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Historic Places Investigation

# Croxdale Hall, Croxdale, County Durham: An Assessment of the Walled Garden

Clare Howard

Discovery, Innovation and Science in the Historic Environment



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**CROXDALE HALL, CROXDALE,  
COUNTY DURHAM**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE WALLED GARDEN**

Clare Howard

NGR: NZ 27640 37796

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ISSN 2059-4453 (Online)

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## **SUMMARY**

The three-walled garden and associated lakes at Croxdale Hall, located approximately 3.22 kilometres south of the city of Durham, were laid out in the mid-18th century. The result was not just a fruit and flower garden, but also a pleasure ground within which the owners, the Salvins, could demonstrate their wealth, status and intellect through the exotic and unusual plants they were able to procure and grow. The Salvins bought much of their produce from the very successful and well-respected nurserymen of the time, Lewis Kennedy (1721-82) and James Lee (1715-95) of Hammersmith in London. An even closer association was formed when Lewis Kennedy arranged for the appointment of his brother John (1719-90) as gardener at Croxdale Hall in 1748. The Kennedys were part of a long line of important gardeners and landscape designers and may have had a direct influence on the design and arrangement of the gardens at Croxdale, particularly the hot walls and hot houses.

To understand the significance of this important garden and to inform its future repair and management, the Historic England Assessment Team North (now the Historic Places Investigation Team North) undertook a photographic record and an analytical assessment of the fabric of the walled garden at Croxdale Hall in the spring of 2016. Documentary research relating to the gardens has also helped to clarify both the Kennedy family tree and the broader significance of the Kennedys as gardeners and horticulturalists during the 18th century.

An interim report was issued to the owners and the Historic England Heritage at Risk (Planning) Team in May 2016. This report supersedes that document and was first issued as a Research Report in November 2016, but was revised in March 2017 in order to correct information on the Kennedy family tree.

## **CONTRIBUTORS**

The investigation and survey of the building was undertaken by Clare Howard, Lucy Jessop and Ross Birtles. The photographs for the report were taken by Lucy Jessop while record photography was taken by Alun Bull, assisted by Ross Birtles. Archival and historical research was undertaken by Clare Howard. The text was prepared by Clare Howard and was edited by Lucy Jessop and Dave Went.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The authors would like to thank Gerard Salvin for allowing access and providing useful information on the history of the estate. Thanks are also due to the staff of Durham Record Office, Oxburgh Hall and the National Archives, Kew for their assistance in locating and providing useful sources of information.

## **ARCHIVE LOCATION**

The photographic and report archive will be deposited with the Historic England Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon SN2 2EH.

## **DATE OF INVESTIGATION**

The investigation and survey took place on 18th February and 9th March 2016.

## **CONTACT DETAILS**

Historic England, 37 Tanner Row, York, YO1 6WP  
Clare Howard, Investigator, Historic Places Investigation Team (North);  
01904 601888; [clare.howard@HistoricEngland.org.uk](mailto:clare.howard@HistoricEngland.org.uk)



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Cover: The pavilion, north wall and lake © Historic England/Alun Bull, 28 October 2016.

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## INTRODUCTION

Croxdale Hall and its associated parkland is situated less than 4 kilometres south of Durham; the estate lies to the east of the River Wear and sits within a meander of the Croxdale Beck (a tributary of the Wear) which forms a deep ravine to the south (Figure 1). The eight-acre (3.25 hectares), three-walled garden stands to the south-east of the Hall and its outbuildings and south of the main east-west avenue leading to High Croxdale farm.



*Figure 1: Location map showing the boundaries of the Registered Park and Garden at Croxdale Hall east of the A167, and Burn Hall, west of the A167 © Crown Copyright [and database rights] 2016. OS 100024900.*

The walled garden and the lakes which form its fourth, southern boundary were probably laid out in the mid- to late 18th century perhaps with some influence from Lewis Kennedy (1721-82), one of the pioneering horticulturalists and landscape gardeners of the 18th century and his brother John (1719-90), gardener at Croxdale between 1748 and 1771. The brothers were part of a long line of gardeners and landscape designers, often with the same names; as a result, previous research has sometimes confused the relationship between each of the Kennedys making it difficult to corroborate the work for which each family member was responsible. Documentary research relating to the gardens at Croxdale Hall has helped to clarify the Kennedy family tree and to understand the significance of the Kennedys as gardeners and landscape designers during the 18th century.

The 18th-century parkland and gardens of Croxdale Hall are a grade II\* Registered Park and Garden (list entry 1001271), while the three walls that form the walled garden and the incorporated pavilion (listed as an orangery) within the park are listed at grade II (list entry 1323221). The parkland has fallen into disrepair and landscape and forestry schemes undertaken throughout the late 20th century have contributed to the deterioration of the gardens and the structures within them. This has resulted in the inclusion of the Registered Park and Garden on the Heritage at Risk Register since 2012.

The estate have been able to acquire a certain amount of funding through Countryside Stewardship (since 1995) and Higher Level Stewardship (since 2007) and some of the structures within the parkland have been repaired through grant aid from English Heritage (now Historic England). While the stewardship funding has addressed some of the wider issues such as the boundary walls, parkland management, trees and an area of Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), it has not extended to some of the heritage assets which fall outside of the scheme.

This report was commissioned by Chris Mayes, Heritage at Risk Landscape Architect, Historic England North-East and North-West. It is intended to provide a preliminary assessment of the fabric, setting and significance of the walled garden, pavilion and their immediate environs in order to support any future funding applications and to inform their future restoration.

A Parkland Plan for the Croxdale estate was produced in 2009 by Southern Green Limited and this provides a good overview of the history and development of the parkland. The following research, therefore, is specifically designed to provide an assessment of the walled garden and its connections with the Kennedys. It is possible that certain features including the arrangement of the avenues as a cross and the former star plantation may symbolise the Salvins' Catholic faith. The evidence for this is particularly difficult to research – especially since the north and south avenues and star plantation have since been removed – and requires specialist knowledge from a researcher that has an understanding of 18th-century recusant gardens. Any analysis of the Catholic symbolism within the garden has not, therefore, been explored in depth as part of this report.

Archival research has been undertaken by the author in order to understand the historical development of the site. This has involved collating information derived from original and secondary material held by Durham Record Office and at Croxdale Hall. Enquiries were made with the Lindley Library – part of the Royal Horticultural Society (RHS) – regarding any material they might hold on the Kennedys or the Vineyard Nursery but the archivist explained that they do not hold any original material relating to this subject. It was hoped that further research into the walled garden at Callaly Castle in Northumberland might have provided further information on the work of Lewis Kennedy, a connection which may have arisen through the marriage of Gerard Salvin (d 1722/3) and Mary Clavering of Callaly. The archive for Callaly Castle is held at Oxburgh Hall and while this is accessible with an appointment, the catalogue of papers listed by the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts in 1872 and 1956 suggest that there are no estate papers held by Oxburgh that may shed some light on the construction of the gardens at Callaly.<sup>1</sup>

A level-2 survey of the walled garden and pavilion was undertaken as part of this assessment to enhance understanding of the structure and its evolution.<sup>2</sup> This involved a detailed investigation of the site and the production of record photography which will be deposited with the Historic England Archive in Swindon. It was not possible to undertake a close internal inspection of the end bays of the pavilion since they are currently in domestic use and leased to private tenants.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### Croxdale Hall and its gardens

Croxdale Hall has been the home of the Salvin family since the beginning of the 15th century when the estate passed to Gerard Salvin (d 1422) upon his marriage to Lady Agnes of Croxdale in 1402.<sup>3</sup> The estate has passed through successive generations of the Salvin family and remains in their ownership today. Both the hall and the surrounding parkland have been subject to numerous modifications and remodelling, but the present layout and appearance of the hall and its immediate parkland is largely the work of Bryan Salvin (1676-1751) and his son William (1723-1800).

Bryan Salvin succeeded to the estate on the death of his father, Gerard, in *circa* 1722/3<sup>4</sup> and was largely responsible for integrating the hall within its landscape. A note in the accounts on 16 December 1722 lists work 'to line out Avenues South and North from the House the Hornbeam Hedge from the church to the kiln'<sup>5</sup>. This suggests that he was responsible for the north and south avenues, probably to complement the existing east and west avenues that he, or his father, may have already laid out. This would have achieved the shape of a cross, perhaps as a symbol of the family's faith.<sup>6</sup> Certainly this cross is on the same alignment as Durham Cathedral which is located approximately 2 miles north. However, the east and west avenues are not mentioned in Bryan Salvin's accounts.

The east avenue is particularly interesting since it was originally planted with platoons arranged in alternate circles or squares. Other examples of such platoons are known to have existed at Hesleyside, Northumberland; this estate was held by the Charlton family, also a Roman Catholic recusant family connected to the Salvins by marriage.<sup>7</sup> Reference to a star plantation, mentioned in documentation dating to 1726 when Bryan Salvin commissioned Allan Brown to provide advice on how to develop the gardens, may have also been a nod towards the family's Catholic sympathies particularly since an octagonal plantation known as 'the star' is mentioned at Callaly Castle, home of the Clavering family who also followed the Catholic faith.<sup>8</sup> The octagon is a symbol of the Catholic belief of rebirth and resurrection. Alternatively, the star at Croxdale may be a representation of the Salvin family's coat of arms which also contains stars.

A plan of the estate drawn in the time of Bryan Salvin's ownership (Figure 2) provides an insight into the early layout of the parkland.<sup>9</sup> The plan is not dated and can only, therefore, be tentatively dated to between 1723 – the year in which he inherited the estate – and his death in 1751. The Parks and Gardens Register describes a plan of the estate dated by a receipt from William Robinson of Kepier, Durham, dated April 1741, but no reference is given and such a receipt no longer accompanies the plan (list entry 1001271). The plan shows avenues to the north, east, south and west centred on the hall. The north and south avenues are composed of smaller trees; the west avenue is similarly planted but bends to follow the line of the River Wear and is double planted along its eastern stretch. The east avenue is planted with platoons of trees which are arranged in alternate shapes of circles and squares.

South of the platoon avenue is the site of the walled garden which does not appear to have been established when the drawing was made. The lines, presumably delineating

boundaries, vary in thickness across the plan and while this may just be a result of the illustrator's inconsistent use of ink, it is possible that they are intended to show different types of boundary such as fences, walls or even just a change in surface or level. It is difficult, therefore, to know for certain whether the line along the site of the western wall of the walled garden – shown as the eastern boundary of the orchard – indicates that the west wall had been built; the wall does, however, extend approximately along the same distance as the wall surviving today. There is also the suggestion that there was a boundary running east-west immediately to the south of the platoons; this boundary turns southwards and forms a curve back to the eastern wall of the orchard rather than continuing along its original axis. The plan also shows the course of the Skip Beck, which was later to become the ponds on the south side of the walled garden, running westwards from the north-east to meet the Croxdale Beck. The lines running alongside and crossing the Skip Beck are so irregular that it is unlikely that these were walls, but were clearly boundaries of some sort. A row of narrow buildings enclosed by a boundary to the west of the orchard may have been the earlier kitchen garden.



*Figure 2: Plan of the Lordship belonging to Bryan Salvin showing park and plantations, circa 1723 – 1751 (D/Sa/P 11: Reproduced by permission of the Salvin family and Durham County Record Office)*

Bryan Salvin was succeeded by his son, William, in 1751.<sup>10</sup> Following his marriage in 1758 to Catherine Thornton of Netherwhitton in Northumberland, William undertook major changes to the house and parkland in the 1760s and it is William and Catherine's initials which appear within the Cortese plasterwork of the staircase in the Hall.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that, given the investment in the house at this time, William also undertook landscape improvements within the gardens. The gateway, estate bridge and lodge were probably

added around this date to the designs of Christopher Ebdon.<sup>12</sup> However, Francis Henry Salvin (1817-1904) wrote in 1862 that it was his great grandfather Bryan Salvin who was responsible for laying out the avenues, gardens and ponds under the direction of a certain Kennedy, who he referred to as 'From whom sprang [*sic*] the London Nurserymen Lee and Kennedy', although he does not provide an exact date for the works.<sup>13</sup> Bryan was certainly aware of Lewis Kennedy and it was Bryan who was also responsible for the appointment of John Kennedy as the Croxdale gardener in 1748 (*see below*). Francis further stated that whilst the present house was built in 1760, his grandfather, William, 'did nothing to improve the property by planting or otherwise'. Certainly much of the garden layout had been established at the time of William's succession, but he nevertheless made his own improvements to the landscape and it is possible that some truth has been lost from the anecdotal references within the autobiography.

