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THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM'S HOUSE IN WIMBLEDON

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The Wimbledon of the 1770's was a small but growing village of some one thousand people, its population assessed in 1801 at 1,591, largely concentrated in the centre of a big parish which extended from the Beverley Brook on the west to the River Wandle on the east. It was overshadowed by its more populous Thameside rivals, Putney (2,428 in 1801) and Wandsworth (4,445 in 1801). The shops and homes of its chief villagers lay along Church Road and the High Street from the Dog and Fox Inn northwards. The larger properties of the gentry, over 35 of the 145 households listed in 1776, lay on the south and west side of the Common, with smaller recently-built cottages beyond (Fig. 1). Further away lay a few scattered properties and a small settlement of about 20 houses near the mills on the Wandle.

London merchants had long favoured Wimbledon; it became more accessible in the eighteenth century with the construction of Putney Bridge in 1727–9. The arrival of the Spencers as Lords of the Manor in 1744, inheriting a mansion newly built for the Duchess of Marlborough, made it a socially acceptable centre, popular with merchants, politicians, lawyers and bankers.¹

Nothing survives today as a reminder of what in the mid eighteenth century was one of the more important houses in Wimbledon. The mansion lay near the junction of the High Street and Church Road. With the outbuildings and grounds the property occupied about 20 acres (Fig. 2). However, the house itself was demolished in the 1790's and the grounds were incorporated with those of a neighbour, so it is scarcely surprising that very little has been

known about it. For only a few years does the curtain lift, the years between 1771 and 1782 when the Marquess of Rockingham leased the house and left, among his many papers, detailed accounts relating to his years in Wimbledon.

The house may have been built for Richard le Bas, a member of a Huguenot family from Caen who died in 1712. It was bought at some date by Sir Theodore Janssen, a fellow Huguenot and wealthy London merchant, possibly with a view to living there himself.² But at first he let it while he pursued more ambitious plans which culminated in the purchase of the manor of Wimbledon in 1717. He followed this by planning and building a new house, on fashionable Palladian lines, with a six-acre garden, to replace the vast Elizabethan manor house. This new house stood on the crest of the hill with a view to the North Downs, facing what is now Highbury Road. Unfortunately his involvement in the South Sea Company crisis meant that he had to give up the lordship of the manor (bought then for the Duchess of Marlborough), but he was able to buy back his new house, from c.1840 to be known as Belvedere. His daughter Henrietta, who held it until her father's death, first let it and then sold it in January 1749, to the sitting tenant Mrs Martha Rush, from a family of Suffolk gentry, whose son Samuel inherited it in 1759.

Despite the detail with which Janssen listed his assets in 1721 he did not include the house on Church Road. Not only did he retain it, but he bought, from the Trustees responsible for the settlement of the South Sea Company affairs, three

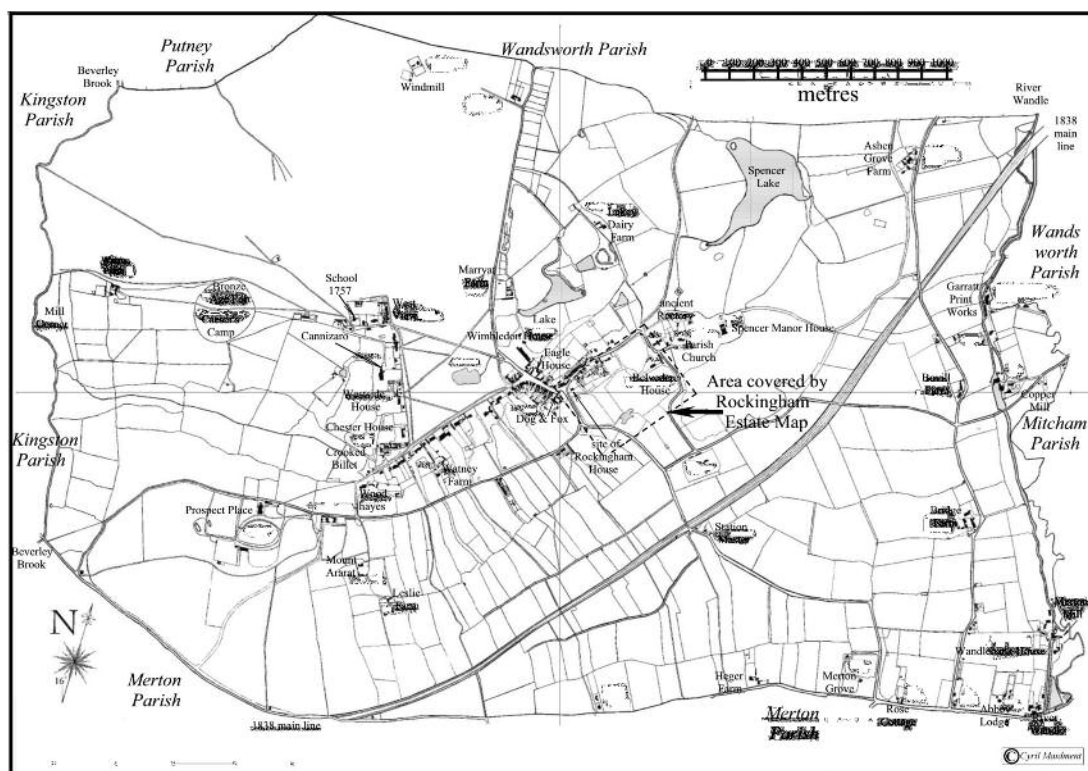


Fig. 1. Wimbledon Parish based on the 1850 tithe map. *Cyril Maidment*.

nearby fields of approximately six acres each and several small properties which lay along Church Road. Judging from furnishings such as crimson silk curtains and matching upholstery chosen by him and his wife for their other houses, noted in some detail in 1720–1, large sums were spent on the interior decoration of the house and it may well have been extended. We know that some of the additional land was used for outbuildings, stables and courtyard; the garden and ‘plantations’ set out alongside the High Street are clearly represented by John Rocque in his *Survey* in 1746. The house itself then lay at the heart of a 20-acre estate. While Janssen was able to buy back his London house in Hanover Square, he let it and maintained a smaller London house until at least 1734. As an elderly widower he may then have spent

longer periods in his Wimbledon house, with his extensive library and beloved plantations, until his death at the age of 90 in September 1748. His sons Abraham and William inherited in their turn but the house was probably then let.

The young and ambitious Sir Ellis Cunliffe, son and heir of a very wealthy Liverpool merchant and ship owner, found that the estate on Church Road, well placed in this attractive village, provided him with what he wanted. He had already secured the parliamentary seat for Liverpool which he held from 1755 to 1767, was knighted in 1756, received a baronetcy in 1757, married well in 1760 and was, in 1764, in a position to bequeath £20,000 to his daughter. To crown his progress as a country gentleman on 9 April 1766 he bought the estate on

