession'.[44] Twelve years later, Mrs Wilkins provided a revision of her 1915 report, in which she reflected on the impact that the First World War had made to women gardeners. Looking specifically at nurserywomen, she acknowledged that employers in commercial gardens had taken on women when male labour was hard to get but concluded that 'once men were again available there was a return to former conditions and it is only occasionally that women students are admitted'.[45] Gardener and nurserywoman Madge Elder is the only woman in this study, with the exception of Sarah Carstairs, from a working-class background and her life and work illuminates many of the issues and challenges faced by women who chose to earn a living from gardening in the early part of the twentieth century.

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[38] Fish, p.655. In 1853, the Royal Exotic Nursery was acquired by the renowned family of nurserymen, Veitch & Sons.
[39] Cox, p.173.
[40] 'The Free Gardeners of Edinburgh, the Lothians and Fife', <http://www.historyshelf.org/shelf/free/index.php> [accessed 3 February 2014] (section 6 of 21).
[41] Witz, p.73.

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[42] Mrs Roland Wilkins, 'The Work of Educated Women in Horticulture and Agriculture', *The Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, 22 (1915-16), 554-69 & 616-42. The information in her report was based on evidence collected from women working within seventy workplaces throughout Britain. The Women's Agricultural and Horticultural International Union was established in London in 1899. The name was changed to the Women's Farm and Garden Union in 1910 and the main objective of the Society was to unite all professional land workers and those interested in outdoor work for women into a strong central association. From the limited archives that remain, it would appear that there was not a separate Scottish committee and that the remit was national. See London, University of Reading, Museum of English Rural Life Archive, SR WFGA: Papers relating to the Women's Farm and Garden Association, and Peter King, *Women Rule the Plot* (London: Duckworth, 1999), pp.12-20.

[43] Wilkins, p.557.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Mrs Roland Wilkins, *The Training and Employment of Educated Women in Horticulture and Agriculture* (London: The Women's Farm and Garden Association, 1927).

Margaret Moffat (Madge) Elder (1893-1985)

Margaret Moffat Elder, known as Madge, was born in Portobello, Edinburgh on 17 July 1893 to Scottish parents, John Elder and Margaret Virtue.[46] John Elder worked as an engineer on the Union-Castle Line and Madge's early years were spent commuting between London and Fawside, her great-uncle's farm in the Scottish Borders village of Gordon, as her father's voyages ordained.[47] In her unpublished autobiography, Madge recalled her earliest memories of Fawside, which were not of the farmhouse or of school, but of the garden and the orra man:

> The orra man was a keen gardener himself and what little spare time he had was spent in his own garden and from him I unconsciously learned my first lessons in horticulture. As I grew older I was promoted from 'helping' him to having a garden of my own which he encouraged by giving me 'dividing' and any surplus plants […]. When the other cottage children were playing 'hoosies' I was making my gardens.[48]

Even as a young child, she was acutely aware of the beauty of 'the old roses, the damask and musk and monthlies and burnett briars and gillyflowers', all of which had a charm and fragrance which she never felt able to recapture in later life.[49] Despite enjoying the outdoor life, Madge was a sickly child and suffered from recurring bouts of illness and at the age of nine, following the death of her father, she noticed during one of her spells of sickness that she was losing her hearing and shortly after became profoundly deaf. Everything possible was done to find a cure, but she was remarkably unaffected by what the family perceived to be a calamity. 'I do not recall', she wrote, 'that I was disturbed. I had spent so many hours alone in bed that I had always a small silent world of my own, and now it seemed only deeper.'[50]

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[46] GROS: entry of birth for Margaret Moffat Elder, 1893, District of Duddingston & Portobello, Edinburgh [684/01 0134].

[47] Madge Elder, 'The Maister Did So Much For Me', *The Scots Magazine*, May 1971, pp.180-87 (p.180). The Union-Castle Line was a British shipping line that operated passenger and cargo ships between Europe and Africa.

[48] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.4. The 'orra man' was a term used to refer to a farm labourer, frequently hired to do odd-jobs.

[49] Ibid., p.8. Gillyflowers refer to any of several scented flowering plants including carnations, pinks, stocks and wallflowers.

Rather than be sent to an institution for deaf children, Madge continued to be taught at the local school, where she was greatly encouraged by her schoolmaster, Mr Leitch. However, it was not possible for Madge to receive the individual attention she required and as a result she was only taught rudimentary arithmetic and grammar and was not introduced to any of the classics.[51] Although her childhood appears to have been a happy one, there was never money to spare and with the death of her great-uncle in 1906, the farm was passed on and Madge and her mother and sister moved to Edinburgh, bringing her formal schooling to an end (Figure 7.4). She spent much of her first year in the city, dividing her time between the public library in Stockbridge and the 'green oasis of the botanic gardens' where she would often take her books.[52] Madge needed to earn a living so she enrolled at a small school for deaf children in order to learn lip reading and decided to follow a career in gardening. 'The idea of an open-air life', she wrote, 'had a tremendous appeal, and the love of gardening had been instilled in me by the orra man.'[53] Conscious of the need to gain a horticultural qualification in order to have the opportunity of taking up gardening as an occupation, she enrolled for the two-year diploma course at the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women in the autumn of 1910 (Figure 7.5). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish how Madge was able to afford the school's fees.

On graduating from the school, Madge set up in business with fellow student, Bessie Mitchell, whose mother had a house in Inveresk with a large walled garden, and from there they started to run a small hardy plant nursery. They were helped financially by Bessie's mother who gave them £50 and Madge's cousin who advanced them a further £50, and with that as capital and an old typewriter belonging to Madge they 'entered the business world'.[54] £40 was spent on a lean-to greenhouse with the remainder being spent on stock and in order to supplement their income, they both had to take on work as jobbing gardeners which was not always easy to secure. 'All our employers to begin with were women', reflected Madge, 'we were still looked on askance by the men', further evidence of the difficulty that gardening women experienced in relation to acceptance issues and gendered prejudice, and the consequent reliance that had to be placed on female patronage.[55] Whilst still a teenager, Madge had become a Christian Scientist and it was to her female contacts within her religion that she turned in order to find work, securing her first public commission at the gardens of the newly-built, Christian Science Church at 45 Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh, where she and Bessie worked under the direction of three of the lady church members.[56] 150 shrubs including forsythia, berberis and escallonia, had been donated by the Royal Botanic Garden and two pupil assistants, Jean Waldie and Dora de Watteville, were taken on to provide extra help in the planting of the two and a half acre site.[57] Despite this work, making ends meet appears to have been a struggle for the women, and as Madge admitted, 'we weren't making much money; that first year or so we were still mainly jobbing gardeners, wages were extremely low and we did not consider raising our charges. Gardening was then, and for many years, the Cinderella of all trades.'[58]

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[50] Ibid., p.56.
[51] Elder, 'The Maister', p.186.
[52] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.81.
[53] Ibid., p.95
[54] Ibid., p.103.

At the outbreak of war in 1914, Madge and Bessie were forced to abandon their nursery business and split the partnership, recognising that demand for flowering plants and ornamental gardens would be limited during the war years. Whilst Bessie was obliged to stay at home to care for her parents 'as she was the only one of the family left there', Madge decided to apply for gardening posts left vacant by men going off to the war.[59] Her first big wartime job was as gardener to Lady Janet Alice Chalmers at Fox Covert, near Corstorphine.[60] The garden there extended over three acres, with woodland and herbaceous borders, together with formal flower beds. This description of the rose garden as it looked when Madge was in charge was found in the unpublished autobiography of Esther Chalmers, daughter of Lady Chalmers:

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[55] Ibid., p.104.

[56] Elder, 'We Were the Pioneers', p.648; Madge M. Elder, 'I wish to say how sincerely grateful I am for all that…', *Christian Science Sentinel*, 31 July 1915. The branch of religion known as Christian Science was itself founded in 1879 by an American woman, Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910) and had many female followers, <http://christianscience.com> [accessed 27 January 2014].

[57] RBGE Archive, *Despatch Book 1912-14*: plants forwarded to the Christian Science Church, fol. 19. It is possible that Waldie and de Watteville were also students at the Edinburgh School of Gardening but it has not been possible to corroborate this in the absence of a student list for the school. Local historian, Miss Cowper, cited them as students at the school alongside a third woman, Alice Rae Brown but does not substantiate her claim, see A. S. Cowper, *Historic Corstorphine and Roundabout: Part Two* (Edinburgh: The Corstorphine Trust, 1992), p.86.

[58] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.106.

> Square beds of the bush type, pre-floribunda school, on the terrace to the west side of the house […]. Dwarf roses in a formal box-hedged sunk garden under the bookroom windows. Hedges of the Dorothy Perkins family lead to the garden proper. To the north of the fruit garden, a lovely display of espaliered roses.[61]

Dora de Watteville and a third pupil assistant, Alice Rae Brown, accompanied Madge to Fox Covert. The job lasted six months, after which de Watteville, together with Jean Waldie left for a post in England, whilst Madge and Alice obtained gardening positions at Slogarie House in Kirkcudbrightshire in the spring of 1917.[62] Slogarie House was eventually sold and Madge decided to return to her native Borders and took up work as a jobbing gardener, including working at The Priory in Melrose (Figure 7.6) and in the gardens of Upper Faldonsyde, which belonged to the well-known botanist and plant collector, William Brack Boyd.[63]

By the autumn of 1918, Madge had secured the position of head gardener at Bowhill, an opportunity that almost certainly would not have been available to her in peacetime, and she worked in that capacity until the end of the war.[64] She was fortunate to have had the help of Alice Rae Brown, and the sympathies of 'Old Henderson' who had worked in the gardens as boy and man, but in the following extract from her memoirs, Madge recognised the shortcomings of her practical experience compared to that of her male contemporaries:

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[59] Ibid. Bessie Mitchell went on to set up a small plant nursery at Ravelston in Edinburgh, which she ran until her retirement in the 1960s: interview with Margery Turnbull, 3 April 2012; Minute of Council Meeting 1 March 1927, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28).

[60] Sister of the Scottish architect, Sir Robert Lorimer (1864-1929).

[61] NLS Acc. 8695/I/1: autobiography of Esther B. Chalmers from earliest years to c.1934.

[62] Elder, 'First of the Female Cultivators', p.16. Madge must have decided to resit the RHS Examination in Horticulture as her name appears in the list of results for 1918 (a third class pass) with her address given as Slogarie, Kirkcudbrightshire; see 'Examination in Horticulture 1918', *Journal of the RHS*, 44 (1919-20), xciv-xcvi.

[63] William Brack Boyd (1831-1918) was President of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh from 1882 to 1884; see 'William Brack Boyd', *Trans of the Bot Soc of Edin*, 27 (1919), 344-355.

[64] MacLeod, *Down-to-Earth Women,* pp.154-56.

> The war had placed me over him but there was nothing really that I could teach him of practical work. I was still a very young gardener and he must have divined my inexperience, but the tact with which he concealed it, the way in which he tided me over difficulties and upheld my authority, the unaffected courtesy with which he spoke to me and my assistants, put him in the front rank of 'Nature's gentlemen.[65]

As if to confirm the findings of Mrs Roland Wilkins, Madge found that her position at Bowhill was no longer available once the men had returned from the war, and although she was offered a reduced role under the head gardener, she decided to return to Melrose and establish a plant nursery specialising in rock and alpine plants which were of particular interest to her.[66] 'There is a fascination in the miniature', she wrote in her memoirs, 'working close to the ground in intimate contact with the tiny alpines, I have often marvelled at the perfection in one small flower, the consummate symmetry and balance of stem and leaf.'[67] Madge's interest coincided with a surge in the popularity of rock gardens in Britain at this time, fostered in part by the writings of Reginald Farrer, whose book *The English Rock Garden*, begun in 1913 but held up by the war, was published in 1919.[68] It may also have been due to the exploration of the Himalayan and Chinese flora by collectors such as George Forrest, who introduced new and exciting species of alpine and rock garden plants.[69]

Unable to finance the project on her own, Madge was fortunate to secure land from her cousin Tom who had bought a field to the west of the Mount in Melrose and was prepared to allow Madge to set up her nursery on the site (Figure 7.7).[70] She was to spend the next thirteen years building up her nursery business, styled The Mount

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[65] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.127.
[66] Ibid., p.133; Elder, 'First of the Female Cultivators', p.16.
[67] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.135.
[68] Reginald J. Farrer, *The English Rock Garden* (London & Edinburgh: 1919). Madge's cousin Tom had presented her with both volumes in 1920.
[69] Robertson and McKelvie, *Scottish Rock Gardening*.
[70] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.136. Cousin Tom also purchased a large glass house from the Pavilion at Melrose, which Lady Biddulph wished to have removed, and had it moved to the Mount for Madge's nursery.

Nurseries, Melrose, and supplementing her income with jobbing gardening work.[71] Advertisements for her nursery which appeared in *The Scotsman* throughout the 1920s indicate the type of plants she stocked, ranging from rock plants such as aubretias, arabis, tunicas, geums and Iceland poppies, to summer bedding plants and sweet pea seeds, including 'The Mount Mixture' which she sold in packs of fifty for 3s 6d with free postage.[72] Her comments on this time reveal satisfaction with her business, despite the hard work involved and the relatively small returns on investment:

> My work in the twenties was largely routine in my established gardens while the nursery was expanding. I laid out several small rock gardens but I seemed to be as far off as ever from making my fortune. […] I was working up a respectable stock of rock plants, and though it was never very large it was select, and I was getting the reputation of supplying only really hardy plants, not coddled stuff from frames.[73]

Madge also found time to write a number of articles on gardening-related topics which were published in *Amateur Gardening* magazine, including advice on successful seed sowing and the lifting and dividing of herbaceous plants.[74] She became a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society in 1925 but was not an active participant in meetings and did not hold any official position, perhaps on account of her deafness.[75] She did however exhibit and at the Society's autumn show in 1932, she built her own stand in imitation of a miniature rock garden and won a silver medal for her rock plants and an Award of Merit for her gentians.[76] She had entered the trade category rather than as an individual and was competing against the largest nurseries of the day, including Dicksons and Co., Thomas Methven &

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[71] Minute of Monthly Meeting 23 April 1925, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28).

[72] 'Sweet Peas', *The Scotsman*, 13 May 1921, p.1. The genus *Tunica*, now known as *Petrorhagia*, comprises plants of the pink and carnation families.

[73] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.149.

[74] Four articles were published in total: M. M. Elder, 'Science in the Garden. Water and Plant Life', *Amateur Gardening*, 32 (1915), p.27 and p.92; 'Seed Sowing', *Amateur Gardening*, 36 (1920), p.569; 'Light. Its Relation to Plant Growth', *Amateur Gardening*, 36 (1920), p.601; 'The Herbaceous Border. Lifting and Dividing Plants', *Amateur Gardening*, 37 (1920), p.335.

[75] Minute of Monthly Meeting 23 April 1925, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14, (1924-28).

[76] 'Autumn Flowers and Fruit. Royal Caledonian Society Show: Trade Awards', *The Scotsman*, 10 September 1932, p.6.

Sons and Dobbie & Co., so the award of a much-coveted silver medal was a real achievement for Madge and evidence of her hard work and expertise as a nurserywoman.[77] However from a business perspective the nursery was not a commercial success and, never having married, Madge was helped out financially on more than one occasion by her sister's husband.[78] Only a year later, these financial problems and concern for her ailing mother, led Madge to rent the nursery she had so carefully built up and sell off her stock of plants in order to move to Falkirk to care for her mother. Her attitude to these developments was poignantly recorded in her memoirs and there is a clear sense of regret at the loss of her nursery business:

> As we look back over our life we see where we have come to a cross-road, and sometimes we wonder how our life would have shaped if we had decided other than we did. Was it here that I took the wrong turning?.[79]

Falkirk provided her with little work but she was given the opportunity by a friend's sister to design a garden on Arran, which she began in February 1935 and she returned occasionally to Melrose to work her cousin Tom's garden. On one visit, he proposed building a small cottage, named Littlecot, next to the nursery so that Madge and her mother could return to Melrose. The cottage was completed in September 1935, but her mother died before she could move in and so Madge returned alone and took up her jobbing gardener work as before. She embarked on her first municipal commission to remodel the long shrub bank that extended from the War Memorial along Albert Place in Galashiels. 'It was no easy task to plant that steep bank, which was supported only by a stone wall without a parapet, and with the busy street yawning like a ravine below', she recalled, 'the men cut me a stick to use as a kind of alpenstock to clamber up and down. We had always an interested audience on the pavement: "Aye, she knows her job", one old man remarked, I was told.'[80] The award of the municipal contract is perhaps an indication that the work of women gardeners was gradually starting to be taken seriously. A testimonial written by Madge for the *Christian Science Journal* some years later reveals how significant the commission was to Madge's ability to continue to support herself through her gardening work and also how reliant she had been on the financial support from her cousin Tom:

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[77] Minute of Meeting of Council 15 September 1932, *Mins of Hort Soc*, 15 (1928-33).

[78] Electronic communication with Margery Turnbull, niece of Madge Elder, 24 February 2013.

[79] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.158.

[80] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.170. An alpenstock is a long staff with an iron point used by mountain climbers.

> When I had literally not a penny in the world and was living in the home of a relative, I was offered a big public gardening contract, which put me financially on my feet. At the same time I was given a cottage as a gift and was able to re-establish a home. From that time until I retired voluntarily in 1950, I was never unemployed for a day.[81]

It would also appear that Madge found it easier to secure gardening work from the mid-1930s compared to the earlier decades, which could be a function of two factors; the growing acceptance of women gardeners, and increased affluence following the depression of the 1920s. Amongst the many gardening jobs that Madge undertook was the planting of a water garden in a woodland glade in the Fairnilee Woods, near Galashiels, believed to have belonged to Lady Craigmyle, which she described in the following terms:

> I thought the paving was a little too formal for the position, but the pools were irregular in outline, and I planted the margins informally and thickly with Primulas, Astilbes, Spireas, Funkias, and all such moisture-loving things which would thrive in a cool leaf-mouldy soil. Among the trees I formed groups of spring bulbs, cyclamens, and autumn crocus.[82]

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Madge found herself back at work in her nursery at Melrose, since her tenant had enlisted, and she continued there until the death of her cousin Tom in 1943. Not having the capital required to re-establish her own nursery, Madge continued to work as a landscape gardener in Melrose until the 1950s, after which she retired and published two books on the history of the Borders countryside.[83] In the late 1970s, she moved to Edinburgh, where she died in 1985 at the age of ninety-two.

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[81] Madge Elder, 'My first testimony appeared in a Christian Science Sentinel', *The Christian Science Journal*, February 1961.

[82] Elder, *The Sheltering Tree*, p.171. Lady Craigmyle (1847-1939) was the wife of Thomas Shaw, first baron of Craigmyle.

Madge's working life is the story of achievement in the face of adversity. Overcoming the physical disability of profound deafness by learning to lip read and despite only a rudimentary education which was cut short at the age of thirteen, she took advantage of the opportunities which female emancipation had brought by enrolling at the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women. Madge experienced problems securing gardening work on account of her sex but also because her gardening credentials were viewed with suspicion by prospective male employers, one of the consequences that women who adopted separatist strategies, such as attending a gardening school for women in order to gain a horticultural qualification, faced. The majority of her early employment came from female-owned or run establishments, which were often the only opportunities open to her, and they provided a much-needed source of income. The advent of the First World War curtailed Madge's initial attempt to become a nurserywoman but provided her with the almost unprecedented opportunity to take up the position of head gardener on a landed estate, formerly an all-male preserve. With her role there redundant on the men's return from war, Madge singlehandedly established her own nursery business in Melrose, supplementing her income by taking on freelance gardening work. The award of a silver medal for the rock garden she created at the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society's Autumn Show in 1932 is not only a measure of her success as a plantswoman, but also an indication of the acclaim accorded to Madge by the horticultural establishment regardless of gender, a rare but not unimportant marker.

Without the benefit of any business management experience that an apprenticeship or work experience within a commercial nursery may have provided, Madge was able to maintain her nursery over a thirteen-year period, but not without the financial support of her family, in particular cousin Tom, who enabled her to run the nursery and provided her with a home. The decision to give up the nursery was clearly one that she regretted but as the unmarried daughter in the family the obligation to her mother took precedence over her desire to continue the nursery. Madge did however manage to support herself latterly by securing a municipal contract and her ability to do so is perhaps an indication of the slow but growing acceptance of women gardeners. With the exception of an appreciation of her work as a gardener and writer which appeared in *The Scotsman* in 1985 and the silver medal awarded by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, recognition from the horticultural establishment either during or after her lifetime has not been forthcoming and this is perhaps not surprising given that her work when directly compared with the success of the male-run nurseries of the day was barely noteworthy.[84] However, when viewed through a gendered lens, it could be argued that her ability to forge a career in gardening in the face of disability, exclusion, prejudice and financial uncertainty was not only helpful in establishing a precedent for women who wanted to become skilled working gardeners and nurserywomen, but also rather heroic.

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[83] Madge Elder, *Tell the Towers Thereof. The Ancient Border Story* (London: Hale, 1956) and *Ballad Country. The Scottish Border* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1963).

Anna Cadell (1869-1951) and Marion Cadell (1874-1959)

If there are other examples of working-class women, like Madge Elder, who established nurseries in Scotland for the study period, they have not yet come to light. There are, however, examples of nurserywomen whose career paths were slightly different to those of Madge Elder. The Misses Cadell are one such example. Anna Catherine Cadell and Marion Buchan Sydserff Cadell were the unmarried daughters of Thomas Cadell V.C., C.B., (1835-1919), Colonel of the Bengal Staff Corps and Royal Munster Fusiliers.[85] In contrast to Madge, Marion and Anna were from a very different social class and are believed to have spent much of their childhood and early womanhood in India, returning to the family estate at Cockenzie House in East Lothian on their father's retirement from the army in 1892.[86] Little is known about their early life, other than that they continued to live with their widowed father until his death in 1919, when they removed to the Dean, a house which they had built on the edge of the coastal village of Longniddry in East Lothian.[87] Financed by a substantial legacy left them by their father, the Dean was set within at least two acres of ground with views across to the Firth of Forth, and the Cadell sisters began to establish the gardens, eventually setting up a nursery from the site which specialised in primroses.[88] In the archives at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, there is one undated catalogue produced by A. & M. Cadell, The Dean Gardens, Longniddry, listing a variety of 'Old-Fashioned Double and other Primroses' (Figure 7.8).[89] In 1930, Marion became a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society and the following year, she was elected a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society.[90] In addition to the nursery business, the sisters also ran the Dean poultry farm, having inherited their father's entire collection of livestock, and in 1931 exhibited a 'magnificent capon in charge of a brood of baby chicks' at the Highland and Agricultural Society Show, together with 'the Dean Hopper', a metal outdoor poultry feeder invented and patented by Anna Cadell and her poultryman.[91]

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[84] 'Appreciation: Madge Elder', *The Scotsman*, 31 December 1985

[85] Captain S. McCance, *History of the Royal Munster Fusiliers*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Gale & Polden, 1927), I, p.226.

[86] Ibid. Cockenzie House was built in the late17th century and is surrounded by extensive gardens. It is now run by the Cockenzie House & Gardens charity <http://cockenziehouseandgardens.com/about.html> [accessed 1 November 2013]. The 1901 census places them at Cockenzie House with their widowed father and both are listed as single with no profession/occupation given: GROS: Marion B. S. Cadell, Census 1901, District of Tranent, East Lothian [722/00 014/00 001].

It has not been possible to determine the commercial success of the Dean Gardens nursery in the absence of any surviving records, except for one undated, handwritten note from Anna Cadell to a customer, that was found tucked inside the nursery's catalogue, explaining that she could not supply him with primroses because they were 'quite sold out'.[92] However, an analysis of the journals of the Royal Horticultural Society indicate that the Misses Cadell started to exhibit their plants at the Royal Horticultural Society's Flower Shows from 1932 and appear to have been only the second nurserywomen in Britain to win medals at the Chelsea Flower Show.[93] They were awarded a Flora medal for roses in May 1936, followed by a Banksian medal, also for roses, in 1938 and a Flora medal the next year for a mixed group of meconopsis species, polyanthuses, pinks and shrubs, despite facing competition from well-established nurserymen in England, Ireland and Europe.[94] Unfortunately the Second World War cut short their exhibiting success as the Chelsea Flower Show was cancelled in 1940 and did not resume again until 1947, by which time the sisters were in their seventies.[95]

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[87] I am indebted to local historian Sheila Ritchie at Cockenzie House & Gardens for corroborating this information.

[88] Each sister inherited one fifth of their father's estate in addition to much of the family's silver and electroplate and 'the whole of the live-stock (including cows, poultry et cetera), incubators, foster-mothers and bee-hives'; see GROS: last will and testament of Col. Thomas Cadell, Haddington Sheriff Court Wills, 22/12/1919 [SC40/43/10).

[89] RBGE Archive, Nursery and Seed Catalogues Scotland, A-C Box 1: catalogue for A. & M. Cadell, The Dean Gardens.

[90] Minute of Meeting of Council 7 October 1930, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 15 (1928-33); 'List of New Fellows', *The RHS Report for the year 1932 with Statement of Accounts [...]*, p.129.

[91] 'Poultry Methods – New and Old', *The Scotsman*, 23 June 1931, p.15.

[92] RBGE Archive, Nursery and Seed Catalogues Scotland, A-C Box 1: letter from A. C. Cadell to Mr Stormonth, n.d.

Anna and Marion Cadell are very different examples of nurserywomen compared to Madge Elder. On the one hand they had the advantage of inherited wealth and had the means and opportunity to develop their amateur interest in plants, but unlike Madge they do not appear to have benefitted from any formal training in horticulture. They could have been content to garden within their own private sphere but instead converted their interest in plants into a business venture and proved themselves expert cultivators of primroses. As Dr Brent Elliott, historian at the Royal Horticultural Society and author of a centenary commemoration of the Chelsea Flower Show pointed out, few of the nurseries that exhibited at Chelsea in the interwar period were managed by women. Unfortunately his work does not include any discussion of these female pioneers and there is no mention of the fact that the Cadell sisters were the first Scottish nurserywomen to be awarded medals at the Chelsea Flower Show.[96] Anna and Marion Cadell were not the only Scottish nurserywomen exhibiting at Royal Horticultural Society shows at this time. The Society's journals also reveal that another pair of sisters, the Misses Logan Home from Edrom Nurseries in Berwickshire, exhibited primroses at the Royal

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[93] *Journal of the RHS*, 39-61 (1913-36). The first are believed to have been the Misses Hopkins from Shepperton in Surrey who won silver medals for rock gardens in 1913-15 and further medals for alpine plants in 1920 and from 1922-26.

