



UNIVERSITY OF
LEICESTER

**Managing Aristocratic Households:
Women's Agency within the Montagu Property
Network, c.1709-1827**

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

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April 2018

Abstract

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The English country house has captured people's interest and imagination for centuries, and has been the subject of many popular and academic studies. However, due to a tendency to focus upon the art and architecture of such properties, how families actually lived in and used these great houses has often been obscured and underexplored.

The eighteenth-century Montagu family will be used as a case study through which to explore a number of key themes associated with the social, rather than architectural side of the country house. Their country seat of Boughton House, Northamptonshire will be considered as part of their wider network of urban, suburban and country estates, which increased throughout the century through marriages and inheritance patterns, in order to explore the position of the country house in connection to other aristocratic properties.

This thesis will use the Montagu family to examine how aristocratic families used, managed and moved between a large network of estates. It will highlight the importance of inheritance and legal terminology in giving elite women agency, power and influence within households, within their marriages and over their own finances. It will explore the position that Boughton occupied within their network in relation to other properties, looking at what criteria three generations of the family prioritised when moving between houses. In particular, it will show that not all country properties were at the height of their popularity in the eighteenth century, with some, like Boughton, being neglected by owners and left to fall into decline.

Acknowledgements

This PhD has been kindly and generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the University of Leicester and the Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust. This opportunity has allowed me to develop my research skills, follow my interests and provided me with the chance to work with great people and fascinating source material, for which I am very grateful.

Roey Sweet has been my supervisor for not just my PhD thesis, but my undergraduate and master's degrees and I could not have asked for a better mentor. Roey has encouraged me to push myself, have more confidence in my own abilities and supported me throughout. Her guidance has been invaluable. I must also thank my end of year review advisors, Phillip Lindley and Elizabeth Clapp, for their questions, feedback and advice on how to improve my work, as well as Richard Ansell, Julie Attard, Sarah Goldsmith, Sally Horrocks and Elizabeth Hurren for their help and support. So many of the academics within the School of History at the University of Leicester have given advice to me throughout my studies and it has been a pleasure to have been part of such a supportive department for the past four years.

I am indebted to Crispin Powell, archivist to the Buccleuch collections. Without his continued help, guidance and suggestions, I would not have been able to have completed this thesis. Crispin has helped me to find amazing material for my thesis from my first visit to Boughton House, helped me to navigate complex aspects of the Montagu family history and their sources, and answered my endless questions and queries with the utmost patience. I would also like to thank Richard and Elizabeth, Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry for allowing me to have access to the Buccleuch archives and the wonderful properties which they are located within. Helen Bates and Tamar Moore have been my colleagues on 'The English Versailles' project and I would like to thank them for sharing ideas and the discoveries they have made along the way. Within Boughton House and the Buccleuch properties, I would also like to thank Gareth Fitzpatrick for his help and welcoming me to Boughton at the beginning of the project; Honor Gay; Sandra Howat; Cameron Manson for showing me around the Dalkeith estate and his invaluable insights into the history of Dalkeith Palace and Daniel Bochman for kindly providing a fascinating tour of Dalkeith Palace.

The postgraduate community within the School of History has always been incredibly active and supportive, which has made this process infinitely less isolating and allowed for many Friday evenings to be spent sharing discoveries and problems at the pub! In particular I would like to thank Aaron Andrews, Nicola Blacklaws, Katie Bridger, Sally Ann Hartshorne, Kellie Moss, Katy Roscoe, Ann Stones and Alister Sutherland for their support and friendship throughout.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Susan and Graham Purcell, for their unwavering support, encouragement and love. They have always supported my decisions and nurtured my interest in history from a young age. Mum, in particular, has been a constant source of strength, often providing a shoulder to cry on and plenty of home cooked dinners to keep me going – I could not have done this without you.

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|--|
| BA, BHN | Buccleuch Archives, Boughton House, Northamptonshire |
| BA, BHS | Buccleuch Archives, Bowhill House, Selkirk |
| BL | British Library, London |
| NA | The National Archives, Kew |
| NRO | Northamptonshire Record Office |
| NROAC | Norfolk Record Office: The Archive Centre, Norwich |
| NRS | National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh |
| PHA | Palace House Archives, Beaulieu, Hampshire |

Introduction

‘The history of the country house has been exhaustively studied in many of its aspects’ M. H. Port boldly stated in a book dedicated to demonstrating the social and cultural significance of such properties; the aristocratic town house, he continued, had likewise been ‘examined in considerable detail’.¹ Whilst Port went on to establish an area that did need exploration, notably the comparison of town and country houses, this attitude that the study of the country house has been exhausted glosses over an imbalance in the focus upon the architectural and social histories of such studies. Given the continued stream of both academic and popular studies on a plethora of aspects connected to country houses since Port’s comments in 1998, there is clearly a need for further exploration of town and county properties. In reality there is still a vast amount that we do not know about the country house, particularly connected to its actual use by aristocratic families and position within a large network of other property types.

Despite the myriad possible approaches to studying the country house, historians have been chiefly preoccupied with one or two themes and as such, the present view is incomplete. The architecture and construction of country houses, along with the architects who designed them, is one of the most common approaches to studying such properties. The design and plan of the house, as well as the gardens and landscapes surrounding it, are the main objects of study and entire books are filled with floor plans from various properties looking at the change and evolution of the country house building style.² Whilst these are without doubt important lines of study and essential to our understanding of the history of the country estate, there is a sense that country house historians struggle to move away from this focus and continue to come back to it. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire’s 2008 book *Design and Plan in the Country House*, for example, is a sumptuously illustrated work, but almost every page is taken up with detailed floor plans that are reminiscent of John Harris’s *The Design of the English Country House* published over twenty years earlier.³

¹ M. H. Port ‘Town House and Country: their Interaction’ in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: 1998) p. 117.

² See, for example M. Airs, *The Making of the English Country House, 1500-1640* (London: 1975); J. Franklin, *The Gentleman’s Country House and Its Plan, 1835-1914* (London: 1981); J. Harris, *The Design of the English Country House 1620-1920* (London: 1985).

³ A. Gomme and A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House. From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven and London: 2008); Harris, *Ibid*.

In the preface to his seminal book, *Life in the English Country House*, published in 1978, Mark Girouard wrote that ‘enthusiasts’ of the country house tend to only think in terms of the architects, craftsmen or family history of such properties, with little thought or knowledge of how the families who owned these seats actually used them, a crucial point.⁴ Often when reading about the country house, the property and the family who owned it appear to be two separate and distinct entities. There are histories of households and biographies of individuals or families, but it is surprising that these two are infrequently integrated to show how aristocratic families and individuals utilised their houses and homes on a day-to-day basis.

Of course there are exceptions and this is not to say that the daily life of the aristocracy has not been studied, nor written about.⁵ However, the possibility and opportunity for further study is great and would help to generate a clearer picture of how great households were lived in and managed. There is much that we do not know about the day-to-day decision making that occurred within a range of urban, suburban and country estates owned by the aristocracy, with their social history under-conceptualised compared to architectural studies.