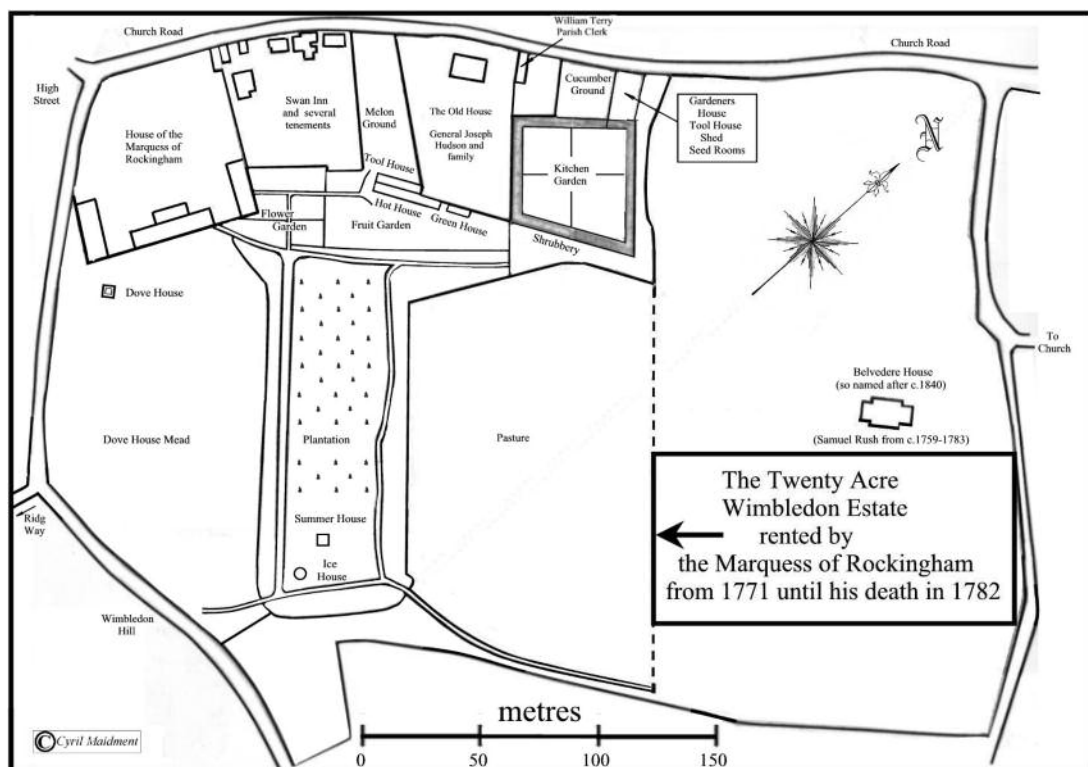


Fig. 2. The twenty-acre Wimbledon estate rented by the Marquess of Rockingham 1771-82. *Cyril Maidment*.

Church Road from William Janssen, having possibly rented it first.³ Cunliffe proceeded immediately to improve the property in line with current fashion. He asked Robert Adam to prepare designs for the drawing room ceiling, dated 1766 (Fig. 3), and others, dated 1767, which became progressively simpler, for a wall mirror to be set above the chimney piece in that room (Fig. 4). Adam also designed chimney pieces for the library.⁴ Cunliffe paid Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, then busy on the landscaping of Earl Spencer’s park, £450 for work on the grounds.⁵ Presumably Adam’s designs were implemented and others employed in 1766 and 1767, and the house lavishly equipped. When he added a codicil to his will on 4 August 1767 he reported the purchase of the Wimbledon estate ‘as well freehold as copy hold

with the mansion house and other buildings therein . . . and by additional buildings, furniture and otherwise have greatly improved the same.’ But sadly he died, aged only 50, on 16 October 1767. Disputes over the execution of his complicated will delayed the sale of the estate until 17 February 1772.

The purchaser was Samuel Rush, already well settled at *Belvedere*, who seized the opportunity to extend his property from St Mary’s Road to the High Street, and from Church Road to what is now Belvedere Drive. He was prepared to pay £7,200 for the house, furnishings and grounds, in itself a comment on Cunliffe’s improvements, when this became possible in 1772. He had presumably rented it from the executors earlier, since by 1772 he had already built additional stables there, and had

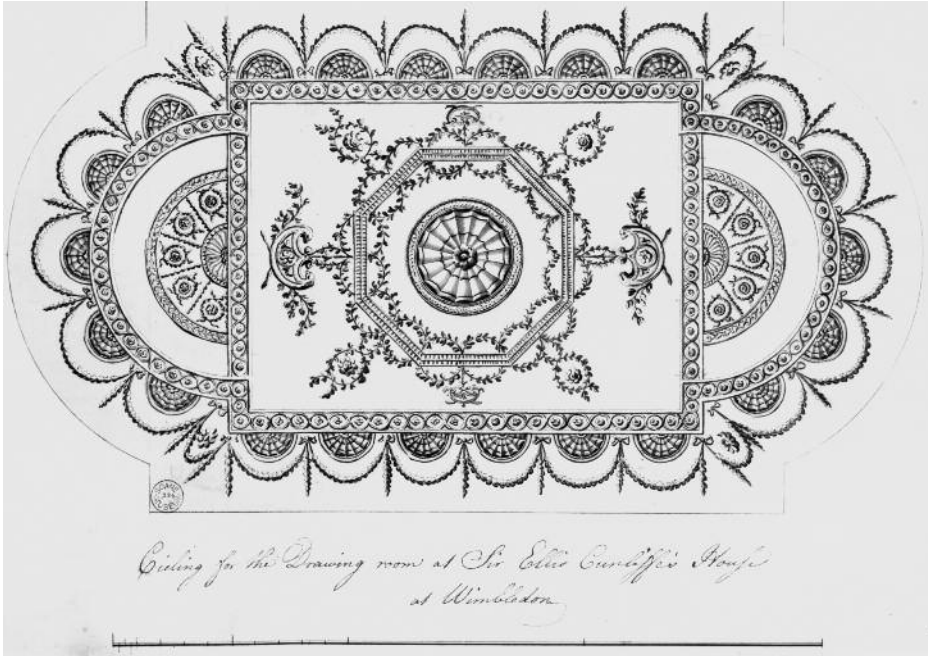


Fig. 3. Robert Adam, Ceiling for the Drawing room at Sir Ellis Cunliffe's House at Wimbledon, 1766.
Courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

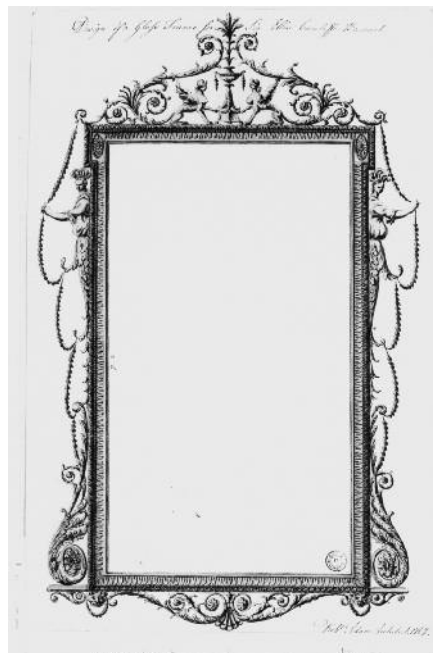


Fig. 4. Robert Adam, Design of a glass frame for Sir Ellis Cunliffe, 1767.
Courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.



Fig. 5. Joseph Nollekens, *2nd Marquess of Rockingham*, c.1784, Dalmeny Castle.
By kind permission of the Earl of Rosebery.

secured Earl Spencer's assent as Lord of the Manor to his right to hold copyhold tenements on Church Road, previously incorporated into the courtyard.⁶ He had also decided to let the estate; in June 1771 he had arranged to let the house furnished with the grounds to Charles Watson-Wentworth, Second Marquess of Rockingham, who held it as a country retreat until he died there on 1 July 1782.⁷ It was Sir William Beaumaris Rush, Samuel's kinsman and heir who, inheriting the 56-acre estate in 1783, preferred to concentrate on improvements to *Belvedere* rather than to the house on Church Road, had the older house demolished and the grounds of the two estates reorganised. A survey prepared for him after 1793 shows farm buildings where an important house had once stood.⁸ The *Belvedere* estate was to survive more or less intact until c. 1900.

Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquess of Rockingham (1730–82) (Fig. 5) inherited his title and wealth from vast estates in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire and Ireland at the age of 20, and was soon to be supported by a competent wife, herself a Yorkshire heiress.⁹ As a politician his gifts were less obvious. His years at the head of a ministry were few: July 1765 to August 1766 and again from March 1782 until his unexpected death three months later, aged only 52. But he was a powerful and influential magnate who took his duties seriously, if sometimes reluctantly. He came, for instance, to appreciate the views of the American colonists and worked hard towards the peace settlement to be achieved in 1783. His friend and one-time secretary, Edmund Burke, summed up his gifts, now endorsed by modern historians, in less glowing terms: 'he far exceeded all other statesmen in the art of drawing together without the seduction of self-interest, the concurrence and cooperation of various dispositions and abilities of men, whom he assimilated to his character and associated in his labours.'¹⁰ The headquarters of the Rockingham estates lay at Wentworth, six miles from Sheffield, where the great mansion with its remarkable 600-foot long frontage

and elegant rooms still stands, although denuded of its treasures. Many of these the second Marquess himself had collected.¹¹ His scientific interests led to membership of the Royal Society and to his progressive management of the 2,000-acre home farm.¹²

He also inherited the lease of No. 4 Grosvenor Square.¹³ This house proved an ideal base for meetings with his political friends, for attendance at court and Parliament, and the social activities which made up the season. But Rockingham and his wife, like many others whose country estates were some distance from London, wanted also a more accessible country retreat.¹⁴ That Lord and Lady Rockingham with their wealth, many interests and fashionable tastes, chose a house in Wimbledon is a comment both on the attractions of the village and its residents, and on the house itself.

On 21 June 1771 Lord Rockingham wrote from Coombe Neville, Kingston upon Thames, a Spencer property, where he and his wife had been staying for a few weeks, to his secretary Edmund Burke:

We have been much occupied here with the important decision whether we should prefer this *place* or Mr Rush's late Sir Ellis Cunliffe's at *Wimbleton* and tho' as a *farmer* I am sure you would have had a partiality for this place . . . Yet as a *Husband* you would have accommodated your mind to – a Beautiful Villa with about 30 acres of pretty good ground. It is now decided and we are to take *Wimbleton* and probably shall be there in about a fortnight. . . . I really think *Wimbleton* has one great advantage, in being the preferable Villa for a day or two now and then to go to in *winter*. I should think the view from hence would be but a dreary prospect in winter.¹⁵

They paid Samuel Rush an annual rent of £437 for the fully furnished house and grounds and it was to remain their refuge from the 'Bustle of Business' for the next eleven years.¹⁶

The Rockingham estates do not appear to have been run by professional land agents with a central administration, but by local solicitors each responsible for a particular area.¹⁷ No elaborate

machinery was set up to run the Wimbledon property but separate accounts were maintained. Some vouchers and bills were kept, and one set of accounts for household expenses and another for the garden and grounds were produced, and added to a third set showing miscellaneous expenditure.¹⁸ Expenses in Wimbledon were probably supervised by Richard Fenton, the Marquess's London solicitor and man of business. He was, for instance, probably in Wimbledon paying those to whom the Marquess owed money in October 1782 and also in May or June each year when papers seem to have been checked, the accounts drawn up, totalled and transferred to the Book of London Accounts.¹⁹ Other useful information is available in the inventories prepared after Rockingham's death: one lists and values goods which the Marquess and his wife had added to the furnished house and another lists debts due to local tradesmen.²⁰

No illustrations have been traced and only one contemporary description of the villa survives: 'a large handsome brick house'.²¹ But from the inventory prepared after the Marquess's death of items added to the existing furnishings some detail emerges.²² It was a house of three storeys and a cellar, with a hall, 'great' staircase and six rooms on the ground floor: drawing room (which Adam's design of 1766 for the ceiling shows was a good-sized room, 38 ft 6 ins in length and 22 ft wide), parlour, library, 'old' dining room and 'blue mixed damask room', which may have been used as a study since a mahogany bureau and a desk had been added. The 'Steward's room' seems to have been used as a dining room, since Lady Rockingham had added a large mahogany two-leaved oval dining table and twelve chairs to the existing furniture, presumably brought from Grosvenor Square. The service quarters included at least a servants' hall, wash house, kitchen and store rooms. In the courtyard there were stables and two well-equipped dairies and presumably also a coach house, barns, a poultry yard and pigsties.

Lord and Lady Rockingham seem quickly to

have decided that the Wimbledon estate would suit them admirably, and they spent £3,219 13s 5d. to cover upkeep and initial expenses during the eighteen months between July 1771 and March 1773.²³ Some building work and redecoration was carried out before the spring of 1772. Two Wimbledon tradesmen, William Terry, bricklayer, and Thomas Witham, glazier and painter, received £80 for their work, and James Eaton, a Wandsworth plumber, £17. For more specialised work Londoners, John Chew of the Paperhanging Warehouse, Piccadilly, John Dibbs, painter, and Newton, turner (all to be used later at Grosvenor Square),²⁴ and Mr Dabourne, upholsterer, and Mr Townsend, cabinet maker, possibly both Londoners, were employed at a cost of over £100. But the work of the Wimbledon men was found satisfactory and in May 1773 William Terry, Thomas Witham and Samuel Mason, carpenter, were again busy on alterations, and yet again in March 1777 on building work which cost £382 17s 6d, probably for a hothouse. Samuel Mason was the Wimbledon tradesman who profited most from Rockingham's patronage, earning £1,143 over the eleven years, the foundation of his future prosperity and that of an important Wimbledon family.²⁵

Over the years Lady Rockingham added to or replaced some of the furnishings in the Wimbledon house. Some were transferred from Grosvenor Square, others were the work of London tradesmen.²⁶ She had loose covers made for six chairs and two sofas and cushions in the parlour, a check cover for a large settee and 14 chairs in the drawing room; she added two green and white sofas in canvas with two bolsters and printed cotton covers, 12 green and white chairs with cane backs and seats and a large turkey carpet to the 'old dining room'. She added or replaced curtains in the parlour with striped cotton festoon window curtains, and printed cotton ones in the library, a comment on the lighter textiles and styles then in vogue. Some furniture such as two mahogany pembroke tables were added to the drawing room, and the 'lady's inlaid work table' and

'small inlaid bookcase', suggest that Lady Rockingham particularly liked to use the parlour.

Other items listed in 1782 reflect the interests of the Marquess and his wife. Among the books, valued at £156 9s, were 76 on gardening subjects presumably belonging to Lady Rockingham, a keen gardener. Framed coloured drawings of flowers hung on the library walls. A harpsichord with its music stand stood in the drawing room and a pianoforte and its stand were kept in the 'old dining room'. Music was bought from a Mr Vinecombe and a friend brought music back from Paris for Lady Rockingham on at least one occasion.²⁷

Indoor staffing arrangements were certainly more flexible than the accounts for Wimbledon would indicate. The accounts list wages for Sarah Charlton £9 *p.a.*, or 12 gns. when board wages were included, and for two or three girls serving for 2 or 3 years each, as housemaids or dairy maids at eight gns. *p.a.* Sometimes local women came in to help in the kitchen or as washerwomen.²⁸ Sarah and Isaac Charlton may have arrived at No. 4 Grosvenor Square in 1765 as a married couple, or perhaps a romance had blossomed in the great house.²⁹ But when Sarah became pregnant in the spring of 1773 she became housekeeper at Wimbledon. Their twin sons were baptised at St Mary's Church, Wimbledon on 25 July 1773, as were their other five children in the following years. Their rooms in (or near) the Wimbledon house must have become home to them.