## The walled garden

The National Heritage List for England (NHLE) entry for the pavilion and walls of the garden suggests, without supporting evidence, that the structures were constructed *circa* 1765. While there is an excellent documentary archive for the Croxdale estate, no reference to the construction of these structures has been found. The Plan of the Lordship of Croxdale, drawn by J Hunter in 1771 (Figure 3), however, shows that the walled garden had certainly been laid out by this date, together with a central pavilion and a single large pond to the south. The triangular projections which feature at intervals along the wall are depicted, but the central pavilion, which is shown as an elevation, is somewhat puzzling since it differs significantly from the building which stands today.

The plan depicts a two-storey structure in the middle of the wall, composed of a central block with hipped roof which is flanked by narrower bays with what appear to be pitched roofs. Rather than showing three distinctive arches in the centre, the illustration shows a series of vertical and horizontal bars which are difficult to interpret but may suggest glazing, either arranged vertically or as a sloping lean-to roof (Figure 4). Alternatively, this may be netting or frames for an aviary, its massing being similar to an aviary at Chiswick House as illustrated by Rocque in 1736 and built to a design by William Kent (Figure 5). There is the faint outline of possible Serliana windows within each of the flanking bays which might bear some similarity to the building seen today, but the outlines of the Diocletian windows above them are difficult to identify. Either side of the pavilion are smaller buildings which may indicate glass houses, perhaps with glazed roofs or even smaller aviary buildings. The illustration bears little resemblance to the building at Croxdale today and if this plan is to be believed, with so many of the other details of the gardens being accurate, it is possible that the pavilion was significantly remodelled following this survey of 1771.

Only one of the three ponds is illustrated on the 1771 plan, although the possible earthen mound depicted on the right of the central lake might suggest that the eastern lake was under construction when the survey was undertaken, the mound being the excavated earth for the lake; there is no mound within the garden today. The 1771 plan shows that the garden is laid out with a wide east-west path along its northern side with paths leading from it to the south; areas between these paths form planting beds. There is a narrow strip of shelter belt on the eastern, external side of the garden and an orchard on the western side with an east-west path leading from the house. The south avenue stretching from the





Figure 3: Plan of the Lordship of Croxdale belonging to William Salvin 1771 (© Gerard Salvin)

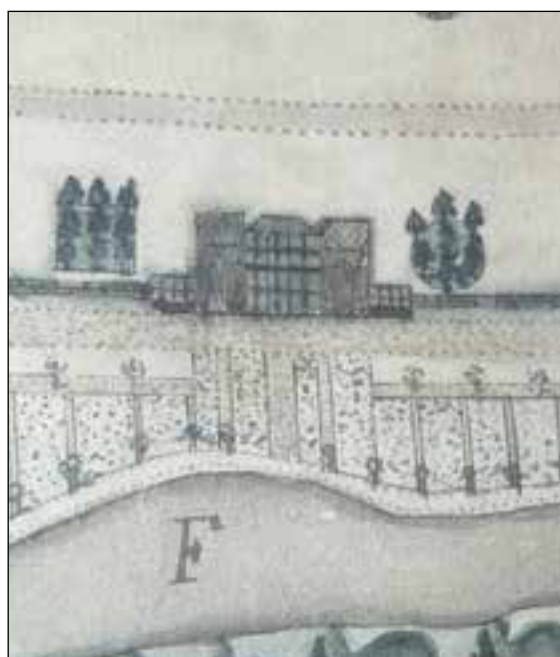


Figure 4 (left): Detail of the pavilion as illustrated on the 1771 survey (© Gerard Salvin)



Figure 5 (right): Lady Burlington's Flower Garden and Aviary at Chiswick drawn by Rocque in 1736 (© Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees)

house had been removed by this date, perhaps to open the views from the house influenced by Picturesque sensibilities. In its place is a long rectangular pond, annotated as the 'High Pond'. Interestingly, the plan is annotated with arrows which are labelled to show views from the hall to the cathedral, Brancepeth Church and Sunderland Bridge; these are clearly key to the layout of the parkland.

A second plan of the grounds during the ownership of William Salvin (Figure 6) is held by Durham Record Office but is again undated and can, therefore, only be tentatively dated to between 1751 – when William succeeded his father – and 1800, the year of his death. The plan is similar to the 1771 plan and shows almost the same layout, although in less detail. The presence of the three lakes and the addition of a shelter belt on the north side of the walled garden – omitted from the 1771 plan – might suggest that this version was drawn after 1771 or, alternatively, that it was a drawing to show proposed works. The walled garden and serpentine pond are labelled 'Gardens & Road' with a value of 5 acres 2 roods and 0 perches.<sup>14</sup>



*Figure 6: Plan of the Lordship of William Salvin circa 1751-1800 (D/Sa/p/12: Reproduced by permission of the Salvin family and Durham County Record Office)*

## The Kennedys and Croxdale Hall

Two members of the Kennedy family are associated with the gardens at Croxdale Hall and are mentioned in the Salvin family's accounts. The family appears to have originated from the village of Muthill, Perthshire, where they were frequently employed in the design and maintenance of the gardens of nearby Drummond Castle (Figure 7). The Kennedy connection with Drummond Castle seems to have extended over a long period of time and many generations. The best known of the later Kennedys was the landscape gardener Lewis Kennedy IV (1789-1877) who became the landscape gardener and land agent to the Drummond Burrells of Drummond Castle and took up residence at Pitkellony House in Muthill in the early 19th century.<sup>15</sup> This family connection with the gardens at Drummond might suggest that the John I and Lewis II Kennedy, who are associated with Croxdale Hall, learnt many of their skills and expertise in gardening from an early age.

The kitchen garden at Drummond Castle has three sides, is particularly long at approximately 224m and is open on its south side to the Drummond Burn (Figure 8). It is worth noting that the 1866 Ordnance Survey map also depicts a building within the garden which is divided into three parts – similar to the arrangement at Croxdale – with a possible glazed hot house on its south side. This arrangement of pavilion with hot house in front may be what is being shown on the 1771 Croxdale survey (see Figure 4). The Drummond Castle example is also very similar in the way that it is explored by the visitor, beyond the formal gardens as a way of demonstrating the wealth of the owners through their horticultural capabilities. The construction date of this part of the garden is unknown, but since the Drummond estate was forfeited and held by the crown between 1750 and 1784 due to the involvement of James, third Duke of Perth, in the Jacobite risings of 1745, it was presumably built before or after these dates.<sup>16</sup> If it was indeed laid out before 1750, its striking similarity to the walled garden at Croxdale might suggest that Lewis II and/or John I were influenced by it for their designs at Croxdale.

The gardener John Kennedy I was the son of Thomas I and Amelia (or Emilia) Kennedy (née Greig) and was born on 3 July 1719 in Muthill, Perthshire,<sup>17</sup> shortly after the couple were married in the same parish. His twin brothers, Lewis II and Thomas II, were born two years later on 9 June 1721.<sup>18</sup> Their father, Thomas I, was gardener to the Drummond estate and is mentioned as such in the will of his son, Thomas II, in 1752.<sup>19</sup> A further John Kennedy, probably brother or even father of Thomas I, is also recorded as gardener to the Drummond estate in 1746 and 1748 when he wrote his last will and testament.<sup>20</sup> Lewis Kennedy II left Muthill and was living in London in 1748 while John may have been living and working in northern Scotland.<sup>21</sup> Their parents, however, were still residents of Muthill at the time of the death of Thomas II in 1752.<sup>22</sup>

Lewis Kennedy II is generally considered to be the co-founder, together with James Lee (1715-95), of the Vineyard Nursery in Hammersmith in Middlesex, which was established *circa* 1745 on the site of what is now the Olympia Exhibition Centre, London.<sup>23</sup> Kennedy was considered the senior partner and was described in 1810 as 'a nurseryman and florist of some eminence at that period'.<sup>24</sup> However, E J Willson argues that Lewis would have only been approximately 24 years of age at the time of the firm's foundation suggesting that the co-founder was perhaps in fact a relative of Lewis II. If Willson is correct, it is possible that the nursery was perhaps established by Lewis' uncle, Lewis I, who was for some time

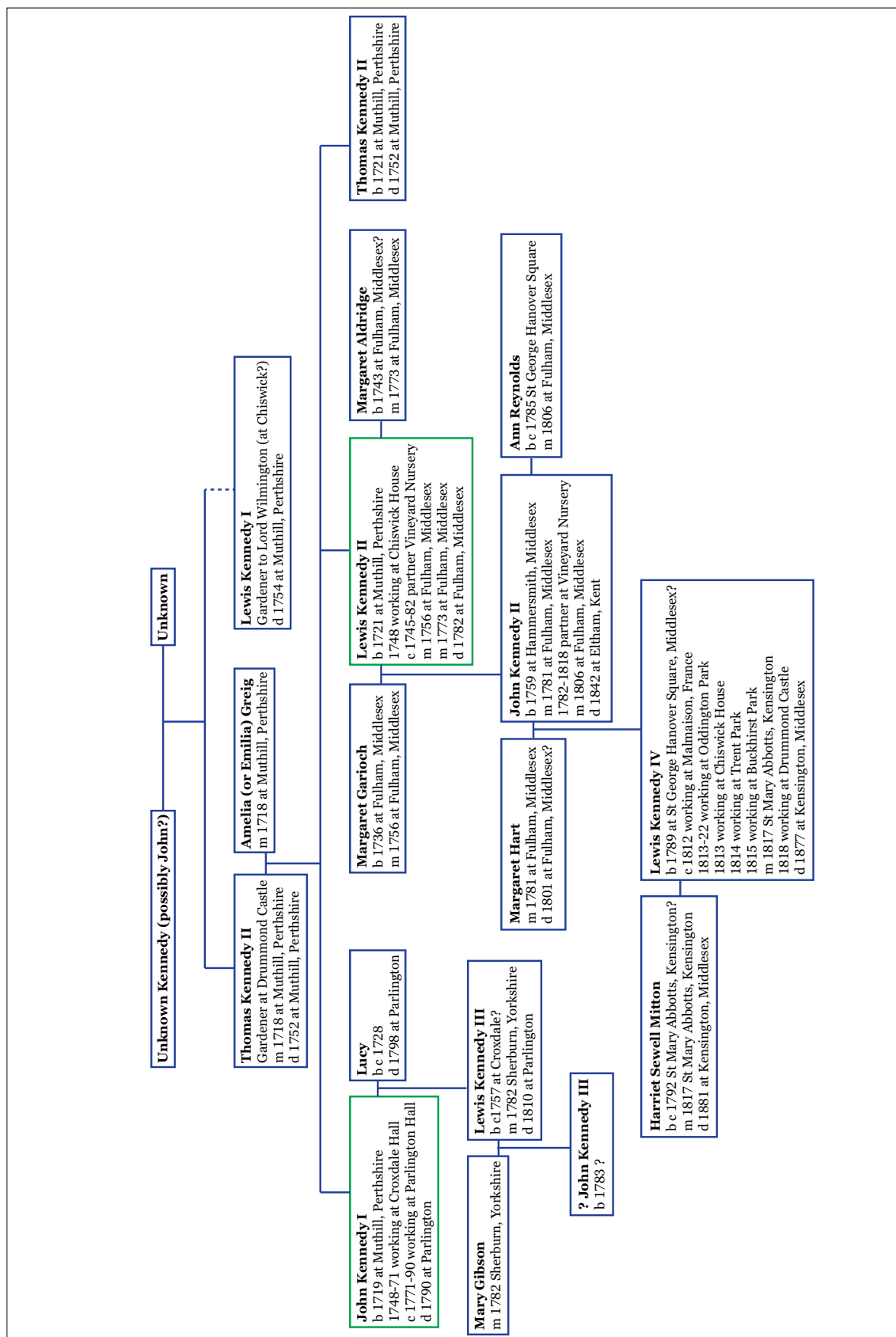


Figure 7: The Kennedy family tree showing only those principal family members who are mentioned in this report; those members with duplicate names have been numbered for ease of reference (© Historic England, drawn by Clare Howard)

gardener to Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, who held Chiswick between 1728-44.<sup>25</sup> Lewis I died in Muthill in 1754 and Lewis II could have subsequently taken over the partnership upon his uncle's death, although no mention of this is made in his will. Other authors, however, have suggested that the nursery was not in fact established until slightly later, Lewis II first being the gardener at Chiswick<sup>26</sup> and this is somewhat corroborated by a letter that was written to Kennedy at Chiswick in 1748.<sup>27</sup> Whatever its early history, the Vineyard Nursery must have been operating by 1750 when the firm was documented as supplying plants and trees to Croxdale Hall.<sup>28</sup>