Literature Review: The Scope of Current Studies

In a bid to address this flaw in approaches to studying the country house, Girouard took a new, social approach to its study, which broke away from the traditional architect and architectural approach and instead, looked at the interaction of families with their grand houses. Within the long eighteenth century, Girouard identified three separate periods of the country house – the ‘Formal House: 1630-1720’, ‘The Social House: 1720-1770’ and finally ‘The Arrival of Informality: 1770-1830’.⁶ These sections provide a detailed analysis of the changes to be found within English country houses at the time, including the reorganisation of the house and having servants ‘tidied away’ to their own quarters, alterations in styles of architecture and the less formal, more relaxed arena that the country house moved towards.⁷ The book paved the way for a shift away from the

⁴ M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House. A Social and Architectural History* (London: 1980) p. v.

⁵ Work by Kate Smith for the East India Company at Home project, looking at how returning East India Company families used the space within their country houses, has, for example, started to open up some of these themes. K. Smith, ‘Imperial Objects? Country House Interiors in 18th-century Britain’, in J. Stobart and A. Hann (eds) *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (Swindon: 2015).

⁶ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 119-163; 181-213; 213-245.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

traditional themes of studies – many of these, however, have yet to be pursued in greater depth.

Whilst Girouard explored the country house from medieval times through to the mid twentieth century, Christopher Christie's *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* offered a more focussed view of country houses within the confines of the eighteenth century, but did build upon Girouard's themes. Christie argued that in this era, the country house was of major importance not just architecturally, but artistically, socially, and economically.⁸ Dedicated chapters went on to discuss these areas in more detail, with the country house's role as a host for gatherings being considered, along with its place in the luxury debates of the eighteenth century.⁹

However, the same year that Christie's book was published (2000) Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley released *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House*, which again reverted to the traditional themes of architecture. Taking an economic history approach, they skilfully analysed the creation of the country house, from its initial idea, through to the finished article. The cost of the build, where the money came from to complete such grand projects and where materials were sourced from to allow the build to progress are just some of the aspects they explored in order to build up a picture of how these grand structures came to be. The large amount of research carried out is clearly visible within its pages and the economic approach offers the reader figures and statistics about the patterns of country house building across three centuries, detail which is hard to find in other such studies. Unlike earlier architecturally focused works, they did engage in some social commentary which looked briefly at the use of the country house and its relationship to London households, although this was still minimal.¹⁰ Additionally, Wilson and Mackley see the country house as very much a man's domain and their discussion of the position and place of women in the country house is insubstantial and will be discussed further in due course.

Some studies have acknowledged the importance of Girouard's 'social history of architecture' approach to the country house by attempting to combine the traditional aspects of architecture and landscape, with an exploration of how such properties were

⁸ C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: 2000) p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18, p. 274.

¹⁰ R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House* (London: 2000) p. 101.

used and displayed to others by their owners, as Dana Arnold sought to do in 1998. She called for the need for a more ‘interdisciplinary’ approach to the study of the country house,¹¹ which would help to broaden our understanding of the form, function and meaning of such properties. Her edited volume comprised a set of papers that began to utilise this approach, exploring multiple facets of the country house, including its changing function and meaning to different generations, its presentation to others, the place of women within its wall and the wider gardens, estates and farms. M. H. Port’s chapter crucially highlighted the importance of avoiding studying the country house as an isolated unit. Its relationships with other properties, in particular the town house, need to be developed and explored – an important aspect to consider when large property networks are being studied.¹²

Popular history studies have also made important contributions to our understanding of the country house, often by placing a greater focus on discussing the people that lived within their walls and promoting their untold stories. Dan Cruickshank’s *The Country House Revealed*, published in 2011 with a six part television series to accompany it, took a novel approach of exploring six houses that do not open to the general public and remain private homes. This allowed for a number of properties that do not prominently feature in existing studies, such as Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, to be the primary focus of analysis, developing our knowledge of a wider number of properties. Many country house studies use the same case studies of several well known houses or estates, but this work allowed for comparatively little known properties to take centre stage. Cruickshank also reminds the reader in the introduction that ‘by tradition the country house was a place in which the family displayed its taste, wealth and pedigree’ but crucially that it was also a ‘home and workplace’.¹³

Whilst the majority of studies on the Georgian country house tend to have an English focus, there are a number which take a less England-centric view and instead explore Scottish, Irish and Welsh properties, although these similarly tend to be written from the perspective of architectural history. Sheila Forman’s lavishly illustrated *Scottish*

¹¹ D. Arnold, ‘Preface’ in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: 1998) p. xiii.

¹² M. H. Port, ‘Town House and Country House: their Interaction’ in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House*, pp.117-138.

¹³ D. Cruickshank, *The Country House Revealed. A Secret History of the British Ancestral Home* (Random House: 2011) p. 6.

Country Houses and Castles, published in the 1960s, is an excellent introduction to some of the large and grand Scottish country properties which do not feature as often in general country house studies, as well known English houses, such as Chatsworth or Blenheim do.¹⁴ Forman provides a brief overview of the history of the house and its owners, before going on to focus on the architectural features and interior designs. More recently, Ian Gow and Alistair Rowan's edited volume focussed on Scottish properties between 1600 and 1914, with twenty-six short chapters each looking at a different property or Scottish family during the period. Whilst providing interesting, detailed accounts of specific properties such as Dunrobin Castle and Kinnaird Castle or Scottish architects like Sir John James Burnet, the chapters have no central linking themes and instead act as micro-histories of particular people or properties.¹⁵ It does, however, act as a brilliant introduction to Scottish architectural practices and some key houses, such as Hopetoun House, and families throughout the period. Additionally, there is a large collection of articles and books connected to the study of the Irish country house, which offers opportunity for comparisons with assumptions connected to English estates and also explore questions which have been significantly overlooked in scholarship on English aristocracy.¹⁶

In addition to studies focussing on specific aspects of country house history, such as architectural developments or social history, micro-histories of individual households have also helped to contribute to the understanding and use of these properties, giving detailed and specific examples which often utilise private family archives. Notable accounts include Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer's study of Felbrigg Hall and the Wyndham family; Desmond Seward's account of Renishaw Hall and *Black Diamonds: The Rise and Fall of an English Dynasty* by Catherine Bailey, to give just a small number of examples which have been published over the years.¹⁷ These specialised

¹⁴ S. Forman, *Scottish Country Houses and Castles* (Glasgow and London: 1967).

¹⁵ I. Gow and A. Rowan (eds) *Scottish Country Houses, 1600-1914* (Edinburgh: 1995).

¹⁶ See for example, P. McCarthy, *Life in the Country House in Georgian Ireland* (London: 2016); A. P. W. Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress: Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland, 1740-1840* (Belfast: 2006); T. Dooley and C. Ridgway (eds) *The Irish Country House: Its Past, Present and Future* (Dublin: 2015).