Isaac, however, continued to serve on the Grosvenor Square staff on a salary of £50 *p.a.* as the butler, as listed in 1782.³⁰ Only the clerk of the kitchen received the higher salary of £70 *p.a.* Yet Charlton was a key figure in Wimbledon. No doubt the Marquess would have regarded him as the Duchess of Marlborough did her butler whom she described in 1744 as

very sensible and very honest and capable of doing almost any business. I have employed him to receive rents, to pay bills and look after all that is necessary to be done at Wimbledon.³¹

Charlton seems to have been able to combine satisfactorily his various roles. Together he and Sarah were responsible for keeping vouchers and bills, paying wages and dues and organising and paying for whatever goods and services were required, even accounting to the last penny for items such as the Christmas boxes for the tradesmen's servants or the tip to the woman who brought home a lost dog. Isaac was owed £120 and a further £42 on his wife's behalf for household expenses after Rockingham's death.³²

The accounts for supplies of food and drink for the household were kept weekly for only part of the year, usually from March or April to July or August.³³ Presumably these were the weeks when the local staff was supplemented either regularly or as required from the Grosvenor Square staff when visits from Lord and Lady Rockingham and their friends were more frequent. Regular suppliers were local men: William Boddicott, butcher and later his widow, William Everatt, baker, James Eades, grocer, and Richard Jarratt, a poulterer from Putney. Messrs Grindal and Elliott supplied fish from Putney. Edward Winchester, of the Dog and Fox Inn, supplied beer and cider, and Tyson Chapman, a prosperous Putney brewer, supplied beer at £40 a time. Chapman had many interests in Wimbledon and he was paid nearly £170 in May 1773 for goods for the Rockingham household.³⁴ The highest bills, including, for instance, more meat, fish, fruits, asparagus and lemons, arose in June and July after the Parliamentary session had ended. In July 1778, for example, two weekly bills of £41 and £71 had to be settled. There were 16 bottles of Madeira and nearly 150 bottles of wines, port and champagne, valued at £30, in the cellar after the Marquess's death.³⁵ Since no purchases of these was noted in the Wimbledon accounts they had certainly been supplied from stocks at Grosvenor Square. More luxurious provisions may also have been brought from the town house or brought by servants from London stores.³⁶

Lord and Lady Rockingham both could and did entertain at Wimbledon. The house was occasionally

convenient for meetings, and their friend Edmund Burke would be invited to dine and stay overnight. In June 1774 the Marquess entertained some gentlemen farmers whom he had met on a visit to Duckett's experimental farm near Petersham and took home with him afterwards. In June 1775 he was entertaining some legal friends.³⁷ On 4 May 1776 Lady Rockingham had hoped for a visit from Mrs Wentworth, the wife of the Governor of New Hampshire, to hear the latest news from America.³⁸ Certainly they had enough equipment to welcome visitors in some style, for instance, three tureens and covers, baking dishes, long dessert dishes, eight large and eight small blue and white plates, Wedgwood and Worcester china tea and coffee cups, and nearly 40 chocolate cups. Twelve of these were blue with covers, gilt edges and handles, the elegant little cups sometimes known as *pots à jus* which may have been used in Wimbledon for *bouillon* or syllabus as well as chocolate. The long list of china was valued at £15 10s in 1782, earthenware at £7 6s and glass at £6 12s. No silver was included; presumably someone had taken it all back to Grosvenor Square for safe keeping before the inventories were prepared late in 1782.³⁹

Lord Rockingham had originally considered Wimbledon to be particularly convenient for them for visits during the winter while Parliament was in session. Household accounts for some weeks in January indicate that there were then additional staff in residence to cover their visits, for instance, for the weeks ending 8 and 15 January 1775, 7, 14, and 21 January 1776, 4 January 1778, and the five weeks to 3 February 1781.⁴⁰ There may be explanations for visits at those times but on the face of it the dates suggest that the Marquess and his wife grew increasingly to favour Wimbledon. Writing to Burke, then at home in Beaconsfield, on Sunday 7/8 January 1775, Rockingham comments on its advantages: 'If you ride over here and bring your nightcap we shall be very quiet here and have more time for conversation.'⁴¹ But staffing arrangements seem also to have been flexible enough to cope with brief visits at other times during the winter: Lord Rockingham was in

Wimbledon on Friday 14 January 1778 when the news of the defeat at Saratoga was brought to him by servants from Grosvenor Square.⁴²

Winter visits are confirmed by greater expenditure on heating. Coal was delivered each year chiefly by two Wandsworth merchants: Joshua Noble's payments averaged £80 *p.a.* between 1774 and 1776, Thomas Bennett's £124 *p.a.* between 1777 and 1782. Bennett, who had his own warehouse and wharf on the Wandle, was paid the sum of £145 outstanding in October 1782.⁴³ Chimneys were swept regularly, sometimes by John Magro, one of the few Wimbledon men unable to sign his own name.

The Dukes of Devonshire similarly used Chiswick as a place for peace and relaxation; to Georgiana it was her 'earthly paradise'.⁴⁴ The proximity of Wimbledon to Grosvenor Square, a 7 or 8 mile journey, certainly facilitated short and frequent visits. On 23 June 1775 Lord Rockingham wrote from Wimbledon 'I think to stay quietly here before I go even for a morning to Grosvenor Square'. Meetings in town could be arranged for 11 *a.m.* though more often for noon. Lady Rockingham, happy in her garden while her husband was at Newmarket, wrote on 29 March 1775 that she was tempted to stay in Wimbledon as the sunshine had cleared away the heavy fall of snow. Their attitude was vividly expressed by Burke who, writing in September 1780 on the election of their friend Admiral Keppel as MP for Surrey, commented 'It will make Wimbledon more beautiful than ever'.⁴⁵

There was more coming and going than one might have expected. On Friday 12 July 1776 Rockingham wrote to Burke from Grosvenor Square: 'I received your letter at Wimbledon on Wednesday night. . . I return to Wimbledon to dinner tomorrow and shall come back here on Sunday evening'.⁴⁶ On Friday 31 March 1780 he wrote in the early evening from Grosvenor Square

I was wet through riding here this morning. I have just got on dry clothes and am returning to Wimbledon. I wish you could come and pass a night at Wimbledon.

Later that same evening, anxious about the discussions on Parliamentary reform, he wrote again to Burke from Wimbledon.

I had been *wet thru* with the rain in riding to London . . . I have now eat my dinner and drunk my Madeira . . . Mr Lee is returned from the circuit . . . and he will come here tomorrow to dinner and take a bed. I very much wish you would come . . . I shall be very glad if you can come to dinner and lay here tomorrow night.⁴⁷

Part of the attraction of the Wimbledon house for the Marquess and his wife lay in the gardens and grounds of this small 20-acre estate. As an improving farmer Lord Rockingham was unlikely to ignore the possibilities of what he had quickly appreciated was 'pretty good ground'.⁴⁸ He and his wife, accustomed to the produce supplied by the home farm at Wentworth, planned to supply both the Wimbledon and Grosvenor Square houses with 'garden stuff and farm produce', as did the Duke of Northumberland, whose carter drove from Syon House to town three times a week during the season.⁴⁹ Perhaps the Wimbledon horse and cart which got lost and had to be rescued at a cost of two guineas had been on its way to or from Grosvenor Square.

The house itself was set well back from both the High Street and Church Road (Fig. 2).⁵⁰ Janssen's formal gardens and plantations lay along the High Street, presumably the land later landscaped by Lancelot Brown. Along Church Road lay the courtyard and outbuildings which had replaced the original five copyhold tenements. The original stables and those built especially by Rush for his new tenant were insufficient for the Marquess and others were rented at six guineas a year from Lord Spencer.⁵¹ Further north along Church Road, behind the properties such as the Swan Inn and The Old House which fronted the road lay more Rockingham land which included gardens, orchards and a gardener's tool house. Rockingham's lease presumably included all the land acquired by Rush from Cunliffe's executor, his brother Robert, and the property extended at least as far north as William

Terry's cottage, which lay near the present Belvedere Avenue and the field nearby known as Church Walk Field. This and more land to the southeast was available to Rockingham for pasture, possibly as far as the icehouse recently investigated by English Heritage.⁵²

The responsibility for the gardens and grounds and the accounts for their upkeep was in the hands of a gardener, the only male servant maintained by the household: Francis Townly, set up in a cottage on Church Road, paid £20 *p.a.* and board wages, was helped by a local man, Richard Enoch. They hired and organised teams of village labourers which, at the rate of 1s 6d a day each, represented about 60 days work each week.⁵³ After October 1773 local men were employed: Richard Kirby from 1773–6, and Richard Tomes, who also supplied newspapers to the household. However more expert help seems to have been required: Thomas Botheroyde came from elsewhere and his travelling expenses had to be met. He worked there in 1776–7 while Kirby continued to hire local labourers. Benjamin Henderson, too, was not a local man but a professional gardener, employed from 1778–82 at a rate of £21 and board wages. By 1782, when he was paid £30, he had had the help of a younger man, Hugh Hossack, for some months, one of the several men who came from Scotland to find work in Wimbledon.⁵⁴

The gardeners had a substantial tool house on Church Road, adequately equipped by Samuel Rush. There were small purchases of items such as a scythe stone, garden pots and baskets, a garden chair, netting and a 'set of letters for marking' which were stored there. Tobacco had to be bought to fumigate the hot house and green house.