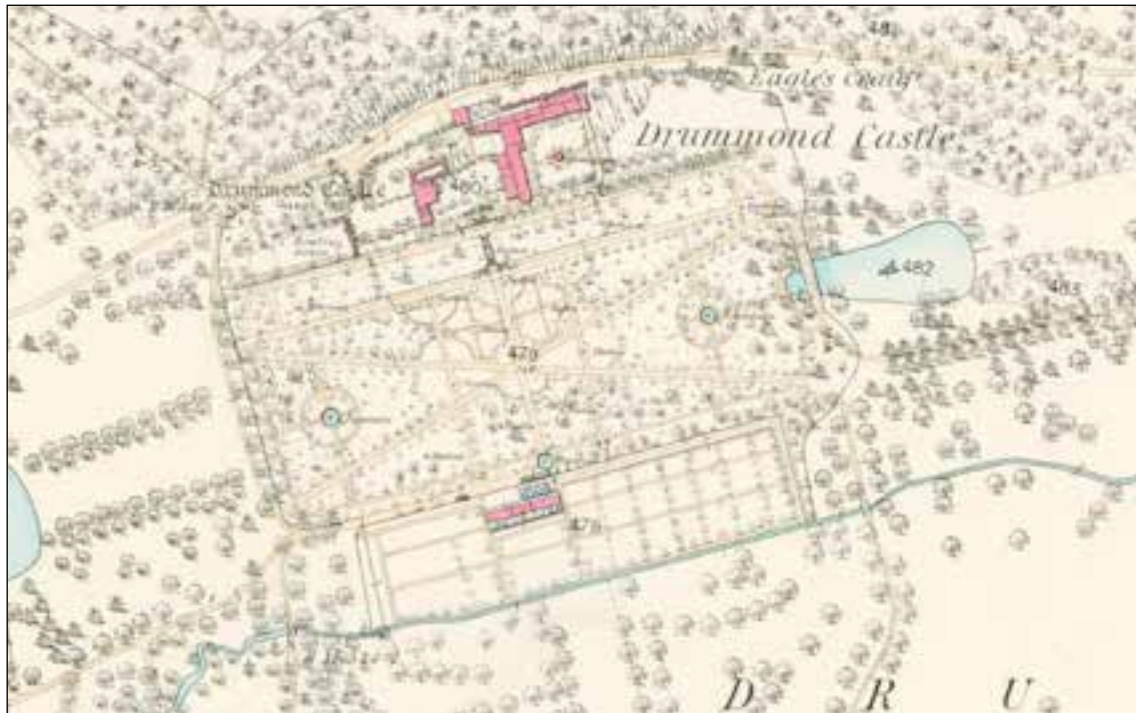


Figure 8: Extract from the 1866 Ordnance Survey map (surveyed in 1863) showing the walled garden at Drummond Castle lying on the south side of the formal gardens (© Reproduced from the original by permission of the National Library of Scotland)

The nursery became very well known for its wide selection of exotic plants and was apparently responsible for introducing 135 new taxa to Britain including *Buddleja Globosa* and *Fuschia*.<sup>29</sup> It had a two-storey thatched cottage within the grounds which provided accommodation on the first floor and a shop for the sale of wine on the ground floor.<sup>30</sup> The nursery supplied some of the greatest landscape architects of the day, including Lancelot 'Capability' Brown.<sup>31</sup> Some authors have suggested that Lewis Kennedy's interest and role was largely concerned with finances and administration, with most of his time spent travelling to recover payments due or to discuss new orders.<sup>32</sup> While it is likely that he travelled around the country, it is possible that this was to meet with clients to discuss their requirements and design their gardens appropriate to the plants they wished to grow. This was a period when much of the work was earned through reputation and it was necessary for the firm to meet customers and build relationships in order to develop. Certainly by 1774 Lewis described himself as a 'nursery man' in partnership with James Lee when he gave evidence at the trial of William Hipditch for the theft of Myrtle plants from the nursery.<sup>33</sup>



This statement of his profession as nurseryman, rather than gardener or landscape architect, suggests that his interest in the arrangement of the walled gardens was a practical one, his real concern being the supply and welfare of the plants.

In June 1748 John Darell wrote to Bryan Salvin to confirm that he had managed to secure the appointment of 'the man on whom you had set your heart', John Kennedy, as the new gardener at Croxdale Hall, to commence that month.<sup>34</sup> The relationship between Darell and Salvin is unclear but Darell states that he was 'empowered by you [Salvin] to make a bargain for the man in question'. Darell made the necessary arrangements and agreement with John's brother, Lewis, at Chiswick. This appears to have been on the recommendation of Phill (or Philip) Miller, chief gardener at the Chelsea Physic Garden from 1722 onwards, with whom Lewis Kennedy's partner James Lee had worked at Chelsea; Lewis himself might also have worked with them there.<sup>35</sup> John was to be paid a salary of £30 per year with board in the house or board wages and Salvin was to arrange for the collection and transportation of Kennedy's belongings from Sunderland or Newcastle, or 'where ever they are landed'. This suggests that John was travelling some distance, perhaps from London or northern Scotland,<sup>36</sup> although the fact that Lewis was making the necessary arrangements might indicate that his brother was a considerable distance from London. In this case, it would have been difficult and slow to make the necessary arrangements himself.

Darell concluded his letter with high hopes for Kennedy, stating:

When a man sets his heart upon a person or thing which is of case and when a man in any profession carries a good character about with him and a young wife with a child at her heels and a prospect of more, the price of such a one will always run higher and in the end if Mr Kennedy gives you content and satisfaction I will venture to say that you will not loose [*sic*] by the bargain I have made for you.<sup>37</sup>

The letter also suggests that John Kennedy had a wife and child. Their names are difficult to trace without knowing the parish in which he was living prior to Croxdale, but it is likely that his wife was Lucy, who was later mentioned in his will.

A bill dated 1750 for 'Bryon Silevan' from Lewis Kennedy provides a long list of various fruit trees, vegetables and plants which were ordered on 20 October of the same year and included packing and carriage to Croxdale, at a total cost of £30, 11s, 10d (*see* Appendix).<sup>38</sup> A later note added to the end of the bill on 29 December 1751 explains that the order had been 'Reivd of William Salvin Esq thirty pounds and six shillings the full contents of this bill for the use of Lewis Kennedy which with all proceedings is discharged by John Kennedy'.<sup>39</sup> The phrasing of this statement might suggest that Lewis was in fact playing a key role in the arrangement and planting of the goods ordered, although there is no entry for the charging for his services and it may be more likely that John was trying to differentiate between himself and his brother and to clarify that the money was being paid to Lewis, not himself. While the estate accounts do not make any direct mention of the construction of the walled garden, it is likely that there would have been one by this date, perhaps an earlier arrangement pre-dating the larger one seen today. Certainly many of the plants and seeds purchased in 1750 feature in the list of plants for a kitchen garden in the Kennedy and Lee catalogue of 1774.

The estate accounts suggest that there was certainly a large amount of expenditure through the payment of John Kennedy's notes (payments he had agreed on behalf of the Salvins) during the 1760s; one single entry made on 4 March 1763 amounted to £406 15s 9d. The note beside the sum explains that this was the payment of Kennedy's notes and wages to February 1763 and this probably covered work carried out in the previous year. Since Kennedy's annual wages were in the region of £30, albeit inflated since he was appointed in 1748, this is a rather large sum and suggests that major improvements were taking place within the gardens. This was around the same time that improvements were being undertaken to the house and it is possible that the gardens were similarly being improved to a standard fitting of the new and improved Hall.

Works within the gardens seem to have continued throughout the 1760s, with a receipt for payment of 30 guineas to Mr Fermain to aid John Kennedy dated 15 June 1765.<sup>40</sup> In 1766 a letter from William Farmer to William Salvin during his stay in Shropshire explains that Kennedy was due to land the following Wednesday with some 'pine apells'.<sup>41</sup> Although it is not clear whether he is referring to John or Lewis, the fact that John wrote about the management of pineapples in the 1770s (*see below*) suggests that it was him rather than his brother. The procurement and growing of pineapples was considered to be a symbol of wealth of the owner, but was also a demonstration of the gardener's skill.<sup>42</sup>

The Kennedys may have also not only worked at Croxdale but also at other estates and for families connected to the Salvins. In a note within the footer, Francis Henry Salvin explained within his 1862 autobiography that 'The grounds and gardens at Callaly Co Northumberland were also laid out by Kennedy'.<sup>43</sup> The walled garden at Callaly Castle is certainly very similar to that at Croxdale, with a three-sided garden open on the south-east side to a serpentine pond (Figure 9). A keystone above a doorway within the former gardens is inscribed with the initials RMC for Ralph and Mary Clavering and is accompanied with the date 1770.<sup>44</sup> It is not clear whether it was Lewis or John who was involved at Callaly or, given the lack of documentary evidence relating to the gardens there, whether the Kennedys were definitely involved in its design at all.



Figure 9: Extract from the 1897 Ordnance Survey map showing the walled garden at Callaly Castle

John Kennedy published his *Treatise upon Planting, Gardening and the Management of the Hot-House* in 1776, soon followed by a revised edition issued in the following year and a third published in 1784,<sup>45</sup> which was formulated as a result of ‘many years of experience’ and proved him to be one of the leading experts in horticulture at this time.<sup>46</sup> In the second edition, within the chapter dedicated to the planting and management of pineapples, he writes ‘when I lived with William Salvin Esq of Croxdell’,<sup>47</sup> and it appears that many of the techniques which he refers to in the book – particularly those relating to pineapples – were trialled at Croxdale. Confusingly, he stated that he left Croxdale ten years previously<sup>48</sup> which would mean he left around 1767 and not 1771 as the estate accounts might suggest. However, he later wrote that he became gardener to Sir Thomas Gascoigne (1745-1810), 8th Baronet, of Parlington Hall in Aberford, near Leeds, on May Day in 1771 and the last payment to Kennedy recorded in the estate accounts at Croxdale was made on the 10 May 1771.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly, William Salvin’s first wife, Mary (d 1756), was the daughter of the previous Baronet at Parlington Hall, Sir Edward Gascoigne (d 1762), and it is presumably through this family connection that John Kennedy was offered the position of gardener at Parlington.<sup>50</sup>

The walled garden at Parlington Hall has a slightly different arrangement to that at Croxdale consisting of an enclosed rectangular plan with a range of hot houses along the north-west wall, yet it appears to have been laid out around the same time as Kennedy’s arrival; he referred in 1771 to the stoves as being ‘all new’ (Figure 10).<sup>51</sup> Certainly, as head gardener at Parlington, John appears to have had some influence over the arrangement of the parkland and was fully aware of the fashionable styles of the day as suggested by his *Treatise*:

...as all gentlemen that are fond of real rural scenes (and I believe most are) should have the grounds in their own occupation in such order, that every wood should be a grove (instead of a heap of rubbish over-grown with thorns and briars); every grass-field a lawn, only detached by a clean fallow, or a good crop of grain, to diversify the scene. And there might be some art made use of, by decorations of evergreen, and detached trees and shrubs at proper places, to add beauty to the whole.<sup>52</sup>



Figure 10: Extract from the 1893 Ordnance Survey map showing the walled garden at Parlington Hall