[94] 'Chelsea Show. May 20, 21 and 22, 1936', *Journal of the RHS*, 61 (1936), p.cxxvii; 'Chelsea Show. May 25, 26 and 27, 1938', *Journal of the RHS*, 63 (1938), p.xcix and 'Chelsea Show. May 17, 18 and 19, 1939', *Journal of the RHS*, 64 (1939), p.xcv. The hierarchy of RHS Chelsea Flower Show medals in 1936 was as follows; Gold medal, Silver Cup, Silver-gilt Flora medal, Silver-gilt Banksian medal, Silver Flora medal, Silver Banksian medal, Flora medal and Banksian medal; see *Journal of the RHS*, 61 (1936), pp.cxxiv-cxxviii.

[95] Brent Elliott, *RHS Chelsea Flower Show: a centenary celebration* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2013).

[96] Ibid., p.140. Only a small selection of nurserywomen exhibiting from 1957 onwards is mentioned in Elliot's book.

Horticultural Society's Spring Show in 1929 and went on to become Chelsea medallists.[97]

Helen Mary (Mollie) Logan Home (1888-1976) and Edith Logan Home (1893-1973)

Helen Mary Logan Home, known as Mollie, and her sister Edith were the youngest of six children born to George John Ninian Logan Home (1855-1936) of Broomhouse and Edrom, Berwickshire and his wife Eva, daughter of Miles Charles Seton of Treskerby in Cornwall.[98] Like the Cadell sisters, they spent the greater part of their childhood in India, where their father was a Major in the army, and in England. Holidays were spent in Indian hill stations where the sisters experienced at first hand the natural habitats of many of the alpine plants they later cultivated and when their father decided to settle in Scotland in 1909, Mollie and Edith began gardening at the family home, Edrom House near Duns in Berwickshire.[99] Evidence of any formal schooling for the girls has not been found and it is therefore likely that their education was sporadic and dependent on where their father was stationed, in contrast to the continuity of their brothers' education at Loretto, a prestigious boarding school in Edinburgh (Figure 7.9).[100]

The older sister Mollie appears, from the published sources available, to have been the more outgoing of the two personalities and, possibly as a result, more is known about her. Although her father retired at the age of fifty-five in 1910 he volunteered for action in the First World War and, perhaps inspired by his example, Mollie was engaged in around 1914 as a matron by her friend Janet Vernon Harcourt who had founded a girls' secondary school at Runton Hill in Norfolk.[101] It is not clear what training, if any, Mollie had received to qualify her for the post of matron, but she was evidently good at it as one former pupil of the school recalled: ‘If one was a little off colour and confined to the dormitory, there was the gentle, humorous and dreamy figure of Miss Logan Home bending over you anxiously and one soon recovered again.’[102] It would appear that Mollie stayed on working at the school following the end of the war and is recorded as being a member of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists’ Society from 1922 to 1925.[103]

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[97] 'Floral Committee, April 23, 1929', *Journal of the RHS*, 55 (1930), p.xlix.

[98] Major G. J. N. Logan Home, *History of the Logan Family* (Edinburgh: Waterston, 1934), p.128.

[99] M. I. C. H., 'Obituary: Miss H. M. Logan-Home', *Journal of the Scottish Rock Garden Club* (hereafter SRGC), 15 (April 1976), 134-35 (p.134).

[100] Major George J. N. Logan Home of Broomhouse, 'Historical Notes on Broomhouse and the Home Family', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 25 (1923-25), 381-398 (p.396).

[101] Muriel Leigh Kilvert, *The History of Runton Hill School* (Beccles: Waveney, 1990). Janet Vernon Harcourt (b.1879) was the daughter of eminent chemist Augustus Vernon Harcourt (1834-1919). It is not known how Janet and Mollie met and became friends.

Nothing is known of Edith’s whereabouts during the war and in the years that followed, but as she was in her early twenties and the youngest child of the family it is possible she stayed at Edrom with her parents, unlike Mollie who decided in 1924 to embark on a plant-hunting trip to the Kashmir Himalayas, an extremely mountainous region with an average altitude of almost 3,500 metres, with ‘only her father’s personal Indian servant to guard her’ (Figure 7.10).[104] Alex Duguid, who worked for the Misses Logan Home, recalled Mollie’s descriptions of the ‘wonderful flowering of *Primula rosea*, and the many beautiful forms of this primula that grew there’, and published this extract of an undated letter from Mollie to her mother from Baltal:

> It was far lovelier, wilder and more difficult than I imagined. I was so afraid it would be quite a good path all the way and that I should be disappointed, but it was all so wonderfully beautiful, the views of ragged snowy peaks, a regular circle all round us, the two little blue-green tarns and the marvellous profusion of alpine flowers all the way to the summit. I have never seen anything like the gentians, whole hillsides were a vivid blue with them. I have collected 80 different sorts of seeds and will be sending them on to Professor Wright Smith in Edinburgh.[105]

Records held in the register of incoming seeds and plants to the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, known as the Accessions Book, confirm Mollie’s trip to

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[102] Norfolk, West Runton Activity Centre (formerly Runton Hill School) Archive: reminiscences of Isme Golding. I am indebted to Roger and Janice Lidgett for making me aware of this archive.
[103] Electronic communication with Dr Tony Irwin, Keeper of Natural History, Castle Museum, Norwich, dated 21 January 2014.
[104] A. Duguid, ‘Old Gardener Friends’, *National Auricula & Primula Society (Southern Section) Yearbook 1977*, 34-36 (p.35).
[105] Ibid, pp.35-36. The whereabouts of the original letter is unknown and papers relating to the Misses Logan Home are not thought to have survived.

Kashmir by indicating that in December 1924 she sent the incumbent Regius Keeper, Professor Wright Smith, seeds that she had personally collected there from almost one hundred different genera of alpine plants, together with detailed collecting notes, which provide a fascinating insight into her intrepid expedition (Figure 7.11).[106] She recorded, for example, that the seeds of *Primula stuartii* were collected by her on rocky damp hillsides on Yam her Pass above Sindh Valley at an altitude of over 4,000 metres.[107] Duguid recalled the successful cultivation of this plant by Mollie and how ‘it was grown on rich moist loam where it grew and flowered magnificently, a wonderful plant with scented blossoms of soft yellow’.[108] Further entries in the Accessions Book indicate that Mollie sent two more batches of seed from Kashmir, including primulas, gentians, dianthus, iris and fritillaria in the spring and winter of 1925.[109]

On Mollie’s return home early in 1926, both she and her sister’s interest in gardening was greatly encouraged not only by their father who was a Fellow of the Scottish Zoological Society and President of the Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club, of which Mollie was also a member, but also by Dr John MacWatt, the local doctor in Duns and a family friend.[110] According to Robertson and McKelvie, Dr MacWatt was an eminent grower of primulas and had won over twenty silver and gold medals at Royal Horticultural Shows for the period 1911 to 1933, in addition to publishing *The Primulas of Europe* in 1923.[111] On the advice of Dr MacWatt, Mollie and Edith founded Edrom Nurseries which they ran initially from Edrom House (Figure 7.12).[112] In addition to propagating the seed which Mollie had returned from Kashmir, the sisters also received on a regular basis plants and seed from the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, which over time enabled them to build up an impressive stock of alpine and rock garden plants, in particular dwarf rhododendron and primulas, which became their speciality.[113]

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[106] RBGE Archive: *Accessions Book 70-21 to 526-26*, ‘Miss H. M. Logan Home, Dal Lake, Srinagar, Kashmir – seeds on attached list’, dated 23/12/1924, fol. 184.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Duguid, p.36.
[109] RBGE Archive: *Accessions Book 70-21 to 526-26*, fols 206 and 266.
[110] M. I. C. H., p.134; Duguid, p.36. For details of Mollie’s and her father’s involvement in the club, see ‘Reports of Meetings for the Year 1932’, *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club* (hereafter BNC), 28 (1932-34), p.21 and ‘Reports of Meetings 1927’, *History of the BNC*, 26 (1926-28), p.114.
[111] Robertson and McKelvie, p.45; *Journal of the RHS*, 37-58 (1911-33); John MacWatt, *The Primulas of Europe* (London & New York: Country Life, 1923).
[112] M. I. C. H., p.134.

With many of the species of this genus notoriously difficult to grow, Mollie and Edith's cultivating expertise and knowledge of primulas was of particular interest to Professor Wright Smith, who had collaborated with George Forrest in preparing an account of the genus and had later worked with his successor at the botanic garden, Harold Roy Fletcher (1897-1978), on the taxonomy of the species.[114] His confidence in the women's propagating and cultivation skills led him, and his curator Roland Cooper, to send them seed from expeditions in western China, Yunnan and the Himalayas by the famous plant-collecting men of the day including *Rhododendron sanguineum, R. floccigerum* and *R. racemosum* collected by Joseph Rock; *Primula littoniana, P. beesiana* and *P. bulleyana* collected by George Forrest; *P. chionantha* and *P. burmanica* by Frank Kingdon Ward; and *P. menziesiana*, *P. sherriffae* and *Meconopsis torquata* from Frank Ludlow and George Sherriff.[115] By raising them from seed and helping to bring them into cultivation, Mollie and Edith played an important role in making these new introductions available to the wider public. A two-way exchange of seeds and seedlings between the sisters and the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh was established and continued for the next fifty years, thus ensuring the survival of many newly-introduced alpines, in particular primulas, which are inherently short-lived and must be periodically raised from seed.[116]

In addition to the close relationship forged with Professor Wright Smith, the sisters appear to have recognised the value of networking to the success of their business as evidenced by their decision to join the leading horticultural institutions of the day. At the October 1926 meeting of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Mollie was elected as a Fellow of the Society alongside Wright Smith who became one of four vice-presidents, and several years later Edith was proposed for membership of the

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[113] RBGE Archive: Despatch Books covering the period 1925-68.

[114] Robertson and McKelvie, p.5.

[115] See RBGE Despatch Books from 1925-46; Robertson and McKelvie, *Scottish Rock Gardening* and Joseph Rock, *Field Notes of the Rhododendrons collected by Rock in 1923/4* (n.p.: n. pub., n.d.).

[116] The Logan Homes synergistic relationship with RBGE is based on an analysis of RBGE Accessions Books and Despatch Books for the period 1925-75.

Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society by Mary E. Burton.[117] By 1929 Mollie was also listed as a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society and membership of these societies not only gave the women access to some of the leading horticulturists of the day but also presented opportunities to exhibit and sell plants at shows, raise awareness of Edrom Nurseries and develop a reputation for excellence by winning awards.[118]

Within three years of setting up the nursery, Mollie and Edith felt confident enough to start exhibiting their plants at the annual autumn shows staged by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society and in September 1928 they won their first award, a silver medal for alpines.[119] Over the next thirty-year period, the Misses Logan Home were awarded one Silver-gilt medal, fifteen Silver medals and seven Bronze medals by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society (Figure 7.13).[120] Competing in an exclusively male environment, they were however consistently beaten to the gold medals in their trade category, often by the Edinburgh firm of Laird & Dickson, established rock garden specialists, and the large male-run nursery businesses such as Dobbie & Co., Dickson's & Co., Austin & McAslan and Forbes (Hawick) Ltd.[121]

Mollie and Edith's entry at the Highland and Agricultural Show of 1931 (royal status was not bestowed until 1948) could be viewed as a more egalitarian measure of their success. Usually confined to the judging of livestock, it was decided to include a horticultural section for the first time at the show, which was celebrating its centenary year, and judging therefore was free from established traditions and precedent. Unfortunately for the show organisers an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease resulted in the cancellation of the classes for cattle, sheep, goats and pigs, so by way of compensation the general public was given free admission to the horticultural section leading to a greatly increased footfall for exhibitors like Edrom Nurseries. Despite competition from the larger firms, Mollie and Edith were awarded the Prince of Wales' Gold Medal and a cash prize of £10 for their rock garden exhibit. The prizes were awarded by the Prince of Wales himself on a visit to the show and it was reported in *The Berwickshire News*, that 'the Prince greatly admired the wonderful rock gardens, and in handing his gold medal to Miss Logan Home of Edrom Nurseries, the champion exhibitor in this section, told her he wanted to have one at his own home'.[122] This was not the only contact that the Misses Logan Home had with royalty since they moved within Edinburgh's higher social circles and both were subsequently presented to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth at the Palace of Holyroodhouse.[123] Although regular exhibitors at the show, with the exception of 1941 to 1947 when the show was cancelled on account of the war, they were never able to replicate the same success, gaining a silver medal in 1935 followed by a string of commendations.[124]

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[117] 'Proceedings of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, October 21, 1926', *Trans of the Bot Soc*, 29 (1923-27), p.xxvii; Minute of Council Meeting 4 September 1928, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28). In 1937, Sir William Wright Smith was elected as Honorary President of the RCHS with Mr Roland Cooper as Honorary Vice-President. Wright Smith was also elected President of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh.

[118] *RHS List of Fellows, Associates and Affiliated Societies 1929* (London: RHS, 1929), p.174.

[119] Minute of Council Meeting 12 September 1928, *Mins of the Hort Soc*, 14 (1924-28). The hierarchy of RCHS show awards in 1928 was as follows: Large Gold medal, Gold medal, Silver-gilt medal, Silver medal and Bronze medal.

[120] Based on an analysis of RCHS show results recorded in the *Mins of the Hort Soc* for the period 1928-58. Subsequent issues of the journal do not list awards made to trade exhibitors.

[121] Ibid.

In 1933, Mollie and Edith were instrumental in the establishment of the Scottish Rock Garden Club and 'no Show was complete without the two tall sisters from Edrom Nurseries with their colourful stand of primulas, meconopsis and alpines'.[125] There are many references to the height of the sisters, Mollie was believed to be 6ft. 3ins and Edith 5ft. 11ins, making them easily distinguishable at shows.[126] Following their father's death in 1936, Edrom House passed into the ownership of their brother and the sisters relocated the nursery to the small estate of Silverwells, near the village of Coldingham in the Scottish borders, where they lived with their elderly mother. Ranged along the banks of a burn and sheltered by surrounding woodland, the site provided ideal growing conditions for alpine plants (Figure 7.14). At around the same time, they realised the need for extra help and employed Alex Duguid, formerly a shepherd on the Royal Estate at Balmoral.[127] Alex became an integral part of the business, proving to be an especially skilled propagator, and Mollie and Edith were able to exhibit regularly at the seven shows held annually by the Scottish Rock Garden Club in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other parts of Scotland including Aberdeen, Dumfries, Dunfermline, Haddington, Penicuik and North Berwick.[128] Their professionalism as exhibitors is clear from this description of their stand at the club's Edinburgh show in 1950:

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[122] 'Many Border awards complete list of Border successes at Highland Show', *The Berwickshire News*, 30 June 1931, p.8.

[123] Mollie was presented in 1934 and Edith several years later; see 'Presentations at Holyroodhouse Drawing Room', *The Scotsman*, 12 July 1934, p.8 and 'Second Court at Palace of Holyroodhouse', *The Scotsman*, 12 July 1937, p.16.

[124] Based on an analysis of the *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* (hereafter HASS), 5th ser., 44-52 (1932-40). Winners of awards at the flower show were not recorded in the Society's journal following the resumption of the Royal Highland Show in 1948.

[125] M. I. C. H., p.134.

[126] Ibid.

> One of the most startling exhibits was on the Edrom Nursery's island stand – a box, no less, of *Primula reidii* in full flower, sunk in the peat and edged with moss: this Primula appeared last year in ones and twos in competitive classes. At the other end of this stand was a massed display of *Tulipa kaufmanniana* in its varieties backed by dwarf azaleas.[129]

In an exhibiting career at club shows which spanned almost forty years, Edrom Nurseries were awarded the coveted Forrest Medal in 1959 for *Primula sonchifolia*, four Large Gold medals, thirty-one Gold medals, and four certificates of merit.[130] Mollie also served on the Club's committee from 1937 until 1955, when she was elected one of nine vice-presidents, a position which she held for over twenty years.[131] Within the smaller, specialist environment of the Scottish Rock Garden Club, some evidence of other Scottish nurserywomen active during the inter-war period was apparent. A Miss Clark of Kippen exhibited a rock garden at the Spring Show in Glasgow in 1938 and in the same year, Mrs Laing of Hawick exhibited at the Spring show in Edinburgh.[132] There is also evidence that the sisters helped in the success of other gardening women. At the Highland Show in 1936, the Misses Mern

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[127] Robertson and McKelvie, p.44.

[128] See A. Duguid, 'Propagation from Seed', *The Journal of the SRGC*, 18 (1956), 62-65.

[129] Anon., 'Edinburgh', *The Journal of the SRGC*, 9 (1951), p.37.

[130] Based on an analysis of *The Journal of the SRGC* for the period 1937-76. The Forrest Medal was awarded to the best plant in the Show.

[131] 'Office-Bearers for 1955-56', *The Journal of the SRGC*, 18 (1956), p.2.

[132] *The Journal of the SRGC*, 2 (1938), 81-85. According to Robertson and McKelvie, p.62, Miss Jenny and Miss Helen Clark of Castlefield Nurseries at Kippen, near Stirling, continued to exhibit alpines in the 1940s. Mrs J. Laing of Hawick exhibited at both the SRGC shows and at the autumn shows run by the RCHS from 1938-53, see Appendix III.

Cunningham and Kate Hawkins, described as garden architects, were commended for their rock garden exhibit which featured plants supplied by Edrom Nurseries.[133]

The sisters' exhibiting success was not, however, restricted to Scotland. In addition to attending some of the northern shows run by the Alpine Garden Society in England, they won their first award at the Chelsea Flower Show in 1953, a Flora medal for an exhibit of rock garden plants, and continued to exhibit every year thereafter until Mollie was in her eighties (Figure 7.15).[134] Their medal haul included one Silver Flora medal, twelve Flora medals, two Silver Banksian medals and three Banksian medals, in addition to five further Flora medals which were awarded by the Royal Horticultural Society's Floral Committees.[135] The sisters were invariably competing against some of the largest and most successful nursery firms of the day, including Royal Warrant holders Messrs Hillier & Sons, renowned for trees, shrubs and hardy plants and a frequent exhibitor in the rock garden category.[136] Mollie and Edith were 'indefatigable' according to Mrs Harbord, a member of the Scottish Rock Garden Club council, who published the following anecdote about the two women:

> Up and down the country they took their plants to Shows, from Inverness to Chelsea, the Scottish Rock Garden Club, the Alpine Society, the 'Highland', the 'Royal', and other large agricultural shows across the border. […] at a Chelsea Show, the remark was overheard, "do you see those two tall women over there? Well, they're made of teak!" They relished that.[137]

A glimpse of Mollie's benign personality and ready plant knowledge is also provided:

> Mollie radiated serenity and peace, even at the end of a four-day Show when all around was chaos and everyone else was

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[133] 'Flower Show', *Trans of the HASS*, 5th ser., 44 (1937), p.435; 'Artistic Rock Gardens', *The Scotsman*, 24 June 1936, p.A6. See Cunningham, Mern in Appendix III.

[134] 'Chelsea Show, 1953 List of Awards', *Journal of the RHS*, 78 (1953), p.55.

[135] Based on an analysis of the *Journal of the RHS* for the period 1953-74.

[136] Ibid.

[137] M. I. C. H., p.135. Mrs M. I. C. Harbord served on the SRGC's Council in the late 1970s during Mollie's final tenure as vice-president of the club; see 'Office-Bearers for the Year 1976', *Journal of the SRGC*, 15 (April 1976), p.2.

> scurrying to be off. With her gentle smile she loved to show people round her beautiful garden at Silverwells. No matter how many came, a bus load or a single individual, beginner or expert, all were made welcome and all benefitted from her garden wisdom.[138]

There is a suggestion in the few references to Edith and Mollie Logan Home in published sources that the women were also regular plant collectors. Dawn MacLeod noted that they had made a number of expeditions to high alpine regions in Europe in search of primulas and other plants, whilst Mollie's obituary in the Scottish Rock Garden Club's journal indicated that she had undertaken a plant-hunting trip to Crete whilst in her eighties and nursing a broken leg.[139] Other than Mollie's trip to Kashmir in 1924 to 1925, there is unfortunately no evidence with which to substantiate these claims in the absence of any extant personal correspondence for the sisters.[140]

By the time of Edith's demise in 1973, the two sisters had gained a worldwide reputation for alpine and rock garden plants thanks to the awards gained at shows such as Chelsea. However, neither Edith nor her more gregarious sister Mollie received any personal recognition from the horticultural establishment, either in London or Scotland, for their achievements as plantswomen and nurserywomen.[141] In contrast, Alex Duguid was awarded the Royal Horticultural Society's prestigious Associateship of Honour Medal, conferred by the Society on those who have rendered distinguished service to horticulture in the course of their employment.[142] Mollie carried on until her own death three years later when she bequeathed the business to Alex Duguid. On his retirement in the late 1970s, it was bought by Jim Jermyn, who had been trained at the botanic garden in Edinburgh and at alpine nurseries in Scotland and Germany, and under his guidance, Edrom Nurseries continued to exhibit successfully at shows, including Chelsea.[143] At the time of writing the business is owned by Cath Davis and Terry Hunt who have maintained the reputation of Edrom Nurseries into the twenty-first century, becoming Chelsea gold medallists in 2001, regular medal winners at shows throughout Britain and recipients of the Royal Horticultural Society's Farrer Trophy in 2013.[144]

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[138] M. I. C. H., p.135.

[139] MacLeod, *Gardener's Scotland*, p.64; M. I. C. H., p.135.

[140] Mary Fawdry, the great niece of Mollie and Edith Logan Home has confirmed that any personal or business papers relating to the two women are no longer extant.

[141] It is surprising that their contribution to horticulture was not recognised by the award of the RHS Veitch Memorial Medal, named after the Scottish nurseryman James Veitch, or the Neill Medal awarded by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society for service to horticulture in Scotland.

[142] 'Report of the Council of the RHS for 1972', *Journal of the RHS*, 98 (1973), 46-61 (p.60).

In common with the Cadell sisters, Mollie and Edith Logan Home benefitted from a relatively privileged upbringing, which brought them into contact with the flora and fauna of Britain and India from an early age. It would appear that, in the absence of any formal training in botany or plantsmanship, they were enabled by the encouragement, both emotional and financial, of their father, and by their family friend, the plantsman Dr John MacWatt, to develop their interest in alpine plants into a flourishing business. Mollie took advantage of any opportunity to engage with the leading horticulturists of the day and, together with her sister, played an important role in the raising and cultivation of newly-introduced alpine plants from China and the Himalayas, not only greatly increasing their chance of survival but also making them available to the wider public. In so doing, they helped to change the look of gardens throughout Scotland and contributed to the development of rock gardening in Scotland. A conservative estimate of the medals they won amounts to thirty-six gold, seventeen silver and seven bronze, plus numerous certificates of merit and the Forrest Medal for best exhibit at a Scottish Rock Garden Show, in addition to seventeen Flora and five Banksian medals awarded at the prestigious Chelsea Flower Shows. Perhaps more significantly than the quantities involved, Mollie and Edith competed against and on occasion beat some of the largest, most established male-run nurseries. It is possible that their success was enhanced by their sisterly bond that allowed them to share the work and draw strength and support from one another, which perhaps enabled them to achieve more than if, like Madge Elder, they had been operating alone. The lack of any personal recognition for their work from the horticultural establishment is difficult to explain although they may perhaps have taken some satisfaction from the honour bestowed on their protégé, Alex Duguid.

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[143] Robertson and McKelvie, p.44.

[144] 'RHS Awards Ceremony 2013', Royal Horticultural Society <http://www.rhs.org.uk/News/Outstanding-contributions-to-horticulture> [accessed 9 February 2014]. The Farrer Trophy is an annual award given to the best exhibit of plants suitable for the rock garden and alpine house.

Summary and Conclusions

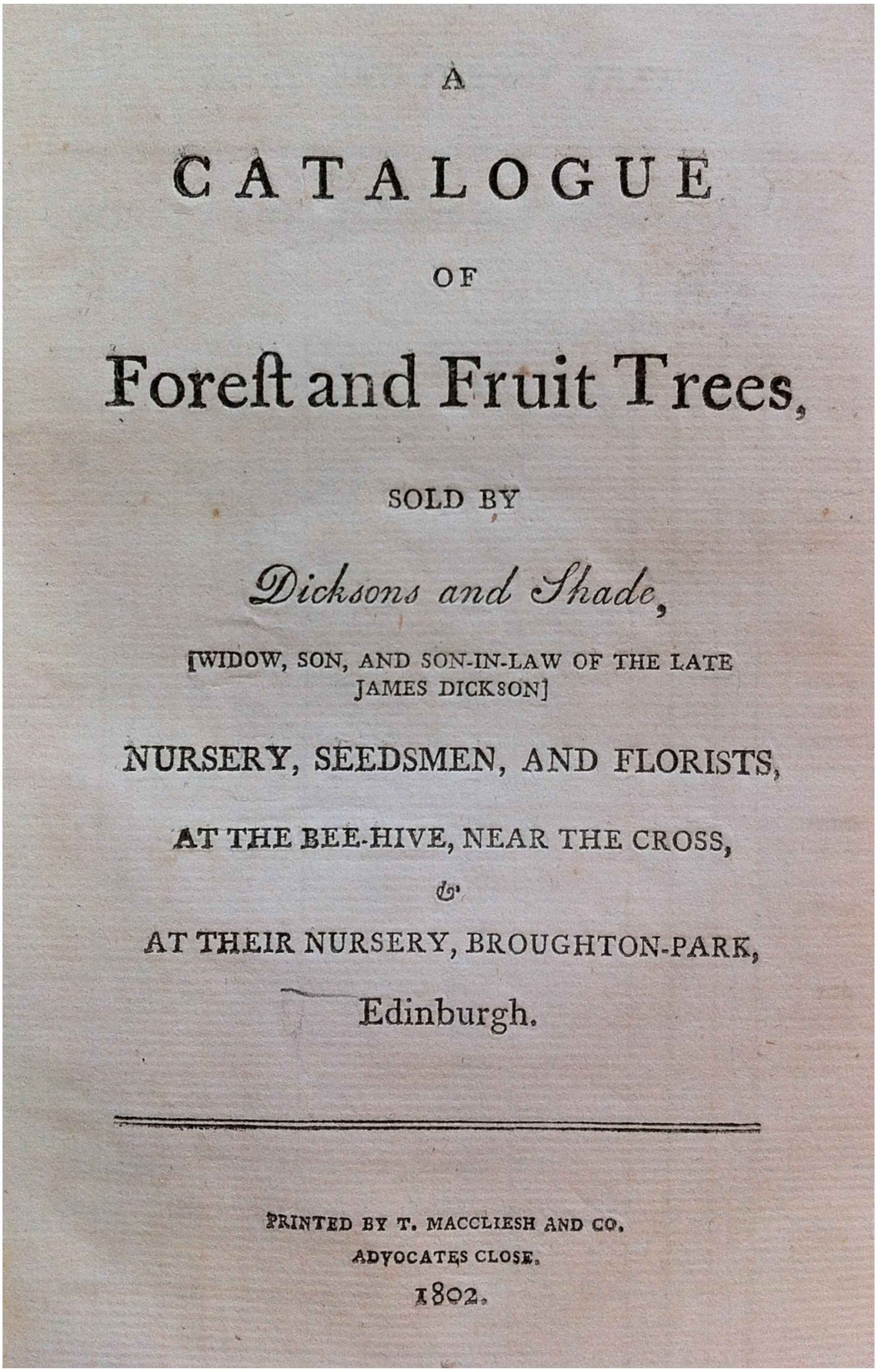
Despite limited opportunities to practise as seedswomen and nurserywomen in Scotland throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, examples have been found of women who successfully forged careers and maintained or established nursery businesses. In the mid-nineteenth century Sarah Carstairs, like the widowed nurserywomen who predated her, took on the running of a nursery following the premature death of her husband and was able to successfully grow the business and hand it on to her sons. She proved an adept businesswoman, cleverly using the plants she propagated in her nursery to maximise sales opportunities in her retail outlet, including the introduction of decorated Christmas trees to the wider Scottish public, whilst her widow status appeared to protect her from gender prejudice. As the century progressed, the structures in place for the education and training of aspiring nurserymen were inherently exclusionary to women, just as they were for the professional gardening women of the previous chapter. Even with the development of separatist strategies in the form of gardening schools for women in England and Edinburgh it was a struggle for women, even having gained credentials, to find practical training and employment within commercial nurseries.