Fashionable taste in the eighteenth century required that villas be surrounded by beautiful gardens and wealthy owners took great pride in them. The Marchioness of Rockingham seems to have been a particularly enthusiastic gardener: she was reputed to be 'exceedingly fond of plants' and is credited with the introduction to England of a plant,

caladium hellaborifolium, from South America in 1796.⁵⁵ The library at Wimbledon contained most essential reference works on plants including, for instance, Linnaeus's *Hortus Cliffortianus* as well as an *Illustration of his System* in two volumes.⁵⁶ The family of Lady Rockingham's most favoured nurseryman, James Lee, took great pride in the fact that he was entertained at Wimbledon by both Lord and Lady Rockingham, and in July 1781 Lee was arranging for Linnaeus's son, then in London, and Sir Joseph Banks's librarian to accompany him to Wimbledon.⁵⁷ It was presumably in connection with this visit that Sir Joseph's man was tipped one guinea possibly for bringing a book or cuttings to Wimbledon.

Although the gardens, plantations and orchards had been long established at Wimbledon, it seems probable that it was Lady Rockingham who laid out the gardens near Church Road. These were retained by W.B. Rush in preference to the gardens nearer *Belvedere* set out in 1746. As well as a green house and hot house, they included a kitchen garden, flower garden, fruit garden, a melon ground and a cucumber ground. While some plants were bought locally (gooseberry trees, rose and cherry trees, and nectarines), most were bought from eight nursery gardens and seed merchants at a cost of over £313, plus tips for the men who brought them, between 1771 and 1782.⁵⁸ It was Kennedy and Lee, of the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith, who benefited most from Lady Rockingham's patronage. Their men made regular deliveries of plants and the firm was paid £158 across the years. It is, of course, particularly disappointing not to know what plants were bought and from which firm. We can only speculate about the Wimbledon gardens in the light of such interesting details as have, for instance, survived for the 'New Making' of the Duke of Beaufort's garden in 1738–9.⁵⁹

The Rockinghams enjoyed fresh fruit and, accustomed to the eight acres of hot houses at Wentworth, tried to have peaches sent from Wentworth

to Wimbledon. One consignment of pineapples, melons, peaches and other fruit had not travelled well; the Marquess complained that they had been too ripe when despatched.⁶⁰ This may have encouraged them to plan a hot house and greenhouse at Wimbledon, possibly the structures for which bills of over £400 were noted in March 1777. Lady Rockingham's newly-introduced plants also needed to be in hot houses, but it was probably their value for peaches which was decisive. Nearly £8 was spent on peach trees in August 1776, a sum which suggests, considering contemporary prices, that fifty trees were bought.⁶¹

The fields on the property, including another rented for £42 *p. a.* from a local farmer, had one main function: to provide what was needed for the livestock kept for the use of the two households.⁶² As early as September 1771 chickens were bought from Thomas Jones, who lived opposite in Church Road. He killed them when required and was to maintain stocks throughout the period. At the same time two breeding sows, at the instigation of Lady Rockingham, very knowledgeable about animals, were bought. Pigs were killed by a local butcher, William Boddicott, and dressed and roasted by a local woman. A horse, 'Grey Galloway', was bought from William Everatt, baker, for 10 gns. in May 1772; two mares were taken to horse that summer, and two more bought in December 1774. Sheep, a mule and ass were also acquired.

By the spring of 1772 the Marquess and his wife felt sufficiently settled to invest in what was to them of great importance, a small herd of cows. Mr Patterson, farmer, was paid £56, almost certainly for cows, nine of whom were taken to the bull that autumn. Others were later bought at a local sale, at Chertsey and Kingston fairs, and Lady Rockingham herself bought cows some distance from Wimbledon, since a man had to be paid 7s 6d for driving them home. The herd may have been maintained at 9 or 10 cows.

The herd of cows required specialist skills. Mr

Cooper, the cow doctor, had occasionally to be brought to Wimbledon to advise. His bills ranged from £1 2s to £5 4s 6d. Sometimes a man came to help with the calving, or the gardener's wife to help with the milking. But the household employed a dairymaid, on a salary of £8 a year, and she was, apart from Sarah Charlton and the gardener, the only full time servant maintained at Wimbledon. No valuation seems to have been made after the Marquess's death of farm stock, stores or equipment in Wimbledon. But a full inventory of the contents of the two dairies was taken, further evidence of the importance to the family of dairy produce. It is unlikely that these were the decorative buildings sometimes found on greater estates but, rather, severely practical rooms. The 'slop' dairy contained tubs, pails, pewter ice pots, moulds, ladles, tea kettles and so on; the main dairy contained, among 37 items, four milk pails, a butter churn, butter scales and earthen milk pans.⁶³ The Duke of Leinster in 1769 ordered that churned butter should be sent from the country to his Dublin house three times a week, and some similar arrangement certainly existed in Wimbledon. It is difficult to know how easily milk was sent to Grosvenor Square.⁶⁴

Skilled tradesmen were at hand in the High Street to supply what other services were required for the estate. William Chainey, established at the village smithy and James Coote, probably a younger man and a relative newcomer, were described as 'farrier and smith', and John Squires, collar and harness maker, succeeded in 1777 by Mr Beckett and later by his widow, collar maker of Putney, were paid over £817 across the years. This seems a high figure. Is it possible that some horses normally kept at Grosvenor Square were shod and their equipment replaced in Wimbledon? There were two wheelwrights in the High Street and William Neighbour, cooper of Wandsworth, supplied other equipment.

Good pasture land was therefore essential. The fields, probably neglected in earlier years, had to be

cleared of stones and thistles (both tasks done by village women at 1s a day each) and gorse cut back and ground drained and levelled. Hedges had to be laid out and repaired. £430 was spent during the 18 months between July 1771 and March 1773. Over £84 was spent on hedging and ditching over the years, £60 of which went to Charles Child, a local man. John Barnes was paid one guinea a year for catching moles and rats.⁶⁵ The Marquess had long appreciated the importance of draining and fertilising the land; he had the reputation of producing manure 'which cut like butter'. Some was bought locally, but most came down river from London to Putney to supply the local market gardens. Possibly as many as 80 barge loads were delivered to Wimbledon. Men had then to be paid 'to throw it up' at 5s a day compared to the 1s 6d paid to casual labourers. Some of the manure was further enriched by soot and lime bought locally.⁶⁶

But the fields did not produce sufficient hay and straw for the animals, and quantities had to be bought: from Earl Spencer through his agent James Rose, owed £183 8s 6d in 1782; from Samuel Rush the landlord, from Sir Richard Hotham of Merton Place, from John Watney, farmer, Thomas Dallett of Putney, Tyson Chapman of Putney and from a dozen villagers. Among other items required for the animals, stocks of corn, dog's meat for the dogs, and oats were usually bought locally, for instance, from Tyson Chapman and William Jennings. But most of the oats came in bulk orders, for instance, in 1775 one worth £107, £131 in 1776, a total of £423 from Marratt and Webb, corn dealers of Goodman's Fields, Whitechapel.⁶⁷

This picture of the development of the estate has been drawn from the two relevant accounts for Wimbledon: that for the garden and grounds, and that for miscellaneous expenditure. No attempt seems to have been made, as for instance at Wentworth, to set up separate farm accounts. This was sometimes the practice where the country villa, reasonably near to London, contributed supplies to the town

house.⁶⁸ We look in vain, therefore, for all sorts of information which would be of particular interest. After legislation in 1777 imposed a levy on all male servants the Marquess paid for one man only, presumably the gardener, the one man whose wages were noted in the accounts.⁶⁹ Yet the farm work, particularly the care of the animals, must have required daily attention. It seems probable that local help and advice was sought. No money may have changed hands but payment in kind, such as the right to use and sell any surplus products, may have been agreed.