It is possible, however, that while John Kennedy may have not necessarily been responsible for the overall layout of the garden, as head gardener, he probably advised on the construction and provision of hot houses and the practical requirements for growing plants and produce. Kennedy discussed his experiments with planting in hot houses at other gentlemen's gardens and, although he did not provide names, he referred to Cowick in Yorkshire, the seat of Lord Downe, where a James Kennedy, possibly John's uncle, was gardener sometime before 1754.<sup>53</sup> While not a three-sided walled garden, the example at Cowick Hall is again a rectangular design, orientated roughly east-west on the south side of the Hall and had hot houses along the south side of the north wall which are now removed. The first edition of the Treatise lists a total of 340 subscribers and includes some of the key figures of the day as well as James Lee, Lewis' partner at the nursery, and James Kennedy, possibly John and Lewis' uncle. The book was well received and three separate editions were printed, but with so many books of its type appearing soon after its publication and with methods developing so rapidly towards the end of the 18th century, it appears not to have been widely circulated thereafter.<sup>54</sup>

In the same year as John left Croxdale (1771), the Vineyard Nursery in Hammersmith was becoming famous for its sale of foreign species and was one of the few nurseries to receive seeds from Joseph Bank's voyage on the Endeavour to Australia.<sup>55</sup> A letter from Lewis Kennedy in Hammersmith, signed Kennedy and Lee, to William Salvin dated 30 October 1780 explained that he had received Salvin's order which he would send northwards on a Newcastle-bound waggon. This suggests that the Hammersmith nursery continued to supply Croxdale with plants and trees despite John Kennedy's departure. The order included various fruit trees: 13 best peaches, 6 nectarines, 5 apricots, 3 dark cherry and 24 'byer'.<sup>56</sup> Salvin's custom appears to have continued until Lewis Kennedy's death in 1782 after which bills from other, more local, nurseries suggest that Croxdale was obtaining its stock from elsewhere. This could either reflect Salvin's positive relationship with Lewis Kennedy's nursery fading with the latter's death or that new nurseries had been established closer to Croxdale enabling more convenient communication and transportation. Certainly the Vineyard Nursery remained in business and Lewis' position was taken over by his son John (1759-1842) who later advised the Empress Josephine at Malmaison, just to the west of Paris. John's son Lewis (1789-1877) became another well-known landscape gardener, also working for Josephine at Malmaison and at the Château de Navarre, near Évreux in Normandy, as well as at many properties in England, including Chiswick House.<sup>57</sup>

John Kennedy was still gardener at Parlington Hall in 1789, the last year in which he completed the yearly accounts,<sup>58</sup> but he died at Parlington in January 1790, leaving all his property, including mortgage bonds, household goods, plate, bedding and linen, to his beloved wife Lucy.<sup>59</sup> In his will, John mentions that the interest alone will be plentiful and will allow her to live well. He requests that his wife does not give anything to his children during her lifetime, particularly to their son who 'will most certainly impose on a Mother's fondness'. Another Lewis Kennedy, presumably the son of John and Lucy and born during their time at Croxdale in 1757, appears in the Aberford parish burial registers for 1810, aged 53 years, and is listed as a gardener suggesting that the profession and expertise continued to pass down through the generations.<sup>60</sup>

## The 19th and 20th centuries

Following the death of William Salvin in 1800, the Croxdale Hall estate passed to his son, William Thomas Salvin (b 1767). A plan of the estate drawn in 1815 shows that all of the avenues had been completely removed by this date and that the parkland was almost entirely enclosed by trees. The walled garden remained in place and the central pavilion was accompanied by another separate building a short distance to the west of it; this was probably a hot house. The shelter belt on the north side of the garden had completely engulfed the platoons which were clearly no longer fashionable.

Robert Surtees visited Croxdale in 1823 and published his account of it in 1840 as follows:

Croxdale has one happy feature, now unusual in places of any pretension; a noble garden of nine acres, laid out in a manner which combines the liberal air of modern landscape, the rich and quaint but neglected beauties of old fruit and flower garden; orchard and fish-pool, and sloping lawn and view of open field are united with the substantial comforts of sheltering wall and lengthened terrace, and with all the beauties of border and parterre.<sup>61</sup>

Surtees' account suggests that the walled garden largely retained its 18th-century layout, combining the practicalities of the kitchen garden with the aesthetics of the Picturesque movement. Unfortunately, he does not mention the pavilion or hot houses but suggests that the north wall was built not only for the benefit of the plants, but also to offer shelter to the whole garden and its occupants.

By the publication of the first edition Ordnance Survey map in 1857 (Figure 11), the small, easternmost pond had become the 'Old Pond', but the arrangement of the other ponds and cascades is shown. A small extension with an L-shaped plan is depicted against the eastern elevation of the pavilion and two small buildings are shown further to the east, against the north face of the garden wall. The building, presumably a hot house, to the west of the pavilion is illustrated as glazed and is shown as having two small extensions to the rear, possibly a stove house and a potting shed. There is a small enclosure within the western end of the garden consisting of three walls, open on its western side. The main east-west pathway along the northern edge of the garden is illustrated and there are paths leading south from this. No planting beds are shown but the garden is filled with trees including one long row to the south of the main east-west path and smaller rows running from this to the south.

A second glasshouse was added to the east of the central pavilion in the second half of the 19th century and is depicted on the revised Ordnance Survey map published in 1897 (Figure 12). Similarly, a second extension was added to the western elevation of the pavilion, on the north side of the main wall. There also appears to have been an attempt to clear the walled garden of trees with some – perhaps new – formal planting shown at the eastern end of the garden. A small glazed building was added to the south of the smaller three-walled enclosure in the western part of the garden while a second, slightly larger, glazed building was added to the west of it by the publication of the Ordnance Survey map in 1919.

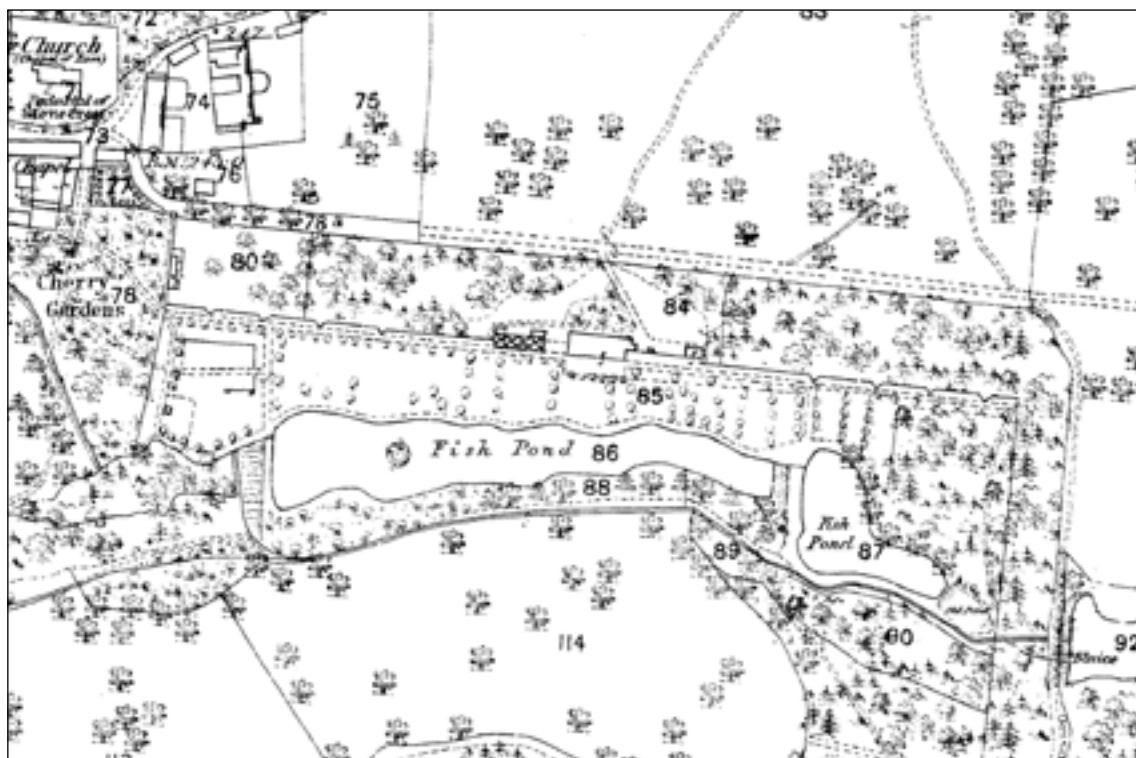


Figure 11: Extract from the 1857 1:2500 OS map showing Croxdale Hall walled garden

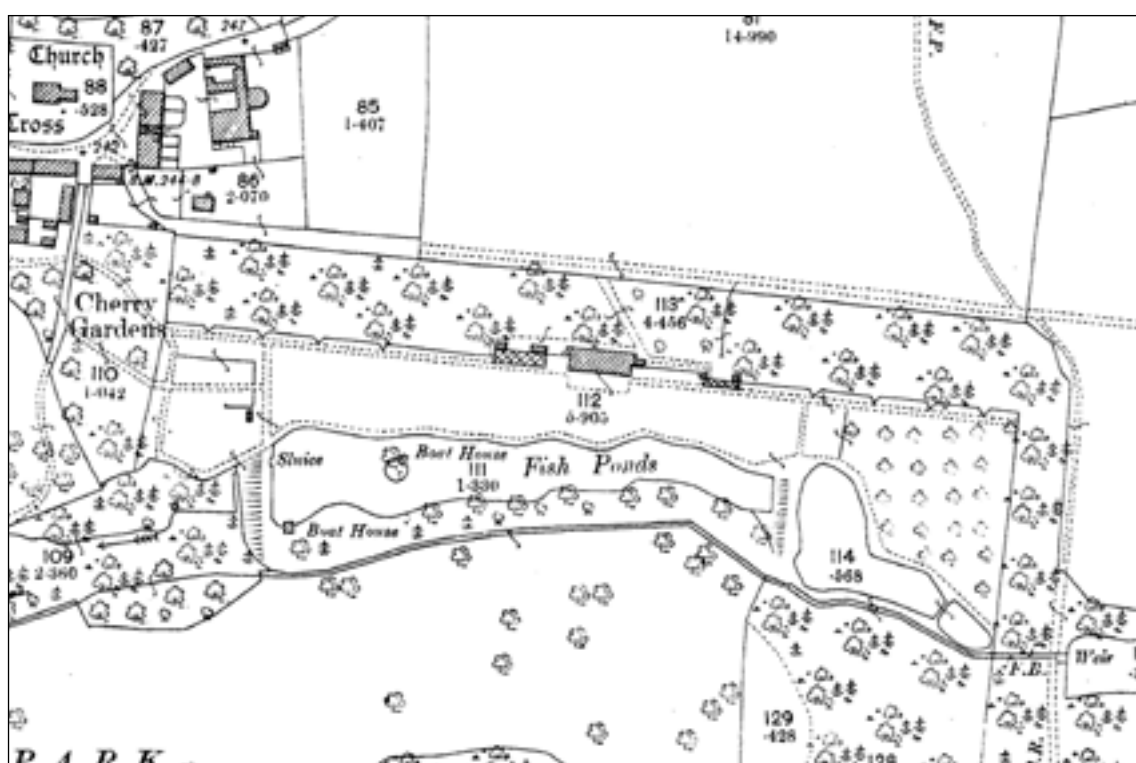


Figure 12: Extract from the 1897 1:2500 OS map showing Croxdale Hall walled garden



Figure 13: Aerial photograph of Croxdale Hall walled garden taken in 1937 (EPW054642 © Historic England Archive)