Despite her diploma from the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, Madge Elder faced problems when sourcing gardening work to help support her plant nursery business and had to turn to female-run or owned establishments to provide much needed employment. The gardening opportunities created during the First World War for women like Madge were short-lived. She endeavoured to support herself by establishing a nursery business in Melrose but was reliant to a certain extent on the financial protection of her brother-in-law and cousin Tom. Her role within the family as the unmarried daughter eventually required her to give up her nursery to care for her ageing mother. Given her modest success as a nurserywoman compared to larger contemporaneous firms run by second and third generation seedsmen and nurserymen, her lack of recognition and elision from the narratives of

Scotland's gardening history is perhaps not surprising. She was, however, one of few pioneering women in Scotland at the time who chose to make a career from gardening and ultimately managed to do so, despite facing obstacles such as physical disability, gender prejudice and financial pressures. As a result it could be argued that her most important achievement was her contribution to the gradual acceptance of women gardeners in Scotland.

Madge's experience can be contrasted with those women from more affluent backgrounds who had the means and opportunity to convert an interest in plants into a commercial enterprise. Unlike Madge, neither the Misses Cadell nor the Misses Logan Home are believed to have received any formal training in botany or plantsmanship but managed to establish nursery businesses thanks not only to their natural ability as cultivators but also to the injection of inherited wealth. However, this does not detract from the fact that both sets of sisters worked hard to develop and establish themselves within the nursery trade in Scotland. The Cadell sisters have the accolade, acknowledged only within this thesis, of being the first nurserywomen in Scotland, and only the second women in Britain, to win medals at the Chelsea Flower Show, whilst Mollie and Edith Logan Home built up over a period of fifty years a worldwide reputation for alpine and rock garden plants.

It is possible that an element in the success of both the Cadells and the Logan Homes may also have been their closeness as sisters and the benefits derived from working as a cohesive unit, sharing parallels with the effectiveness of the close working relationship achieved by Annie Morison and Lina Barker. Social class may also be a contributory factor. Whilst Madge was never really part of the horticultural establishment, on account perhaps of her deafness but also possibly because her working-class origins made her less comfortable in the social environment of the horticultural clubs and societies, the Misses Logan Home were in contact on a regular basis with the leading horticulturists of the day and were used to being part of the upper echelons of Scottish society. This allowed them to develop effective working relationships with Professor Wright Smith and Roland Cooper at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, which in turn significantly impacted on the success of their business and the development of their reputation worldwide. Significantly, none of the women discussed in this chapter received any personal recognition from the horticultural establishment, which in the case of the Misses Logan Home is particularly difficult to discern given the quantity and quality of the awards they won, their contribution to rock gardening in Scotland and the longevity of their commercial success.



A

CATALOGUE

OF

Foreſt and Fruit Trees,

SOLD BY

Dicksons and Shade,

[WIDOW, SON, AND SON-IN-LAW OF THE LATE
JAMES DICKSON]

NURSERY, SEEDSMEN, AND FLORISTS,

AT THE BEE-HIVE, NEAR THE CROSS,

&

AT THEIR NURSERY, BROUGHTON-PARK,

Edinburgh.

PRINTED BY T. MACCLIESH AND CO.
ADVOCATES CLOSE.
1802.

Figure 7.1 Front page of the Dicksons and Shade plant catalogue, 1802. Source: Archibald, *Botanist's and Nurseryman's Companion*. Reproduced with permission of RBGE.

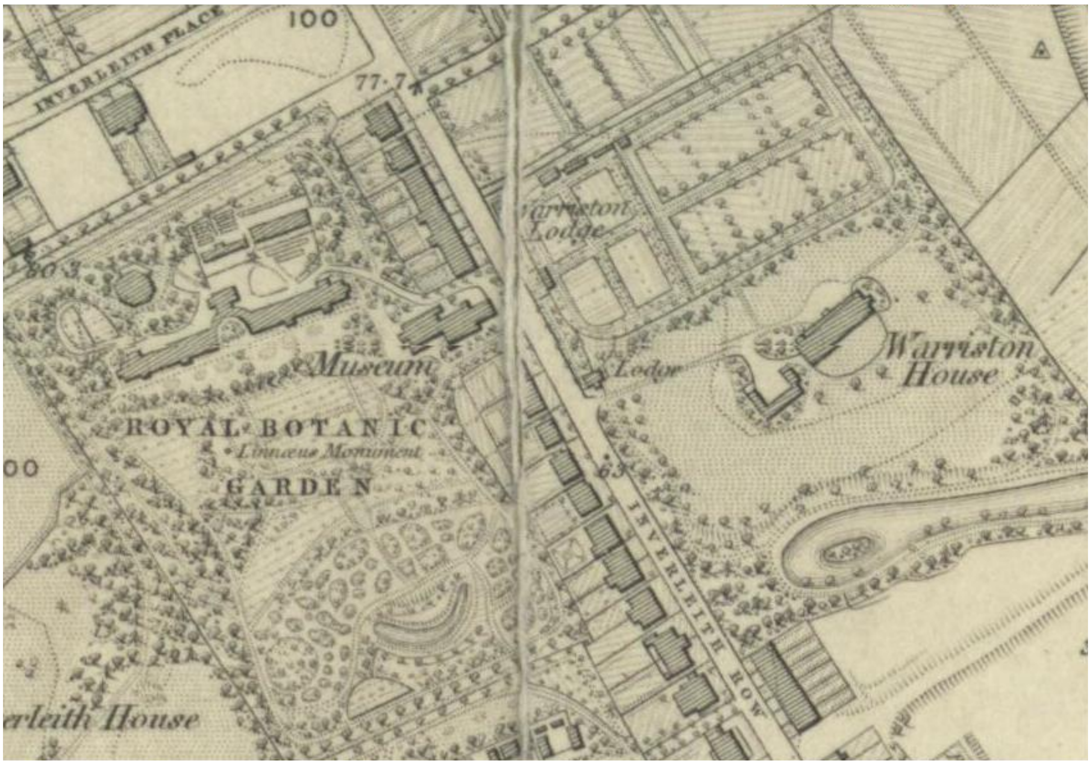

INVERLEITH PLACE
100
77·7
80
Warriston Lodge
Museum
ROYAL BOTANIC
Linnæus Monument
GARDEN
Lodge
Warriston House
INVERLEITH ROW
00
erleith House

Figure 7.2 Mrs Carstairs' nursery at Warriston Lodge, Edinburgh Source: OS Six Inch Edinburghshire, sheet 2, surveyed 1852, published 1853. Reproduced with permission of the NLS.

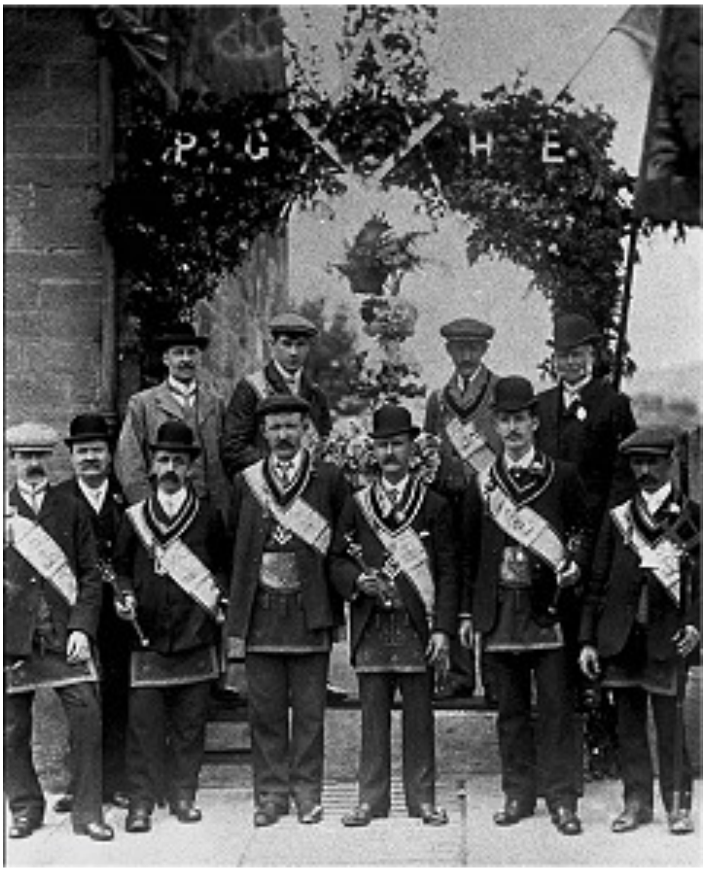


Figure 7.3

The Penicuik Thistle Lodge of Free Gardeners, undated.

Source: http://www.historyshelf.org/shelf/free.

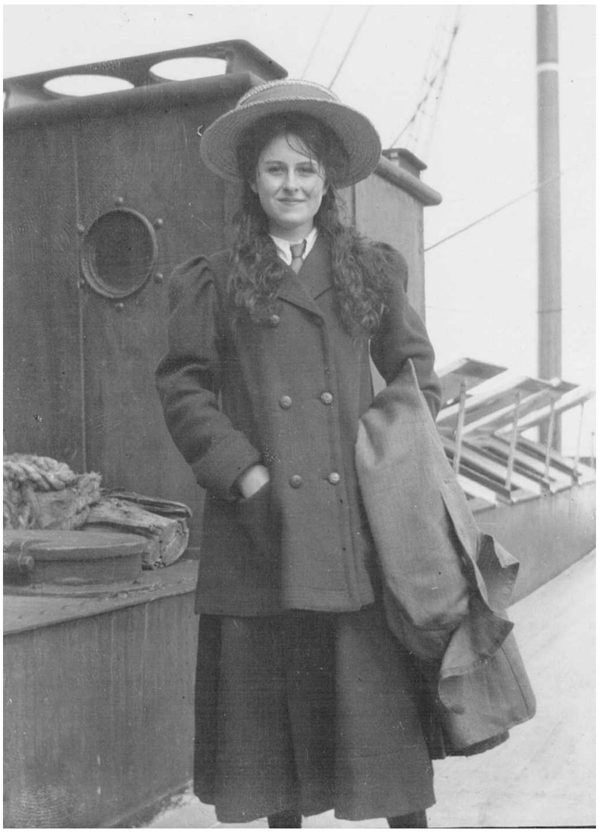


Figure 7.4

Madge Elder as a young girl, undated.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of Margery Turnbull.

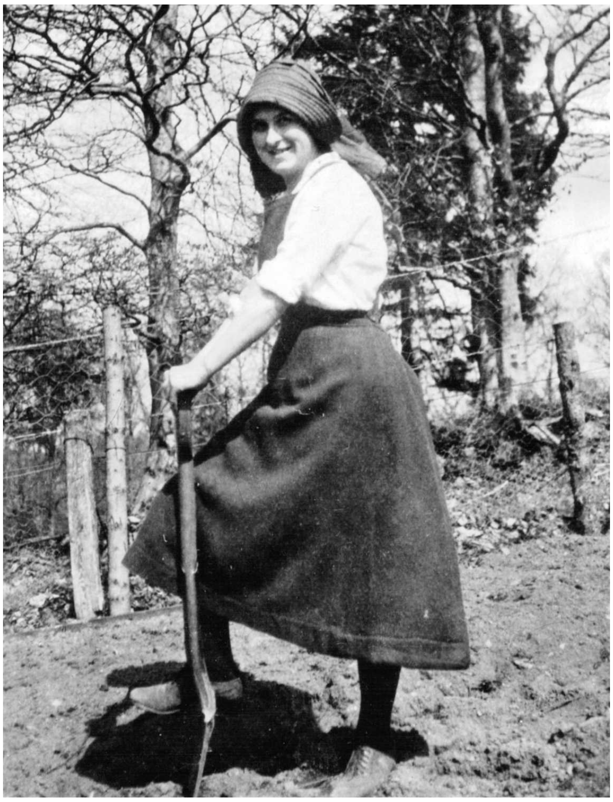


Figure 7.5

Madge Elder in her working clothes at the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, c.1912.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of Margery Turnbull.

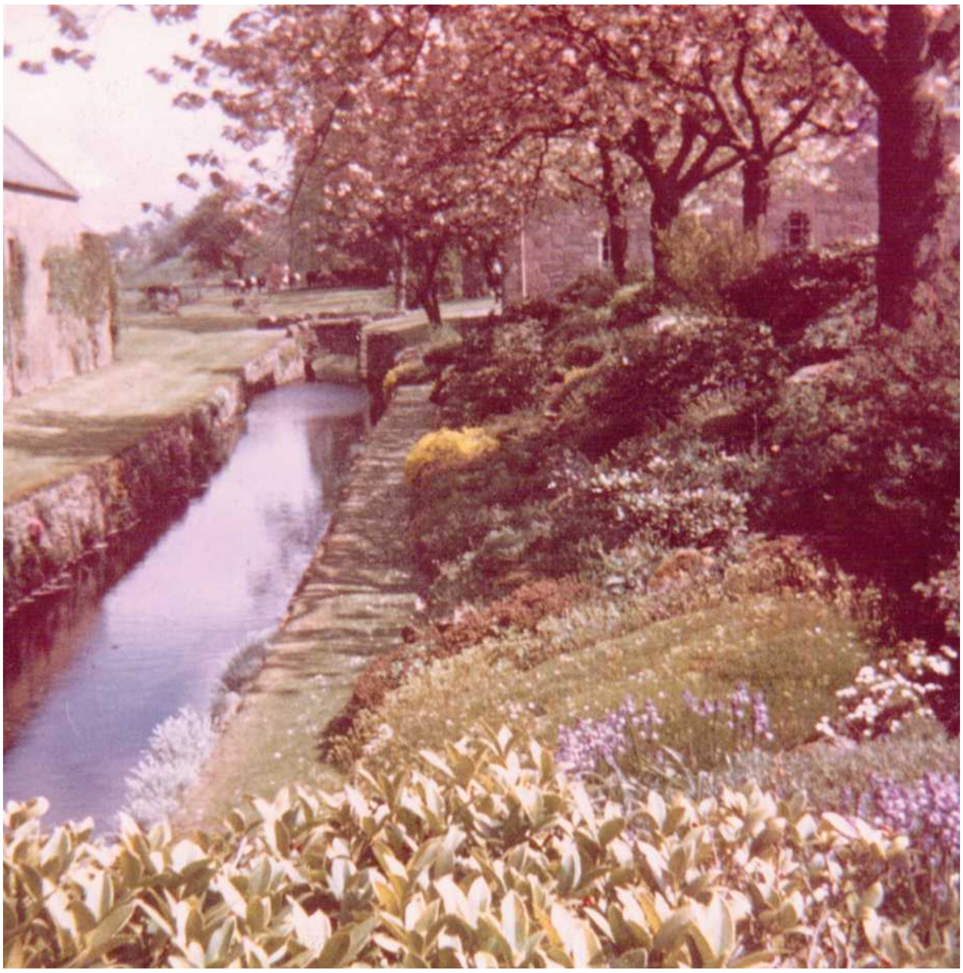


Figure 7.6 The gardens created by Madge Elder at The Priory in Melrose, undated. Sourced and reproduced with permission of Margery Turnbull.

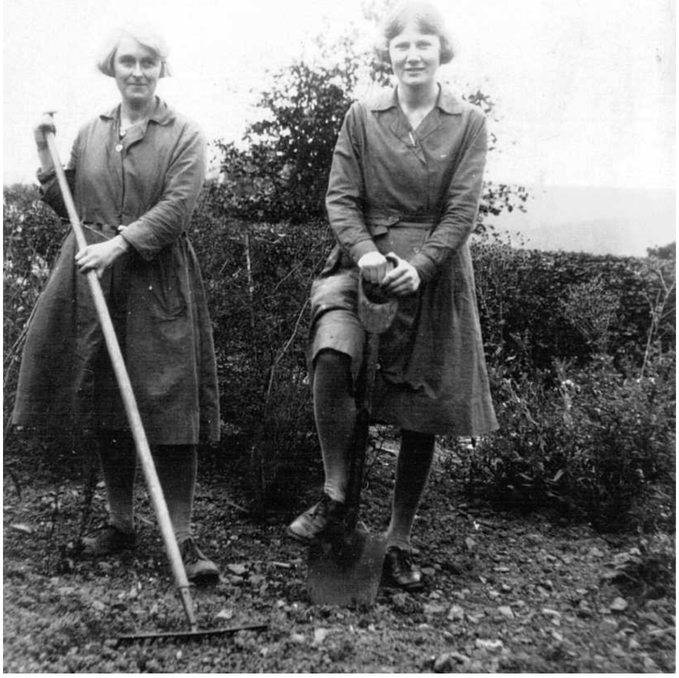
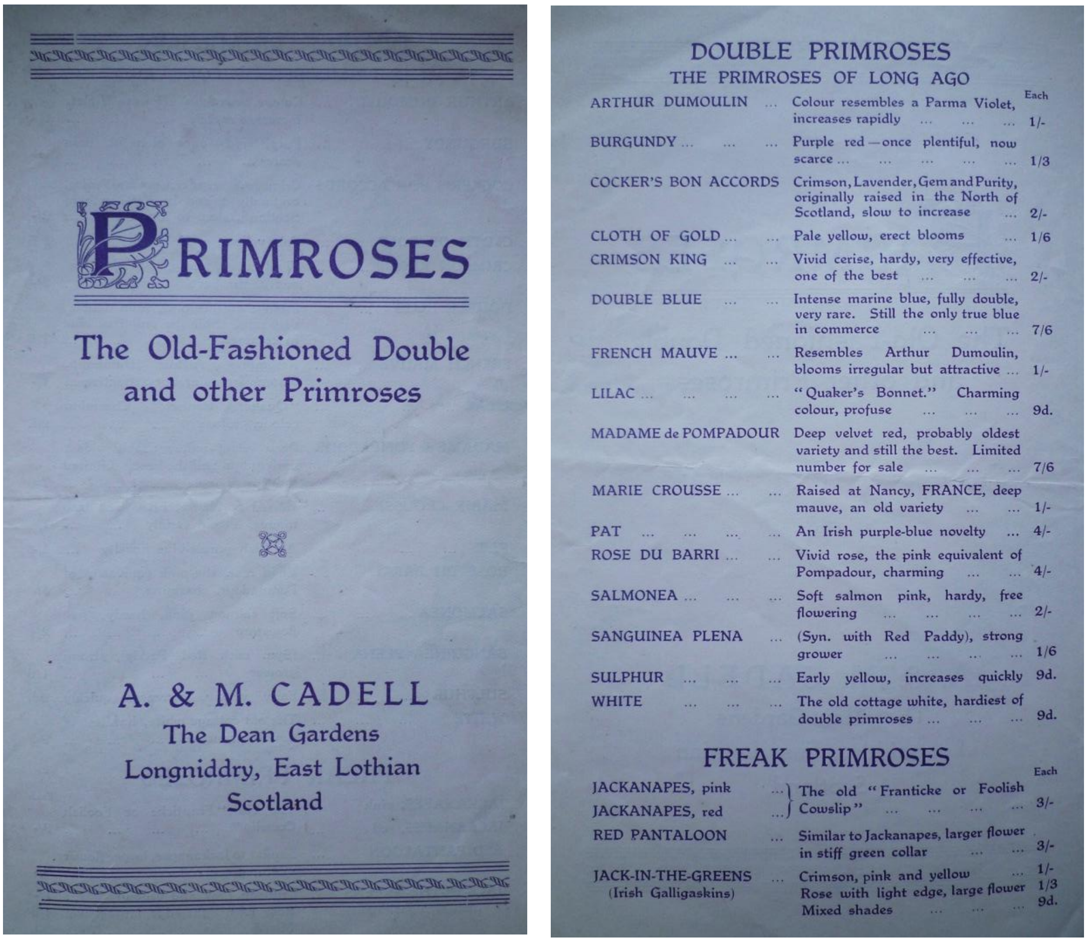


Figure 7.7

Madge Elder, left, at The Mount Nurseries with her occasional assistant Betty Rodger, c.1920s.

Sourced and reproduced with permission of Margery Turnbull.



PRIMROSES

The Old-Fashioned Double
and other Primroses

A. & M. CADELL
The Dean Gardens
Longniddry, East Lothian
Scotland

DOUBLE PRIMROSES
THE PRIMROSES OF LONG AGO

		Each
ARTHUR DUMOULIN ...	Colour resembles a Parma Violet, increases rapidly	1/-
BURGUNDY	Purple red—once plentiful, now scarce	1/3
COCKER'S BON ACCORDS	Crimson, Lavender, Gem and Purity, originally raised in the North of Scotland, slow to increase ...	2/-
CLOTH OF GOLD	Pale yellow, erect blooms ...	1/6
CRIMSON KING	Vivid cerise, hardy, very effective, one of the best	2/-
DOUBLE BLUE	Intense marine blue, fully double, very rare. Still the only true blue in commerce	7/6
FRENCH MAUVE	Resembles Arthur Dumoulin, blooms irregular but attractive ...	1/-
LILAC	"Quaker's Bonnet." Charming colour, profuse	9d.
MADAME de POMPADOUR	Deep velvet red, probably oldest variety and still the best. Limited number for sale	7/6
MARIE CROUSSE	Raised at Nancy, FRANCE, deep mauve, an old variety	1/-
PAT	An Irish purple-blue novelty ...	4/-
ROSE DU BARRI	Vivid rose, the pink equivalent of Pompadour, charming	4/-
SALMONEA	Soft salmon pink, hardy, free flowering	2/-
SANGUINEA PLENA ...	(Syn. with Red Paddy), strong grower	1/6
SULPHUR	Early yellow, increases quickly	9d.
WHITE	The old cottage white, hardiest of double primroses	9d.

FREAK PRIMROSES

		Each
JACKANAPES, pink ... JACKANAPES, red ...	The old "Franticke or Foolish Cowslip"	3/-
RED PANTALOON ...	Similar to Jackanapes, larger flower in stiff green collar	3/-
JACK-IN-THE-GREENS ... (Irish Galligaskins)	Crimson, pink and yellow ... Rose with light edge, large flower Mixed shades	1/- 1/3 9d.

Figure 7.8 Front cover and first page of the plant catalogue produced by the Misses Cadell, undated. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the RBGE.

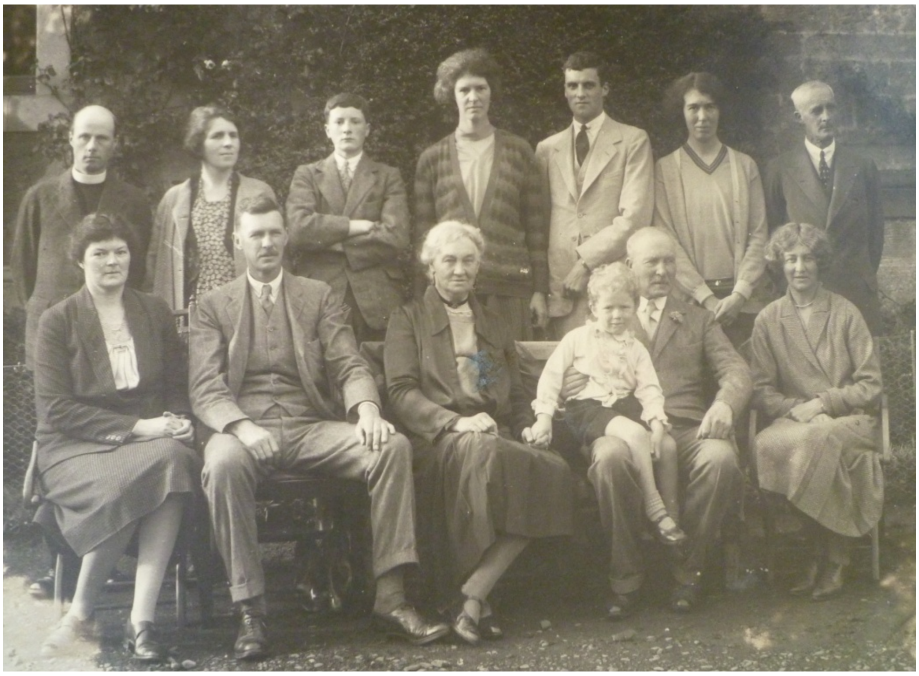


Figure 7.9 The Logan Home family, undated, with Mollie centre back and Edith standing second from right. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Cowan family.