¹⁷ C. Bailey, *Black Diamonds: The Rise and Fall of an English Dynasty* (London: 2008); R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: The Story of a House* (London: 1962); D. Seward, *Renishaw Hall: The Story of the Sitwells* (London: 2015). There are numerous accounts of individual families and their houses, featuring both academic and popular works. A number of these accounts have been written, like Ketton-Cremer's account, by owners of the properties or family descendants. For example, see also N. Livingstone, *The Mistresses of Cliveden* (London: 2015); C. S. Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family* (London: 2004) – focusing on Sledmere and the Sykes family; A. Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote and the Lucys. The Chronicle of an English Family* (London: 1958).

accounts have helped to highlight the histories of properties which may not be as well-known as others due to the profile or background of the family, giving the opportunity for new material to be discussed and offer new points of comparison.

Dedicated studies are of course not the only works to feature analysis of country houses, with them often being discussed within wider works on the aristocracy. Some such studies merely mention a family's country seat briefly, such as in Brian Masters' *The Dukes*, which features discussion of a number of dukedoms and their histories, with a passing mention to associated country seats.¹⁸ Masters' book does, however, provide interesting background and biographical detail of non-royal dukedoms, discussing their origins and their survival through to the time he published the updates version in 1972. It serves as a useful introduction to the history of some of the most well known and frequently studied aristocratic families. J. V. Beckett's *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914*, published in 1986, has a good blend of discussion of families and their properties and reinforces the role of the country house as an elite power symbol and social venue. Beckett builds on this, however, by emphasising the importance of the country house to the community as a centre of consumption and employment – a point which often gets lost in the architecturally heavy studies.¹⁹

A common theme amongst these works, and the majority of country house historiography, however, is the tendency to view the eighteenth century as the height of the country house's popularity and use, with the twentieth century being seen as the period of their 'massacre'.²⁰ The eighteenth century is seen as the heyday of the aristocracy and the households in which they lived were architecturally, artistically, socially and economically important, not just to their owners, but those dependent on them for work and income.²¹ It is assumed that such properties were well used by families during the period and formed an important part of their lives, be it as country retreats from the city or as a location for social events and entertainments. Whereas this may have been true for many, there seems to be little attention paid to families who had

¹⁸ B. Masters, *The Dukes. The Origins, Ennoblement and History of Twenty-six Families* (London: 2001) pp. 61-88.

¹⁹ J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford: 1986) p. 338.

²⁰ Cruickshank, *The Country House Revealed*, p. 8.

²¹ N. Lloyd, *A History of the English House from Primitive Times to the Victorian Period* (London: 1951) p. 124; Christie, *The British Country House*, p. 1.

multiple country houses, as well a number of town and suburban properties, nor to what happened to properties during periods of financial difficulties, for example.

When considering the aspects of country house history that are frequently discussed – architecture, art, gardens, social events – it becomes clear that historiography can offer quite a one-sided view of life in the country house. The studies discussed above, even Girouard's, have many glaring omissions, one of them being the presence and role of elite women in the country or aristocratic house. There is an assumption that men had the principal place within properties, often due to the fact that they were the inheritors of properties and inherited aristocratic titles. Whilst later works have significantly challenged this view, to be discussed in due course, earlier works tended to promote the importance of men to the country house, whilst overlooking elite women.

Beckett's book features two detailed chapters on the aristocracy at home, yet women are only discussed in two paragraphs within these chapters and then only to point out that they 'pressed upon their husbands' the importance of London and were bored of country life.²² Wilson and Mackley's *Creating Paradise* seems to almost eradicate the presence of women from the building, creative and architectural based decisions of country properties entirely, something which Megan Leyland has recently challenged and shown to be wrong in her PhD thesis.²³ There is a passing comment that gentlemen who did not spend large sums of money altering the appearance of their properties had been 'deafest to the entreaties of their wives', who, they appear to be suggesting, did little else in this architectural sphere than encourage their spouses to fritter away extravagant sums of money.²⁴ The apparent invisibility of women in country house studies can further be seen, Judith Lewis argues, in the titles of several books which refer to the 'Gentleman's Country House' or an 'Englishman's Home', implying from the outset that the writer sees the ownership, power and decision making as intrinsically connected to the man of the household.²⁵

²² Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*, p. 366. Issue raised by J. Lewis, 'When a House is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, Issue 2 (April: 2009) p. 338.

²³ M. R. Leyland, 'Patronage and the Architectural Profession: The Country House in Nineteenth-Century Northamptonshire', Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Leicester: 2016).

²⁴ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 271.

²⁵ See Lewis, 'When a House is Not a Home', p. 338; Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House*; J. H. B. Peel, *An Englishman's Home* (Newton Abbot: 1972).

Perhaps partly influenced by Girouard's shift into the social history of the country house, but also significantly by the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s and the desire to 'rediscover women's active role in the past', a number of historians have taken a different approach to its study and focussed their research directly on the women of these great properties.²⁶ In recent years, several books and articles have focussed on the elite women who lived within country houses, with their aim to offer an insight to a noticeably under-studied area of country house history. The result has proven to be a mixed bag. Whilst some certainly add greatly to the narrative of country house history and help to challenge the notion of the house as a man's domain, others do not live up to their promising titles. They do not come across as comprehensive in their studies, with sweeping statements and a lack of analytical arguments, which highlights the need for further study in this pathway of country house history.

Joanna Martin begins *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* by telling the reader she will focus on the ladies of Melbury House in Dorset and will use their letters, journals and memoirs to tell the story as far as is possible in their own words.²⁷ The largely unpublished and unused material that Martin employs is the overriding strength of this book. She is able to offer a clear insight into the daily lives of the women she discusses, exploring their interests, learning, travel and life in their country houses in rich detail. However, as the book develops, the account Martin gives is largely narrative, with little interaction with contemporary debates in historiography or analysis of what the study of these women can contribute to our understanding of women in the eighteenth century more generally. Martin states in the introduction that due to an overwhelming amount of surviving material, she has focussed on the subjects that the 'women wrote about most frequently', as well as her own interests connected to the property. This has unfortunately led to the discussion of the four ladies connection to household management totalling only 14 pages out of a book over four hundred pages in length, although this could reflect that they commented on such matters infrequently within their writings. Rosemary Baird's *Mistress of the House. Great Ladies and Great Homes*, published the same year as *Wives and*

²⁶ J. Hannam, 'Women's History, Feminist History', Making History, *Institute of Historical Research* [undated] [http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/womens_history.html] [Accessed 6th October 2014].

²⁷ J. Martin, *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London: 2004) p. xv.

Daughters, presents a similar story. The first four chapters focus on general themes such as marriage and motherhood, with the following ten chapters focusing on an individual 'great lady'. The premise of exploring the 'symbiosis between a woman and her house' is a promising one and the book does discuss women's roles the management and furnishing of properties, but has a tendency, much like *Wives and Daughters*, to make generalising statements which add little to historiographical debates or studies.²⁸ Although both do not reach their full potential, both books are refreshing addition to the historiography, putting the elite women of the country house at the forefront of studies, with both adding to our understanding of women's connections to the country houses in which they lived.

Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh's *The Woman's Domain. Women and the English Country House* has a strong introduction which highlights how men have been credited with all the 'important' roles connected with stately homes.²⁹ The book splits into seven case studies of particular houses, including Hardwick Hall and Saltram, where women have had a particular influence or connection. The book firmly places women, not just elite women, at the centre of country properties. Their presence and achievements are highlighted, as are their past times and indeed aspects of rebuilding and redecorating that was undertaken at the properties they lived at, although their immediate involvement in the management of such households is not directly focussed upon. Whilst the book illuminates the connection of the ladies with their households, the houses under discussion are all National Trust properties and the majority of the women discussed have been frequently studied before.

An article published in 2009 by Judith Lewis on elite women and the country house provided a more analytical approach to investigating the relationship between elite women and their households. Lewis looked at what control they had over properties and the views they held of different houses and her work marks a shift away from the generalisations made in some of the studies referred to above. Lewis argues for a differentiation between a house and a home, an interesting concept that seeks to ascertain whether elite women, with several properties and estates, differentiated between certain houses that they used as homes for raising their family in and spending

²⁸ R. Baird, *Mistress of the House. Great Ladies and Grand Houses* (London: 2004) p. xii.

²⁹ T. Lummis and J. Marsh. *The Woman's Domain. Women and the English Country House* (London: 1990) p. 1.

long periods of time in, and those properties that were more akin to show homes, for entertaining and displaying wealth and power.³⁰ Although on occasion Lewis projects her personal, modern day notion of comfort and home onto the women she is studying, the article is a refreshing take on the position of women within aristocratic households and raises important questions for further research.

Additionally, research on marital relationships across the period has also had an impact on discussion about how women's agency within households and estates may have developed. It has been argued that elite marriage became more egalitarian during the eighteenth-century, with women being able to exercise a greater degree of choice over their prospective husband – a shift away from arranged marriages for political or social gain.³¹ Lawrence Stone and Alan Mcfarlane have stated that the affective family replaced the patriarchal family and that love was the leading reason for marriage by the end of the eighteenth century.³² This, Anne Laurence claims, meant that personal preference played an increasingly large part in marriages of the elite.³³ Stone's argument, however, inferred that prior to the mid-eighteenth century, marital relationships were cold, distant and unloving, a controversial stance which had been critiqued and criticised in subsequent studies.³⁴ Randolph Trumbach has likewise suggested that the 'egalitarian idea' profoundly affected the domestic lives of aristocrats as men and women were being raised to expect equality and friendship with their spouse.³⁵ Although the equality of husbands and wives at this time is highly questionable, he went on to say that it was in the second half of the eighteenth-century, 1753 onwards to be precise, that marriages were being made for love and women were beginning to have the possibility of greater financial independence.³⁶ This changing concept of marriage has received attention from historians in different guises and has

³⁰ One of Lewis' case studies within this article is Lady Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough and mother of Lady Mary Churchill. She discusses Sarah's attitudes towards Blenheim compared to other properties which Lewis suggests Sarah viewed more as a comfortable home. See Lewis, 'When a House is Not a Home', pp. 336-363.

³¹ T. Evans, 'Women, Marriage and the Family' in H. Barker and E. Chalus (eds) *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850. An Introduction* (Oxon: 2005) p. 71.

³² A. Laurence, *Women in England, 1500-1760. A Social History* (London: 1994) p. 59; A. Mcfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300-1840* (Oxford: 1986); L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-100* (London: 1990) p. 210.

³³ Laurence, *Women in England*, p. 60.

³⁴ J. Bailey, *Unquiet Lives. Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660-1800* (Cambridge: 2003) p.4; Stone, *The Family*, pp.88- 89, 145-146.

³⁵ R. Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: 1978) p. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 71, 83.

more recently gained attention through the lens of historians studying the history of emotions, such as Katie Barclay. Barclay argues that the rise of romantic love during the eighteenth century has led to the discussion of a change in marital relationships, but stresses that marital intimacy was also key to establishing power dynamics within marriage and across its life cycle.³⁷ Bailey has also stressed that marital co-dependency was essential to successfully running a household and caring for dependent family members.³⁸ These debates raise important points which need to be kept in mind, particularly when studying multiple generations of a family and the way they managed their households, as a change in female agency could be tied to the type of marriage they had.

In addition to an increasing number of studies focussed upon the people within aristocratic properties, the consumption practices of such families and how their houses were supplied is a particular area of study which has gained significant momentum in recent years. Jon Stobart has argued within his recent articles on elite consumption, that although the study of consumption within the eighteenth century is a growing sector of research, relatively little attention had been paid to the aristocracy as consumers or the country house as a site of consumption.³⁹ This is a pertinent point, which rings true when the previous work on country houses and elite properties is considered. Although the importance of these households as sites of consumption has been clearly stated, there have been very few studies of elite families as consumers and it seems strange that such a large and influential consumer group has been relatively side-lined in historiography.

There is an extensive literature which focuses on eighteenth-century shopping and consumption practices in general, including Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford's *Consumers and Luxury*; Helen Berry's *Polite Consumption. Shopping in Eighteenth Century England* and Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb's *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.⁴⁰ Their studies focussed on the developing consumer society of the

³⁷ K. Barclay, 'Intimacy and the Life Cycle in the Marital Relationships of the Scottish Elite during the Long Eighteenth Century', *Women's History Review*, Volume 20, No. 2 (April 2001) pp. 190-191.

³⁸ Bailey, *Unquiet Lives*, p. 83.

³⁹ J. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 64, Issue 3 (2011) p. 885.

⁴⁰ M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds), *Consumers and Luxury. Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: 1999); H. Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Volume 12 (2002); M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in*

eighteenth century and principally explored the luxury goods that consumers desired in the period, their market and buyers.⁴¹ Berg and Clifford's edited collection, for example, features chapters on different goods, such as jewellery, but also explores imitations of luxury items and their appeal to wider social groups, such as the rising middling sort. However, until relatively recently, there has been little focus or interest on consumption and supply and demand within country houses and aristocratic marriages. Older studies of large properties and indeed, even town houses in metropolitan centres, have not explored how such properties were supplied, by whom, where goods were sent from and who had responsibility for the payment of goods. This ranges from large household purchases such as pieces of art or furniture, to every day goods such as perishable food and drinks.

Stobart has become one of the leading figures writing about consumption in aristocratic households, publishing several journal articles and books on the topic. Stobart has principally used Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire as a case study and utilised a large collection of bills and receipts from the Leigh family to give an insight into the family's changing consumption practices across different generations in the eighteenth century.⁴² The use of such documents, in combination with account books, allowed Stobart to build up a picture of the types of items purchased and the geographical locations of the tradesmen across a 90 year period by analysing thirteen sample years. Most recently, this work has been followed by an edited volume entitled *Consumption and the Country House*, which continues to focus on elite spending within the country house, but broadens its approach to give detailed essays on everyday spending habits, comparisons of the purchases made by men and women, as well as other members of the household.⁴³ It also builds on Stobart and Rothery's previous research by looking at the retailers who supplied country house properties and large geographical networks of suppliers who ensured that the country house operated smoothly.