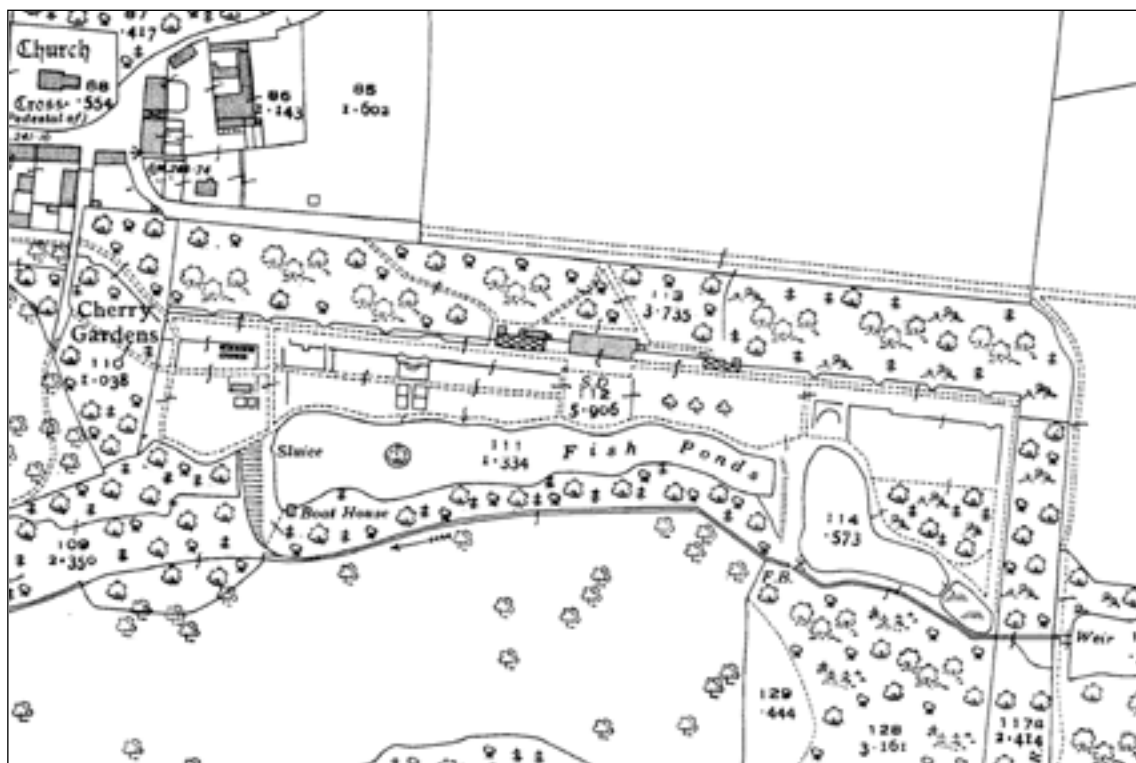


Figure 14: Extract from the 1939 1:2500 Ordnance Survey map showing Croxdale Hall walled garden

Some attempt to add beds and change the layout inside the walled garden appears to have been made in the early 20th century; this is depicted on aerial photographs taken of the site in 1937 (Figure 13)<sup>62</sup> and on the Ordnance Survey map published in 1939 (Figure 14). The aerial photograph shows that the area directly in front of the pavilion and to the west was laid out with regular planted beds while further to the east was an area of open lawn with some trees and another group of planting beds at the very east end. Photographs taken of the garden in full bloom as part of the *Country Life* article published in 1939 show a rock garden and a series of paths between beds. The Ordnance Survey map shows that two smaller, narrow buildings had also been added to the north of the smaller buildings in the western part of the garden. By the publication of the 1961 Ordnance Survey map, however, the hot house located to the west of the central pavilion is shown as an empty outline suggesting that it had lost its roof, while one of the smaller buildings in the western part of the garden had also been removed.

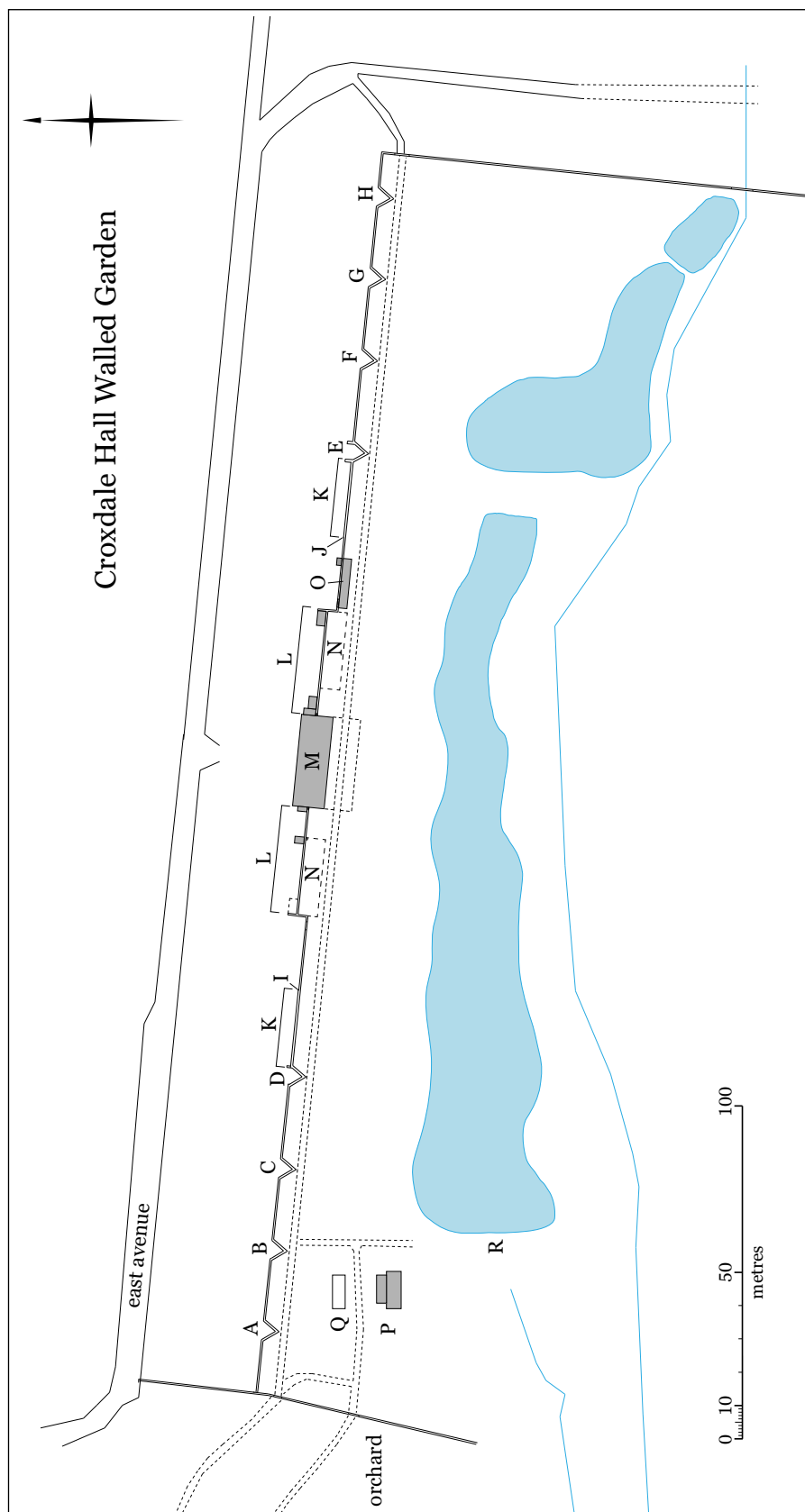


Figure 15: Annotated plan of the walled garden at Croxdale Hall based on Ordnance Survey mapping (© Historic England, drawn by Clare Howard)

## DESCRIPTION

### General layout

The expansive walled garden stretches out for almost a quarter of a mile (*circa* 400m) on an approximate east-west alignment, to the south-east of the house and its courtyard buildings. It is reached from the house along one of two pathways which are spurs from a main north-south trackway. Alternatively, the garden can be entered from a track which leads from the east avenue to a gateway in the east wall of the garden. A plan of the garden is shown as Figure 15; key features or areas described in the text are labelled A to R on the plan.

The garden is enclosed by three walls on its west, north and east sides; their external, outward-looking elevations are constructed of coursed sandstone rubble with a brick face looking on to the interior of the walled garden. The fourth side is open, perhaps to prevent frost from being caught within the garden and causing damage to the plants, but also to provide views of the lake and possibly the landscape beyond it to the south in an attempt to combine the functional kitchen and flower garden – within which the Salvins could demonstrate their wealth and status through an elaborate display of exotic species – with the need for a formal outdoor space for the family and their visitors to explore. There is a terraced walk, primarily for visitors, running the full length of the garden along the north inside edge. The land slopes from this to the south to meet a large serpentine pond which is bridged at two points to allow walks into the southern part of the garden, along Skip Beck and the later ha-ha. The presence of the twin-arched stone bridge with narrow mortar joints over the western edge of the main pond and cascade (R) suggests that this arrangement was certainly introduced in the mid-18th century as indicated by the cartographic evidence (*see above*), although the parapet of the bridge was added later, probably in the late 19th century (Figure 16).



*Figure 16: The twin-arched bridge over the cascade on the western side of the lake (DP174217 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*



Most of the garden is laid out as open lawn and all of the beds seen on the 1930s photographs described above have been removed, although there are some trees and hedges remaining. The pathways are visible, albeit overgrown with moss, and are often edged with pieces of stone rubble or pieces of cast stone or concrete.

## West wall

The earliest part of the walled garden appears to be the west wall which runs from the main east-west driveway southwards for a distance of approximately 102 metres to the edge of an embankment which drops to a watercourse. It is approximately 67 metres long from its present junction with the north wall to the embankment. A wall is shown in this location on the 1722-51 estate map mentioned above and may have formed part of the eastern wall of the orchard located to the west. The western face of the wall is constructed of coursed stone rubble and is supported at regular intervals by stone buttresses while the eastern face is constructed of 18th-century handmade red brick, most of which is laid in English Garden Wall bond, over stone footings. The wall is capped with stone coping which has a rounded drip groove underneath the overhang. At the south end of the wall there is a drop in height which is treated with a curved ramp.

Access for carts, and probably for gardeners and labourers carrying equipment, was provided by a central wide entrance under a round-headed arch with a central dressed stone keystone. On its western face the doorway has rusticated jambs and voussoirs. A smaller doorway of the same design, providing a vantage point from which to admire the garden upon entering as well as direct access to the main terrace walk, lie further to the north; this may have been primarily used by members of the family and their visitors. It is possible that the upper hinge bracket on this doorway is original and has been re-used on the present, later door (Figure 17).



*Figure 17: North doorway in the west wall  
(© Historic England, photograph taken by  
Lucy Jessop)*



## North wall

The west end of the north wall clearly abuts the west wall, indicating that it belongs to a later phase of construction. The consistency in size and shape of the bricks, however, might suggest that they were both built within a relatively short space of time, although those used in the north wall are slightly darker in colour. The north wall is again constructed of coursed stone rubble on its north face and brick, laid in a random bond, on its south face. The sections of wall between the innermost projections (D and E) and the pavilion retain the same stone coping seen on the west wall but elsewhere this has been replaced by a later cast stone or concrete coping.<sup>63</sup>



*Figure 18: Triangular projections along western part of wall (DP174229 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*

While the whole of the north wall appears to have been built at roughly the same time, there are indications that it was constructed in phases. The earliest parts of the north wall appear to be those at its east and west ends, each encompassing approximately a third of the total length of the wall and incorporating four projections, triangular in plan, arranged at regular intervals (A to H). These projections certainly offer strength to such a long wall, but their primary purpose will have been to provide shelter and stability for the plants grown along it (Figure 18). Projections A to C and F to H were all keyed in to the main wall and are connected to it at an angle of approximately 135 degrees shaped on the north face by dressed stones. However, the innermost projections (D and E) to either side of the pavilion turn in from the north side of the wall at right angles and the lower courses of these straight sections are constructed of 18th-century brick (Figure 19). This difference in construction seems to mark the end of the hot walls (K) which extend from the east side of projection

D to a straight joint a short distance to the east (I) and from the west side of projection E to a straight joint to the west (J). The hot walls are slightly thicker than elsewhere owing to the internal flues that originally carried the hot air from the former furnaces through to the chimneys. It is not clear whether the innermost projections (D and E) were also heated but the fact that both projections are pulling away from the main wall suggests that they abut the heated wall and are not keyed in. In order to compensate for this weakness in construction, sloping stone buttresses have been added on the north side of the wall to either side of projection E and there are remnants of another on the east side of projection D. It is uncertain whether the remaining sections of wall to the west of projection D and east of projection E were heated, although there are no flue openings or chimneys to suggest this was the case.