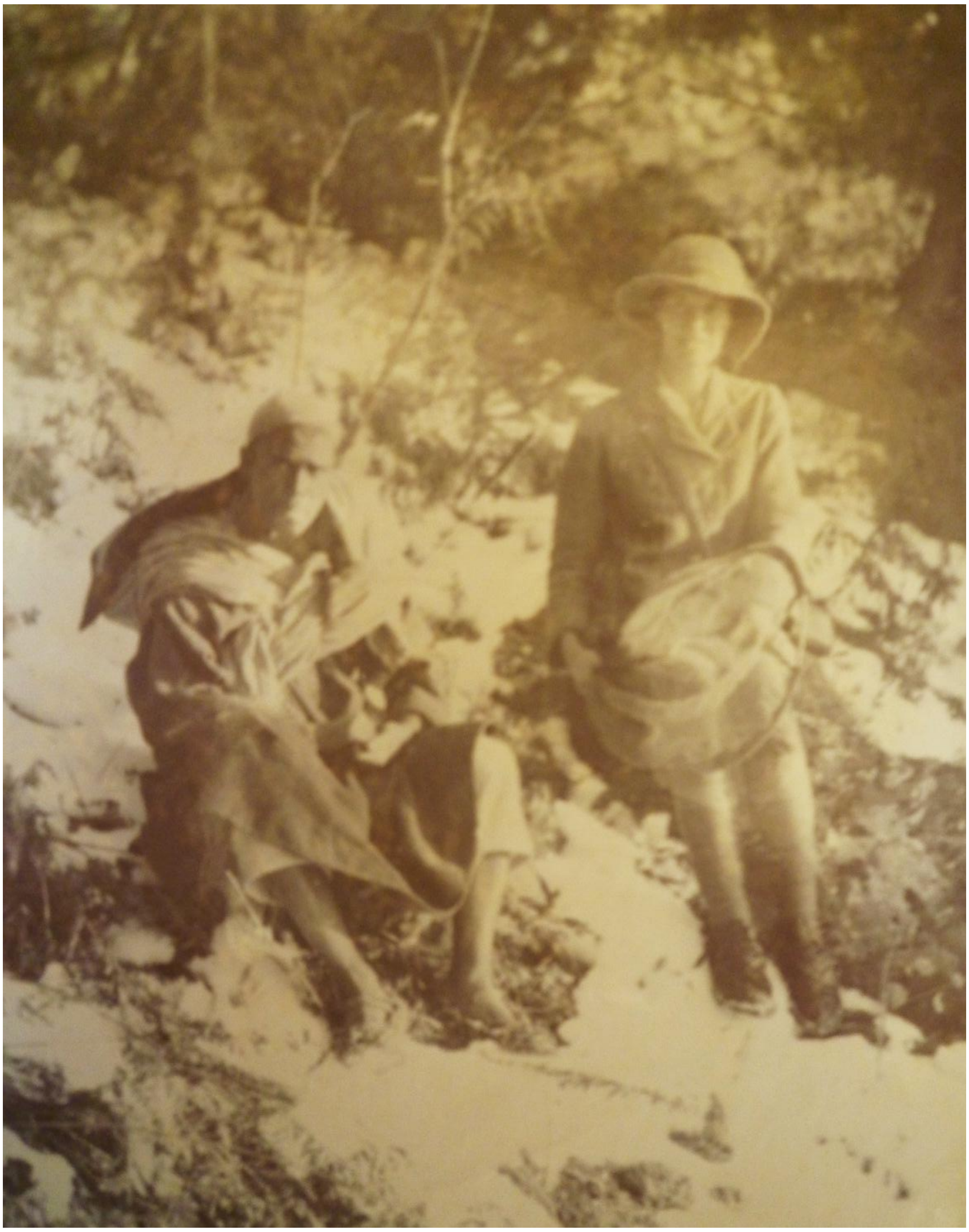
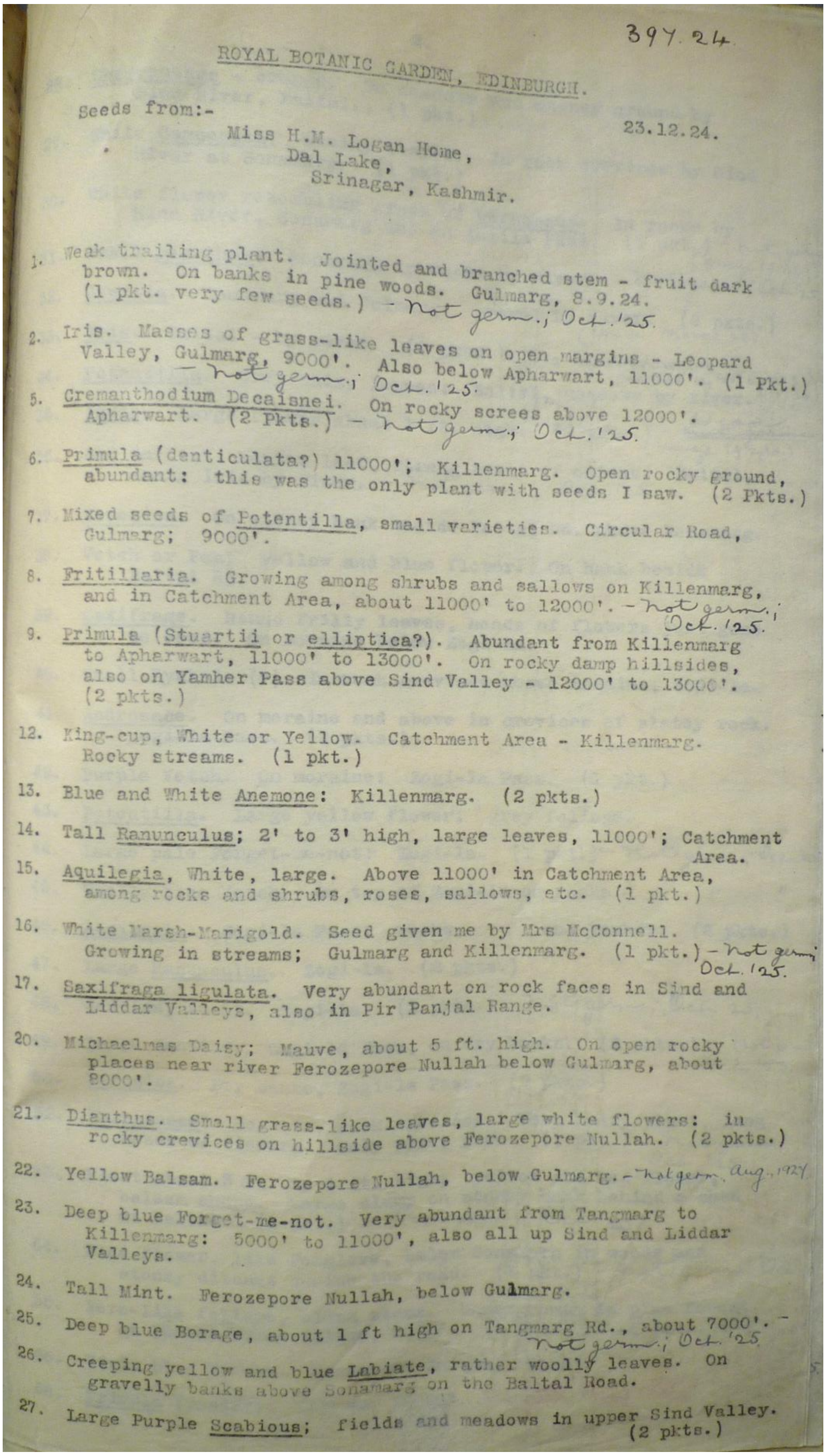


Figure 7.10 Mollie Logan Home plant hunting in Kashmir c.1924. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Cowan family.



397.24

ROYAL BOTANIC GARDEN, EDINBURGH.

Seeds from:-
Miss H.M. Logan Home,
Dal Lake,
Srinagar, Kashmir.

23.12.24.

1. Weak trailing plant. Jointed and branched stem - fruit dark brown. On banks in pine woods. Gulmarg, 8.9.24. (1 pkt. very few seeds.) - not germ.; Oct.'25.

2. Iris. Masses of grass-like leaves on open margins - Leopard Valley, Gulmarg, 9000'. Also below Apharwart, 11000'. (1 Pkt.) - not germ.; Oct.'25.

5. Cremanthodium Decaisnei. On rocky screes above 12000'. Apharwart. (2 Pkts.) - not germ.; Oct.'25.

6. Primula (denticulata?) 11000'; Killenmarg. Open rocky ground, abundant: this was the only plant with seeds I saw. (2 Pkts.)

7. Mixed seeds of Potentilla, small varieties. Circular Road, Gulmarg; 9000'.

8. Fritillaria. Growing among shrubs and sallows on Killenmarg, and in Catchment Area, about 11000' to 12000'. - not germ.; Oct.'25.

9. Primula (Stuartii or elliptica?). Abundant from Killenmarg to Apharwart, 11000' to 13000'. On rocky damp hillsides, also on Yamher Pass above Sind Valley - 12000' to 13000'. (2 pkts.)

12. King-cup, White or Yellow. Catchment Area - Killenmarg. Rocky streams. (1 pkt.)

13. Blue and White Anemone: Killenmarg. (2 pkts.)

14. Tall Ranunculus; 2' to 3' high, large leaves, 11000'; Catchment Area.

15. Aquilegia, White, large. Above 11000' in Catchment Area, among rocks and shrubs, roses, sallows, etc. (1 pkt.)

16. White Marsh-Marigold. Seed given me by Mrs McConnell. Growing in streams; Gulmarg and Killenmarg. (1 pkt.) - not germ.; Oct.'25.

17. Saxifraga ligulata. Very abundant on rock faces in Sind and Liddar Valleys, also in Pir Panjal Range.

20. Michaelmas Daisy; Mauve, about 5 ft. high. On open rocky places near river Ferozepore Nullah below Gulmarg, about 8000'.

21. Dianthus. Small grass-like leaves, large white flowers: in rocky crevices on hillside above Ferozepore Nullah. (2 pkts.)

22. Yellow Balsam. Ferozepore Nullah, below Gulmarg. - not germ. Aug., 1927

23. Deep blue Forget-me-not. Very abundant from Tangmarg to Killenmarg: 5000' to 11000', also all up Sind and Liddar Valleys.

24. Tall Mint. Ferozepore Nullah, below Gulmarg.

25. Deep blue Borage, about 1 ft high on Tangmarg Rd., about 7000'. - not germ.; Oct.'25

26. Creeping yellow and blue Labiate, rather woolly leaves. On gravelly banks above Sonamarg on the Baltal Road.

27. Large Purple Scabious; fields and meadows in upper Sind Valley. (2 pkts.)

Figure 7.11 List of seed sent from Kashmir by Mollie Logan Home to the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 1924. Source: RBGE *Accessions Book 70-21 to 526-26.*

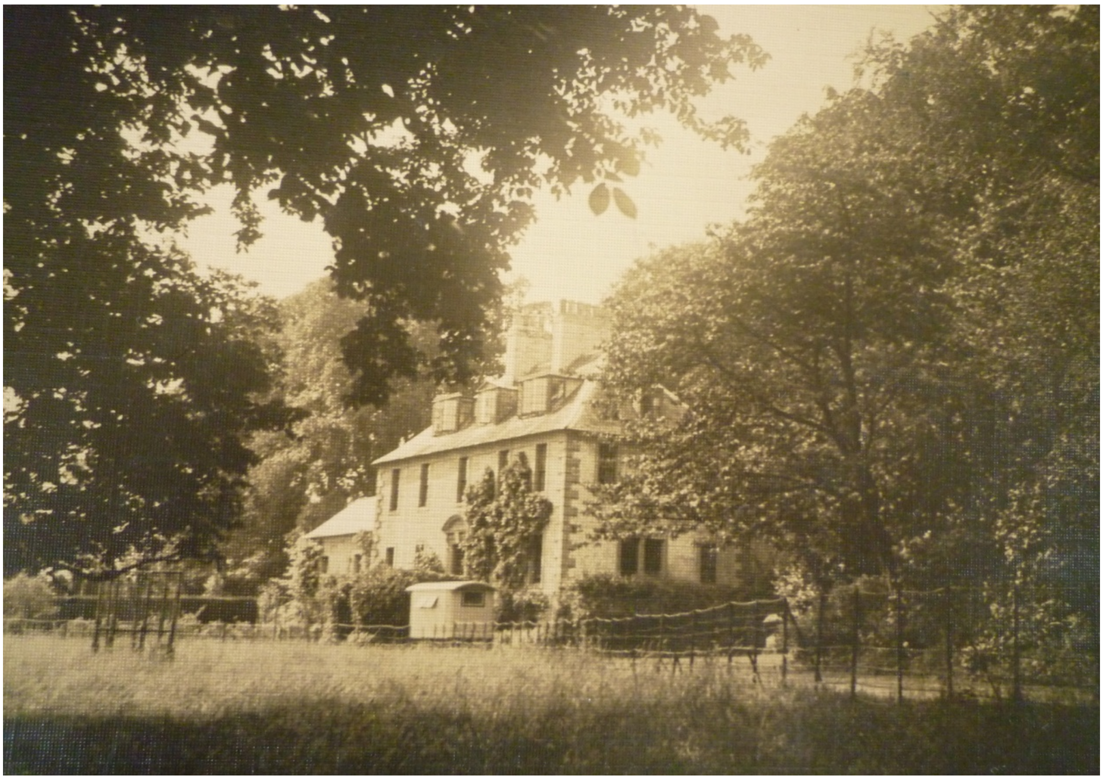


Figure 7.12 Edrom House, Berwickshire, undated. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Cowan family.

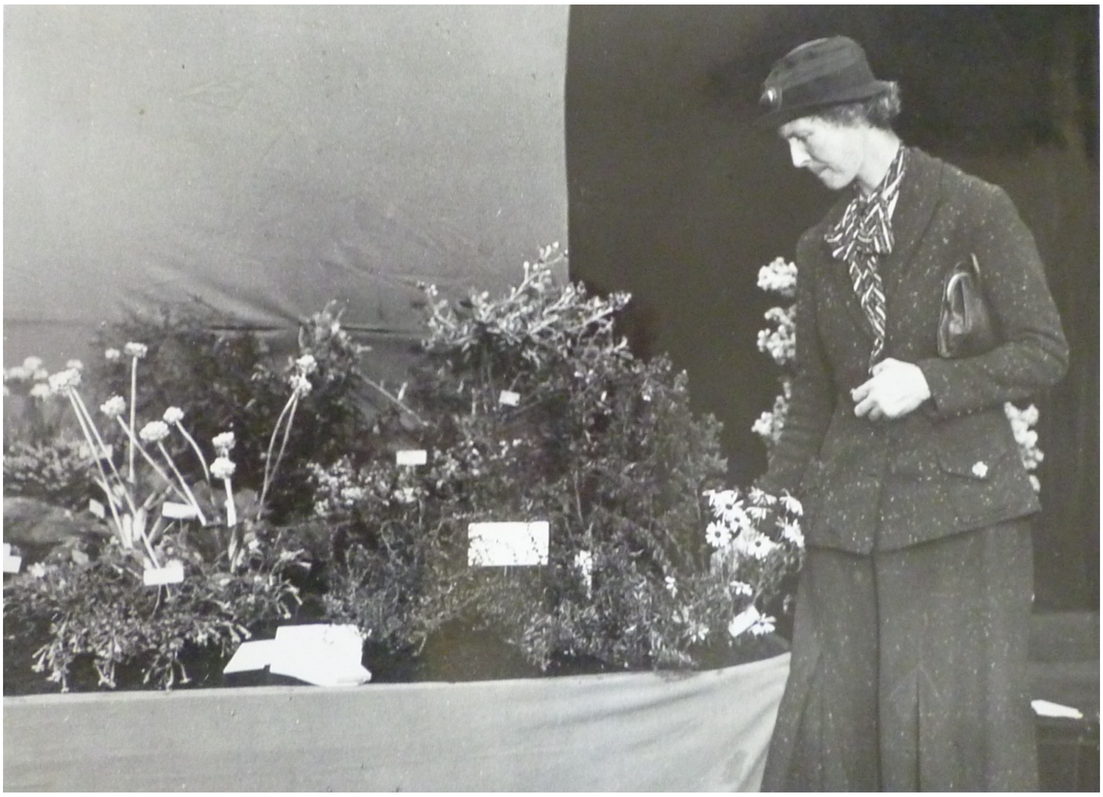


Figure 7.13 Mollie Logan Home at one of the many flower shows she attended, undated. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Cowan family.

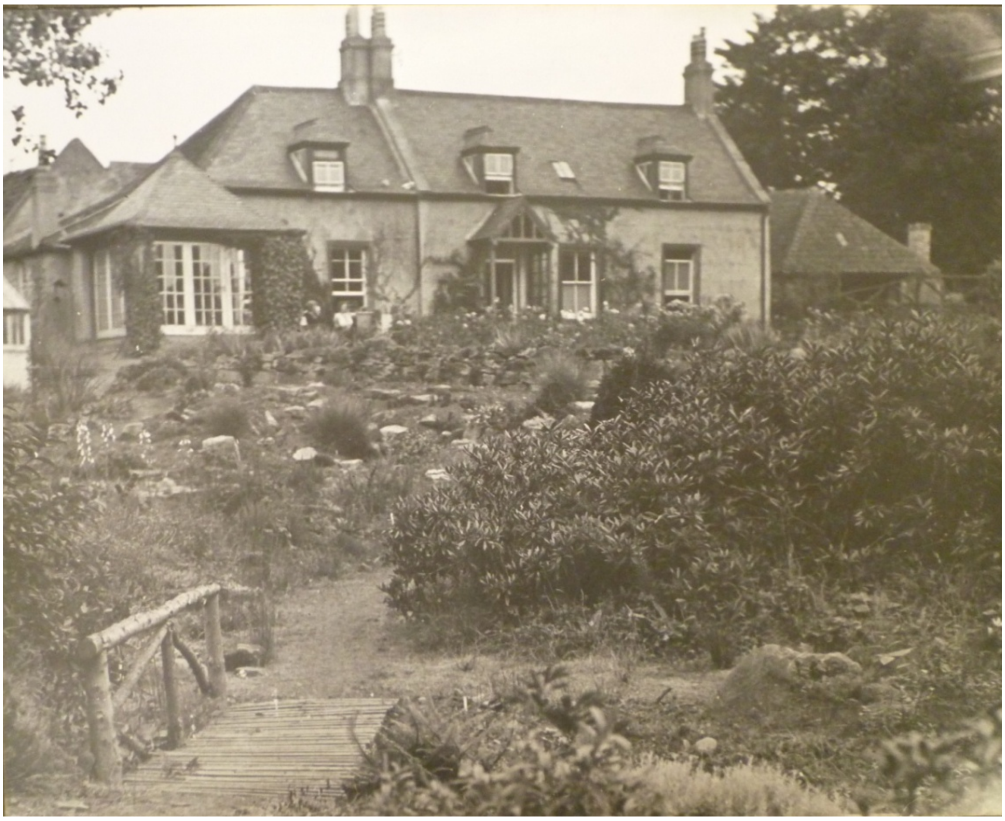


Figure 7.14 Edrom Nurseries at Silverwells near Coldingham, undated. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Cowan family.

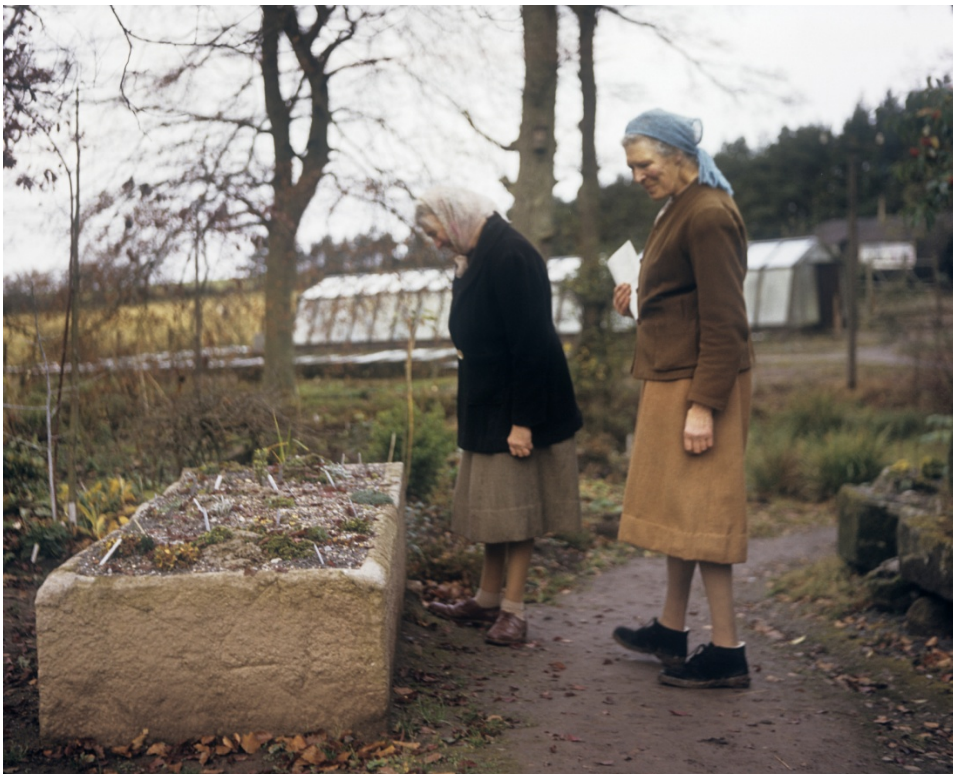


Figure 7.15 The Misses Logan Home inspecting an alpine trough, c.1960s. Sourced and reproduced with permission of the Royal Horticultural Society Lindley Library.

Chapter 8: Analysis and Conclusions

Despite their elision within historical narratives of British garden history, Scottish gardening women not only existed for the period 1800 to 1930, but also made a contribution to horticulture in Scotland which extended further than simply working within their own gardens. This thesis challenges the traditionally-held view of garden historians that plant hunters were exclusively male and invariably Scottish by highlighting the work of women such as Christian Ramsay, Frances Jane Hope, Isobel Wylie Hutchison and Mollie Logan Home, each of whom made important collections of seeds and plants. One hundred and seventy five years after her death, Christian Ramsay's contribution of new and rare North American and Indian plant specimens represents a small, yet significant, element within larger herbaria housed at the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew, the Natural History Museum in London, the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh and the Royal Botanical Gardens in Canada and, due to the uniqueness of the specimens she collected, they are as important to modern-day taxonomists as they were to the celebrated botanical men of the early nineteenth century. Whilst Frances Jane Hope restricted her plant-hunting activities to Britain and Europe, she was responsible for amassing a significant collection of native shrubs, including 'unfashionable' plants such as hellebores and variegated brassicas. The first Scottish woman to publish practical gardening advice, she was able to communicate her horticultural expertise to amateur and professional Victorian gardeners, both male and female, and was influential in advocating a more naturalistic style of planting, subsequently made famous by William Robinson and Gertrude Jekyll. A pioneering botanist and explorer, Isobel Wylie Hutchison collected live specimens and seed of arctic species of alpine plants from Iceland, Greenland and Alaska, including the botanically unexplored Aleutian Islands, in the first half of the twentieth century, whilst Mollie Logan Home and her sister Edith collected and raised alpine and rock garden plants from seed. By bringing them into cultivation, the sisters played a key role in making new introductions of species, such as dwarf rhododendron and primulas, available to the wider public.

Whilst the success of Scotland's professional gardening men is not disputed within this study, it has also uncovered the hitherto unrecorded contribution of female

Scottish gardeners who pioneered women's entry into professional gardening in Scotland. As the country's first female head gardener, Mary E. Burton was an important role model for aspiring gardening women by setting the precedent that women could enter professional gardening in Scotland and be successful. Annie Morison and Lina Barker carried on the momentum by establishing a school of gardening for women in Edinburgh, the first and only example of its kind in Scotland, which gave women like Madge Elder a unique opportunity to study both the theoretical and practical aspects of horticulture and to gain the qualifications necessary to become professional gardening women. As graduates of the gardening school emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century, Norah Geddes was beginning her career as one of Scotland's first female garden designers and pioneer of urban regeneration, through the creation of gardens and children's playgrounds in derelict areas of Edinburgh, Dublin and provincial Irish towns. The importance of her work still resonates with modern city planners, as they look for ways to incorporate and design green spaces in urban centres for the benefit of public health.

Although this research has conceded both the predominance and success of Scottish seedsmen and nurserymen throughout the study period, it has offered evidence of women who either contributed to the success of a nursery business in Scotland or established their own successful plant nurseries. Sarah Carstairs took on the running of her husband's nursery on his death in the mid-nineteenth century and managed a highly effective, commercial enterprise, including an extensive plant nursery and city-centre retail outlet in Edinburgh, for more than fifteen years before passing on the business to her son. Having graduated from the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, Madge Elder spent the majority of her working life running an alpine plant nursery in Melrose, which she founded in 1918. Two sets of sisters also managed to establish a presence within the male-dominated Scottish nursery business. Anna and Marion Cadell founded and ran The Dean Gardens nursery at Longniddry, which specialised in old–fashioned primroses, and were the first Scottish nurserywomen to be awarded a Chelsea Flower Show medal, whilst the Logan Home sisters, in addition to their plant-hunting forays, established Edrom Nurseries specialising in alpine and rock garden plants in 1926. Highly successful, the nursery is still in operation today (2015), having outlived many of its male-run competitors.

This thesis has thus demonstrated that all the women studied made a contribution to horticulture within Scotland, either by pioneering women's entry into professional gardening or by making a difference to horticulture in generic terms. Having uncovered their existence and analysed their achievements, should it, therefore, be a surprise that they, and their work, have been elided within historical narratives of garden history? Perhaps not, given that canonical narratives reveal how reputations, usually of white, male, elite gardeners, were both constructed and inculcated in horticulture, with little or no consideration given to female involvement. The omission of Scottish gardening women is also symptomatic of the fact that women's history as a subject only began to enter the public consciousness in the 1970s and, with the exception of MacLeod's pioneering work, it is only in the last fifteen years that female garden historians, such as Meredith, Taylor and Horwood, have begun to rescue women gardeners from obscurity and write their histories.[1] The recovery of the Scottish gardening women highlighted in this thesis challenges the essentially all-male narrative portrayed in the canon. The difficulty for women's historians is the realisation that attempts to acknowledge women and their work within it can result in a diminution of their contribution. The relative importance, for example, of the work of the women analysed here when compared directly to that of their male contemporaries is problematic. From a plant-collecting perspective, Scottish male plant hunters, such as Robert Fortune and George Forrest, were responsible for considerably more new plant introductions and were, as a result, more commercially successful than the women collectors analysed within this study. In a similar vein, the nursery businesses that were founded and run by Scottish women were small-scale when assessed against the national (and international) businesses established by the likes of Messrs Veitch and Dickson, whilst Scotland's professional gardening men had developed a reputation for their skill and expertise, which was seemingly unparalleled within Europe. It might perhaps be argued therefore that the contribution of Scotland's female gardeners highlighted within this thesis is incomparable to the achievements of their male contemporaries, thus warranting their omission from traditional narratives. However, this stance fails to take into consideration process, class, social structure and gender politics which, when analysed, provide a more nuanced appreciation of the significance of these women's achievements.