What some of Stobart's articles do not show, however, is who was purchasing what within households; nor does he offer analysis of spending habits by husbands and wives

Eighteenth-Century Britain (Oxford: 2005); N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (eds.) *The Birth of a Consumer Society; The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: 1982).

⁴¹ Berg and Clifford, 'Introduction' in M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds), *Consumers and Luxury. Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: 1999), p. 2.

⁴² Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers', p. 887.

⁴³ J. Stobart and M. Rothery (eds), *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: 2016).

within marriage. A particularly good discussion of this latter point can be seen in Amanda Vickery's 2006 article on gender, consumption and account books.⁴⁴ Vickery employed account books from three separate families in an attempt to see what the husband and wife from these families were purchasing, or at least, paying for. This was by no means a large or comprehensive study but highlighted what can be achieved from the study of account books and was later significantly expanded upon in her follow up book, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*.⁴⁵ Vickery was not only able to identify what was being purchased for the home, but clearly established the different responsibilities of husband and wife.

Other studies have developed this theme, to explore the gendered nature of consumption: in particular Margot Finn's article on 'men's things', explored men's connection to the 'world of goods' and the types of goods they purchased for themselves, as well as the household.⁴⁶ By using the diaries of four late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century men, Finn was able to look at the way they associated with the purchases they made and why they purchased them in the first place. Interestingly, there has been a rising focus on eighteenth-century masculinities within recent historiography, which has led to a re-examination of men's role within the domestic sphere. Karen Harvey in particular has explored in detail 'men's daily domestic experiences' in her 2012 book, *The Little Republic*.⁴⁷ She suggests that it has long been established that domesticity gave women power and that they were intrinsically responsible for running the home, but this has led to men being written out of the home.⁴⁸

This condensed literature review is only intended as an introductory overview to some areas of important literature connected to aristocratic and country house studies, with more detailed reviews of relevant literature to be included within individual chapters. However, the recent call to re-evaluate men's connection to the house is an interesting development and highlights that there is not only a need for exploration and clarification

⁴⁴ A. Vickery, 'His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, Supplement 1 (2006).

⁴⁵ A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England* (London: 2009).

⁴⁶ M. Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History*, Vol. 25, No.2 (May: 2000) pp. 133-155.

⁴⁷ K. Harvey, *The Little Republic. Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: 2012) p. 14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

of gendered roles within households, but an investigation into why there is a view that the position of both elite men and women need to be written into the domestic sphere. It also reinforces the point that there is room for new studies and interpretations of the gendered roles within properties. Combined with the comparative lack of social focus within country house historiography, a case study which focusses on the gendered roles within aristocratic households would provide a fascinating insight into two popular, yet under explored areas of eighteenth-century life.

Boughton House and the Dukes of Montagu and Buccleuch and Queensberry

There are numerous aspects of country house and aristocratic history which are yet to be fully explored and which require further research in order to generate a more detailed and comprehensive understanding of eighteenth-century life. Additionally, there are also numerous large country and urban households which we know little about, as well as many aristocratic families and dynasties who have been understudied and overlooked in comparison to some of the better-known families of the period, such as the Cavendishes, Spencers or Percys. By focussing on a family which has not received significant attention within secondary literature, some of the weaknesses in current historiography will be addressed, with a more obscure case study allowing for new archival discoveries to be examined and original contributions to existing discussion highlighted.

One such family is the Montagu family, who received the Dukedom of Montagu in 1705 and whose ancestral country seat was Boughton House, near Kettering in Northamptonshire. The Montagus of Boughton, as Cornforth states, ‘rose from quite humble beginnings’ with Richard Ladde, a prosperous local yeoman adopting the name Montagu in c.1450.⁴⁹ Ladde’s grandson, Sir Edward Montagu, went in to the law, becoming Lord Chief Justice of the Court of the King’s Bench, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and he was also a member of the Privy Council of Henry VIII, who appointed him as one of the executors of his will and governor to Prince Edward.⁵⁰ Although Sir Edward fell out of royal favour and was even imprisoned in the Tower of London upon the accession of Mary I, his profession allowed him to amass enough

⁴⁹ J. Cornforth, ‘Boughton House: Impressions and People’ in T. Murdoch (ed.) *Boughton House: The English Versailles* (London: 1992) p. 17.

⁵⁰ J. H. Baker, ‘Montagu, Sir Edward (1480s–1557)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19006>] [accessed 16 Jan 2017].

money to establish his family as landed gentry and in 1528 he purchased the manor of Boughton, building a manor house upon the site.

In subsequent years, Sir Edward added land surrounding Boughton to the Montagu estate, including property in Barnwell, Warkton, Weekly, Geddington and Kettering, making him responsible for shaping the scope of the Montagu estates for many generations. Over the next two generations, the family firmly established themselves as wealthy members of the gentry, adding further estates and obtaining a number of titles which would be precursors to the four separate peerages acquired by branches of the family in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵¹ In 1665 Sir Edward's great, great grandson, Ralph Montagu, inherited Boughton and the Montagu estates upon the death of his elder brother, marking a turning point in the Montagu family history.

⁵¹ Cornforth, 'Boughton House: Impressions and People', p. 18. The peerages these branches went on to gain include the Earls and Dukes of Montagu; the Earls and Dukes of Manchester, and the Earls of Sandwich.



Figure 0.1 - Boughton House, North Front

Ralph was extremely ambitious and long held a desire to receive a dukedom, but this was not an easy accomplishment. He served as ambassador to the French court on two separate occasions, whilst also sitting on the Privy Council and serving as Master of the Great Wardrobe, a post which he purchased from his cousin for £14,000 in 1671.⁵² Ralph fell out of favour at court in the 1680s but was eventually allowed to return and was created Viscount Monthermer and earl of Montagu in 1689.⁵³

Thanks to his own inheritance and two marriages to very wealthy heiresses, Ralph was able to invest in large scale remodelling of Boughton House, adding the state rooms and a new wing, of which only the façade was finished, leading to its moniker of the Unfinished Wing today. There have not been developments at the property on such a scale since, making Ralph largely responsible for the appearance of Boughton as it is today. He purchased further lands and was able to erect a great town house in Bloomsbury, which provided a suitably grand location for his lavish entertainments and parties in the capital.

Despite his best efforts and financial outlays, the dukedom Ralph so desired still eluded him, until in the early years of the eighteenth century when he was able to arrange for the marriage of his son and heir John, to Lady Mary Churchill, the youngest daughter of the highly respected and influential Duke of Marlborough. Through the Marlboroughs' influence at court, particularly that of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Ralph was finally elevated to the title of Marquess of Monthermer and Duke of Montagu in April 1705, a title he would only live to enjoy for 4 years.