*Figure 19: North side of the triangular projection (D) showing alternative method of construction (DP174240 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*

The straight joint to the east of projection D is marked on the north face of the wall by a line of dressed stone quoins on the right, or west, side abutted by a later stone wall which is set back slightly from the line of the quoins (I) (Figure 20). The upper part of the eastern wall is constructed of brick and this is built up and over the quoins, then capped by a brick chimney rising from the thickness of the wall, the pot for which (perhaps a later replacement) was lying on the ground at the time of survey. Only parts of a straight joint are visible in this location on the south side of the wall – although the introduction of what appear to be bricks laid on their side or tiles as a foundation course at this point provides further evidence of a change in construction – suggesting that the straight joint and setback simply mark the end of the hot wall, perhaps with some later heightening of the wall to the east. A similar straight joint and setback appears to the west of the fifth projection from



the west (E) and is also similarly capped by a brick chimney (J). This stretch of wall also incorporates four blocked openings, perhaps flue openings (Figure 21). No similar openings were identified on the western stretch of heated wall (K), but the ground is raised and any remnants may be buried, perhaps along with any further evidence for the furnace. Furnaces were often buried underground as demonstrated by examples at Campsall Hall and Heath Hall in Yorkshire.<sup>64</sup>



*Figure 20: Straight joint (I) on the north face of the garden wall (DP174242 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*

The sections of wall to the east of the straight joint at I and west of the straight joint at J, up to the points at which the walls turn northwards and are set back, are not constructed as hot walls. This is corroborated by the presence of doorways located before the walls turn at a right angle. The western doorway has a round-headed arch with brick surround on its north face; it is square-headed on its south face. Its eastern counterpart is only visible from the north side, with a round-headed arch with brick surround, blocked with stone; its south face has been concealed by the addition of the mid- or late 19th-century glasshouse.

From the doorways the wall continues on the same east-west alignment for a short distance before turning northwards at a right angle and then again towards the pavilion to create a recess to either side. From the corners of these recesses to the pavilion, the walls are constructed as hot walls (L) with inner brick walls faced with stone on the north side and with tall brick chimneys for discharging the smoke against the east and west elevations of the pavilion. Where the walls meet the pavilion, they appear to abut its eastern and western walls suggesting the pavilion was constructed first, although the whole was probably built at more or less the same time.



*Figure 21: Flue openings on the north side of the garden wall, west of projection E (DP174238 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*

On the south side of the wall, within the recesses on either side of the pavilion, evidence of limewash and scars for former frames, as well as the stub of a projecting wall which is keyed in to the main wall and is therefore contemporary with it (Figure 22), suggest that these were the locations of the hot houses (N). Certainly the western hot house was shown on the first edition Ordnance Survey map (published in 1857, *see* Figure 11) while the eastern house had already been lost by this date. John Kennedy suggested in his treatise that there were two hot houses at Croxdale when he was experimenting with pineapples there. In his discussion on pest control he states: ‘one summer had not a single speck on them [pineapples] in one house, and greatly lessened in the other that was so very dirty’.<sup>65</sup> It is not known for certain, however, that the two hot houses are those described by John or were specifically used for pineapples, although the location of these buildings along the main terrace walk might suggest that the best plants and produce, such as pineapples, were on show here.

He did, however, describe the ideal hot house or vinery, which may give some insight into what such a structure may have looked like. It should, he wrote, be flagged throughout with flues standing above the floor and located around the house. The front wall of the hot house was expected to be built on low arches supported by small pillars, presumably to provide openings for the plants growing outside to enter the hot house to allow the fruit to ripen. He also explained that there should be a shed at the back. The hot house was expected to have opposing doorways and vents for allowing the heat to escape when it became too hot.

The small stone lean-to on the north side of the wall, behind the site of the east hot house, and the remnants of a second behind the site of the west hot house were probably potting sheds. Two square openings behind the site of the western hot house may be paired flue openings for heating the hot wall and hot house using hot air from the former furnaces. There is no remaining visible evidence for the furnaces, but a thin groove above the openings may mark the former location of a lean-to roof of the former furnace. Four similar openings, blocked with stone, also appear behind the site of the eastern hot house. John Kennedy explained in his treatise that:

If the fire-walls are properly built they should be fifty feet long for Vines to one fire, which should be in the middle, draw both ways, and have dampers so as to throw all the heat one way or both, as shall be necessary.<sup>66</sup>

The stretches of hot walls either side of the pavilion at Croxdale, however, are approximately 105 feet long with the flue openings located in the centre.

The furnaces were probably fed by coal or wood, the latter being cleaner. The flues would need to be cleaned regularly to remove the soot and some hot walls have small openings in vertical rows for this purpose, but they were carefully resealed and are therefore often difficult to identify which is the case at Croxdale. An area of disturbed stonework at the back of the site of the eastern hot house may be evidence for these cleaning openings.



*Figure 22: Location of former hot house to west of pavilion (DP174227 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*



## The pavilion

Although the building in the centre of the north wall has traditionally been called an orangery and is listed as such, the limited amount of light provided by the three central arches together with the lack of evidence for heating the space suggest that it probably would not have functioned well as one. The building (M) was probably a pavilion offering shelter from the weather and a vantage point from which to admire the garden (Figure 23). Alternatively, its similarity to the aviary at Chiswick with its three central arches as well as the possible indication of netting or frames on the 1771 drawing might even suggest the building served this purpose. The enclosed buildings either side of the central room were probably either places to allow dining within the garden setting or, more likely given their size, were used as cottages, perhaps for the gardener and/or labourers.



*Figure 23: View from the pavilion (© Historic England, photograph taken by Lucy Jessop)*

The elevation of the pavilion facing into the walled garden is of two storeys with an attic and is constructed of 18th-century handmade red brick laid in a random bond over a stone plinth (Figure 24). In contrast, the rear, north-facing elevation is constructed of coursed sandstone rubble, perhaps in an attempt to integrate the appearance of the pavilion with the external face of the main garden wall. The roof is pitched with a catslide to the rear (north) and is covered with clay pantiles. Two brick chimneys rise through the catslide roof at the rear; these are constructed of 18th-century brick but have been heightened, probably in the 19th century. The front, south-facing elevation is dominated by the three tall central arches with rounded heads and raised dressed stone surrounds with keystones. The arches have impost blocks which are shaped in the same way as the keystones and are not straight as might be expected, suggesting that the building was perhaps designed by an amateur rather



*Figure 24: The pavilion from the south (© Historic England, photograph taken by Lucy Jessop)*



*Figure 25: The pavilion from the north-west (DP174237 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*

than a professional architect. The arches are flanked by a Serliana windows at ground-floor level with a Diocletian windows above; all of which have dressed stone surrounds with central keystones. The elevation is edged with dressed stone quoins and is topped by a stone string course with brick parapet above.

The western elevation of the pavilion is intersected by the main garden wall, which encases a brick chimney, in the centre of the gable wall. There is evidence on its southern portion of a former ground-floor window with segmental arch and a former large rectangular window at attic level, both blocked with brick. The northern portion has an inserted ground-floor door and two inserted first-floor windows with concrete lintels and uPVC frames. There is a small setback approximately halfway along this section of the elevation and there is part of a broken brick plat band, truncated by the inserted windows. A single-storey lean-to, added in the second half of the 19th century, stands against the west elevation at ground-floor level and is partly constructed of sandstone rubble and partly red brick with a pantile roof.

The rear, north-facing elevation is constructed entirely of sandstone and has a high projecting plinth at its base (Figure 25). The elevation is punctuated by seven windows at ground-floor level and eight windows above. The central three windows at ground-floor level are most likely original (with replaced frames) and the easternmost of these has a horizontal, or Yorkshire, sliding sash frame. The window above it also retains a vertical sliding sash frame – a later replacement – but the majority of the other windows have later replacement wooden or uPVC frames.

Like the western elevation, the eastern elevation is divided by the main garden wall which abuts it. There is evidence of a blocked doorway on the southern side of the elevation which would have provided access into the easternmost bay of the building, and further evidence of a blocked window at first-floor level. At attic level there is a small window with horizontal, or Yorkshire, sliding sash frame, matching that found on the north elevation. The majority of the elevation on the north side of the pavilion east elevation is concealed by later stone-built lean-tos but the setback visible on the west elevation can be seen above these, although there is no evidence of a brick plat band. The first-floor level has been pierced by an inserted window of early 20th-century date.

Only the central rooms of the pavilion were inspected as part of this research, the others being leased to private tenants and inaccessible at the time of survey. Four stone steps lead from the walled garden into the principal room through the three tall, open arches. It is open to the roof which is supported by double collar principal rafter trusses with additional struts; the trusses overhang the rear, north wall of the room. All the walls are brick with the exception of the upper part of the west wall which has been built outwards and boarded to provide further accommodation for the western cottage. The north wall is taller at its eastern end and has tothing to suggest this continued further towards the west. The fact that the truss is buried within the brickwork suggests that this was perhaps undertaken to offer further accommodation to the eastern cottage or was part of a loft arrangement, further evidence for which may be indicated by the joist holes in the east and north walls (Figure 26). There is an inserted window in each of the east and west walls with uPVC frames relating to the current use of the end bays of the pavilions as cottages. The floor is laid with stone flags and the north and east walls have holes, perhaps putlog holes for scaffolding or bracket holes for holding shelves or similar; their former use is uncertain.



There is a central doorway - probably inserted or certainly modified - in the north wall of the main room leading to a smaller, narrow space lit by three small windows. There is a door in the east wall of the room providing access into the adjacent cottage and a wooden dog-leg staircase leading to a first-floor loft area, perhaps originally providing accommodation for the garden and estate labourers.



*Figure 26: Roof trusses and evidence of possible loft (© Historic England, photograph taken by Lucy Jessop)*

## East wall

The eastern wall of the walled garden appears to be contemporary with the east and west ends of the north wall and is built in a similar style consisting of stone rubble to its outer face and brick laid in a random bond to its inner, western face. There is a single gateway at the northern end of the wall, in line with the terraced walk, formed by piers constructed of dressed stone with pyramidal caps. The wall continues down the slope of the hill and a short distance before it crosses a cascade, the interior wall construction changes from brick to stone. The stone wall appears to abut the brick and is probably, therefore, later. It continues across the Beck with a segmental brick arch and southwards. The stone coping of the wall has been entirely replaced by concrete coping stones, probably undertaken in the early 20th century.<sup>67</sup>

## The hot houses

As explained above, there were originally two hot houses located either side of the central pavilion and these probably formed part of the original complement of garden buildings dating from the mid- to late 18th century. The eastern hot house had already been removed by the publication of the 1857 Ordnance Survey map but the western hot house appears to have survived, albeit possibly renewed or remodelled, into the mid-20th century.

A third hot house (O) – probably more likely referred to as a glass house by this date – was added sometime between the publication of the 1857 Ordnance Survey map and its revision in 1897 and was still standing at the time of survey, albeit in a very poor state of repair (Figure 27). The lower walls of the building are constructed of red brick and support a timber lean-to frame; none of the glass remains *in situ*. There are opposing doorways in the east and west elevations and five blocked openings in the south elevation. The openings suggest that the glasshouse was used as a vinery, the vines being planted outside and led in through the openings where they could grow and the fruit ripen. Given its date, the glasshouse was probably heated by a hot water system, perhaps with a boiler located in the small brick outbuilding located behind the glasshouse on the north side of the wall, although evidence for this is lacking.



Figure 27: Mid-late 19th century glasshouse (DP174236 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)

There is a second surviving glass house within the walled garden (P); detached from the wall, this is located in a small area currently enclosed by a hedge and possibly previously enclosed as a small potting area. Again, the glasshouse has almost entirely collapsed but it consists of low brick walls supporting a timber roof structure above and it probably had opposing doors, although evidence for the eastern doorway has been lost. Interestingly, the rear wall of the glasshouse incorporates earlier brick and stone quoins which appear to be 18th century in date and, therefore, could perhaps be the location of one of the 18th-century hot houses or pineries remodelled to accommodate a stove on its north side in the 19th or early 20th century (Figure 28). Certainly remnants of this east-west wall can be seen on the first edition Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1857.