One hint of some contract work survives: on 27 June 1780 'the haymakers account' of £29 was settled. Similar sums 'for mowing and getting in the hay' were paid in some earlier years, but on only one occasion is any name associated with the work. On 25 May 1773 Mrs Paterson was paid for 'the haymaking' £23 and a further £18 for hire of horses and for corn.⁷⁰ Mrs Anne Paterson was a farmer, the widow of Mr John Paterson 'the Farmer' who had arranged the probable purchase of cows for the Marquess just before his death in February 1772. John had been responsible for farming on the Spencer estate, and when the Earl wished to make another appointment in 1770 he considered John and Anne's eldest son, Benjamin, then aged 16, too young to take over. But in 1773 young Benjamin was certainly working in the fields for his mother and an obvious person to be asked to take on some of the outdoor work. In 1776 he was the breadwinner, still living at home with his mother and the younger children in one of the bigger properties in the High Street. Benjamin Paterson's later career as one of the most innovative and successful farmers of the area suggests that he was an energetic and enterprising young man, well able to take on the responsibilities of oversight of the Rockingham estate. It is pleasant to think that he may have learned from discussions with the Marquess and that his successes at farms he later worked had something to do with experimental work at Wentworth. He eventually farmed most of the land on the Spencer

estate: one of the daughters wrote to the Earl about 'Mr Paterson's hay harvest which absolutely surprises everybody by its immense profusion.'⁷¹

As resident, rather than employer, Lord Rockingham probably made less impact on Wimbledon. Yet he knew something of his neighbours, 'merchants, bank directors etc.', as he described them in June 1779, discussing the progress of the war. The bank director he had in mind was certainly Lyde Brown, whose famous collection of Greek and Roman statuary, sold to Catherine the Great and now in the Hermitage, was on display in his Wimbledon home, later Cannizaro House. Rockingham had long been interested in antiquities.⁷² He also exchanged civilities with his landlord, Samuel Rush, whose support for Admiral Keppel he hoped to secure at the parliamentary election for Surrey in 1780.⁷³ Lady Rockingham had her gardening contacts, some probably local, others from further afield, such as Lord Bessborough at nearby Roehampton.

Their contacts with the Vestry and the local parish church of St Mary's brought them into touch with a wider circle. They each found themselves nominated to committees of local notables set up in June 1774 to inspect the management of the poor. But there is no evidence to suggest that they participated, and it was left to Lady Spencer to deal with the appointment of a mistress for the workhouse. The Marquess was assessed at £10 for the levy of the poor rate, considerably more than the £3 7s 6d which Rush had to pay despite his larger estate.⁷⁴ They supported the Church by contributing five guineas *p.a.* to the vicar, one guinea to the clerk and two guineas for the curate's afternoon sermon. Payments of tithe ranged from the five guineas paid in 1773 to over £9 in 1776. They also regularly contributed five guineas to the sums raised for the charity school when it was re-established in 1773, and five guineas towards the cost of those patrolling the road to Putney, today Wimbledon Parkside, then known for its dangers.⁷⁵

Generosity towards the poor was focussed more directly on individuals, usually ordered by Lady

Rockingham: small sums were given to 'a poor woman', to 'a poor Irish woman', to 'an old labourer'. The chief recipient was the family of the gardener, Richard Enoch, who died while in their service. Lord Rockingham accepted responsibility for his funeral (£3 7s 6d) on 14 May 1775, although Samuel Mason was not reimbursed for this until a year later. Sarah Enoch who had occasionally helped in the kitchen and with the milking, was supported after her husband's death, given money when she came out of hospital, her lodgings paid for and children's clothes and shoes provided.⁷⁶

The total sums spent on the Wimbledon property added up to a sizeable figure. The existing Wimbledon accounts show expenditure of over £16,000 between 1771 and 1782, with an additional sum of £1,200 on debts due and paid in late 1782. But it is certain that other costs attributable to the Wimbledon estate may be traced in the Grosvenor Square or other Wentworth Woodhouse accounts. The most important item was the annual rent of £437 paid to Samuel Rush for the house, furniture and grounds. This was noted in 1783 only when the sum owing was paid.⁷⁷ A total of £4,807 over the eleven years was paid. Another annual sum which must have been paid centrally was the poor rate on the estate, which for Wimbledon parish averaged between £20 and £25 *p.a.* at the high figure for which Rockingham was assessed. This would have reached £242 over the eleven years. To this £22,259 must be added an unknown figure for the wages of staff despatched to Wimbledon to escort and serve Lord and Lady Rockingham for busy periods, for additional supplies of furnishing, food and drink and their transport from Grosvenor Square. Isaac Charlton's salary of £50 *p.a.* was not included in the Wimbledon accounts and a proportion of that should be added to those costs. Nor can the full costs of the farm work be estimated.

It seems, therefore, that possibly £24,000 or more was spent by the Marquess and his wife on the Wimbledon property and their life there, an average

of about £2,200 a year. This was a considerable sum, although scarcely disturbing to a man whose vast estates were reputed to bring him a rent roll of £20,000. In spite of average annual expenditure of nearly £600 on repairs and furnishings of the Grosvenor Square house between 1776 and 1781, much refurbishment was required after the Marquess's death: Lord Fitzwilliam, his nephew and heir, spent £3,986 in 1785.⁷⁸ While the house must always have provided an elegant setting for Lord and Lady Rockingham it may be that a disproportionate amount was spent on their country villa.

The Marquess of Rockingham took office as Prime Minister on 27 March 1782. At the end of May Burke reported that he had long been ill but was now much recovered.⁷⁹ But while at Wimbledon at the end of June his health suddenly worsened. James Swift, surgeon and apothecary of Putney, was hurriedly summoned, later to be thanked for his 'extraordinary attendance and trouble'.⁸⁰ His secretary wrote on 29 June at 6 o'clock to John Lee, Solicitor General,

I am sorry to say that Lord Rockingham has had but an indifferent night and that he thinks himself much worse this morning. He therefore desires me to write to you and to beg that you would come to him this morning as early as possible. I will only add that after this matter has entered his mind he will not rest easy till he sees you.⁸¹

He died two days later on July 1. He was buried, as was fitting, in York Minster. His properties passed to his nephew, 4th Earl Fitzwilliam, who raised in his memory the Mausoleum with its fine life-size marble statue by Nollekens which stands in the park at Wentworth.

The Marchioness of Rockingham was cut off by her husband's death from the political interests she had greatly enjoyed. She moved to a house in Stratton Street, and, in 1785, bought Hillingdon House, between Hillingdon and Uxbridge, from Earl Talbot, not far from Burke and his wife at Beaconsfield.⁸²

The house in Wimbledon was not given up

immediately. The Charltons' son was baptised in September in St Mary's Church, local debts were discharged in October and inventories of the Rockingham property completed in December. A local tradition survived that Charles James Fox was there while in office in 1782–3.⁸³

Although Lord and Lady Rockingham spent their visits to Wimbledon in a house in the centre of the village, opposite the Dog and Fox, it is unlikely that many residents had ever met them or exchanged more than civilities with them. They are rarely named in Wimbledon records. But the impact of their tenancy from 1771 to 1782 was considerable, as was, no doubt, that of other gentry of whom much less is known. However much the Wimbledon house depended on services and supplies brought from the Grosvenor Square house, it was Wimbledon men and women who supported the house and grounds. Rockingham's sudden death at the early age of 52 must have been as great a blow to a number of people in Wimbledon as it was to a wider political circle.