In 1709 John, then aged only 19, inherited the newly created dukedom, along with the Montagu households and estates, although due to the vast debts that Ralph had accrued during his lifetime, some of the smaller estates were sold by John's trustees. John did buy further households and lands in the 1720s to rebuild the Montagu property portfolio, but also suffered periods of financial instability, which affected the property network, notably downsizing the London townhouse from Bloomsbury to Whitehall.

John died in 1749 and the Montagu dukedom was discontinued; however, the Montagu name survived through his younger daughter Mary, as John had made it a condition of

⁵² E. C. Metzger, 'Montagu, Ralph, first duke of Montagu (*bap.* 1638, *d.* 1709)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19030>] [accessed 16 Jan 2017].

⁵³ *Ibid.*

his will that she and her husband take the surname of Montagu, rather than Brudenell, her husband George's family name. Whilst Cornforth attests that this 'must have been a blow' to George, his deference was rewarded when the title of Duke of Montagu was recreated for him in 1766.⁵⁴ However, the death of Mary and George's son meant that once again the dukedom of Montagu was discontinued and the Montagu estates again passed to an heiress, this time their daughter Elizabeth.

It is at this stage that the amalgamation of the Montagu and Buccleuch family and property networks occurred. At the time she inherited in 1790, Elizabeth was married to Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch whose large estates were primarily located in Scotland, particularly within the Border areas. Additional land was also incorporated into this collection in 1811, when Henry inherited the title of Duke of Queensberry, a Douglas family title. In order to preserve the Montagu name and show how the Buccleuch network had amalgamated, Henry altered the family surname to Montagu-Douglas-Scott and it remains in use by the current duke today.⁵⁵

It is the three eighteenth-century generations of John and Mary, Mary and George and Elizabeth and Henry which provide a perfect case study for exploring the themes of household management, networks of households, aristocratic daily life and the position of women within large households. However, not only do they make a good case study for exploring wider themes, but the Montagu family has itself been significantly overlooked as a point of study or comparison, whether within specific books or wider studies.

There are only a small number of books which discuss the family or their principal properties as the sole focus of the study and even these tend to pay greater attention to the better-known characters and the salacious tales associated with them. Ralph Montagu, first Duke of Montagu, is always a favourite for this exact reason. Other family members of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are mentioned briefly within studies connected to country house architecture and the Montagu households are likewise only occasionally referred to. The Montagu women also feature little in these studies, even those solely about the family. George Brudenell, Earl of Cardigan and

⁵⁴ Cornforth, 'Boughton House: Impressions and People', p. 28.

⁵⁵ Masters, *The Dukes*, p. 336. 'Montagu' is also the sole surname for the Dukes of Manchester still today and also forms part of the surname of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu (Douglas-Scott-Montagu), another descendent of Sir Edward Montagu.

later Duke of Montagu and Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, have likewise not been favoured in academic works.

Of the books published on the history of the family, several have been written with direct support from the family and Boughton House, the most prominent of which is Tessa Murdoch's edited volume, *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, published in 1992. The overwhelming focus of the book is on the House and the different collections held there, with specific chapters on English furniture, the picture frames, paintings, the armoury and tapestries to name only a few. An opening chapter by John Cornforth on 'Impressions and People' provides a useful introduction to the background of the family through the Montagu line, beginning with Sir Edward Montagu in the sixteenth century, passing through those who had inherited and lived at Boughton until the time of publication in the early 1990s.⁵⁶

However, despite the main focus of the book being Boughton House, research on architecture and collections takes precedence, whilst the people who lived within the House seem to be something of a secondary theme, often getting lost within the pages. Chapters by Cornforth, Murdoch on the patronage of the Montagus and Jackson-Stops on architecture and interiors attempt to introduce various family members and place them within Boughton House and other Montagu properties, but provide little detail on their lives. Ensuing sections on the Boughton silver, porcelain and picture frames, for example, add little to our understanding of the people and by looking at items as particular commodities, the history of the item and the reasons for its purchase are lost. The focus of the book may be the collections, but these would not have existed without those who had built them up in specific circumstances. The discussion of the 'people' also focuses predominantly upon the male members of the family, with Ralph and John receiving the greatest attention - the eighteenth-century female Montagus are scarcely remarked upon at all. Lady Mary Cardigan's legal dispute with her sister Isabella is likewise conspicuously absent, despite the impact that it had on the use of Boughton and leads one to wonder what else has been glossed over or removed from the account of the family and for what reason.

A sharper focus upon the households can be found within another of Tessa Murdoch's books, *Noble Households. Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English*

⁵⁶ Cornforth, 'Boughton House: Impressions and People', pp. 12-31.

Households, which reproduces a selection of inventories from the households of key landowners in the eighteenth century. Amongst these, Montagu properties form a substantial portion of the book, due in large part to Murdoch's previous work with Boughton House, with inventories from Boughton House, Ditton Park and both Montagu House at Bloomsbury and Whitehall. The accompanying analysis of the inventories focuses in more detail on the individuals, specifically on Ralph and John, but also highlights the use of inventories in showing the changes in the composition of the household across time. The book makes a useful archival source accessible to a wider audience and allows for easy comparison with other dated versions for a particular property, making it possible to explore changes in room use, as well as furniture and possessions. Within the commentary sections preceding the inventories, however, Murdoch makes with significant, sweeping assumptions about female presence in the Montagu properties, which cannot be discerned purely from the inventories and will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

When looking for a slightly more complete account of specific members of the family, Bernard Falk's *The Way of the Montagues* is a good place to start, despite being published over sixty years ago. Falk's book focuses on eight different Montagu family members from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although only Ralph and John feature from the Boughton Montagus. Each chapter is devoted to one individual and assigned a supposedly matching title, so Ralph becomes 'The Cultured Knave' and John 'The Regular Card'. Although the Boughton Montagu women do not feature within a chapter of their own, this is the only book consulted so far that has dedicated chapters on women of the extended family. Although cutting and critical of certain family members at times, Falk can be seen as an admirer of the Montagus, highlighted by comments such as 'It was not unscrupulousness, but brain-power which was the secret of the Montagus' success'.⁵⁷

He does, however, offer a comprehensive account of the lives, both public and private, of the Montagus he writes about. Falk does not gloss over some of the more controversial accounts of events, such as Ralph's two marriages, recounting them even with a sense of glee, although he goes on to provide his own analysis in a bid to offer a more positive view of situation. It would be difficult to criticise Falk for failing to

⁵⁷ B. Falk, *The Way of the Montagues. A Gallery of Family Portraits* (London: 1947) p. 11.

discuss Ralph and John's wives, beyond his brief statements of their marriages taking place and any financial or personal benefit. *The Way of the Montagues* was published in 1947 and the concept of gender history had not yet arisen, but it does reveal the assumption in historical research at this time that the man of the marriage had the power and responsibilities and was the character that people most wished to learn about.