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[1] MacLeod, *Gardener's Scotland* and *Down-to-Earth Women*; Meredith, 'Middle-Class Women and Horticultural Education' and 'Horticultural Education in England'; Taylor, *A Taste for Gardening*; Horwood, *Gardening Women*.

Wealth and social status, both functions of social class, appear to have had positive and limiting effects on the extent to which the women were able to make a contribution to gardening in Scotland. By the start of the nineteenth century, it was socially acceptable for women, particularly those from the upper classes, to be involved in botanical interests. As a member of the Scottish aristocracy, Christian Ramsay benefitted from the social circle within which she moved, since it allowed her to meet and engage with some of the leading horticulturists and botanists of the day, including Professor William Jackson Hooker at Glasgow and Kew and Professor Robert Graham in Edinburgh. They encouraged her botanical pursuits, helped to increase her plant knowledge and enabled her to be part of the horticultural establishment; all contributory factors in her ability to make an important contribution to the floristic exploration of North America and India. Frances Jane Hope was similarly advantaged by her social status and family connections, counting as friends many influential gardening men, such as James McNab and Canon Ellacombe, and in her working dress of 'short skirts, soiled gauntlets and heavy shoes', she affected a degree of eccentricity that was benignly tolerated for women of her class.[2] As a result, Frances Jane appeared to suffer none of the stigma attached to writing about her work that middle and upper-class women experienced a generation earlier and was, therefore, able not only to communicate her knowledge and ideas to a wider public audience but also to influence movements in garden design in Scotland. It is, however, possible that both were accepted because neither was viewed as a threat to the sanctity of gardening as a male domain. They did not challenge social conventions, they were content to be perceived as amateurs and they were not seeking to usurp men's positions. In fact, Christian Ramsay's plant introductions were of great interest to her horticultural acquaintances, some of whom used them to further their own research. The women were also beneficiaries of wealth, which is often linked to higher social status. Both inherited land and property which allowed them to establish gardens in which they could develop their horticultural expertise. In contrast, Isobel Wylie Hutchison's longing to escape from her middle-class Victorian upbringing could be said to have been a factor in her success. The social conventions, which placed certain restrictions and expectations on unmarried daughters, combined with an ever-decreasing income due to the premature loss of all male members of the family, only increased her determination to travel and collect plants. However, whilst the oppressive formality of a Victorian middle-class upbringing provided the catalyst for her plant-hunting activities, Isobel's success as a collector was short-lived; not fully realised until she was free from family commitments in her late thirties and ended precipitately by the start of the Second World War.

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[2] Maxwell, *Flowers*, p.233.

Social status also appears to have been an element in the success of Scotland's professional gardening women. It is possible that Mary E. Burton's career might not have developed as it did were it not for the contacts she made within her great aunt's upper-middle-class social circle. Patrick Geddes facilitated the practical gardening experience that she badly needed and it is likely that Dr Wilson, who employed her at New Saughton Hall, was a social acquaintance. Similarly, Norah Geddes might have failed in her attempt to become one of Scotland's first female garden designers, without her middle-class father's considerable network of social and business contacts. With limited career options open to women in the first decade of the twentieth century, it was largely thanks to the opportunities afforded by working for her father that Norah was able to become a garden designer. It is also possible to speculate that thanks to the middle-class backgrounds of Annie Morison and Lina Barker, financial support was forthcoming to enable them to train at the Horticultural College in Kent and to set up their school of gardening for women. However, the degree to which class and wealth acted as an enabler must be weighed against the fact that, had these four women been aspiring male gardeners, they would have been able to work their way up from garden apprentice to journeyman and eventually head gardener regardless of their social backgrounds and would, therefore, have been less reliant on the social networks and financial support of family members. In the case of Annie Morison and Lina Barker, it is possible that Isaac Bayley Balfour's negative attitude toward them whilst probationer gardeners at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh may have been class-based to an extent. Reluctant to employ them in the first instance, it was clear from his dubious behaviour towards them, that he viewed women working alongside his male gardeners, many of whom would have been drawn from the working classes, as problematic and not conducive to an effective working environment. As a result, he restricted their work to within the contained environment of the glasshouses and was not prepared to employ them at the end of their training period. In contrast, Bayley Balfour's treatment of Carnegie scholar, Bertha Chandler, was very different. An academic with a solid middle-class background, Bertha was allowed to study alongside his male botanical students and became not only his protégé but also an employee.

Within this study, examples of working-class Scottish nurserywomen in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not only demonstrate their competence in running nursery businesses but also reveal the importance of accepted social codes of conduct. Whilst working-class gardening women were traditionally relegated to menial tasks such as weeding, it would appear that it was socially permissible for the widow of a nurseryman to take on the business following the death of her husband and this allowed some working-class women the opportunity to manage a nursery business. Sarah Carstairs is a case in point. Only through widowhood was she able to take control of the nursery and retail business that had belonged to her husband. By contrast, Madge Elder's career as a gardener and nurserywoman appears to have developed in spite of, rather than as a result of, her working-class roots. Money was a consistently limiting factor, but through hard work and perseverance and with the financial help of male family members, she was able to maintain her plant nursery over a thirteen-year period. There is also little evidence to suggest that the social circles within which Madge moved offered her the chance for career advancement and her profound deafness made it hard for her to actively participate in gardening clubs and societies, thus limiting her opportunity to develop an effective network of horticultural contacts. Madge's experience is in sharp contrast to that of the Cadell and Logan Home sisters. Their upper-class background, combined with a measure of inherited wealth, both had successful military fathers, ensured that property and land was available to them for the establishment of their plant nurseries. As a result, the Logan Homes were socially confident and encouraged in their ambitions by eminent gardening men such as Dr John MacWatt and Professor Wright Smith. However, in the same way that Hooker senior, and junior, benefitted from Christian Ramsay's plant-hunting activities, Wright Smith's own research on primulas was helped by the cultivating skills of Edith and Mollie Logan Home. The sisters were also active members of gardening clubs and societies, and both they and the Cadells exhibited at Chelsea Flower Shows, where they felt comfortable rubbing shoulders with the horticultural elite.

It would appear from this analysis of social class that most of the gardening women considered within the study were largely helped by their social status, with the possible exception of Madge Elder. The role played by male family members and/or men with whom the women were socially acquainted was also significant. Many of these men appear to have been enablers. They made financial contributions, as in the case of the male relations of Madge Elder; provided encouragement, not entirely altruistic in some cases, to women such as Christian Ramsay, Frances Jane Hope and the Logan Home sisters, who benefitted from the help and advice of leading horticulturists of the day; or were active in progressing their careers. Patrick Geddes undoubtedly played a significant, albeit rather dominant, role in his daughter's working life and was instrumental in helping Mary E. Burton in her quest to become a professional gardening woman. Male patronage can therefore be said to have been a determinant in many of the women's success. However, this is not the case for Annie Morison and Lina Barker, whose careers were demonstrably obstructed by Bayley Balfour's attitude towards women who wanted to work as professional gardeners.

Education and training, or the lack of it, is a leitmotif throughout this study. The majority of the women analysed, with the exception of Annie Morison, Lina Barker, Madge Elder and Isobel Wylie Hutchison, did not have access to formal schooling or theoretical and practical horticultural training and were largely self-taught. The education experienced by Christian Ramsay and Frances Jane Hope was typically narrow, confined to those subjects deemed acceptable feminine accomplishments in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Britain, such as French, music and drawing, and intended as preparation for marriage rather than a career. Christian attended a dame school in England following the death of her mother and Frances Jane was educated at home by a governess whilst her brothers were sent to school and university. Unlike their male contemporaries who had the opportunity to study botany as part of a medical degree, or work their way up through the gardening ranks, both women had to derive their botanical and horticultural knowledge from reading, practical work restricted to within their own gardens and communication with leading botanists and horticulturists. Whilst this does not appear to have been a barrier for Frances Jane Hope, Christian Ramsay acknowledged that with formal botanical training she would have been a more effective collector. As daughters of military men, the Cadell sisters and the Logan Home sisters were expected to accompany their fathers on postings to India throughout much of their childhood and early womanhood, with the result that their formal education was probably sporadic and dependent on what was locally available, in contrast to the continuity of boarding school education afforded to the Logan Home's brothers. Their expertise as plantswomen and nurserywomen was acquired through practical work within their own gardens, since neither set of sisters received any formal training in horticulture.

Little is known about Mary E. Burton's early schooling but we do know that through her own initiative and hard work, she was able to equip herself with the necessary education required to embark on a career in gardening. Whilst Scotland's professional gardening men and nurserymen had access to practical and theoretical horticultural education through garden apprenticeships and the journeyman process, these opportunities were denied to Scottish women for most of the nineteenth century, so Mary had to rely on building her own syllabus of evening classes in agriculture and the sciences at her local college, where male attendees vastly outnumbered females. In the face of limited schooling and a vocational education, the onus for most of these Scottish gardening women was on finding their own ways of improving their horticultural and botanical knowledge. As a consequence, they pursued their botanical and horticultural interests having usually started from a much lower base than that of their male contemporaries and subsequent achievement was hard won.

Only Annie Morison, Lina Barker, Isobel Wylie Hutchison and Madge Elder benefitted from having obtained a formal qualification in horticulture. Annie and Lina had to study in England as gardening schools did not exist for women in Scotland at the close of the nineteenth century. Isobel chose Studley Horticultural College for Women in Warwick, although she admitted that much of her botanical knowledge was self-taught. Whilst it was available to women by the end of the nineteenth century, Norah Geddes was denied a formal school education by her family's preference for home-based study, which was both fragmented and isolated from her contemporaries. With no garden design courses available in Scotland at the time, the drawing classes she attended at the Edinburgh College of Art together with a short summer course of gardening at the Swanley Horticultural College for Women were the only formal preparation she had for her career as a garden designer. Madge Elder was more fortunate as she was one of the earliest beneficiaries of the horticultural education provided by Annie Morison and Lina Barker at the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women.

Despite having secured an element of formal horticultural education, these women encountered a number of gendered barriers to entry into professional gardening, not shared by their male contemporaries, and they were forced to adopt varying strategies to achieve professional legitimacy. Annie Morison and Lina Barker experienced both prejudice and sex discrimination in their attempts to become professional gardening women. The inequality of their treatment at the hands of the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, combined with the knowledge that no more women were to be taken on as trainee gardeners by Isaac Bayley Balfour, led them to adopt a separatist strategy whereby they offered women in Scotland the only opportunity available to train and qualify as professional gardeners by founding their own gardening school for women. Whilst this pioneering approach led to fully-trained and qualified gardening women, it did not guarantee them employment.

Faced with a prevailing opposition to 'lady' gardeners, who were viewed by many of Scotland's gardening men as a threat to job security, and reluctance on the part of male–run gardens and institutions to employ them, Annie and Lina had to devote much of their time and energy to establishing a network of contacts within female-owned and run establishments, which were more likely to take on women gardeners than male employers. In effect, Annie and Lina were obliged by necessity to work on the outside of the horticultural establishment rather than from within. Even at the height of the First World War, Madge Elder faced prejudice in her attempts to secure a professional gardening position. Her qualification from the gardening school was viewed with suspicion when she tried to apply for a head gardener position at Bowhill and it took all her powers of persuasion to secure the job. Despite doing well, she was replaced as soon as the men returned from the war. Other graduates of the school, including Miss Mercer, Georgina Balfour and Elizabeth Beveridge, were dependent on sourcing work from female employers or within feminine institutions.

Despite the protection of working for her father's business, Norah Geddes often felt disadvantaged by her lack of formal education and professional qualifications and suffered from low self-esteem as a result. Most of her private commissions came through female contacts, such as the gardens she planted at the Church of Scotland's Women's Missionary College, whilst some of her most successful public design work was completed for the Women's National Health Association of Ireland, spearheaded by Lady Aberdeen. For Scottish women, the road to success as a professional gardener was far from straightforward and littered with obstacles to overcome. The fact that women like Annie Morison, Madge Elder and Norah Geddes triumphed in the face of adversity is testimony to the strength of their character and serves to reinforce the importance of their contribution to gardening in Scotland. In contrast, Mary E. Burton acquired her professional legitimacy from within the horticultural establishment having secured gardening employment at New Saughton Hall. As a lone female, she exhibited courage and determination to be part of intrinsically male institutions, such as the Scottish Horticultural Association, which allowed her to promote not only her own career but those of other aspiring female gardeners.

Family, and the mechanics of family life, presented the women with both opportunities and threats to the continuance of gardening as a pursuit and occupation. Only three of the women studied were married. Sarah Carstairs gained acceptance as a nurserywoman and businesswoman on the death of her husband whereas, almost a hundred years later, Norah Geddes found that marriage effectively ended her career as a garden designer. For Christian Ramsay, marriage and children encouraged and inhibited her success as a plant collector. Her husband not only supported her botanical interests but also provided the circumstances for her to accompany him on tours of duty overseas, a unique opportunity even for women of her class in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Although it was accepted that Christian's duties as a Governor's wife and mother to three sons were her priority, she increasingly managed to allocate time to botanise. Indeed, the illness of her husband and the premature deaths of two of her sons, led her to take solace in her botanical work. There is, however, a sense that she might have achieved more from a botanical perspective had she been able to stay longer in India rather than having to return early on account of her husband's ill-health.

Of the remaining women, all of whom were unmarried, Frances Jane Hope and Mary E. Burton appear to have been the only two who were unconstrained by family commitments. Financially independent following the death of their respective parents, both were single and therefore free from matrimonial duties. As heads of their households, Mary had no responsibility for other family members and was able to concentrate exclusively on her career at New Saughton Hall, whilst Frances Jane lived companionably with her unmarried sister, and was free to pursue her interest in gardening and writing. Also bound by sororal bonds, the Cadell and Logan Home sisters developed cohesive and complementary working partnerships that were fundamental to the success of their nursery businesses. Following the First World War, Mollie and Edith Logan Home stayed at home and were able to establish their plant nursery at Edrom, the family's estate. This enabled them to build up the nursery within the protective environment of home and family before having to relocate to Silverwells on the death of their father, where they successfully managed the simultaneous care of their business and elderly mother. Although the Cadell sisters appear to have had to wait until their father's death before setting up their specialist nursery, once it was established they were able to devote their time and energy to its success without the distraction of family ties.

The burden of family and its detrimental impact is, however, evident in the experiences of the remaining gardening women, largely due to the function of their role as unmarried daughters. Whilst free from what she considered to be the unwelcome constraints of matrimony, Isobel Wylie Hutchison struggled to escape from her assumed role as head of the household on the death of her father and brothers. Preferring to travel and botanise, she had to spend long spells at Carlowrie where she cared for her elderly mother and invalid sister. In the absence of a male provider, she was also responsible for mounting financial pressures and the ongoing maintenance of the family home which distracted her from her botanical work. Without these familial obligations, it is possible that Isobel would have undertaken more trips and travelled even further afield in her search for plants. Annie Morison and Lina Barker also experienced the limiting effect of being unmarried daughters. Lina Barker missed the opening ceremony of the gardening school she had fought so hard to establish in order to nurse her sick mother, whilst Annie Morison was forced to permanently step down from teaching at the school in order to care for her ageing parents. However, as a unit, the two women were effective in a similar way to that of the Cadell and Logan Home sisters. They seem to have derived strength from their close personal and business relationship and were, according to Madge Elder, highly complementary; the astute business skills of Lina combining well with the affability of Annie. Single, profoundly deaf and without the support of a sister or business partner, Madge managed to build and sustain her nursery for thirteen years, but in a decision that she later came to regret, sold the business to move closer to her ailing mother and never regained the momentum of owning and running her own plant nursery.

The most complex impact of family on the career of a professional gardening woman is that exhibited by Norah Geddes and her relationship with her father. Supportive, encouraging, domineering and manipulative are some of the conflicting adjectives which can be applied to the role he played in his daughter's eventual career. Whilst providing her with the opportunity to gain work and experience as a garden designer, it is evident that Patrick Geddes influenced the direction of her work towards engagement with urban renewal and green space rather than the creation of beautiful, large-scale gardens which Norah had privately expressed an interest in. Even after marriage, Norah appears to have been torn between her father's ambitions for her and the demands placed on her as the mother of three boys and, as a result, she was destined not to return to garden design.

It would appear that Scottish women who were middle/upper-class, single, financially secure and with few dependent family members, such as Frances Jane Hope and Mary E. Burton, were best placed to contribute to gardening in Scotland. For the rest, family matters could and did impinge on their success as cultivators, collectors, nurserywomen and professional gardeners in ways that were unlikely to have affected their male contemporaries. The role of the unmarried daughter in particular had a noticeable impact on achievement. The Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women closed following the death of Lina Barker, because Annie Morison had stepped down to care for her parents; Isobel Wylie Hutchison might have travelled further and discovered more if she had not had to take on the mantle of head of household; and Madge Elder might have carried on her nursery business were it not for the demands of looking after a family member.

Recognition of achievement appears to have been linked to the extent to which gardening women were able or willing to develop and maintain social and cultural capital within male-run horticultural institutions. It can be argued that their ability to do so was in part a function of social acceptance by the horticultural elite. For upper-class women such as Christian Ramsay and Frances Jane Hope, who moved within the higher echelons of society and were accustomed to social networking, acceptance and recognition were forthcoming during their lifetime. It is likely that Christian Ramsay's friendship with William Jackson Hooker and Robert Graham played a key role in the honorary memberships and dedication bestowed on her in addition to the naming of plant species and the genus *Dalhousiea* after her. Similarly, Frances Jane Hope's acquaintance with James McNab is believed to have influenced her election as a Lady Associate of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh.

The Misses Cadell and Logan Home were also able and willing to work from within the horticultural establishment and were rewarded with a modicum of recognition. Marion Cadell was elected a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society and the sisters' efforts at shows such as Chelsea were rewarded with medals and certificates. Both Mollie and Edith Logan Home were active members of a range of horticultural societies and clubs in England and Scotland and show attendance resulted in a cache of medals and certificates for their rock garden displays. However, despite winning a gold medal at the first ever horticultural show at, what later became, the Royal Highland Show, the Logan Homes were consistently beaten to gold medal position in the more well-established horticultural shows run by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, invariably runners-up to the larger male-run Scottish nurseries. They were successful but not dominant and whilst the awards were recognition for their work and helped to establish the reputation of their respective nursery businesses, it was the nurserymen rather than the nurserywomen who were personally honoured for their contribution to gardening. Edith and Mollie had to content themselves with the reflected glory of the recognition achieved by their male employee, Alex Duguid, who was awarded the Associate of Honour Medal by the Royal Horticultural Society.

Of all the gardening women analysed in this study, there is a sense that Mary E. Burton was the most appropriately recognised by the horticultural establishment for her contribution to gardening. To be awarded the Associate of Honour Medal and the Dr Patrick Neill Medal are considerable honours to have achieved regardless of sex, but the fact that she was the first woman to have received them is doubly significant from a feminist perspective. She was given her horticultural break thanks to male patronage that arose from her middle-class background and having found employment as a gardener, she rose above the gendered discrimination that she faced on trying to attend her first meeting of the Scottish Horticultural Association. Through perseverance and determination, she became an active member, vice-president and president of the association, where she accrued social capital within its overwhelmingly male environment, and was able to influence from within, often using her position to promote other women as members and to encourage the acceptance of gardening women. Recognition for her work is not only evidence of the respect she earned from her male colleagues but indicative of the effectiveness of working within the horticultural establishment rather than being a lone voice on the outside. It could also be argued that acceptance and recognition was forthcoming because Mary was a one-off, unique in terms of being the only Scottish female professional gardener at the time to have broken through the ranks of the gardening establishment and secured status and authority within its key institutions. As a lone individual, she appears to have been viewed with affection rather than suspicion, perhaps because she did not represent a threat to the job security of her male gardening contemporaries.

The experience of Mary E. Burton contrasts sharply with fellow professional gardening women, Annie Morison and Lina Barker, whose work was never publicly acknowledged or honoured. At the outset of their gardening careers both women were keen to engage with the horticultural establishment having secured a qualification from Swanley and probationer training at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh. However, because of the gendered prejudice and discrimination they faced during their training and in their search for suitable employment, they felt obliged to adopt an increasingly separatist strategy. Established to give women in Scotland the only real opportunity to train and qualify as professional gardeners in the early part of the twentieth century, the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women symbolised Annie and Lina's desire for equality. It was, however, a constant struggle to gain male acceptance and employment opportunities for their students because they were working on the periphery rather than from within mainstream horticulture. Lack of recognition for their achievements is a reflection of the isolation they experienced as women gardeners owing to the separatist strategy they employed. As a graduate of the school, the work of Madge Elder was also largely unrecognised, despite her ability to forge a career in gardening in the face of disability, exclusion, prejudice and financial uncertainty. Although a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, Madge was not an active participant or influential within it, which may account in part for the absence of any appreciation of her work in horticultural terms.

For Norah Geddes, there were no mechanisms in place for formal recognition of the work of garden designers until the establishment of the Institute of Landscape Architecture in 1929, and the contribution she made during her lifetime was overshadowed by the accolades and recognition accorded to her father. Norah's work did not fit neatly into that of cultivator, collector or gardener and as a result she was not a member of any horticultural society, which may also have impacted on her lack of recognition from a gardening perspective. Similarly Isobel Wylie Hutchison does not appear to have taken up any such memberships and personal recognition for her work was not forthcoming from Scottish horticultural societies. Ironically however, her work as a botanist, collector, explorer and writer was highly acclaimed from outside the horticultural establishment, culminating in the award of a medal by the Danish government and an Honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of St Andrews.

When analysing recognition, two groups of women emerge across the three categories studied. Those, such as Ramsay, Hope, Burton and the Logan Homes, with close personal links to the gardening elite and/or the ability to amalgamate themselves within the horticultural establishment, received some form of recognition for their work during their lifetime. Conversely, women like Morison and Barker, Elder and Wylie Hutchison who fought against the establishment, or who chose for whatever reason not to be a close part of it, did not, regardless of their individual contribution. There also appears to have been some correlation between recognition and amateur/professional status. Amateur gardeners such as Ramsay, Hope, the Cadells and the Logan Homes achieved higher levels of acceptance and recognition than their professional counterparts, with Mary E. Burton being the only exception to this observation. In general, the professionalisation of botany and of gardening as an occupation in Scotland appears not only to have limited women's ability to become professional gardeners but also to have made it difficult for them to achieve and be recognised for their contribution.

Posthumous recognition was minimal or non-existent for most of the women studied, regardless of their affinity to the horticultural establishment. The work of only five, Christian Ramsay, Frances Jane Hope, Mary E. Burton, Madge Elder and Mollie

Logan Home, was recognised in published obituaries, whilst Annie Morison, Lina Barker and the Cadell sisters received no retrospective recognition at all.[3] Christian Ramsay's Indian herbarium was briefly acknowledged within Joseph Dalton Hooker's *Flora Indica* sixteen years after her death and a biography of Isobel Wylie Hutchison by Canadian historian Gwyneth Hoyle, concentrating primarily on her role as an arctic explorer, was published in 2001.[4] Posthumous recognition for some women was made possible thanks only to the devotion of female friends and relations as in the case of Frances Jane Hope whose kinswoman, Anne J. Hope Johnstone, published *Notes and Thoughts on Gardens and Woodlands*, the edited collection of Frances Jane's articles, in 1881 following her death. Similarly, an exhibition in memory of Isobel Wylie Hutchison's work was staged at the National Library of Scotland in 1987 by her close friend Medina Lewis, whose foresight in preserving Isobel's correspondence and personal memorabilia made the study of her possible.[5] Given the relatively high level of recognition accorded to Mary E. Burton during her lifetime, it is sad to see how quickly her contribution was forgotten. When Miss Mary Page was awarded the Associate of Honour medal by the Royal Horticultural Society in 1960 she was mistakenly congratulated on being the first female recipient, despite Mary E. Burton having received it twenty-six years earlier.[6] It is fair to say that posthumous recognition across all the gardening women analysed was at best minimal and short-lived and at worst, non-existent. For Norah Geddes, recognition has been a long time in the making. An interpretation panel detailing Norah's involvement in the design of the West Port garden in Edinburgh's Old Town was only erected in August 2014, almost fifty years after her death.[7]

Despite acknowledgement for some during and after their lifetime, none of the gardening women analysed within this study received any acknowledgement for their work within historical narratives of British and Scottish garden history, in contrast to Scotland's gardening men whose work has been acclaimed within the canon. It is possible that the answer to their exclusion lies within a gendered understanding of the concept of a pioneer or pioneering. The women were engaging in activities that the men had already made their domain. Scottish male botanists and plant hunters, nurserymen and professional gardeners had led the way in their respective specialisms long before Scottish gardening women appeared. Many of the women's pioneering achievements were remarkable but only when viewed from a female perspective. Christian Ramsay was one of only a few women travelling and collecting plants in India in the 1830s; Frances Jane Hope was the first Scottish woman to write for the Victorian gardening press; Isobel Wylie Hutchison was the first British woman to botanically explore parts of Greenland and arctic Alaska; Mary E. Burton was Scotland's first female head gardener; Annie Morison and Lina Barker founded Scotland's only example of a gardening school for women; the Cadell sisters were the first Scottish nurserywomen to win a Chelsea Flower Show medal; and Norah Geddes was one of the country's first female garden designers. Consequently, their achievements have been elided in traditional narratives because the concentration has been on pioneering male genius. However, this research has demonstrated how many of the women analysed also made a contribution to horticultural knowledge and understanding within a wider, public sphere in Scotland. Despite being difficult to evidence or quantify, these early gardening women may have helped lay the foundations for later generations of gardening men and women who shaped the success of Scotland's modern horticultural industry and, as a result, they deserve a place within the Scottish gardening tradition and within historical narratives.