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NOTES

- 1 This period is particularly rich in sources for the history of Wimbledon. Woking, Surrey History Centre (henceforth SHC), Rush Papers, 2354/51/17 (deeds and 'plan of an estate c.1793–6'); A.W. Hughes-Clark (ed.), *The Parish Register of Wimbledon. Co. Surrey*, 1924; F.M. Cowe (ed.), 'Wimbledon Vestry Minutes 1736, 1743–88', *Surrey Record Society*, XXV, 1964; H.B. Copeland (ed.), 'The Poor Rate of 1777', *Wimbledon and Merton Annual*, III, 1905, 158–62; London, British Library, Althorp Papers, 'A Sketch of the town of Wimbledon with the lands adjoining belonging to the Right Hon. John Earl Spencer, Viscount Althorp, 1776', Pt3, section 1. This rather obscure manuscript has been made more accessible and intelligible in Cyril Maidment, *1776 Wimbledon Re-visited*, Wimbledon Society Museum, 1994, A23/65; this includes a photocopy of the original, a diagrammatic presentation of the survey and full use of the invaluable references with their additional information on the 145 households in the central area of the village. Maidment has, with descriptive text by Richard Milward, made this more generally available with other important surveys such as that by John Rocque (1746) and John Corris (1787) in *Wimbledon: a Surrey Village in Maps*, Wimbledon Society Museum, 2000. All these and other sources, such as the Althorp Papers, have been effectively exploited by Richard Milward in *A Georgian Village, Wimbledon 1724–1765*, 1986; *Wimbledon Two Hundred Years Ago*, 1996; and *The Spencers in Wimbledon, 1744–1994*, 1996, all published by the Wimbledon Society Museum. The most recent research has added to the number of London residents who also chose to acquire a home in Wimbledon: Anna Eavis, 'The avarice and ambition of William Benson', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 23–4, n.98–100.
- 2 The following paragraphs are based on Elspeth Veale, 'Sir Theodore Janssen, Huguenot and merchant of London, c. 1658–1748', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, XXVI, 2, 1995, 264–88. See also Veale, 'Sir Theodore Janssen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. To avoid confusion I shall use (but italicise) the name *Belvedere* for the years before 1840.
- 3 L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.), *History of Parliament: The House of Commons. 1754–1790*, II, London, 1964, 285; London, Public Record Office, Family History Centre, probate 11,933/407; SHC, 2354/51/17/38.

- 4 London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Robert Adam's designs and drawings, II, 224; XXIV, 50-4 and XXII, 164-6.
- 5 Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown*, London, 1957, 127.
- 6 SHC, 2354/51/17/38, 1-3, and *ibid.*, 39; compare with the figure of £4,215 which Janssen paid to secure the return of his new house in 1723, and the £1,680 paid by Martha Rush for it in 1749 in SHC, 2354/51/17/31.
- 7 T. Copeland (ed.), *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, I-X, from 1958, Cambridge and Chicago (henceforth *CEB*); L. Sutherland (ed.), *CEB*, II, 1768-74, Cambridge, 1960, 218-9.
- 8 SHC, 2354/51/17/44; G.F. Prosser, *Select Illustrations of the County of Surrey*, London, 1829, reported that the house was pulled down in 1796.
- 9 G.T. Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, *Memoirs of the Marquess of Rockingham & His Contemporaries, with original letters and documents*, I-II, 1852; R.J.S. Hoffman, *The Marquess: a study of Lord Rockingham, 1750-82*, New York, 1973, supplies a little personal background. I have found F. O'Gorman, *The rise of party in England: the Rockingham Whigs 1760-82*, 1975, in particular 474-7, the most interesting account of his personality and political career. But a good biography is much needed.
- 10 Carved at the foot of the statue in the mausoleum at Wentworth.
- 11 Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour Through the North of England*, 1771, I, 245-59; Neil Burton, Andrew Martindale *et al.*, 'The Future of Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire', *The Georgian Group*, December 1998.
- 12 Many of Rockingham's treasures are now on public display: *e.g.* Foggini's marble group of *Samson and the Philistines* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Stubbs' painting of *Whistlejacket* is in the National Gallery, London, and of *A stallion led by a groom at Cresswell Craggs* in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. Judy Egerton, the expert on Stubbs, has written illuminating notes on Rockingham and his horses, for instance, in the catalogue for a sale at Christie's in 1998 and *The British School*, National Gallery, 1998. W.H.G. Armitage, 'Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquess of Rockingham, F.R.S.: some aspects of his scientific interests', *Notes and Records of The Royal Society of London*, XII, 1956-7, 64-76. My thanks to Julia Davis and the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia for a copy of this article.
- 13 Survey of London (henceforth *SoL*, XL, *The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair*, II, 119-21; M.H. Port, 'West End Palaces: the Aristocratic Town House in London, 1730-1830', *London Journal*, XX(i), 1995, in particular 19-20, pl. II and 24-9. Although rebuilt by the Earl Fitzwilliam in the mid nineteenth century the main rooms are as in the Marquess's day, well adapted for their present use as the Italian Embassy.
- 14 M.H. Port 'Town House and Country House: their interaction' in Diane Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, Sutton, 1998, 117-200. Port gives examples of nobility and others with homes near the capital as well as further afield, for instance, Henry Fox with Holland House in Kensington as well as a base in town. The best known are the Dukes of Devonshire with a seat at Chatsworth, a town house in Piccadilly and the villa in Chiswick, 120, 125-8, 133-4.
- 15 *CEB*, II, 218-9 and notes.
- 16 Sheffield, Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (henceforth *WWM*), A 1202, 515.
- 17 D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration*, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1962, 16.
- 18 *WWM*, A 1303, *WWM*, A 1304; *WWM*, A 1305. The MSS are in two handwritings, one that of Jacob Brown, at one time Rockingham's secretary.
- 19 *WWM*, A 1207 and 1214. The final version with valuations is A 1228, fol. 87ff. Some of the queries raised by the Wimbledon accounts might well be resolved by study of the Grosvenor Square accounts, research which would take me far from my present purpose.
- 20 *WWM*, A 1223 (list of payments); *WWM*, A 1202 is the full Receipt Book, noting payments by the executors with signatures of recipients, chiefly nos. 12-4, 191-224 and 515.
- 21 J. Edwards, *A Companion from London to Brighthelmstone*, 1787.
- 22 *WWM*, A 1228, f. 87ff.
- 23 *WWM*, A 1303.
- 24 *SoL*, XL, 120 and note.
- 25 Full accounts of the careers of Wimbledon men and women, named here and elsewhere, will be found in the studies listed in note 1, particularly Milward, *Wimbledon Two Hundred Years Ago*.
- 26 *WWM*, A 1228, f. 87 ff. The colour schemes of the