More recently, there have been two publications which have focussed on one specific family member at a time. Alan Toseland's edition of over 400 estate letters covering the period 1709-39 published by the *Northamptonshire Record Society* in 2013 is solely concerned with the time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.⁵⁸ Toseland does not analyse the content of the letters, but does provide some contextual information to each letter. In addition to making part of the Montagu archive accessible to researchers and the general public, the most valuable part of this volume is the 'General Introduction' which provides substantial detail on the life of John, his estates, personnel and administration of lands, as well as the gardens of Boughton House – a key feature of the letters. This introduction, which spans nearly fifty pages and is filled with glossy colour images of portraits and maps of Boughton House and the wider estate, was compiled by David Hall and Peter McKay, with the section on the gardens by Jenny Burt. Together, they not only provide a background to the documents and the history of their storage, but also a 'who's who' list of the main people who feature regularly in the letters and their role in the family or on the estate. These substantial mini-biographies, combined with several pages on the issues faced by John on inheriting the estates and how they were administered, provide one of the best insights on this period of Boughton House and the Montagu family, despite their brevity.

A significant addition to the history of the Montagu Douglas Scotts comes in the form of Brian Bonnyman's *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith. Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland*, published in July 2014. Born out of a PhD thesis on a similar topic, Bonnyman's book aims to 'reconstruct' the management of Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch's vast Scottish estates during a period of significant agricultural change.⁵⁹ At the same time, he also considers the impact Henry's

⁵⁸ A. Toseland (transcribed by), *Estate Letters from the time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-39* (Northamptonshire Record Society. Northampton: 2013).

⁵⁹ B. Bonnyman, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith. Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland* (Edinburgh: 2014) p. 8.

tutor and advisor, Adam Smith, and the Scottish Enlightenment had on the way in which Henry went about implementing changes and administering these large estates. Bonnyman's clear writing style produces an accessible, if slightly impersonal book which clearly demonstrates Henry's 'hands on' approach and attitude towards running his estates. The book is an extremely well researched account of Henry's Scottish estates, which is vital to an understanding of the changes and alterations he made, not only to his own estates but those that benefitted the wider population too.

It is noteworthy that this is the only study to focus specifically on the life and career of Henry Scott. Bonnyman's knowledge of Henry and his estates is very well demonstrated, but it can feel quite an unbalanced account of Henry's life, with very little interest paid to his family life. Apart from one or two lines suggesting that Henry and Elizabeth married for love, their marriage and life together is barely spoken of.⁶⁰ Because the focus of the book is Henry's management of the estates – little is said of household management - there is no mention of whether Elizabeth had any input in Henry's management decisions or if Henry took over management of the Montagu estates when Elizabeth inherited them in 1790. Additionally, by only discussing Henry in terms of his role in running the estate, Bonnyman's work raises the possibility that while he was preoccupied with such matters, Elizabeth could have been left with a greater influence in overseeing the day-to-day running of their households. If Henry also had a significant interest and role in such matters, one might have expected Bonnyman to have taken it into consideration within his wider study or have at least acknowledged it. The fact that he did not therefore raises an interesting point to be considered within the parameters of the thesis.

Steven Hicks' self-published biography of Ralph Montagu,⁶¹ two guidebooks to Boughton House, a handful of journal articles and entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, complete the list of material that has a clear and significant focus on the Montagu family. Articles by Sacha Llewellyn published in *Costume* on the wardrobe of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu in 1749 and Lady Mary Churchill, Duchess of Montagu in 1747, offer a glimpse into an alternative, more personal side of their lives by detailing the clothing owned by both John and Mary. By devoting one article to each

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶¹ S. Hicks, *Ralph, First Duke of Montagu (1638-1709). Power, Patronage in Late Stuart England* (New Generation Publishing: 2015).

individual, Llewellyn provides a unique look at one of the Montagu women.⁶²

Unfortunately, the articles simply list the clothing owned with little analysis of where the clothing was purchased from, who ordered or paid for it and if these items were every day or for special occasions.

A more recent article comes courtesy of Paul Boucher and Tessa Murdoch and rather than focussing on Boughton or another country house, instead uses Montagu House, Bloomsbury, one of the family townhouses, as its focal point. Published in 2013 as a chapter in *A History of the French in London*, Boucher and Murdoch centred on the period 1673-1733 and the theme of a 'French household in London'.⁶³ The article looks at the early years of Montagu House and its decoration by artists such as Louis Cheron and French Huguenots who helped to rebuild and refurnish the house after it had been partially destroyed by a fire. The article is a welcome addition to the historiography of the Montagu family and reveals more about aspects of the townhouse, rather than the country house, which is frequently overlooked with academic historiography. It is a shame that the architecture and art history of the property takes centre stage within this article, with the day-to-day usage and management of the family's townhouse left somewhat underdeveloped. My own article, based on research carried out within the scope of the thesis, is the most recent addition to the literature on Boughton House and the Montagu family and looks at why Boughton fell into a period of sleep and was unused by the family in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴

The guidebook for Boughton House which was in circulation when the PhD commenced in 2014, although not designed as an academic resource, nonetheless briefly highlighted that Lady Mary Montagu and Lady Elizabeth Montagu were inheritors of the title and the properties, but did not expand or provide further insight. In 2016 an updated and significantly expanded guidebook was published, incorporating some of the new research which had taken place in the ten years since the previous book was published and the archives had become more accessible to researchers. Sections

⁶² See S. Llewellyn, 'A List of ye Wardrobe' 1749: The Dress Inventory of John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu', *Costume*, Vol. 29 (1995) pp. 40-54 and 'Inventory of her Grace's Things, 1747' – The Dress Inventory of Mary Churchill, 2nd Duchess of Montagu', *Costume*, vol. 31 (1997) pp. 49-67.

⁶³ P. Boucher and T. Murdoch, 'Montagu House, Bloomsbury: A French household in London, 1673-1733' in D. Kelly and M. Cornick (eds) *A History of the French in London. Liberty, Equality, Opportunity* (London: 2013) pp. 43-68.

⁶⁴ E. Purcell, 'A House in Decline? Boughton House c.1709-1827', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, No. 70 (2017).

relating to Mary Cardigan and Elizabeth were developed slightly to include additional information on their marriages and connections to the Montagu properties, however, reference to Lady Mary Churchill was still very minimal.⁶⁵

Finally, there are also entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* for Ralph and John by Edward Charles Metzger; George Brudenell Montagu by H. M. Chichester and M. J. Mercer; and Henry Scott by Alexander Murdoch, as well as entries for the early Baron Montagus. These offer extremely detailed accounts of the careers, achievements, affiliations, contacts and lives (to an extent) of the men of, or connected to, the Montagu family in the eighteenth century. However, they are somewhat brief on the personal lives of these men and none of the Montagu ladies have their own entries (as Lady Mary Churchill's mother, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough does), nor do they feature substantially within the accounts of their husbands. They are mentioned only in regard to their marriage, the children they bore or what their inheritance brought to the union.