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[3] For Christian Ramsay's obituary, see Graham, 'Extracts from a Report'; Wilson, 'Frances Jane Hope'; 'The Late Miss Mary Burton', *The Scotsman*, 22 March 1909, p.6; 'Appreciation: Madge Elder', *The Scotsman*, 31 December 1985; M. I. C. H., 'Obituary: Miss H. M. Logan-Home'.

[4] Hoyle, *Flowers in the Snow*.

[5] The exhibition entitled 'An Intrepid Explorer' was held from 28 February to 6 May 1987.

[6] Annual General Meeting 28 February 1961, *Journal of the RHS*, 86 (1961), p.150.

[7] 'Geddes Garden reveals its story', Edinburgh World Heritage <http://www.ewht.org.uk/news/457/102/Geddes-Garden-reveals-its-story> [accessed 2 September 2014].

How these gardening women should be acknowledged is problematic. Raising them from obscurity is a first step to gaining awareness for their achievements but attempts to incorporate them into the canon could make them appear as an afterthought and serve to diminish rather than validate their contribution. Recent attempts by female garden historians to record gardening women and their achievements in standalone histories have helped to raise awareness and appreciation of them, particularly for

English women gardeners, but this separatist approach could also be criticised for glorifying rather than understanding women's role and involvement. Chronicling their achievements with reference to the gendered cultural, political and economic contexts within which they operated leads to a greater understanding of how these women were able to make a contribution and the challenges they faced.

In its analysis of elite, middle-class and working-class Scottish gardening women, this study contributes to the body of historical and feminist scholarship on women in Scotland. It aids our understanding of how the construction of male and female roles within the art and science of gardening informed structures, policies, actions and experience. It could be argued, for example, that Bayley Balfour's misogynistic attitude towards women gardeners, and specifically his treatment of Lina Barker and Annie Morison, laid the foundation for the development of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women. Although horticultural establishments within Scotland were the preserve of men throughout the study period, individual women, particularly those privileged by social status and/or education, began to make their mark on the public world of horticulture. The experiences of the women studied here challenge the ideology of 'separate spheres' and reinforce the evidence brought together by Breitenbach and Gordon that in Scotland, 'women's involvement in activities outside the home was widespread and varied, taking many different forms – political, religious, philanthropic, educational and social.'[8]

By including gardening as one such activity, Scottish women gardeners not only helped shape horticulture in Scotland through the plants that they cultivated and collected, but also were instrumental in transforming women's role within it. This is especially noticeable in the role played by middle-class women who aspired to become professional gardening women. Mary E. Burton used her position within horticultural institutions to promote female gardeners while Norah Geddes pioneered female entry into landscape gardening. What Smitley described as the development of a 'feminine public sphere', used by middle-class women in Scotland to express citizenship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, can be equally applied to the middle-class gardening women in this study who created a web of feminine contacts in order to create their own sphere of public influence within the often hostile, male-oriented public sphere of horticulture.[9] Lina Barker and Annie Morison developed such a 'feminine public sphere' to gain employment for their students, Madge Elder being a case in point, and were successful as a result in paving the way for women's entry into professional gardening in Scotland. It is possible that their work also made it socially and culturally acceptable for women like the Cadell and Logan Home sisters to establish and run their own horticultural businesses without the obvious aid of male patronage or support.

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[8] Breitenbach and Gordon, p.8.

The conceptual vocabulary of 'public' and 'private' and 'separate spheres' has as little resonance for the elite and middle-class gardening women studied within this thesis as it had in Vickery's study of genteel women's lives in Georgian England.[10] Although Christian Ramsay was accepting of an elite woman's lot, including the recognition of the symbolic authority of fathers and husbands, the self-sacrifices of motherhood, and responsibility for domestic matters, she was also able to use her status as wife and mother to travel, collect plants and develop a herbarium of horticulturally-significant plants. As one of only three married women within this study, Christian Ramsay's experience lends weight to Barclay's study of marriage and patriarchy amongst the Scottish elites.[11] Whilst outwardly conforming to patriarchal norms that emphasised male authority and female obedience within marriage, Christian found room for negotiation and created a space for her female self, as witnessed in her ability to botanise and collect as long as it did not interfere with her duties as wife and mother.[12] As Shteir pointed out, 'the colonial encounter also made it possible for some women to step outside conventional gender boundaries,' and Christian took full advantage of this freedom when accompanying her husband to British North America and India.[13] By the mid-nineteenth century, discourses of 'separate spheres' represented the elite woman, according to Shteir, as 'tidy, domestic, chaste, modest, delicate, and maternal', adjectives which could be described as the antithesis of Frances Jane Hope. She was single, actively engaged in botanical and horticultural activities, prepared to dress unconventionally, get her hands dirty and be sunburned in the process. Her philanthropic engagement with flower missions and her readiness to disseminate her gardening skills to a wider public audience through her writings reveal female agency rather than subordination.

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[9] Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: middle-class women and civic life in Scotland, c.1870-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.7.
[10] Vickery, p.10.
[11] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: marriage and patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[12] Ibid., p.32.
[13] Shteir, p.193.

The experiences of the two working-class gardening women considered within this study contradict early feminist research, highlighted by McGuckin, which concentrated on the constraints imposed by poverty and established an enduring image of the hardships experienced by working-class women in Scotland.[14] Despite her working-class roots, Sarah Carstairs was able to use her status as a widow to take on the running of her late husband's plant nursery and, in the process, demonstrated considerable business acumen. Her achievements do not conform to the gendered division of labour (weeding and menial chores) usually assigned to working-class gardening women in narratives of garden history. Madge Elder is another exception. Thanks to the horticultural education and training provided by Annie Morison and Lina Barker, Madge had a future beyond that of a weeding woman. She was able to set up her own plant nursery and compete successfully amongst her male colleagues in the public sphere of horticultural trade shows.

From a gendered perspective, it is clear that the ideology of 'separate spheres' bears little relation to the lives and work of the women within this study. Rather than being constrained within their domestic setting, they demonstrated varying levels of agency, from Isobel Wylie Hutchison's solo plant-hunting missions in the frozen north to Mary E. Burton's appointment as Scotland's first female head gardener. What they all had in common was a desire to step outside their private spheres and achieve within the wider public domain of horticulture in Scotland.

This study, which has used detailed biographical data to evidence, for the first time, the history of a selected group of gardening women in Scotland over a specified time period, is an important, but only a first step towards a greater, more nuanced appreciation of the role and influence of gardening women in Scotland. Gaps in our knowledge and understanding remain. Methodological limitations have, in some cases, hindered comprehension. The lack of archival information relating to nurserywomen, for example, has made a complete understanding of their particular contribution harder to obtain. Likewise, whilst the method of biographical analysis shed light on the struggles faced by Annie Morison and Lina Barker to become professional gardening women, further research of a more quantitative nature focusing on the number, profile and future careers of students who attended their gardening school, would be beneficial in reinforcing the significance of their contribution. A consideration of other time periods would also be a useful adjunct to this work in order to piece together the trajectory of women's involvement in and contribution to gardening in Scotland from the earliest evidence of gardens through to the present day. Other areas of gardening activity could also be included. Whilst this study has concentrated on the contribution of cultivators, collectors, nurserywomen and professional gardeners for the period 1800 to 1930, it has not addressed other areas of female expertise such as botanical illustrators, herbalists or horticultural scientists, for whom achievement and recognition may have been influenced by different factors and circumstances.

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[14] Ann McGuckin, 'Moving Stories: working-class women', in *Out of Bounds*, pp.197-220.

From a wider perspective, the study also provides the foundation for future cross-disciplinary research. Of interest to gender and women's historians might be the degree to which the challenges faced by nineteenth and early-twentieth century gardening women in Scotland were similar or differed to those experienced by women working in other professions or occupational sectors, such as doctors, artists, composers and chefs. Highly topical, the issue of 'Scottishness' and the extent to which Scottish culture and identity shaped women's ability to contribute compared to the cultural environments within which gardening women in other countries operated is another potential area of historical interest, as is the diaspora of Scottish gardening women. It is hoped that this research will act as the starting point for future, multi-disciplinary historical study and will also be of interest from a wider, commercial perspective. For example, the individual stories of women, such as Mary E. Burton, may be of interest to heritage and tourism consultants when attempting to enhance the visitor experience at buildings and gardens linked to them, such as Mavisbank.

To conclude, women gardeners were present within the 'man's world' of horticulture in nineteenth and early-twentieth century Scotland.[15] Contrary to traditional narratives of garden history and the perception of an all-male Scottish gardening tradition espoused within them, this research has identified a number of Scottish gardening women whose work extended beyond the boundaries of their own private gardens. Women who viewed themselves (and were viewed by Scotland's gardening men) as amateurs, particularly those with wealth and high social status, were able to engage with the wider public sphere of gardening by making important collections of plants, publishing articles or establishing plant nurseries. In some cases, family obligations and the lack of a formal horticultural education, curtailed the scale of their activities but on the whole they capitalised on the advantages of inherited wealth and social connections and were able to make an individual contribution to gardening in Scotland. The amateur status of these women also cushioned them from gendered prejudice since they and their activities were not considered by Scotland's gardening men as a threat to their own status. As a result, small-scale recognition, largely restricted to their lifetimes, was forthcoming for some, particularly those women who operated from within the horticultural establishment as paid-up or honorary members of gardening institutions, clubs or societies.

For women who wished to cross the line from amateur to professional status, personal achievement was harder won, regardless of social class and often in spite of family obligations. The well-established, homo-social structures that dominated Scottish horticulture, including the 'garden boy' apprenticeships, the journeyman process and the fraternities of Free Gardeners, were exclusionary to women and they faced real barriers to professional entry as a result. Horticultural education and training were not readily available to women in Scotland throughout the study period and gardening employment was difficult for women to gain within male-owned or run establishments thanks to a prevailing prejudice against 'lady' gardeners. They were either viewed as not-up-to-the-job or as a threat to job security. Two divergent strategies, inclusive or separatist, emerged as a result of these obstacles to entry, with varying degrees of success. Mary E. Burton worked from within and used the social advantages of her middle-class background to gain a horticultural education, practise as a professional gardening woman and rise through the ranks of the horticultural establishment. This may account for the fact that of all the gardening women analysed, she received the greatest recognition and honour for her work during her lifetime.

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[15] MacLeod, *Gardener's Scotland*, p.32.

Faced with embedded prejudice on account of their gender from within the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, Scotland's foremost training ground for aspiring professional gardeners at the time, Annie Morison and Lina Barker were forced to adopt a separatist strategy by founding their school of gardening for women. Effective in providing a horticultural education for gardening women in Scotland, the principals struggled to place their students in mainstream employment. They were forced to rely on the cultivation of a female network of horticultural contacts to surmount the prejudice exhibited towards their students by male employers. Because they acted from the outside rather than from within, personal recognition from the horticultural establishment for the achievements of Annie Morison, Lina Barker and students such as Madge Elder, failed to materialise. It would appear that these women were viewed as being far from pioneering by their male contemporaries but when assessed through a gendered lens, the achievements of many of these women were remarkable and deserve a place somewhere within Scotland's gardening history. Norah Geddes also suffered from the prejudice that surrounded professional women gardeners. Despite her secure middle-class background and the encouragement and patronage of her father, she also struggled to secure work outwith a feminine environment and suffered from low levels of confidence due to her lack of professional qualifications.

The context within which these professional gardening women were operating is in sharp contrast to that experienced by women wishing to enter a career in horticulture today. Horticultural courses are freely available to women as are apprenticeships and other practical training opportunities, whilst trend data supplied by the Royal Botanic

Garden in Edinburgh reveals that on average more women than men take up places on Certificate, Diploma and Degree courses in horticulture run by the garden.[16] However, employment statistics are far less encouraging. On average, more than three quarters of all garden workers employed by the botanic garden in Edinburgh for the period 2005 to 2012 were male and none of the female horticulturists were promoted beyond a supervisory level.[17] More than one hundred years on from the emergence of the first graduates of the gardening school, it would appear that a male-dominated working environment in the gardens is still in evidence at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh. In its 342-year history, the garden has yet to engage the services of a female Regius Keeper; a sobering thought for today's aspiring professional gardening women in Scotland.

In the light of the evidence and conclusions drawn, we must return to the central question of this study. Is the elision of Scottish gardening women from the narratives of British and Scottish garden history justified? Whilst their omission can be rationalised, given the canon's concentration on male genius and the remarkable success of Scotland's gardening men, it cannot be justified on the evidence presented in this study, which provides support for Breitenbach and Gordon's wider view that:

> The lack of visibility of women in Scottish history up till now is not a result of their absence from political, social or public life. It is a result of the blindness of historians to the significance of women's experience, not to say on occasion to the fact of women's existence.[18]

Scottish gardening women achieved in spite of the obstacles and challenges they faced because of their sex. Some or all encountered gendered prejudice, or were handicapped by the lack of horticultural education, training and employment or restricted by filial duties. This thesis recognises and celebrates the significance of their achievements within the very male world of Scottish horticulture.

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[16] 51% of all students studying for an HNC, HND or Degree in Horticulture at RBGE for the period 2006-2013 were female: electronic communication with Kirstin Corrie, Senior Administrator at RBGE, dated 29 October 2012.

[17] Electronic communication from RBGE HR Department, dated 1 October 2012.

[18] Breitenbach and Gordon, p.2.

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Acc. 8138/box 1/3, 7, 9: Personal diaries of Isobel Wylie Hutchison; 1920, July to September 1925, 1928

Acc. 8138/box 10/1: Correspondence, 1919-58

Acc. 8138/box 10/2: Certificates, 1935- 57

Acc. 8138/10/5: Miscellaneous photographs of Isobel Wylie Hutchison

Acc. 9713/1-67: Personal diaries of Isobel Wylie Hutchison, 1899-1979

Acc. 9713/86: 'Horticultural Herald' a family magazine, 1896-99

Acc. 9713/109-10: Press cuttings concerning Isobel Wylie Hutchison, 1922-35

Acc. 9713/116: Mounted sketches and photographs of Isobel Wylie Hutchison

Acc. 9713/117: Correspondence of Medina Lewis, close friend of Isobel Wylie Hutchison, 1982-83

NLS MSS 10501-10657; 19253-19287; 19994; Acc. 13319: The Papers of Sir Patrick Geddes

MSS 10507: Letters from Norah Geddes to her father Patrick Geddes 1898-1932

MSS 10508: Copies of letters of Patrick Geddes to members of his family 1863-1931

MSS 10577: Letters to Anna Geddes

MSS 10606: Photographs of members of the Geddes family

MSS 19256: Letter from Patrick Geddes to his children 1911-1924

MSS 19257: Letters from Anna Geddes to her children to 1917

MSS 19258: Letters of the Geddes children 1897-1916

MSS 19266: Reminiscences of Norah Geddes on childhood and diary n.d.

MSS 19994: Family correspondence 1886-1924

Acc. 13319: Sketch plan of proposed playground for Nenagh by Norah Geddes, 1912 and a coloured plan showing the Open Spaces in the Old Town of Edinburgh (these plans are part of a new accession which was presented to the NLS in 2012 and have yet to be individually numbered)

NLS Acc. 4546: Miss Gorrie's Collection of Women's Social and Political Union postcards

Postcard of suffragettes in Edinburgh dressed as waxwork dummies to avoid the 1911 census count

NLS MS 7946: United Free Church Archives Correspondence 1910

Letter to Norah Geddes from C. Crawford, 25 February 1910

NLS Acc. 13301: St Colm's College Archive

Acc. 13301/189: Photographs of St Colm's College, 1909-10

NLS Acc. 8695: Esther B. Chalmers

Acc. 8695/I/1: Autobiography of Esther B. Chalmers from earliest years to c.1934

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GD253/57/1-3: Sketch books of Frances Jane Hope, 1832-36

GD253/54/bundles 6-12: Photographs of John Hope W.S., his family and friends, 1865-1880

NRS GD45 Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie

GD45/3: Papers of the 9th Earl of Dalhousie as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia (1810-1820) and Governor-in-Chief of Canada (1820-1828)

GD45/14/515: Letter from Joseph Archibald to GR, 2 June 1820

GD45/3/545: Journal of George Ramsay, 21 December 1822

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Flower press belonging to Isobel Wylie Hutchison

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T-GED/7/5/30/8: Sketch by Norah Geddes of Open Space garden at Castle Wynd, below Johnston Terrace, n.d.

T-GED/7/5/30/14: Watercolour sketch by Norah Geddes of the King's Wall Garden, c.1910

T-GED/7/5/30/16: Plan, elevation and sections for King's Wall Garden by Norah Geddes, c.1910

T-GED/7/5/30/18: Plan of St John's Garden, St John's Church, 1909

T-GED/7/5/30/19: Two sketches of Chessel's Court by Norah Geddes

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T-GED/22/1/535/4: Photograph of the newly planted White Hart Garden, c.1909

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Photograph of Madge Elder at The Mount Nurseries with her occasional assistant Betty Rodger, c.1920

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COLL 1167 Geddes Family Photographs

A6PGF13: Geddes family group at Mount Tabor, Perthshire, c.1898

A6PGF106: Norah on donkey with Alasdair, Anna and Arthur at Crawford Bank, Lasswade, c.1897-8

A6PGF143: Anna, Arthur, Alasdair, Norah and Patrick Geddes at Crawford Bank, Lasswade, c.1897/98

A6PGF174: Geddes children lying on grass at Crawford Bank, Lasswade, c.1897/98

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Appendix I

Deborah Reid, 'Mary Elizabeth Burton: a horticultural pioneer', *The Caledonian Gardener 2014 Journal of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society*, (2014), 80-83; reproduced with permission of Stan da Prato, Editor.

Mary Elizabeth Burton: a horticultural pioneer

Deborah Reid

Photos courtesy of Local Studies, Midlothian Library Service.

Mary Elizabeth Burton (1865-1944) can lay claim to being the first woman in Scotland to obtain a post as head gardener and in a career that spanned over four decades, her professionalism and horticultural expertise encouraged a growing acceptance of women gardeners in the first half of the twentieth century. An authority on the cultivation of flowers, fruit and vegetables, particularly tomatoes and potatoes, she was a prominent figure within the Scottish Horticultural Association before its amalgamation with the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society and subsequently became a valued member of the Society. In 1943, she was the first woman to receive the Neill Prize for her outstanding contribution to horticulture in Scotland.

Early years

Mary Elizabeth Burton was born on 8th June 1865 and although she spent the first seven years of her life living in Witley, a small village in Surrey, she was of Scottish descent. Her father, William Paton Burton, a watercolour artist, came from an Aberdeenshire family and her mother, Eliza Shiells, was originally from Edinburgh. On her mother's death in 1872, Mary was sent with her two brothers to Edinburgh to be cared for by her great aunt, the redoubtable Miss Mary Burton (c.1819-1909), sister to John Hill Burton, the Historiographer Royal in Scotland.

An educational and social reformer, Miss Burton had persuaded the directors of the Watt Institution and School of Arts of Edinburgh in 1869 to open its classes to female students and when the Watt Institution merged with George Heriot's Trust to become Heriot-Watt College in 1885, she was made a life governor. When Mary came to live with Miss Burton at Liberton Bank in Newington, it was a large house with almost two acres of garden. It is now the Dunedin School for children with learning difficulties, a use that Miss Burton would no doubt have approved of, but much of the garden has now been subsumed by the Cameron Toll shopping centre. Mary was greatly encouraged by her great aunt who trained her on the intellectual and practical side of life and her early love of gardening was no doubt developed during the years she spent living at Liberton Bank.

Evening classes

Her remaining time in Edinburgh is poorly documented but the 1891 census reveals that at the age of 24, Mary was living on private means in rented accommodation at Sharpdale in Liberton, following the death of her father some years earlier. Despite her private income, Mary was determined to earn her own livelihood as a gardener and she is believed to have attended evening classes in botany, chemistry, geology and agriculture at Heriot-Watt College and taken lectures on horticulture and entomology given by the Rural Economy Association. Full-time courses in horticulture were not open to women at this time and gaining practical experience in private gardens was almost impossible. There was no female equivalent of the garden boy or apprentice. It is likely that she supplemented the theory gained through evening classes by working in her great aunt's garden and also helping in the garden of her uncle, Robert Shiells, at his family home in Duddingston Park.

Amateur to professional

Mary's first break came as a result of her great aunt's extensive social circle. Professor Patrick Geddes, the town planner and educationalist, was a close friend of the Burton family and around 1896, Mary was invited to lay out the garden at Craufurd Bank, a large country house at Lasswade, which Geddes had purchased in the hope of converting it to a retreat for members of the Old Town community in Edinburgh. After several months working successfully at Craufurd, it would appear that Mary then attracted the attention of Dr George Robert Wilson, Medical Superintendent of Mavisbank Institution for the Nervous, a private mental asylum near Loanhead, who engaged her to try and interest the lady patients in gardening. The former home of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Mavisbank had been opened as a Nervous Hospital in 1877 and when Mary arrived in around 1896, the gardens and policies extended to 120 acres. She worked hard in her new position and proved to be just as capable as her male colleagues. After a short period, Mary was promoted to head gardener, becoming the first woman in Scotland to hold such a position.

New Saughton Hall

Her responsibilities were extensive and would have proved testing enough for many male gardeners. Mary was in charge of a four-acre circular walled kitchen garden and was required to provide the hospital with vegetables, fruit and flowers on a daily basis. There was also the maintenance of one hundred acres of policies, including extensive flower gardens, a golf course, cricket pitch and tennis lawn, not to mention the daily management of her gardening team. In 1907,

New Saughton Hall, Loanhead
52091 JV

the private patients at Saughton Hall Asylum in Gorgie were moved to Mavisbank and the hospital was renamed New Saughton Hall. The number of patients rose by a third to ninety in total, which gives some idea of the demands placed on Mary by her employer. By now, Mary was living on the estate and this enabled her to rear sheep, pigs and as many as 300 chickens annually. Each week the carter would take a fattened pig to Campbell's the Butchers who would weigh and slaughter it, and pay the proceeds to Mary. In later years Mr Campbell would recall that the pigs were always "full of water" to make them heavier!

Rosettes and responsibility

In the little spare time available to her, Mary was a regular exhibitor at local agricultural shows, winning numerous medals and cultural certificates for flowers, fruit and vegetables and became a considerable expert on potatoes. In 1921, she was a principal prize-winner at the Royal Horticultural Society's Potato Conference and Exhibition in London. She was also an active member of the Scottish Horticultural Association (SHA) from as early as 1900 and regularly attended the monthly meetings, judged at shows and presented detailed papers on the cultivation of flowers and vegetables, including one entitled *The Brassica Tribe*. Undeterred by its predominantly male membership, Mary secured a place on the SHA council in 1914, was elected as one of six Vice-Presidents three years later and in 1920 served as the Association's first female President. In her President's address she remarked on the important contribution that women had made to the war effort and, whilst accepting that women were not as physically strong as men, pointed out that women's thorough approach to gardening work more than compensated for their lack of strength. Her own perseverance and hard work were an example to those around her and she was fond of recalling that in gardening there was no short road to success. By 1924, Mary had been elected a Fellow of the RHS and following the amalgamation of the SHA with the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, she became the Society's first female Vice-President.

Honours and accolades

Eventually retiring from New Saughton Hall after 38 years' service, Mary continued at the age of 70 to undertake private work in laying out gardens. Her considerable contribution was recognised in 1934, when she became the first woman to be awarded the RHS Associate of Honour medal for her distinguished service to horticulture, a remarkable achievement when you consider that the number of Associates of Honour is limited to 100 at any one time. In Scotland, her assiduous devotion to the RCHS was rewarded when she was nominated unanimously for the coveted Neill Prize in 1942. Once again she was the first female recipient of the prize which was awarded to her at the RCHS AGM on the 13th January 1943, together with a cheque and an inscribed copy of Sir Herbert Maxwell's book on Scottish gardens. Twenty-one years would pass before Mrs Knox Finlay became the next woman to be awarded the Neill Prize.

The Gardener's Chronicle reported the death of Mary E Burton in December 1944 and provided this fitting testimonial to one of Scotland's pioneering women horticulturists: 'She was an outstanding figure in the horticulture of her time. Her loyalty to her calling, her sense of the fitness of woman's place amidst flowers, fruits, and vegetables, her nobleness of purpose and resolution in the execution of her work made her an example to all. Her many friends will all miss that quiet lady of character now called to the everlasting garden.'

Deborah Reid, 19 Granby Road,
Edinburgh, EH16 5NP.

Following a twelve year career in marketing and PR, Deborah Reid swapped press releases for plants and retrained in horticulture at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh. Her interest in garden history and a growing awareness of gendered practices within gardening, led her to undertake her doctoral research into the role and influence of gardening women in Scotland for the period 1800-1930. She is currently writing up her thesis but would be delighted to receive any information on pioneering gardening women in Scotland. E: deborah.reid@blueyonder.co.uk.

Appendix II

Summary of honours bestowed by key British and Scottish Horticultural Societies and Associations to 1930

The Linnean Society of London

Established in 1788. Women granted membership in 1904. Honours bestowed:

Honorary Fellowship

Originally restricted to those financially unable to offer themselves as candidates for Fellowship but whose work as naturalists deserved recognition.

The Linnean Medal

Awarded annually since 1888 for excellent work in natural science.

Source: Andrew T. Gage and William T. Stearn, *A Bicentenary History of The Linnean Society* (London: Academic, 1988)

The Royal Horticultural Society

Established in 1804. Women granted membership in 1830. Honours bestowed:

Honorary Fellowship

Awarded to those who have made a significant contribution to the Royal Horticultural Society.

Victoria Medal of Honour in Horticulture (VMH)

Instituted in 1897 to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, medals were issued to 60 eminent horticulturists in honour of the years of the Queen's reign. In 1901, on the death of the Queen, the number of holders of the VMH was increased to 63, in commemoration of the total number of years of her reign. The number is strictly limited to 63, with only death of the holder resulting in a vacancy.

Veitch Memorial Medal (VMM)

Established in 1869 by the Veitch Memorial Trust to commemorate the work of Scottish nurseryman, James Veitch (1815-1869) of Chelsea. Medals were originally given as show prizes but since 1922 they have been awarded by the Royal Horticultural Society to people who have made distinguished contributions to horticulture. It is the only one of the Society's medals that can be awarded to non-British subjects.

Associate of Honour Medal (AM)

Introduced in 1929 in recognition of those who have given distinguished service to horticulture in the course of their employment. This award is limited to 100 recipients at any one time.