- first floor rooms at Grosvenor Square were also mainly green and white, see SoL, XL, 120.
- 27 Albemarle, *Memoirs*, II, 257.
- 28 WWM, A 1303 *passim*. The girls do not seem to have been drawn from local families.
- 29 WWM, A 1202, 13 and 14. They both received legacies for 17 years service.
- 30 WWM, A 1202, 14.
- 31 Milward, *The Spencers in Wimbledon, ... cit.*, 14.
- 32 WWM, A 1202, 12–14.
- 33 WWM, A 1304.
- 34 WWM, A 1303. For Putney men traced through records see London, Wandsworth Local History Service, Putney Overseers of the Poor, 1769–83, and W.B. Bannerman (ed.), *Parish Register of Putney*, I–III, 1913–6.
- 35 WWM, A 1228, fol. 54. Wines at Grosvenor Square were valued at nearly £600.
- 36 This was the practice at Merton Place when Lord Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton were there, and at *Belvedere* under Sir W.B. Rush [see London, Merton Library Service, Rush Papers. I am grateful to Charles Toase for details].
- 37 Albemarle, *op. cit.*, II, 353 and 418; *CEB*, IV, 316–7. *CEB*, II, 540–1 and note; *ibid.*, III, 171–2.
- 38 *CEB*, III, 262.
- 39 WWM, A 1228, 90ff.
- 40 WWM, A 1304, *passim*.
- 41 *CEB*, III, 92.
- 42 *Ibid.*, III, 418.
- 43 I am grateful to Rita Ensing for help with sources on Wandsworth and on gardens, through which I have been able to identify Wandsworth men (Noble, Bennett, Eaton [plumber] Neighbour, [cooper]); T. Evans, *Local and family history from Fire Insurance policies*, Wandsworth Historical Society, Wandsworth Paper, X, 2001.
- 44 Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, London, 1998, 312–3.
- 45 *CEB*, II, 541; III, 147 and 173; IV, 88 and 299.
- 46 *CEB*, III, 281–2.
- 47 *CEB*, IV, 216–7. Presumably the Marquess kept a small open carriage or chaise for this short journey.
- 48 Arthur Young wrote approvingly and at length on his conversations with the Marquess about his farming practices and innovations [Young, *op. cit.*, 1771, I, 271–316].
- 49 Port, 'Town House and Country House', *cit.*, 134–6, and note 68; G.E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1963, 169,
- analysed the contribution of the home farm at Wentworth for the year 1759.
- 50 See fig. 2. No plan of the estate as in Lord Rockingham's day exists. He described the property he had decided to rent from Samuel Rush of Belvedere as '30 acres of pretty good ground', that is to say, the whole of the Cunliffe estate which Rush was then in the process of buying, of 20 acres one rood. This represented the original Janssen mansion with the three six-acre fields he had bought c.1723. One was maintained as a field or fields, but two had been turned into a courtyard with outbuildings, gardens and orchards, as shown in Rocque's Survey of 1746. The mansion, but unfortunately only part of the gardens off Church Road, are shown in Rockingham's name in the 1776 sketch and the 1787 map by John Corris, both primarily concerned with Earl Spencer's property. The details of the grounds as in Lord Rockingham's day are therefore conjecture. They are based on a survey originally prepared in 1793 by C.T. Cracklow for William Beaumaris Rush who inherited the whole of his kinsman's estate in 1783. But the plan as corrected, presumably c.1796, shows that the house let to Lord Rockingham had been pulled down and the two estates combined [SHC 2354/51/7/44]. The gardens as Rush found them (or had perhaps added to) along Church Road were to be maintained and Belvedere was to be set amidst orchards and paddock rather than the gardens as shown by Rocque in 1746. The plan does not delineate the boundary between the two estates as it must have been in Rockingham's day. William Terry's cottage was included in the Cunliffe estate in 1772: the boundary must have run north of that, and lain somewhere as indicated by the dotted line. My impression is that the Cunliffe property retained its identity within the *Belvedere* estate until c.1900, thus making a compact area for development.
- 51 WWM, A 1303, *passim*.
- 52 Emily Cole, *Report 53*, English Heritage, 2001. There is a copy in the Wimbledon Society Museum, A23/165. The part which has survived is in the garden of 1 Belvedere Drive.
- 53 WWM, A 1305, wages are in *ibid.* 1303.
- 54 WWM, A 1202, 442 and 222. Hossack, from Inverness, was to settle in Wimbledon. He and his wife became master and mistress of the school 1800–15 and their descendants were living in Wimbledon within living memory.

- 55 E.J. Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith*, London, 1961, 49: 'Hortus Kewensis', 2nd ed., V, 311 in *The Horticultural Society Transactions*, I, 266–7.
- 56 WWM, A 1228, 92.
- 57 'Memoir of the late James Lee' in the 1810 edition of James Lee, *Introduction to Botany*, xviii; E.J. Willson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, Fulham and Hammersmith Historical Society, 1982, 49.
- 58 WWM, A 1303. The following nursery gardens have been identified with the help of Willson, *op.cit.*: Francis Hunt of Putney, Hewitt and Smith of Chelsea, Daniel Grimwood of Little Chelsea, William Burchell, successor to Christopher Gray of the Fulham Nursery, John Thomson of 'the Rose', King's Road, William Forsyth of the Chelsea Physic Garden. Samuel Driver of the Kent Road, Walworth, is included in a contemporary list see [John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, London, 1974, 80.]
- 59 Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, 'New Making' the Duke of Beaufort's Garden in Upper Grosvenor St', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 151–9.
- 60 Marjorie Bloy, 'Rockingham and Yorkshire: the political, economic and social role of Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham', PhD. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1986, I, 81–2.
- 61 John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, London, 1972, 37: peach trees were 2s 6d each.
- 62 WWM, A 1303, *passim*.
- 63 WWM, A 1228, fol. 89. Compare the elegant dairy at Ham House with its decorative tiling and marble stands with legs and feet designed as cows' legs and hooves.
- 64 Port, 'Town House', *cit.*, 134 and 136. The farm stock and equipment at Chiswick which supplied Devonshire House in the 1820's was valued at £1,415.
- 65 WWM, A 1305, 1303 *passim*.
- 66 Young, *op.cit.*, I, 275–7 and 290; M. Brown, *The Market Gardens of Barnes and Mortlake*, Barnes and Mortlake History Society, 1985, 9 and 14. Over £450 was spent on manure: unfortunately WWM, A 1303 does not always distinguish the costs of the barge load and the costs of transport from Putney. Local stable manure cost less. Longstaffe-Gowan, *op.cit.*, 156–7 gives more detail on working processes, for instance, 'Wheeling in mold 3 feet deep'.
- 67 WWM, A 1228, 1303. Marratt and Webb were listed in a *Guide to London*, a rare example from the pottery in the Wentworth estate, 1774.
- 68 WWM, A 1305, 1303; Mingay, *op.cit.*, 169. Port, 'Town House', *cit.*, 134–6.
- 69 J.J. Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*, London, 1956, 33. There were 23 men in the house and stables at Grosvenor Square see SoL, XL, 120.
- 70 WWM, A 1305.
- 71 Milward, *Spencers*, *cit.*, 65–6.
- 72 *CEB*, IV, 88–9; Milward, *Wimbledon Two Hundred Years Ago*, *cit.*, chapter 3 describes the gentry and their houses. A photographic record of what is now in the Hermitage is in the Wimbledon Society Museum, A 48.
- 73 An exchange of letters survives: WWM, R 140/88 dated 22 September 1780, Rush's reply R 139/57, dated 25 September 1780. He regrets that illness prevents him from going to Guildford, but will ask Sir Richard Hotham to pass on his compliments to the Admiral.
- 74 *Vestry Minutes*, *supra*, 270; *Wimbledon and Merton Annual*, III, 1905, 158 (1777); *Vestry Minutes*, CXXIX, (1780).
- 75 WWM, A 1303, *passim*.
- 76 *Idem*.
- 77 WWM, A 1202, 515.
- 78 SoL, XL, 120.
- 79 *CEB*, IV, 457.
- 80 WWM, A 1202, 201.
- 81 Albemarle, *Memoirs*, *cit.*, II, 484.
- 82 Note the perceptive comments on the position of women in Foreman, *op.cit.*, 291 and note 27; *CEB*, V, 216.
- 83 W.A. Bartlett, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Wimbledon, Surrey*, 1865, 166.