The low brick walls to the north side of the glasshouse were added in the early 20th century and may have also held frames for further glasshouses, but the frames have since been removed (Q).



*Figure 28: Glass house in the western part of the garden incorporating early brickwork and stone (DP174213 © Historic England, photograph taken by Alun Bull)*

## SIGNIFICANCE

The three-walled garden at Croxdale Hall is an unusual and well-preserved example combining the practicalities of a kitchen and flower garden with the formal arrangement of pleasure grounds. Vast improvements were made to the landscape at Croxdale during the ownership of Bryan Salvin, particularly with the creation of avenues arranged in the shape of a cross. Bryan was probably responsible for the foundation of the walled garden, beginning with its west wall, but the construction of the walled garden complete with pavilion and ponds, was probably laid out – or at least completed – by his son William and it was also around this time that the avenues were largely swept away or engulfed by later planting. Successive generations have also made their own contributions to the landscape but these have been minimal and the walled garden has remained as a proud statement dominating the landscape. While its three-walled design open to the pond on the south side is not unique, its size, encompassing 8.32 acres (3.37 hectares), makes it one of the largest surviving examples in the country when a good sized walled garden has been considered to be 4 acres (1.62 hectares).<sup>68</sup>

## Evidential value

Although the north garden wall has deteriorated significantly, particularly through the erosion of the stonework on the north face, it remains a well-preserved example of a complex 18th-century garden structure. The survival of the heated walls complete with their chimneys and flues intact is rare.<sup>69</sup> While it is unfortunate that the original 18th-century hot houses have been lost, the scars showing where these were located and how they were heated – as well as descriptions by John Kennedy and his contemporaries of their ideal hot house designs – provide an insight into what these may have looked like and how they probably worked. Furthermore, the raised ground on the north side of the north wall suggests there may be some potential for the survival of buried remains of the former furnace houses and perhaps other features. The cottages within the end bays of the pavilion have been altered to provide additional accommodation and modern facilities, but the pavilion's southern elevation and its relationship within the wider garden setting has been retained. The central garden room also appears to have largely kept its 18th-century appearance. The exact function of the pavilion and its outer bays is difficult to determine with certainty; an internal inspection of the cottages may provide further evidence on how the building was subdivided and used during the 18th century.

The majority of walled gardens in Britain are enclosed on all four sides; the three-sided design found at Croxdale is unusual, although there are other examples of 18th-century three-walled gardens throughout the country. While there does not appear to have been a formal nationwide survey of these, limited research undertaken as part of this study has identified that they are not confined to a particular area or region. All of the examples identified, although all established under different circumstances, are missing their southernmost wall (as a consequence of design, not of demolition) and there are a number of possible reasons for this. Since the south wall of any walled garden – facing, as it would do, to the north – was always a less productive one, particularly if unheated, it might be the case that it was simply felt unnecessary unless additional shelter was required and omitting a fourth wall would save significantly on cost. Furthermore, leaving the south side open would prevent frost from settling within the enclosed space. In some cases, the gardens



would be placed within a location that provided a view to the house or landscape from within the garden itself, or it would display the gardens at their best advantage from other parts of the landscape. Some of the examples identified are open on their south side to an artificial pond or lake as at Shawdon Hall (Northumberland), Markshall (Essex), Kimberley Hall (Norfolk) and Ickworth Hall (Suffolk), while others take advantage of a natural water course like the example at Charlecote Park (Warwickshire). The water provided a southern boundary to the garden, helped with the drainage of the site and also provided a means from which water could be collected and distributed to feed the plants. Not all three-walled gardens, however, include a body of water and the reason for their presence is therefore probably as much an aesthetic choice as a practical one.

The closest comparison to the design at Croxdale is that at Drummond Castle with its three walls, water along its fourth side and long and narrow rectangular arrangement. It is also possible that the building within the garden, shown on the 1866 Ordnance Survey map but since demolished, had similarities to the pavilion at Croxdale. The walled garden at Drummond forms a separate compartment on south side of the formal gardens and would have, like at Croxdale, been a way to display the species that the owners were able to not only purchase but also grow in their own gardens, reinforcing the wealth, status and intellect of the owners. Given that the Drummond estate was forfeited between 1750 and 1784, however, it is unlikely that John or Lewis Kennedy were involved in its design, although it may have existed before they left Muthill and influenced the design at Croxdale.

The walled garden at Callaly Castle also bears many similarities to the Croxdale example and, according to Francis Henry Salvin writing in 1862, this design was prepared by, or at least influenced by, Lewis Kennedy. Unfortunately the lack of estate records relating to Callaly has made this difficult to corroborate and the lack of documentary material relating to the Vineyard Nursery during this time also makes it difficult to identify other gardens for which Lewis Kennedy may have been responsible. However, the specific three-walled design is so widespread, and has sometimes been implemented by other designers, that it cannot be attributed to Kennedy alone. The Callaly example is certainly similar to Croxdale in that it has three walls open to a serpentine pond on the fourth side, but it is also very different in that it is close to and orientated towards the house and covers an area of only 2.5 acres, perhaps serving more of a practical function.

The size of the Croxdale Hall walled garden certainly appears to be on a larger scale than most other three-walled gardens, probably one of the closest comparisons in size being at Ickworth in Suffolk which covers just under 5 acres. Croxdale's was probably a result of combining its practical functions as a kitchen and flower garden with the need for a terrace walk – replacing that of the platoon avenue to the north of it – and a way to proudly display the plants the Salvins were able to purchase and grow.

The Croxdale Hall walled garden has one unusual feature in the triangular projections located along the north wall; none of the three-walled examples encountered have these. These projections probably worked in the same way as a crinkle-crankle wall, providing support and shelter for plants, but most crinkle-crankle walls do not include straight sections of wall between the projections. It is possible that the triangular projections were intended to display the different species; certainly, the angle of the triangular projections would have offered an excellent vantage point to view the species growing against them from the terraced walk.

## Historical value

The exact date at which the walled garden and pavilion were built is unknown but the 1771 survey suggests that the majority of the structure was in place by this date, perhaps with some later modifications undertaken to the pavilion. It appears to have been constructed within the transitional period from strict formal pleasure grounds with avenues radiating from the house to one where the gardens became more picturesque, with views out to the countryside and segregated areas for the use of a kitchen garden. The walled garden at Croxdale combines the terraced walk with the new necessity of productive kitchen and flower garden while possibly providing views out to the countryside in the south, albeit filtered through trees. With the exception of the planting beds and some later 19th-century additions, the garden is a good representation of its late 18th-century layout.

While the Kennedys were not landscape designers, the role of the head gardener was developing during the mid- to late 18th century and gardeners were often tasked with overseeing improvements to the wider landscape; this may have been the case at Croxdale.<sup>70</sup> In the establishment of the successful Vineyard Nursery with his partner James Lee, Lewis Kennedy II was an important figure in the growth and development of British horticulture during the 18th century, introducing 135 new taxa to Britain from some of the most famous voyages. It is also important to note that he was related to a long line of gardeners who worked at Drummond Castle, being father to John Kennedy II who worked for the Empress Josephine Bonaparte and grandfather of the later landscape designer, also Lewis (IV). The fact that the later generations of the Kennedys became landscape designers might suggest that Lewis Kennedy II himself had developed this role during his lifetime. John Kennedy I, gardener at Croxdale, also made his own contributions to British horticulture in the 18th century, producing three editions of his *Treatise upon Planting and Gardening* which, although not widely available, was subscribed to by some of the key figures of the day, some of whom John may have advised or worked for.

While Lewis Kennedy was certainly instrumental in the appointment of his brother as gardener in 1748 and the bill of 1750 suggests that he was involved in the layout of the plants at Croxdale, there is very little evidence to suggest that he was personally responsible for the design and layout of the overall garden and the garden pavilion. Lewis undoubtedly saw and even worked in similar three-walled gardens and may have made suggestions to William Salvin but he was primarily a gardener and nurseryman; his key concern was providing the most appropriate environment for the plants. It is interesting to note, however, that the central pavilion is similar in design to the aviary at Chiswick House which Lewis must have seen during his time as gardener there. He must also have known the work of William Kent and Charles Bridgeman in redesigning the landscape at Chiswick; some of their Picturesque ideas – such as an open lawn with views from the house to the south, carefully planned walks and the serpentine lake – may have been passed on to William Salvin, or his landscape designer, as a result of Lewis' experience. Francis Henry Salvin's autobiography certainly seems to suggest that Lewis Kennedy had a strong, long-term relationship with the Salvins. Of course the Salvins may have appointed a landscape designer, and perhaps an architect for the pavilion, but it is difficult to make suggestions as to who this was without appropriate documentary evidence.

It is highly likely that Lewis and John were both influential in the design and practical arrangements of the hot wall and hot houses. This is corroborated by John's accounts in his treatise in which he refers to having built numerous hot houses for gentlemen<sup>71</sup> as well as his descriptions of the best practical arrangement and function of the garden buildings. Both of the brothers were also clearly involved in the planting schemes at Croxdale with John undertaking much of his experimentation here which would later form the basis for his treatise, particularly for his chapter on pineapples.

## Architectural and aesthetic value

The walled garden and pavilion with terrace walk and paths to the landscape beyond were clearly designed with aesthetics in mind. The sheer size of the garden when first viewed from the entrance still impresses the visitor today, while the symmetry of the north wall with the pavilion as an eye catcher at its centre, constructed of warm brickwork contrasting with the colours of the plants growing within the garden, creates a vibrant yet peaceful and pleasing atmosphere.

In Picturesque garden design, walled gardens were often considered a hindrance in creating a natural view from the house to its surrounding landscape and were thus often moved to an alternative location. This was the case at Charlecote Park (Warwickshire) where the walled garden – another three-walled example – was removed a distance from the house as part of Capability Brown's redesign of the landscape. At Croxdale the walled garden remains close to the house combining the practical necessities of a kitchen and flower garden (although most of the produce was probably readily available from the nearby market at Durham) with the provision of a long terraced walk and pavilion, the latter providing an eye-catcher and a point from which the south prospect of the landscape beyond, albeit filtered by trees, could be admired.

The gardens were particularly important, not only to show the parkland and the views beyond, but also to demonstrate the unusual and important species that could be procured and grown at a time when returning ships carried various new plants to be sold on to the nurserymen. As explained above, Kennedy and Lee were particularly successful in being the first to obtain a number of new species and were then able to introduce these to their customers. Certainly John Kennedy appears to have experimented with new plants, particularly pineapples, at Croxdale and explained in his treatise that:

...it is very agreeable to see a collection of plants of different ages growing, and some just rising out of the grounds which will in time enrich his family, and beautify his estate and country'.<sup>72</sup>

In many respects the walled garden was all about displaying these new species as a demonstration of the owners' wealth and status. As explained above, certainly the triangular projections were most likely designed to offer the best vantage point of individual plants as the visitor progressed along the terraced walk.

In the same way, the use of so many bricks on such a large scale – a particularly expensive commodity at this time in this stone area of the country – was clearly a demonstration of the family's wealth.<sup>73</sup> The brick absorbed the heat from both the sun and the furnaces



allowing it to stay warm long after the sun had set and to prevent the frost from damaging the plants. In contrast, the north wall of the garden and pavilion are constructed of stone; this cheaper alternative to brick was well disguised by a shelter belt of trees and also allowed the working areas and furnaces to be well concealed from the avenue.

## **Communal and social value**

Croxdale Hall estate remains in private ownership with the pavilion remaining partly in domestic use, but the family offers pre-arranged access for interested groups. The walled garden is a particularly good example of a late 18th-century landscape that holds a certain fascination for the visitor and particularly for societies such as the Gardens Trust.

The connection of Lewis and John Kennedy to the gardens at Croxdale allows a further insight into their careers and their contribution to British horticulture during the 18th century and it is hoped this report will help to clarify and consolidate further research into the Kennedy gardeners. Very little appears to have been studied or published on the work of the Kennedys and it is possible that additional research at other properties might help to shed further light on their work.