Show Medals and Certificates

A range of medals and certificates awarded at Royal Horticultural Society shows.

Source: Brent Elliott, *The Royal Horticultural Society: A history 1804-2004* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2004)

The Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society

Established in 1809. First female member admitted in 1835. Honours bestowed:

Honorary Membership

The Dr Patrick Neill Medal

Awarded from c.1851 to a distinguished Scottish cultivator or botanist.

Show Medals and Certificates

A range of medals and certificates awarded at Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society shows.

Source: *Minutes of the Horticultural Society*

Botanical Society of Edinburgh

Established in 1836. Women eligible as members from outset. Honours bestowed:

Honorary Membership

Source: *First Annual Report, Laws and Proceedings of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh 1836-46.*

The Scottish Horticultural Association

Established in 1877 but incorporated with the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Association in 1921. First female member admitted in 1887. Honours bestowed:

Honorary Membership

Show Certificates

A range of cultural certificates awarded.

Source: *Transactions of the Scottish Horticultural Association*

Appendix III

Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Gardening Women

This is a list of all Scottish gardening women from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century who were identified during the course of preliminary research, using all available sources of secondary information. Those women denoted in green were selected for detailed biographical analysis. The compilation does not include extant Scottish gardening women and does not claim to be fully comprehensive.

Abbreviations

Publications and on-line databases frequently referred to in entries:

BDSW	*The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, ed. by Rose Pipes and others (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)
DBIBH	*Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists*, ed. by Ray Desmond (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994)
DEW	*Down-to-Earth Women: those who care for the soil*, Dawn MacLeod (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1982)
ENESN	'Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Edinburgh Seedsmen and Nurserymen', Priscilla Minay, *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, n.s., 1 (1991)
GDLI	Gardens & Designed Landscapes Inventory, Historic Scotland <http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/gardens> [accessed 2011]
GW	*Gardening Women: their stories from 1600 to the present*, Catherine Horwood (London: Virago Press, 2010)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)
P&P	*Policies and Pleasaunces: A guide to the gardens of Scotland*, Katie Campbell (London: Barn Elms, 2007)
SP	ScotlandsPeople: Official Scottish Genealogy Resource, <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk> [accessed 2011]
SG	*Scottish Gardens. Being a representative selection of different types, old and new*, Sir Herbert Maxwell (London, Edward Arnold, 1908)
SGO	*On Scottish Gardens and Orchards*, Patrick Neill (Edinburgh: 1813)

SRG	*Scottish Rock Gardening in the 20th Century*, Forbes W. Robertson and Alistair McKelvie (Comrie: The Scottish Rock Garden Club, 2000)
TGS	*The Gardener's Scotland*, Dawn MacLeod (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1977)
VWQ	*Virgins Weeders and Queens. A History of Women in the Garden,* Twigs Way (Stroud: Sutton, 2006)

ANDERSON, Robertha (Bertha) Henrie (1846-1918)

One of four unmarried sisters, Bertha Anderson gardened at the family home of Barskimming in the parish of Stair, Ayrshire. Her collection of flowering plants, which included rare varieties of roses, were admired by Sir Herbert Maxwell, who also praised her skill in maximising the effect of the natural features contained within her garden:

> It is a place to make patent the futility and self-consciousness of so many rock gardens; it is indeed inimitable by most gardeners, for the foot of man can never have passed through this gorge until Miss Bertha caused paths to be hewn out of the vertical rocks and flung a bridge here and there across the chasm.

SG (1908) p.118; SP [2011].

BALFOUR, Alice Blanche (1851-1936)

Alice Balfour of Whittinghame House, East Lothian, was the unmarried sister of Arthur James Balfour, first Earl of Balfour and prime minister from 1902 to 1905. In addition to maintaining her brother's household at Whittinghame, she was a keen horticulturist and is believed to have added the double lime avenue to the north of the house.

Alice Blanche Balfour, *Twelve Hundred Miles in a Waggon* (London: 1895); GDLI see Whittinghame [2011]; ODNB (2004) see Balfour, Arthur James; SP [2011].

BARNARD, Lady Anne née Lindsay (1750-1825)

Daughter of James Lindsay, 5th Earl of Balcarres, Lady Anne Lindsay married Andrew Barnard, twelve years her junior, in 1793. He was appointed colonial secretary to the Cape of Good Hope three years later. Lady Anne accompanied her husband to the Cape where she collected plants and bulbs which she sent home to family and friends, including a collection of 'flower-roots' and seeds of the castor-oil tree for Queen Charlotte, wife of George III.

DBIBH (1994); Lady Anne Barnard, 'Extracts from the Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope and a Short Tour of the Interior' in Lord Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays or A Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres* (London: John Murray, 1849); BDSW (2006); *South Africa A Century Ago. Letters written from the Cape of Good Hope (1797-1801) by Lady Anne Barnard*, ed. by W. H. Wilkins (London: Smith Elder, 1901); *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799-1800*, ed. by Margaret Lenta and Basil Le Cordeur (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1999).

BLACKWELL, Elizabeth née Blachrie (c.1707-1758)

Born in Aberdeen, Elizabeth Blackwell was the sixth daughter of stocking merchant William Blachrie. She married her second cousin, Alexander Blackwell, in around 1728. When her husband's printing business foundered, which led to him being sent to the debtors' prison, Elizabeth used her artistic skills and botanical knowledge to produce what is thought to be one of the earliest publications on botany by a woman. Her work, entitled *A Curious Herbal*, was published in two volumes between 1737 and 1739.

Elizabeth Blackwell, *A Curious Herbal, containing five hundred cuts, of the most useful plants, which are now used in the practice of physick*, 2 vols (London: Samuel Harding, 1737-39); GW (2010); ODNB (2004); VWQ (2006).

BOYLE, Dorothea Elizabeth Thomasina Hunter née Blair, Lady Glasgow (1858-1923)

The daughter of Sir Edward Hunter Blair 4th Baronet, Dorothea married David Boyle 7th Earl of Glasgow and gardened at the ancestral estate of Kelburn Castle in North Ayrshire. Her husband was the Governor of New Zealand from 1892 to 1897 and on their return, Lady Glasgow designed the New Zealand Garden at Kelburn. The rock garden she also created was praised by Sir Herbert Maxwell:

> The entrance [to Kelburn Castle] is through a pretty wicket of wrought iron, and the interior is occupied by Lady Glasgow's rock garden, a delightful nook for the cultivation of choice flowers and ferns.

SG (1908) p.164.

BOYLE, Eleanor Vere née Gordon (1825-1916)

Eleanor Vere Boyle was the youngest daughter of Alexander Gordon of Ellon, Aberdeenshire. Her childhood was spent at Auchlunies, where she was educated at home. She married the Hon. Rev. Richard Boyle in 1845 and illustrated fourteen children's books between 1852 and 1877. On her husband's retirement in 1871, the family moved to Huntercombe Manor in Buckinghamshire where Eleanor established an extensive garden, planting roses and snowdrops on a large scale. She published ten books on nature and gardens between 1884 and 1908, with her most popular work, *Days and Hours in a Garden*, running to ten editions.

Eleanor Vere Boyle, *Days and Hours in a Garden* (London: Elliot Stock, 1884); F. Hays, *Women of the Day: a biographical dictionary of notable contemporaries* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1885); ODNB (2004).

BUCHANAN, Jean (d.1852)

Heiress of Robert Buchanan of Drumkill and Ross Priory, Jean Buchanan married Hector Macdonald in 1793 and added his surname to her own. The designed landscape at Ross Priory, on the southern shore of Loch Lomond, was laid out in around 1812 by Jean and Hector and is still in existence today (2014).

GDLI see Ross Priory [2011]; University of Glasgow Special Collections: Papers of Duncan Macfarlan.

BURNETT, Lady Sybil Aird née Crozier Smith (1889-1960)

Daughter of William Crozier Smith, Sybil Burnett married Major General, Sir James Burnett 13th Baronet and owner of Crathes Castle in Kincardineshire. At Crathes, she created the now-famous gardens, including the flower garden within the Walled Garden, taking her inspiration from the work of Gertrude Jekyll. The herbaceous borders at Pitmedden in Aberdeenshire were also re-designed by Lady Sybil.

BDSW (2006); GDLI see Crathes Castle [2011]; P&P (2007); SRG (2000); TGS (1977).

BURRELL, Sarah Clementina née Drummond, Lady Gwydyr (1786-1865)

Married to Peter Robert Burrell, who became Baron Gwydyr on his father’s death, Lady Gwydyr was the daughter of James Drummond 11th Earl of Perth. On her father’s death, she inherited Drummond Castle, three miles south of Crieff, which she managed for the next sixty-five years with the help of her husband. From around 1832, they laid out the park and created the gardens on the terraces which were praised for their beauty by Queen Victoria and her family on a visit to Drummond Castle ten years later.

GDLI see Drummond Castle [2011]; P&P (2007).

BURTON, Mary Elizabeth (1865-1944)

The daughter of artist, William Paton Burton from Aberdeenshire, Mary E. Burton is believed to have been Scotland’s first female head gardener in around 1896. She worked in the gardens of New Saughton Hall, a private mental health hospital near Lasswade on the outskirts of Edinburgh, for the next thirty-eight years and her horticultural skill was acknowledged when she became the first female recipient of the Royal Horticultural Society Associate of Honour medal in 1934 and the Dr Patrick Neill Medal, awarded by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society, in 1943.

Craig Statham, *Old Loanhead* (Catrine: Stenlake Publishing, 2003); *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* (1935); *Minutes of the* [Royal Caledonian] *Horticultural Society* (1941-51).

CADELL, Anna Catherine (1869-1951) and Marion Buchan Sydserff (1874-1959)

Anna and Marion Cadell were the unmarried daughters of Colonel Thomas Cadell of Cockenzie House in East Lothian. From around 1919, following the death of their father, they established a plant nursery called The Dean Gardens in Longniddry and specialised in the cultivation and sale of rare varieties of primrose.

UK and RoI Nurseries, Nurserymen and Seed Catalogues, ed. by Lynda Marquis (Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 2010).

CALLANDER, Cecilia Margaret née Baird (1860-1940)

Daughter of William Baird, an ironmaster, Cecilia married Henry Callander and gardened at the family home of Prestonhall, on the east bank of the river Tyne, five miles south-east of Dalkeith. Together with her husband, Cecilia laid out the formal and wild gardens in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A description of the garden at its height can be found in *Flower grouping in English, Scotch & Irish gardens* by Margaret Waterfield. A knowledgeable gardener, Cecilia Callander assisted in the identification of plants and gave advice to the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

GDLI see Prestonhall [2011]; Margaret H. Waterfield, *Flower grouping in English, Scotch & Irish gardens* (London: Dent, 1907); SGO (1813); SP [2011].

CAMPBELL, Mrs Lucie (19th century – exact dates unknown)

The wife of William A. Campbell, Lucie and her husband possibly made, according to Cox, the first rock garden in Scotland at their home in Ormsary, a small hamlet close to Ardrishaig in Argyllshire, in the mid-nineteenth century.

E. H. M. Cox, *A History of Gardening in Scotland* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1935), p.136.

CAMPBELL-CLARK, Mrs Elizabeth (floruit 1760s – 1770s)

Following the death of John Clerk, seedsman and nurseryman in the West Bow, Edinburgh, his widow Elizabeth singlehandedly ran his plant nursery in Edinburgh and another at Pinkie in Musselburgh from 1762 until her retirement in 1770.

DBIBH (1994) see Clark, John; Classified Advertisement, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12 February 1770, p.1; ENESN (1991).

CARSTAIRS, Sarah née Mackerness (1806-1878)

The daughter of Scottish shipping agent John Mackerness and Martha Payne, Sarah Carstairs took on the running of her husband's plant nursery at Warriston, Edinburgh, in 1852 with the help of two of her sons. A proficient businesswoman, she established a city-centre retail outlet, The Royal Emporium, where she sold fruit, vegetables and plants, and was a regular exhibitor at the Edinburgh Horticultural Society's annual chrysanthemum and vegetable shows. In the 1860s the business, which traded under the name of Carstairs and Sons, was granted a Royal warrant to provide flowers and fruit to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales. On Sarah Carstair's retirement the business passed to her son, Thomas.

Classified Advertisements, *The Scotsman*, 14 May 1853, 16 May 1855 and 8 March 1856; 'Edinburgh Horticultural Society', *The Scotsman*, 12 December 1860.

CHRISTIE, Isabella (Ella) Robertson (1861-1949)

Brought up on her father's estate at Cowden in the Ochil Hills, Ella Christie travelled extensively in Europe, Asia and America in the opening decades of the twentieth century. With the help of Taki Honda, a female garden designer from the Royal School of Garden Design at Nagoya, Miss Christie created a seven-acre Japanese garden at Cowden in 1907, which received wide acclaim. She maintained the garden herself for the next twenty years before engaging the services of Matsuo, a Japanese gardener. On her death, both the garden and house suffered from neglect and vandalism, which ultimately resulted in their destruction in the 1950s.

Averil Stewart, *'Alicella' A Memoir of Alice King Stewart and Ella Christie* (London: John Murray, 1955); BDSW (2006); GW (2010); ODNB (2004).

CLARK, Jenny and Helen (floruit 1940s-1950s)

Following the Second World War, Miss Jenny and Miss Helen Clark established the Castlefield Nurseries at Kippen, near Stirling. Miss Jenny was an active member of the Scottish Rock Garden Club and the Clark Memorial Lecture, held annually at the Club's AGM, was set up in her memory. The nursery was taken over by a Miss Mary Guthrie Smith but is no longer trading today.

SP [2011]; SRG (2000).

CUNNINGHAM, Mern and HAWKINS, Kate (floruit 1930s-1940s)

In the 1930s and 1940s, the Misses Cunningham and Hawkins operated as Garden Architects from 20 Charlotte Square in Edinburgh.

Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland (1937).

DALRYMPLE, Christian (1765-1838)

The daughter of Sir David Dalrymple and Anne Broun of Colstoun and cousin of Christian Ramsay, the Countess of Dalhousie, Christian Dalrymple inherited the family home at Newhailes, near Musselburgh, Edinburgh, on her father's death in 1792. The rest of her life was devoted to the management of the estate, including the gardens. She extended and embellished the pleasure grounds, planned and implemented a new Flower Garden, improved the park and laid out new walks within it. Now in the ownership of the National Trust for Scotland, Newhailes House was opened to the public in 2002.

BDSW (2006); GDLI see Newhailes [2011].

DICKSON, Mrs James (floruit 1800s)

On James Dickson's death, the nursery business of Dickson and Shade, which specialised in trees and roses, was taken over by his widow Mrs Dickson and her son and son-in-law. By the 1840s the company, under the name of Messrs James Dickson & Sons, had become a dominant player in Scotland's seed and nursery trade.

ENESN (1991).

DRUMMOND, Lady Charlotte née Murray (1775-1832)

Lady Charlotte Drummond was the daughter of John, 4th Duke of Atholl and Jane Cathcart. Following the death of her mother in 1790, Charlotte was cared for by her aunt, see MURRAY, Lady Charlotte (1754-1808), who in all probability passed on her love of gardening to her niece. In 1801, she became the second wife of Admiral Sir Adam Drummond, 7th Earl of Megginch and was responsible for laying out the parterres in the Terrace Garden at Megginch Castle and naturalising wild flowers by scattering seed throughout the woodlands.

GDLI see Megginch Castle [2011].

DRUMMOND, Frances née Moray (floruit 1750s)

Frances was the daughter of James Moray of Abercairney and the second wife of George Drummond (1705-65), Laird of Blair Drummond. She is believed to have been the Lady Drummond, referred to by Robertson, who took receipt of a considerable number of annual flower seeds from seedsman Patrick Drummond in 1751.

Forbes W. Robertson, *Early Scottish Gardeners and their Plants 1650-1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.95.

DRUMMOND, Mrs Patrick (floruit 1760s)

On the death of Patrick Drummond in 1760, his widow Mrs Patrick Drummond carried on his seed business in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh and acquired a nursery on the north side of the city. She later went into partnership with Anderson and Whyte and by the start of the nineteenth century the nursery was trading successfully as W. Anderson and Company.

ENESN (1991).

DUNCAN, Ursula Katherine (1910-1985)

Brought up at the ancestral home of Parkhill in Arbroath, Ursula Duncan was interested in plants from an early age and much of her botanical knowledge was self-taught. A specialist in bryophytes, lichens and flowering plants, she was one of the most distinguished amateur botanists of her day and published two books on the subject; *Introduction to British Lichens* and *Flora of East Ross-Shire.*

BDSW (2006); Ursula K. Duncan, *Introduction to British Lichens* (Arbroath: Buncle, 1970) and *Flora of East Ross-Shire* (Edinburgh: Botanical Society of Edinburgh, 1980).

EAGLE, Mrs Margaret Archibald née Murray (floruit 1760s – 1770s)

The second wife of Archibald Eagle, Margaret Murray ran her husband's seed shop and plant nursery in Edinburgh for fifteen years following her husband's death in 1760. Before retiring she formed a partnership with Alexander Henderson and by 1822 the firm was trading successfully as Henderson & Co. Mrs Archibald Eagle also trained Peter Lawson as an apprentice in her nursery business and he went on to found the Lawson Seed and Nursery Co., one of Scotland's leading plant nurseries in the nineteenth century.

ENESN (1991); 'Seeds and Nursery', *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 February 1775, p.1.

ELCHO, Lady Susan née Tracy Keck (1745-1835)

The granddaughter of the 4th Duke of Hamilton, Lady Susan married Francis Wemyss Charteris, styled Lord Elcho, and gardened at the family home of Amisfield, East Lothian. A distinguished botanical amateur, according to Neill, Lady Elcho cultivated an extensive collection of hardy flowers and an excellent selection of exotics.

SGO (1813).

ELDER, Margaret Moffat (Madge) (1893-1985)

Daughter of a marine engineer, Madge Elder was brought up on her uncle's farm in the Scottish Borders and following a childhood illness became profoundly deaf at the age of nine. A graduate of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women in 1912, Madge obtained gardening positions at Fox Covert in Corstorphine and Slogarie House in Kirkcudbrightshire before taking up a head gardener role at Bowhill in Selkirk during the First World War. Following the war, she opened her own nursery, The Mount Nurseries in Melrose, specialising in alpine and rock garden plants. She also found time to write a number of articles for *Amateur Gardening* magazine and *The Scots Magazine*. On her retirement, Madge published two books on the history of the Borders, *Tell the Towers Thereof* (1956) and *Ballad Country* (1963).

BDSW (2006); DEW (1982).

ELIZABETH, HM the Queen Mother née Lady Elizabeth Angela Marguerite Bowes-Lyon (1900-2002)

The youngest daughter of Lord Glamis, 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, the Queen Mother developed her interest in gardening following the death of her husband, George VI, and contributed to many of the royal gardens. In 1952 she bought Barrogill Castle in Caithness and revived its former name of the Castle of Mey. She initiated many improvements including the development of the gardens. In 1961, she was awarded the Victoria Medal of Honour in Horticulture, one of the most prestigious awards bestowed by the Royal Horticultural Society.

GDLI see Castle of Mey (Barrogill Castle) [2011].

ELPHINSTONE, Lady Mary née Bowes Lyon (1883-1961)

Lady Elphinstone was the elder sister of HM the Queen Mother and gardened, together with her husband, the 16th Baron Elphinstone at Carberry Tower, seven miles south-east of Edinburgh. In 1911, they laid out the formal gardens and added extensively to the specimen trees and shrubs in the parks.

GDLI see Carberry Tower [2011].

FRASER, Miss Elyza (1734-1814)

Descended from the Frasers of Castle Fraser in Aberdeenshire, Elyza inherited her unmarried brother's estate on his death in 1792. She was responsible for both the extension and improvement of the policies, commissioning Thomas White in 1794 to draw up an enhancement plan. Additions to the estate included the Broad Walk, an avenue of sycamore trees to the south of the castle, woodlands enclosing the policies and a serpentine lake, on which Elyza is reputed to have kept a boat and two swans.

GDLI see Castle Fraser [2011]; *Historic Gardens and Designed Landscapes in Border District* (Robert Gordon University Architectural Heritage Society, 1995); Lavinia Smiley, *The Frasers of Castle Fraser* (Wilton: Michael Russell, 1988).

GEDDES, Norah (1887-1967)

The daughter of social evolutionist and city planner, Sir Patrick Geddes, Norah was one of Scotland's earliest examples of a professional female garden designer. She planned and created gardens and children's playgrounds in the slum areas of Edinburgh's Old Town, Dublin and other provincial Irish towns from 1908 to 1914. Marriage to Sir Frank Mears a year later effectively ended her garden design career.

See Papers of Sir Patrick Geddes held in National Library of Scotland, Strathclyde University Archives and University of Edinburgh Centre for Research Collections.

GILMOUR, Lady Mary Cecilia Rhodesia Hamilton (1896-1984)

The eldest daughter of James Hamilton, third Duke of Abercorn, Lady Mary's second marriage was to Sir John Little Gilmour in 1932. She and her husband resided at his family estate of Carolside in Earlston, Berwickshire where she made one of the best collections of old roses in the Borders.

GDLI see Carolside and Leadervale [2011]; TGS (1977).

GOWER, Millicent Fanny Sutherland-Leveson, Duchess of Sutherland née St Clair-Erskine (1867-1955)

The eldest child of Robert St Clair-Erskine, 4th Earl of Rosslyn, Millicent married the 4th Duke of Sutherland and was one of the leading society hostesses of the day. A social reformer and author, she was also a keen gardener and is believed to have been responsible for much of the planting in the walled garden and many of the trees in the policies at Tongue House, one of the family's estates on the north-coast of Sutherland.

GDLI see Tongue House [2011]; ODNB (2004).

GRAHAM, Mary Louise, Duchess of Montrose née Douglas Hamilton (1884-1957)

On the death of her father, William Douglas-Hamilton, 12th Duke of Hamilton in 1895, Lady Mary Louise (subsequently the Duchess of Montrose) inherited Brodick Castle. From the 1920s until her death, she created the woodland gardens and introduced numerous exotic flowering shrubs, in particular rhododendrons. Brodick Castle and gardens were donated to the National Trust for Scotland in 1957.

GDLI see Brodick Castle [2014].

HALKETT, Lady Anne née Murray (1623-1699)

The youngest daughter of Thomas Murray who claimed Scottish lineage, Lady Anne is best known as an autobiographer but is also believed to have been a herbalist, using her knowledge of medicinal plants to treat Jacobite troops at Fyvie Castle, Aberdeenshire, in around 1650.

ODNB (2004).

HAMILTON-GORDON, Catherine Elizabeth née Hamilton, Countess of Aberdeen (1784-1812)

Married to the 4th Earl of Aberdeen in 1805, Catherine Hamilton-Gordon worked with her husband to make improvements to the family seat at Haddo House, twenty miles north-east of Aberdeen, including draining, planting, building, making roads, and introducing better farming. Catherine died of tuberculosis on 29 February 1812 at the age of only twenty-eight.

GDLI see Haddo House [2011]; ODNB (2004).

HASTINGS, Flora Marchioness of Hastings née Mure-Campbell (1780-1840)

The only child of James Mure-Campbell, 5th Earl of Loudoun, Flora was brought up at Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, before marrying Francis Rawdon Hastings, 2nd Earl of Moira and later Marquess of Hastings. In 1813, she accompanied her husband to India in his capacity as Governor General and is believed to have collected seeds, some of which she sent to the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh.

Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, *Seed Book 1818-22*.

HENDERSON, Lady Catherine née Maitland (1915-2010)

Born into one of the oldest landed families in south-west Scotland, Lady Catherine spent her childhood at Cumstoun near Kirkcudbright. Married to a naval attaché, she lived in Rome and Paris before settling at Hensol on the Black Water of Dee, Dumfries and Galloway, which she inherited from her godmother Helen, Marchioness of Ailsa in 1959. A talented plantswoman, she redesigned the formal grounds and created new woodland and water gardens.

‘Lady Henderson’, *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 August 2010.

HOPE, Frances Jane (1822-1880)

The granddaughter of Dr John Hope, King’s Botanist in 1761 and superintendent of the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh, Frances Jane Hope gardened at Wardie Lodge in Edinburgh and was responsible for the cultivation of unfashionable plants such as ornamental kale and native shrubs. She was the first Scottish woman to write for the Victorian gardening press and was influential in the move away from formal plantings to a more natural look for Scottish gardens. Her articles were published posthumously by her kinswoman, Anne Hope Johnstone.

Frances Jane Hope, *Notes and Thoughts on Gardens and Woodlands. Written chiefly for Amateurs*, ed. by Anne J. Hope Johnstone (London: Macmillan, 1881); George F. Wilson, 'Frances Jane Hope', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 8 May 1880, pp.585-6.

HOPE, Helen, Countess of Haddington (bap.1677-1768)

The only daughter of John Hope of Hopetoun, Helen Hope married her cousin Thomas Hamilton, 6th Earl of Haddington in 1696 and moved a few years later to Tyninghame in East Lothian. A great lover of planting, according to her husband, the Countess began to improve the estate by laying out a wilderness and creating a planted area of trees in excess of 300 Scots acres, which is now known as Binning Wood.

GDLI see Tyninghame [2011]; GW (2010); ODNB (2004).

HUTCHISON, Isobel Wylie (1889-1982)

A pioneering writer, explorer and collector of arctic plants, Isobel Wylie Hutchison was brought up at Carlowrie, near Kirkliston in West Lothian. She preferred to travel alone and was the first white woman to reach and botanically explore parts of Greenland, Arctic Alaska and the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Japan. She published many articles and three books on her travel and plant collecting, in addition to delivering over 500 lectures throughout Scotland and England.

Gwyneth Hoyle, *Flowers in the Snow: The life of Isobel Wylie Hutchison*. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Isobel Wylie Hutchison, *On Greenland's Closed Shore. The Fairytale of the Arctic* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1930), *North to the Rime-Ringed Sun. Being the record of an Alaskan-Canadian journey made in 1933-34* (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1934) and *Stepping Stones from Alaska to Asia* (London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1937).

KESWICK, Margaret (Maggie) m. Jencks (1941-1995)

The only daughter of businessman Sir John Keswick from Dumfriesshire, Maggie studied in Shanghai, Hong Kong and London where she met her husband, the architect Charles Jencks. Together they developed the garden at her family home of Portrack near Dumfries from 1988, which is now known as the Garden of Cosmic Speculation. Jencks designed the undulating landforms and terraces whilst Maggie was responsible for the serpentine lakes. A cancer sufferer, she was the inspiration behind the development of Maggie's Centres, a number of cancer caring centres named in her memory throughout Scotland.

BDSW (2006).

KING, Margaret Peterkin (1884-1940) and Charlotte Alexandra (1888-1965)

The unmarried daughters of David King of Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield, Edinburgh, Margaret and Charlotte are believed to have worked for their father and taken over the running of Osborne Nurseries, a leading market garden and nursery, on his death in 1927.

'The Late Mr David King', *The Scotsman*, 28 May 1927, p.11; SP [2011].

KNOX FINLAY, Mary née Wylie Hill (1897-1987)

Mary and her husband, Major Knox Finlay bought Keillour Castle in Perthshire in 1938 and turned a neglected site into a renowned garden. Using a vast collection of plants, many of which were sent to them from the Ludlow and Sherriff expeditions, they established rock and woodland gardens and created a water garden. They specialised in growing Himalayan plants and successfully presented them to the Royal Horticultural Society's Rock Garden Plant Committees. Mary was awarded a Silver Veitch Memorial medal in 1954 by the Royal Horticultural Society for the introduction and cultivation of new plants, followed by the prestigious Victoria Medal of Honour in 1980.

DEW (1982); *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* (1955 and 1981); GDLI see Keillour Castle [2011]; GW (2010); SRG (2000).

LAING, Mrs J. (floruit 1930s-1950s)

Specialising in primulas, gentians, hepaticas and lithospermums, Mrs Laing ran her plant nursery at Hawick from 1938 to 1953. She was a frequent exhibitor at shows organised by the Scottish Rock Garden Club.

SRG (2000); *The Journal of the Scottish Rock Garden Club* (1938-1953).

LAUDER, Margaret (d.1723)

Margaret Lauder was married to Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Aberdeenshire, and in 1675 they created the formal terraced garden, which was later known as the 'Great Garden of Pitmedden'. Although nothing remains of the original, formal gardens were recreated at Pitmedden following its acquisition by the National Trust for Scotland in 1952.

GDLI see Pitmedden [2011]; GS (1977).

LISTON, Henrietta née Marchant (1751-1828)

Daughter of Nathanial Marchant, a Scottish merchant, Henrietta grew up in Antigua but met and married the Rt Hon. Sir Robert Liston in 1796. She accompanied her husband on diplomatic postings to the United States and travelled in the Caribbean where she collected botanical specimens. On her husband's first retirement in 1804, they settled at Millburn Tower in Edinburgh where Henrietta created an American Garden and introduced plants from America, the West Indies and Constantinople.

A. A. Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980); A. A. Tait, 'The American Garden at Millburn Tower' in *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986); GDLI see Millburn Tower [2011]; ODNB (2004) see Liston, Sir Robert; SGO (1813).

LOGAN HOME, Helen Mary (Mollie) (1888-1976) and Edith (1893-1973)

The unmarried daughters of Major George J. N. Logan Home of Broomhouse and Edrom in Berwickshire, Mollie and Edith established an alpine and rock garden nursery at Edrom in 1926. They were both skilled cultivators and regularly exhibited at flowers shows throughout Scotland and at the Chelsea Flower Show in London, where they won a number of medals and certificates. Edrom Nurseries is still in operation today, having outlived many of its male-run competitors.

SRG (2000); TGS (1977); *The Journal of the Scottish Rock Garden Club* (1937-1976).

McASLAN, Mrs Duncan (floruit 1740s – 1760s)

Mrs Duncan McAslan took on the management of her husband's seed and plant nursery in Glasgow following his death in 1741, eventually handing on the business to her son John McAslan in around 1760. The business thrived and remained in the family, trading under the name Austin and McAslan until its demise in 1960.

DBIBH (1994) see McAslan, Duncan; ENESN (1991); 'Messrs. Austin and McAslan', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 13 October 1917, p.147.

McDOUALL, Agnes née Buchan-Hepburn (1838-1926)

The daughter of Sir Thomas Buchan-Hepburn of Smeaton, Agnes was a keen gardener. She married James McDouall and together they established a garden at Logan House in Wigtownshire, south-west Scotland. She collected plants and is believed to have introduced the first exotic, a eucalyptus tree, to the garden. She also inspired her two sons, Kenneth and Douglas, with a love of gardening and they carried on her work. The garden is now one of Scotland's botanic gardens, managed by the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh.

David R. Williamson, 'Logan Gardens, Wigtownshire', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 17 August 1901, p.126 and 'A Scottish Lady Gardener', *The Garden*, 6 June 1914, pp.299-300; GDLI see Logan Botanic Garden [2011]; P&P (2007).

McMURTRIE, Mary Margaret née Mitchell (1902-2003)

Brought up in Skene in Aberdeenshire, Mary married local minister, the Rev. John McMurtrie and lived at the manse. She and her husband shared a love of wildflowers, particularly double primroses, but on his death in 1949, Mary was obliged to leave the manse. Taking a selection of every plant with her she set up her first plant nursery at Springbank Lodge in Aberdeen. The business flourished and in 1960, Mary relocated the nursery to Balbithan House at Kintore. She ran The Rock Garden Nursery for the next thirty years, exhibiting at many rock garden shows, and counted the Misses Logan Home as close friends. Mary was also an accomplished painter of the wild flora of Scotland and her illustrations were published in five books: *Wild Flowers of Scotland* (1982), *Scots Roses of Hedgerows and Wild Gardens* (1998), *Scottish Wild Flowers* (2001), *The Flowers of the Algarve* (2001) and *Old Cottage Pinks* (2004), which was published posthumously.

DEW (1982); BDSW (2006); GDLI see Balbithan House [2011]; GW (2010); Timothy Clark, *Mary McMurtrie's Country Garden Flowers* (Suffolk: Garden Art Press, 2009); Frank Urquhart, 'Mary McMurtrie', *The Scotsman*, 10 November 2003; SRG (2000); TGS (1977).

MONCREIFFE, Elisabeth née Ramsay (1769-1848)

The sister-in-law of Christian Ramsay, Elisabeth married Sir Thomas Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe, 5th Baronet in 1786. She is believed to have been the Lady Moncreiffe referred to by Neill as a keen amateur botanist, who had a great collection of exotic plants.

SGO (1813).

MORISON, Annie (1870-1948)

The daughter of a Scottish minister, Annie Morison attended the Horticultural College in Kent from 1895 to 1897, where she is believed to have met English woman, **Lina BARKER (1866-1929)**. They were the first female practitioner gardeners at the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh and in 1902 they founded the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, the first and only example of its kind in Scotland. The school closed in 1929 following the death of Lina Barker.

Anon., 'A Technical School for Women', *The Practical Teacher*, 23 (April 1903); 'The Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women', *The Scotsman*, 24 October 1903.

MURRAY, Lady Charlotte (1754-1808)

The eldest surviving child of John Murray, 3rd Duke of Atholl, Lady Charlotte Murray never married and spent most of her life in England. A keen gardener and amateur botanist, she compiled *The British Garden, a descriptive catalogue of hardy plants* in 1799. Aimed at the young botanist, it is believed to have been the earliest example of a gardening book written by a woman. The first edition was published anonymously but subsequent editions bore her name.

BDSW (2006); GW (2010); Anon., 'Lady Botanists of the Nineteenth Century', *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 23 December 1950, p.238; Lady Charlotte Murray, *The British Garden, a descriptive catalogue of hardy plants, indigenous, or cultivated in the climate of Great Britain*, 2 vols (Bath: G. S. Hazard, 1799); VWQ (2006).

MURRAY, Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale m. Tollemache, Maitland (bap.1626-1698)

The eldest daughter of William Murray, Earl of Dysart, Elizabeth married her second husband John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale in 1672. They settled at Ham House in Surrey where Elizabeth made significant improvements to the gardens, including a terrace, eight grass plats, wilderness, orangery and the Cherry Garden, which was restored by the National Trust in 1975.

ODNB (2004); Sue Bennett, *Five Centuries of Women & Gardens* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2000).

PIRIE, Mary (1822-1885)

One of ten children born to William Pirie and Clementina Anderson, Mary grew up in Aberdeen and was a keen botanist. In 1860, she published *Flowers, Grasses, and Shrubs; a popular book on botany*. Living latterly in Portsoy, she ran a private school and published her second book, *Familiar Teachings on Natural History: a book for the use of schools and families*, in 1864.

BDSW (2006); Mary Pirie, *Flowers, Grasses, and Shrubs; a popular book on botany* (London: 1860).

PRENTICE, Ivy Josephine (Betty) Prentice née Greene (1912-2004)

Betty Prentice and her husband purchased Cockburn Mill in Duns, Berwickshire in around 1945 and over the course of many years she created a beautiful garden, full of colour and fragrance. Its effect was summed up by Dawn MacLeod as exuding 'an enveloping sense of the joy of creation'.

DEW (1982) p.141.

RAMSAY, Christian, Countess of Dalhousie née Brown (1786-1839)

The only child and heiress of Charles Brown of Coalstoun, East Lothian, Christian married George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie in 1805 and they settled at Dalhousie Castle, the family home near Edinburgh. She accompanied her husband, a military man, on tours of duty to Nova Scotia, Quebec City and India where she collected a significant number of plant specimens, including new introductions. The genus of tropical shrubs *Dalhousiea* was named in her honour.

BDSW (2006); Ernest Nelmes and William Cuthbertson, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine Dedications 1827-1927: portraits and biographical notes* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1932), GW (2010); VWQ (2006).

RENTON, Dorothy Graham née Robertson (1898-1966)

Dorothy Renton grew up in Edinburgh and was interested in botany from an early age. In 1922 she married John Renton and they bought Barnhill Orchard, Perth, where they built a house which they named Branklyn. It was here that they created one of the finest gardens in Scotland at the time. Whilst her husband was the designer, Dorothy was a talented plantswoman and acquired an international reputation for raising difficult plants, many of which had been collected by Frank Ludlow and George Sherriff. She won an array of awards, including the Royal Horticultural Society's Veitch Memorial medal in 1954. *Meconopsis* 'Dorothy Renton' was named in her memory.

BDSW (2006); GDLI see Branklyn [2011]; ODNB (2004); SRG (2000); TGS (1977).

SAWYER, Mairi Thyra née Mackenzie (1879-1953)

Mairi Sawyer was the daughter of Osgood Hanbury Mackenzie, who created the famous gardens at Inverewe, Wester Ross, from 1862 until his death in 1922. A keen and knowledgeable gardener, Mairi took over the gardens on her father's death and continued to develop them and introduce new plants. Although she also made it her life's work, Mairi's contribution is often overshadowed by that of her father's. In 1952, ownership of the gardens was transferred to the National Trust for Scotland.

BDSW (2006); DEW (1982); GDLI see Inverewe [2011]; TGS (1977).

SHAW STEWART, Frances née Colquhoun (d.1818)

Frances was the daughter of Robert Colquhoun of St Kitts, a Scottish planter. She married Sir James Maxwell, 6th Baronet of Pollock and following his death she became the wife of Sir John Shaw Stewart of Greenock and Blackhall in 1786. They settled at the family seat of Ardgowan, near Inverkip in Renfrewshire. A keen gardener, she is said to have introduced shrubs and snowdrops from Pollock, for which Ardgowan is now renowned.

GDLI see Ardgowan [2011].

SHERRIFF, Elizabeth Hanna (Betty) née Graham (1899-1978)

Betty was the youngest daughter born to the Very Revd John Anderson Graham, a missionary and founder of Kalimpong Homes for needy Anglo-Indian children. She grew up in India and married the renowned Himalayan plant collector, George Sherriff in 1943. She joined her husband on two of his expeditions. The first to south east Tibet in 1946 and three years later to Bhutan, during which she was thrown from her mule. On their return to Scotland, they bought Ascreavie in Angus and created, according to Robertson and McKelvie, a 'treasure house of rare plants with rhododendrons, primulas, saxifrages, and meconopsis predominant'. *Lilium sherriffiae* was named after her as was *Meconopsis grandis* 'Betty's Dream Poppy', which she collected in the wild after hearing instructions on where to find it in a dream. In 1974 she was awarded the Dr Patrick Neill Medal by the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society.

DEW (1982); GDLI see Ascreavie [2011]; ODNB (2004) see Sherriff, George; SP [2011]; SRG (2000) p.45; TGS (1977); Anon., 'The Patrick Neill Medal', *The Caledonian Gardener*, 1999.

SLEIGH, Mary (1704-1760)

Mary Sleigh is believed to have been of Scottish descent. In 1724, she married Alexander, 19th Laird of Brodie and was responsible for the formal landscape that was laid out at the family seat of Brodie Castle, near Nairn, between 1730 and 1750. She is also believed to have created a Baroque garden, although no trace of it exists today. The Castle is now managed by the National Trust for Scotland.

GDLI see Brodie Castle [2011].

SMITH, Annie Lorrain (1854-1937)

Born to the Revd Walter Smith, a minister in the Free Church of Scotland, Annie Smith was schooled in Edinburgh and became a governess for a period before taking botany classes at the Royal College of Science in London in around 1888. She was then taken on by the British Museum (Natural History) as an 'unofficial worker', since women at the time were not eligible to be staff members. Annie was an esteemed mycologist and lichenologist and became the first female president of the British Mycological Society in 1907. She published numerous papers and a handbook of British lichens in 1921. On her retirement in 1943, she was awarded an OBE.

Annie Lorrain Smith, *A Handbook of the British Lichens* (London: 1921); BDSW (2006); ODNB (2004).

SOUTAR, Lucy Harriet (1861-1941)

The daughter of Dr Robert Kerr and Catherine Soutar, Lucy Soutar was born and brought up in Golspie, Sutherland. Little is known about her life except that she was one of few Scottish women at the time to have written a gardening book. Thought to refer to Mayfield, the home of a childhood friend in Falkirk, *Monthly Gleanings in a Scottish Garden* provides a romantic evocation of a year in the life of a garden.

Lucy H. Soutar, *Monthly Gleanings in a Scottish Garden* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1909); SP [2011].

STEWART, Olga Margaret (1920-1998)

Born in Edinburgh to a Scottish father and Canadian mother, Olga studied architecture at the Edinburgh College of Art and worked as a draughtswoman before marrying Frank Stewart, an Edinburgh lawyer, in 1946. She started drawing flowers when pregnant with her first child and joined both the Wildflower Society and the Botanical Society of the British Isles. She became an accomplished botanical artist and botanist and was appointed botanical recorder for Kirkcudbrightshire in 1975. She published four papers in the journals of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (DGNHAS), including ‘Flowering plants and ferns of Kirkcudbrightshire’ in 1990.

BDSW (2006); the other papers published in the *Transactions of the DGNHAS* include ‘Pitularia globulifera in Kirkcudbrightshire’ (1988), ‘Professor Hutton Balfour’s botanical visits to Kirkcudbrightshire’ (1987) and ‘The present botany of a former medieval site: a check-list of plants at Barhobble, Mochrum’ (1996).

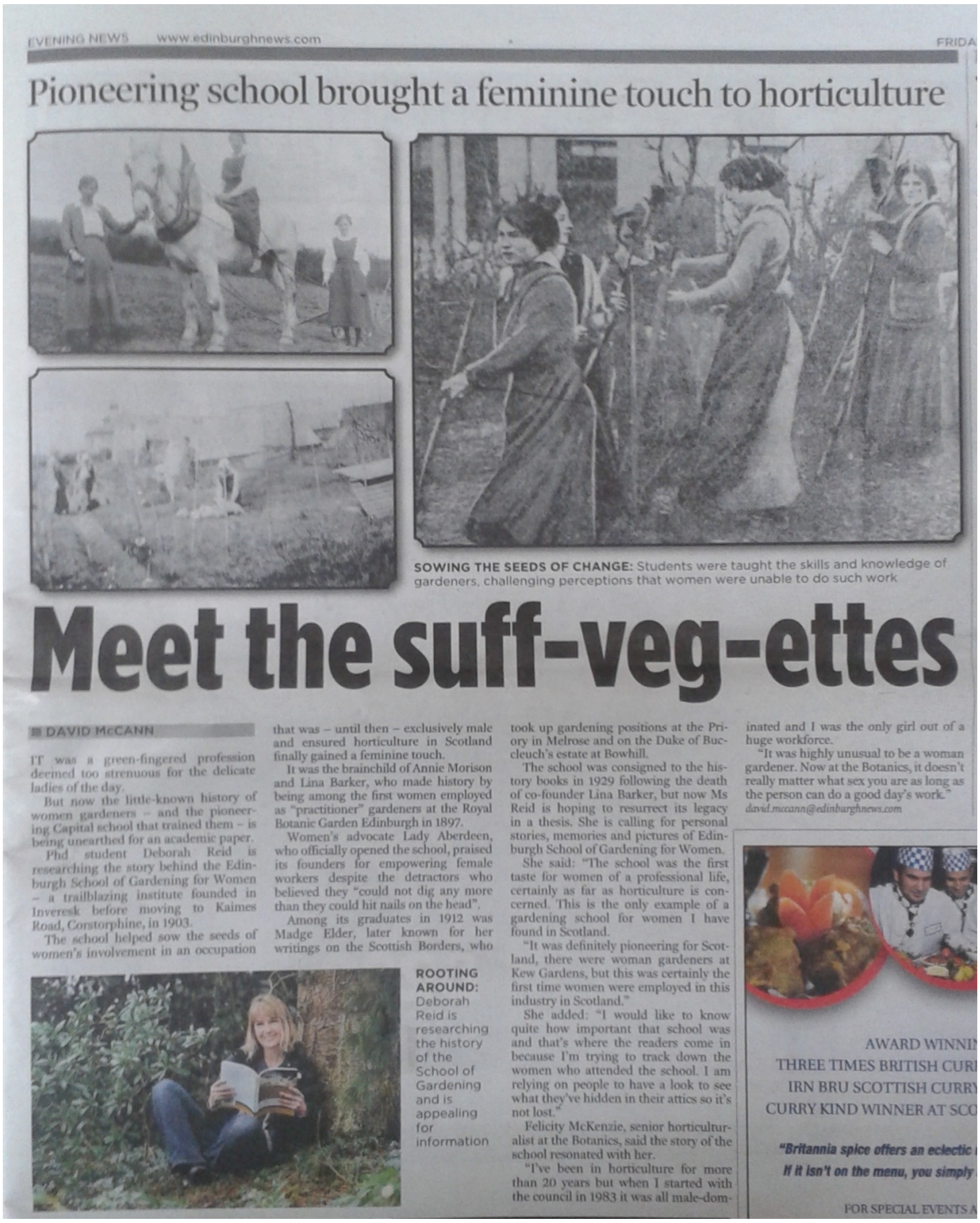
WALKER, Anna Maria née Patton (c.1778-1852)

Anna Maria Walker, whose family came from Anstruther in Fife, together with her English husband, Colonel George Warren Walker, were major players in the exploration of the botanical riches of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in the 1830s. A knowledgeable botanist, Anna Maria drew and wrote about their travels and botanical finds, most of which were sent to William Jackson Hooker in Glasgow and Robert Graham in Edinburgh. According to Noltie, their herbarium specimens made a significant contribution to the knowledge of the flora of Ceylon.

Henry J. Noltie, *The Botanical Collections of Colonel and Mrs Walker: Ceylon, 1830-1838* (Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 2013).

Appendix IV

David McCann, ‘Meet the suff-veg-ettes’, *Edinburgh Evening* News, 10 February 2012, p.3.



Pioneering school brought a feminine touch to horticulture

SOWING THE SEEDS OF CHANGE: Students were taught the skills and knowledge of gardeners, challenging perceptions that women were unable to do such work

Meet the suff-veg-ettes

DAVID McCANN

IT was a green-fingered profession deemed too strenuous for the delicate ladies of the day.

But now the little-known history of women gardeners – and the pioneering Capital school that trained them – is being unearthed for an academic paper.

Phd student Deborah Reid is researching the story behind the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women – a trailblazing institute founded in Inveresk before moving to Kaimes Road, Corstorphine, in 1903.

The school helped sow the seeds of women's involvement in an occupation that was – until then – exclusively male and ensured horticulture in Scotland finally gained a feminine touch.

It was the brainchild of Annie Morison and Lina Barker, who made history by being among the first women employed as "practitioner" gardeners at the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh in 1897.

Women's advocate Lady Aberdeen, who officially opened the school, praised its founders for empowering female workers despite the detractors who believed they "could not dig any more than they could hit nails on the head".

Among its graduates in 1912 was Madge Elder, later known for her writings on the Scottish Borders, who took up gardening positions at the Priory in Melrose and on the Duke of Buccleuch's estate at Bowhill.

The school was consigned to the history books in 1929 following the death of co-founder Lina Barker, but now Ms Reid is hoping to resurrect its legacy in a thesis. She is calling for personal stories, memories and pictures of Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women.

She said: "The school was the first taste for women of a professional life, certainly as far as horticulture is concerned. This is the only example of a gardening school for women I have found in Scotland.

"It was definitely pioneering for Scotland, there were woman gardeners at Kew Gardens, but this was certainly the first time women were employed in this industry in Scotland."

She added: "I would like to know quite how important that school was and that's where the readers come in because I'm trying to track down the women who attended the school. I am relying on people to have a look to see what they've hidden in their attics so it's not lost."

Felicity McKenzie, senior horticulturalist at the Botanics, said the story of the school resonated with her.

"I've been in horticulture for more than 20 years but when I started with the council in 1983 it was all male-dominated and I was the only girl out of a huge workforce.

"It was highly unusual to be a woman gardener. Now at the Botanics, it doesn't really matter what sex you are as long as the person can do a good day's work."

david.mccann@edinburghnews.com

ROOTING AROUND: Deborah Reid is researching the history of the School of Gardening and is appealing for information

AWARD WINNI
THREE TIMES BRITISH CUR
IRN BRU SCOTTISH CURR
CURRY KIND WINNER AT SC

"Britannia spice offers an eclectic
If it isn't on the menu, you simply

FOR SPECIAL EVENTS A

Appendix V

Results of the RHS Examination in Horticulture for Students of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, 1904-15

Year	*Name*	*Institution*	*Mark**	*Class*
1904	Balfour, Georgina G.	Edinburgh School of Gardening, Corstorphine	245	Second
1905	Richardson, C.	Edinburgh School of Gardening, Corstorphine	250	First
	Robson, M. M.	Edinburgh School of Gardening, Corstorphine	225	Second
	Sinclair, A.	Edinburgh School of Horticulture, Corstorphine	200	Second
	Syme, G. M.	Edinburgh School of Horticulture, Corstorphine	190	Third
1906	Gillespie, M. C.	School of Gardening, Murrayfield, Edinburgh	190	Third
	Mears, L. E.	School of Gardening, Murrayfield, Edinburgh	185	Third
	Findlay, D.	School of Gardening, Murrayfield, Edinburgh	155	Third
1908	Weber, C.	School of Gardening, Corstorphine, Edinburgh	N/A[+]	Third
1912	Elder, M. M.	East of Scotland Agricultural College, Edinburgh[~]	N/A	Third
	Godfrey, J. T.	East of Scotland Agricultural College, Edinburgh[~]	N/A	Third
	Smith, D.	East of Scotland Agricultural College, Edinburgh[~]	N/A	Third
	Mitchell, E. B.	East of Scotland Agricultural College, Edinburgh[~]	N/A	Third
	White, M.	East of Scotland Agricultural College, Edinburgh[~]	N/A	First [Junior]
1915[^]	Mercer, E. M.	School of Gardening, Corstorphine	N/A	Third
	Millen, L. D.	School of Gardening, Corstorphine	N/A	Third

*out of a possible total of 300

[+] mark not listed

[~] Despite the listing, these women are known to have attended the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women

[^] In 1920 the RHS replaced this exam with the National Diploma Examination in General Horticulture. Individual results were no longer published in its journal.

Source: *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 29-41 (1904-15)

Appendix VI

Possible Students of the Edinburgh School of Gardening for Women, 1903-23

Year of entry	*Name*	*Confirmed*	*Possible*	*Career*
1903	Georgina G. Balfour	✓		Head Gardener
	Agnes M. Barclay		✓	?
	Molly Glassford		✓	?
	Annie Gollan		✓	?
	Lena Mitchell		✓	?
	Daisy Taylor		✓	?
	Annie D. Young		✓	?
1904	Catherine Richardson	✓		?
	Margaret M. Robson	✓		?
	Agatha Sinclair	✓		?
	Georgina M. Syme	✓		?
1906	D. Findlay	✓		?
	Mary C. Gillespie	✓		?
	Louisa E. Mears	✓		Gardener for Open Spaces project, Old Town, Edinburgh
1907	Carola Weber	✓		?
	Harriet H. Robbie		✓	Gardener for Carnegie Dunfermline Trust
1910	Madge M. Elder	✓		Head Gardener/Nurserywoman
	Bessie B. Mitchell	✓		Nurserywoman
	Annie Lamont	✓		?
1910-12	J. T. Godfrey	✓		?
	Miss B. Hogarth	✓		?
	Alice Rae Brown	✓		Gardener at Bowhill
	D. Smith	✓		?
	Jean Waldie	✓		Gardener in England
	May B. White	✓		?
	Dora de Watteville	✓		Gardener in England

Year of entry	*Name*	*Confirmed*	*Possible*	*Career*
1913	Margaret Sutherland		✓	?
1915	Agnes V. Cran		✓	?
	E.M. Mercer	✓		Head Gardener
	Louisa D. Millen	✓		Lecturer at West of Scotland Agricultural College
1917	Mary S. Adam		✓	?
1918	Mary J. Hadley		✓	?
	Mary H. MacTaggart		✓	?
1919	Frieda Hogben		✓	?
Unknown	Miss Johnston	✓		Nurserywoman
1923	Elizabeth Beveridge	✓		Gardener/writer
	Mary Hawthorne + 4	✓		?

Sources: *Heriot-Watt College Calendar*; NRS AF70: papers of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Agricultural College; A. S. Cowper, *Historic Corstorphine and Roundabout: Part Two* (Edinburgh: The Corstorphine Trust, 1992), p.86; Elder, *The Sheltering Tree;* McIntyre Family Archive: letter from A. S. Cowper to Mr McIntyre, 8 May 1986; Beveridge Family Private Archive, Elizabeth Beveridge, *The Prig's Progress* (unpublished autobiography, c.1970); 'Gardens for School Children', *The Scotsman*, 29 September 1911, p.6; 'Slum Gardens: an interesting Edinburgh experiment', *The Scotsman*, 8 May 1909, p.9.