The fact that the walled garden, pavilion and its associated parkland have survived so well, without being subject to major improvements in the 19th and 20th centuries, is testament to its quality and significance. Careful and appropriate restoration of these structures may offer opportunities to discover more about this building's history, ensuring that it is conserved for the appreciation of future generations.

## NOTES

### Abbreviations

BIY – Borthwick Institute, York

DCRO – Durham County Record Office

HEA – Historic England Archive, Swindon

WYASL – West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds

- 1 Sir Henry Bedingfeld of Oxburgh Hall directed the author to printed lists produced by the Historic Manuscript Commission 1872 and 1956 and explained that there is no other catalogue available for the documents held at Oxburgh.
- 2 English Heritage 2006.
- 3 Page 1928, 157; Surtees 1840, 118; Ryder 2015, 1.
- 4 Surtees 1840, 120.
- 5 DCRO D/Sa/E 731 – Account book by Bryan Salvin, n.d. [1723 - 1751].
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 Surtees 1840, 120; Southern Green 2009, 32.
- 8 Wallis 1769, 508.
- 9 DCRO D/Sa/P 11 - Lordship, belonging to Bryan Salvin Showing park and plantations, n.d. [1723 - 1751]
- 10 Surtees 1840, 120.
- 11 Ryder 2015, 1.
- 12 DCRO D/Sa/E 653-654 - Bridge and park gates, by C. Ebdon, n.d; NHLE list entry 1159129.
- 13 DCRO D/X/871/9 – Autobiography of Francis Henry Salvin, 1862.
- 14 DCRO D/Sa/P/12 – Plan of the Lordship of Croxdale belonging to William Salvin Esquire, [1751-1800].
- 15 Basic Biographical Details for George Penrose Kennedy, [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=200696](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200696) accessed 27.10.2015.
- 16 Historic Environment Scotland Inventory Garden and Designed Landscape reference GDL00144, via <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/listing-scheduling-and-designations/gardens-and-designed-landscapes/search-for-a-garden-or-landscape/> accessed 8.1.2016.

- 17 Scotland, Births and Baptisms, 1564-1950, via [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk) accessed 14.1.2016; 386/OA 0010 0209 – Births and Baptisms, via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016.
- 18 Scotland, Births and Baptisms, 1564-1950, Ancestry.com; 386/OA 0010 0209 - Births and Baptisms, , via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016.
- 19 CC6/5/26 – Will of Thomas Kennedy (d 1752), Muthill, Dunblane Commissary Court, , via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016.
- 20 CC6/5/25 – Will of John Kennedy, Gardener at Drummond in Muthill, 1852 Dunblane Commissary Court, , via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016.
- 21 Kennedy **1** 1777, vii: Kennedy refers to his experience working in areas of wasteland, moorland and mountains, particularly in northern Scotland.
- 22 CC6/5/25 – Will of John Kennedy, Gardener at Drummond in Muthill, 1852 Dunblane Commissary Court, , via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016.
- 23 Willson 1982, 35.
- 24 Lee 1810, x.
- 25 CC8/8/115 – Will of Lewis Kennedy, Edinburgh Commissary Court, , via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016; Lysons, 1795, 185-222.
- 26 Loudon 1838, 78; Faulkner 1838, 42.
- 27 Letter from Darell confirming appointment of John Kennedy as gardener mentions writing to Lewis Kennedy at Chiswick.
- 28 DCRO D/Sa/E 197 (1) – Bill for Garden bed for seeds and trees for the year of 1750.
- 29 Musgrave 2007, 45.
- 30 Faulkner 1838, 42.
- 31 Brown 2012, 82.
- 32 Shepherd, 2012, no page numbers.
- 33 Old Bailey Proceedings Online December 1774, trial of William Hipditch (t17741207-55), via [www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 7.2, accessed 17 November 2015.
- 34 DCRO D/Sa/C 60 – Letter to Bryan Salvin at Croxdale from Darell in London, 1748.
- 35 Musgrave 2007, 44.
- 36 Kennedy **1** 1777, vii: Kennedy refers to his experience working in areas of wasteland, moorland and mountains, particularly in northern Scotland.

- 37 DCRO D/Sa/C 60 – Letter to Bryan Salvin at Croxdale from Darell in London, 1748.
- 38 DCRO D/Sa/E 197 (1) – Bill for Garden bed for seeds and trees for the year of 1750.
- 39 DCRO D/Sa/E 197 (1) – Bill for Garden bed for seeds and trees for the year of 1750.
- 40 DCRO D/Sa e 197 (1) – Bill for Mr Fermain 1765.
- 41 DCRO D /Sa E 632.2 – Letter from William Farmer to William Salvin 19 May 1766.
- 42 Lausen-Higgins, J 'A Taste of the Exotic: Pineapple Cultivation in Britain' <http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/pineapples/pineapples.htm> accessed 27.10.2015.
- 43 DCRO D/X/871/9 – Autobiography of Francis Henry Salvin, 1862.
- 44 Anon 1985, 29.
- 45 Brotherston 1912, 187.
- 46 Kennedy **1** 1777, xi.
- 47 Kennedy **1** 1777, 153.
- 48 Kennedy **1** 1777, 154.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 Surtees 1840, 120.
- 51 Kennedy **1** 1777, 154.
- 52 Kennedy **1** 1777, 180.
- 53 CC8/8/115 – Will of Lewis Kennedy 1754, Dunblane Commissary Court, via [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk) accessed 14.1.2016.
- 54 Brotherston 1912, 187.
- 55 Wulf 2012, 59-60.
- 56 DCRO D/Sa E 748.1 – Letter from Kennedy and Lee to William Salvin 1780.
- 57 Desmond 1994, 396.
- 58 WYASL WYL115/E2/22 - Farm accounts: Parlington and Cowdale, Leeds.
- 59 BIY Prerogative and Exchequer Courts of York Probate 1688-1858, volume 134, folio 428, microfiche 1041, Borthwick Institute, York; Aberford parish records, microfiche 621, Borthwick Institute, York.
- 60 Aberford parish records, microfiche 621, Borthwick Institute, York.

- 61 Surtees 1840, 113.
- 62 HEA EPW054642 and EPW054643 - Croxdale Hall fishponds and gardens, 1937.
- 63 William Salvin pers. comm. 18 February 2016: William explained that their great aunt replaced the wall copings when she remodelled the gardens in the 1930s.
- 64 Hall 1989, 99.
- 65 Kennedy **2** 1777, 154.
- 66 Kennedy **1** 1777, 275.
- 67 William Salvin pers. comm. 18 February 2016: William explained that their great aunt replaced the wall copings when she remodelled the gardens in the 1930s.
- 68 Musgrave 2014, 25.
- 69 Hall 1989, 99.
- 70 Musgrave 2007, 38.
- 71 Kennedy **2** 1777, 155.
- 72 Kennedy **2** 1777, 22.
- 73 Hall 1989, 102.

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## APPENDIX

### Transcription of list of plants received by Bryon Silevan [Bryan Salvin] from Lewis Kennedy (DCRO D/Sa/E 197/1)

Oct 20 1750

10 Dooble [double] work peaches 1.5.08

Single Do [ditto] 0.12.0

19 Standard Do 2.7.6

5 Dwarf apricots 0.5.0

2 Standard Do 0.5.0

23 Dwarf plums 1.3.0

9 Standard Do 0.9.0

20 Dwarf pears 1.0.0

7 Dwarf Cherrys 0.5.10

12 Standard Do 0.18.0

74 appel [apple] on french par. 5.11.0

140 Best sort of vines 7.0.0

6 mats and packages 0.7.6

2oz Sugar Loaf Cabbage 0.2.0

2oz Early Do 0.2.0

4oz Large hard Do 0.3.4

2oz Large Holland Do 0.2.0

1oz Red Do 0.1.6

2oz Savoy Do 0.1.6

2oz Collyflower [cauliflower] 0.8.0

1oz Bleu Brocoli [blue/ purple broccoli] 0.1.6

1/2 oz White Do 0.2.0

1pd Early Duch [Dutch] turneep [turnip] 0.2.0

1/2pd Green Do 0.0.9

2oz Yellow Do 0.7.0

1pd Carrot 0.2.0

2oz Leek 0.0.6

3oz Red Beet 0.3.0

2oz White Do 0.0.6

1/2 oz upright selery [celery] 0.0.3

1/2 oz Dwarf Do 0.0.3

1oz Green Endive 0.0.6

1oz White Do 0.2.0

1oz White Coss Lettuce 0.1.0

1oz Green Do 0.7.0

1oz Selesia [Silesia] Do 0.1.0

4oz Brown Duch Do 0.3.0

1oz salsify 0.1.0

1oz Skirret 0.1.0

10oz Scorzonera 0.1.0

2pd London Radish 0.2.0

First page £23.16.2

Oct 20 1751

2oz Clary 0.0.8

1oz Pursline [Purslane] 0.0.6  
 2oz fenochia [finochia] 0.2.0  
 1/2pd Curle parsely [curled parsley] 0.0.9  
 Thyme, sw. marj [sweet marjoram], win. sav. [winter savoury] 0.1.6  
 1/2pd Rocombole 0.2.0  
 1oz Seed Do 0.0.6  
 1/2pd asparagus 0.1.6  
 1qu cress 0.1.0  
 1qu mustard 0.0.9  
 2pd sallet Radish 0.1.6  
 2oz White Spanish Rad [Radish] 0.1.6  
 2oz Black Do 0.1.6  
 1oz Large prickly cuc [cucumber] 0.1.0  
 White cucumber 0.1.0  
 Green turky Do 0.1.0  
 Early Do 0.1.0  
 Pumkins [Pumpkins] and [?] 0.1.0  
 6 fine sort of mellons [melons] 0.6.0  
 3pd Early Dwarf peas 0.1.6  
 4pd Ledmans [Leedman's] Do 0.2.0  
 1 pack fine Early Charlton 0.5.0  
 3pd Curld [curled] Shugar [sugar] Do 0.5.0  
 2 packs Ormaret Do 0.5.0  
 8pd Windsor Beans 0.2.8

4pd White Blossom [blossom] Beans 0.2.0

1/2 pack small Early Do 0.2.0

4pd spotted [spotted] french Beans 0.4.0

3pd Dwarf Do 0.3.6

1pd Clyming [climbing] Do 0.1.0

1/2pd framing Radish 0.1.0

1/2 pack Broad spinnage [spinach] 0.3.0

1/2 pack Prickly Do 0.2.6

2pd onion 0.6.0

2pd parsneep [parsnip] 0.3.0

Bazeel [Basil] 0.0.4

1oz Rose Larkspur 0.1.0

Convolvulus minor 0.0.6

Second page £27.11.10

Oct 20

1oz anual [annual] stock 0.0.6

2 Venus Looking Glass 0.0.6

1/2oz Carnation 0.2.0

1/2oz fine mixt [mixed] pink 0.1.0

4 sort of stock 0.2.0

Comb. and in color 0.2.0

Dimond [Diamond] ficord's[?]; capsicum 0.1.6

Mervell peru Marigolds 0.1.6

Polyanthus seed 0.5.0

Ranunculus amaranthous [amaranthus] 0.3.0

2 Gardning [Gardening] lines 0.5.0

2 pairs of gloves for pruning 0.2.0

An apron 0.2.0

A home made knife 0.1.6

1pd Peans[?] 0.3.6

A large packing case 0.3.6

Wharfage and Carriage 0.7.6

24 Tuberose Roots 0.12.0

50 Large Jonquils 0.3.0

Carridge [Carriage] 0.1.0

£30.11.10

Nov 26 Overpaid 0.5.0

Due to Lewis Kennedy 30.6.10

Croxdell December 29th 1751

Recevd of William Salvin Esq

thirty pounds six shillings

the full contents of the bill

for the use of Lewis Kennedy

which with all proceedings is

discharged by John Kennedy





## Historic England Research and the Historic Environment

We are the public body that looks after England's historic environment. We champion historic places, helping people understand, value and care for them.

A good understanding of the historic environment is fundamental to ensuring people appreciate and enjoy their heritage and provides the essential first step towards its effective protection.

Historic England works to improve care, understanding and public enjoyment of the historic environment. We undertake and sponsor authoritative research. We develop new approaches to interpreting and protecting heritage and provide high quality expert advice and training.

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