As has been shown, in terms of the Montagu women, the general prevailing theme is that they feature little in secondary studies of the family and also barely receive mentions in more general consumer or household based studies. Joan Wake's *The Brudenells of Deene*, bucks the trend by featuring a substantial account of Mary Montagu, Countess of Cardigan and wife of George Brudenell.⁶⁶ This book describes the marriage of Mary and George in some detail, as well as providing information on George's alterations at Deene Park, the Brudenell country seat, but Mary's role beyond being a wife or part of court life and society is minimal. Wake's comment that George 'made no attempt' to dominate his wife in the management of her business affairs, on the basis of letters to his steward, however, is intriguing.⁶⁷ This allusion to economic freedom is sadly not expanded upon but raises the possibility that Mary had significant control over her own finances, which will be a key point to clarify and establish. Outside of this study, however, where Mary does feature in secondary literature, it is predominantly within the context of the legal dispute with her sister, Lady Isabella.

⁶⁵ Guide Books - Boughton. *The English Versailles* (Derby: 2006); Boughton. *The House, Its People and Its Collections* (Hawick: 2016).

⁶⁶ J. Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (London: 1953) p. 260.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

In short, all three Montagu women of the eighteenth century predominantly feature in secondary literature only in connection with others. There are no studies, or even sections of studies, which deal with their lives, characters, family relationships, connections to their houses, spending capabilities or input in running and managing households. Bonnyman's account of Henry contains one of the most comprehensive accounts of Elizabeth – one or two lines – and Mary, wife of John, is mostly discussed in the context of her mother and the tempestuous relationship the two had. These women are almost invisible within the history of the Montagu family and their importance to the family overlooked and unstudied. John Cornforth asserts 'that Boughton has this special feeling is due to its passing through two heiresses in succession in the eighteenth century' but this is the extent of his exploration of heiresses, or indeed of Mary and Elizabeth.⁶⁸

Looking at this list of studies published connected to the family, it is clear that the number is small and that the eighteenth-century Montagus have not drawn significant academic attention. Seventy years ago Bernard Falk stated that members of the family:

Have either escaped adequate treatment, or, where not entirely neglected, [appear] to have only been cursorily dealt with.⁶⁹

Despite studies published since Falk wrote his book, this statement still remains overwhelmingly true and it can be difficult to see why such a prominent aristocratic family of the period received so little historical attention. The most obvious reason, however, is that after Ralph, the Montagus were not an overtly political family nor were they notorious for anything in particular, scandalous or otherwise. Most aristocratic families initially attracted interest from historians because of their political positions or from art historians, for example, because of their roles as patrons and collectors – neither of which any of the Montagus are particularly notable for. This is also applicable to the lack of attention paid to the Montagu women. Aristocratic women who have attracted academic, and popular, attention are typically notorious for something in

⁶⁸ Cornforth, 'Boughton: Impressions and People', p. 13.

⁶⁹ Falk, *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 7.

particular which has put them at the forefront of interest, such as Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and her association with politics and her tumultuous personal life.⁷⁰

In addition to the lack of notoriety of the family members themselves, that their properties have remained under private ownership and have not been incorporated into the National Trust or English Heritage, for example, has also been a contributing factor in regard to the Montagu family's comparative invisibility in recent scholarship. With their remaining in private ownership, there has not been such a need to promote the background of the houses and their owners, nor to provide interesting stories for visitors, which would have helped to develop interest and attract more researchers. This has also been a contributing factor to the comparatively undiscussed properties which the family owned. Whilst Montagu House has featured within studies of the London townhouse, Boughton House has received little attention within discussions of country estates of the eighteenth century and remains relatively unknown.⁷¹ Given its size and connection to several wealthy families and titles, it is surprising that Boughton has been overlooked as a point of focus within studies.⁷²

The Montagu family and their properties therefore provide a rewarding case study for research on a number of wider themes that need more attention within scholarship, whilst also helping to place the family into the historical narrative of the eighteenth century. Studying the Montagu family will open up new archival evidence and will help to

⁷⁰ See, for example: F. Harris, *A Passion for Government. The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: 1991) and O. Field, *The Favourite. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London: 2002) both feature Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough as their principal focus, exploring her personal life and life at court; A. Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London: 1998) is a popular biography of Georgiana, which has also been turned into a film of the same name; C. Gervat, *Elizabeth: The Scandalous Life of the Duchess of Kingston* (London: 2003) H. Rubenhold, *Lady Worsley's Whim: An Eighteenth-Century Tale of Sex, Scandal and Divorce* (London: 2008) focuses on the life of Lady Seymour Worsley and has since been turned into a BBC drama entitled 'The Scandalous Lady W'; S. Tillyard, *Aristocrats. Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox, 1740-1832* (London: 1995). Most well-known women of the period seem to have a scandal of some type associated with, which has contributed to their notoriety and popularity in literature.

⁷¹ See, for example Boucher and Murdoch, 'Montagu House, Bloomsbury: A French household in London, 1673-1733', pp.43-68; R. Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (London: 2009) p. 149; C. S. Sykes, *Private Palaces. Life in the Great London Houses* (New York: 1986) pp.51-60.

⁷² Today, Boughton has not become a tourist attraction to the extent that Chatsworth House or Blenheim Palace have, for example. Both of these properties are also privately owned yet have developed a business out of the properties, with a schedule of regular events and year-long opening, whereas this is not the case for Boughton, which has limited opening throughout the year. This is likely a contributing factor to its relative anonymity in comparison to other large country estates and therefore its absence within the majority of both popular and academic studies.

enrich current knowledge of the eighteenth century and provide an essential point of comparison with other landed, aristocratic families of the period.

Research Questions and Thesis Structure

Examination of secondary literature connected to country houses and the day-to-day life of elite families within the long eighteenth century brought to light a number of lacunae and established notions which need to be challenged. Most notably, there is little consideration of how wealthy families managed and used a large network of properties, including urban, suburban and country residences. It is also often assumed that the man of the house was primarily responsible for its management, maintenance and architectural adjustments, and paid the associated costs. Their wives are frequently conspicuously absent from discussion and even when women were the inheritors of landed property, their ongoing association with it is not elaborated upon. Additionally, the mundane aspects of how networks of properties were supplied, both by goods and services, has only been touched upon, leaving room for exploration of how elite families ensured their properties were stocked and supplied.

In light of these points and the lack of research focussed on the eighteenth century Montagu family, this thesis will seek to answer the following specific research questions: How was Boughton House used by the Montagu family and what position did it occupy within their property network? Which properties were used more by each generation of the family and why? Who had the greater influence and power over the use and management of the properties that each generation owned? What reasons affected the level of agency that the Montagu women could have over household management and financial affairs?

This thesis will address these questions by considering how a large network of urban, suburban and country house properties were used, maintained and cared for by three generations of one family across the long eighteenth century. It will explore the impact that inheritance and legal matters had upon the gendered division of responsibility within different houses, highlighting that female agency and financial responsibility was intrinsically tied to their position as heiresses but that this manifested in different ways within the constraints of marriage. It will investigate how two successive heiresses shaped the development of the Montagu and Buccleuch property network, whilst also

highlighting how a large network with replica property types was used, managed, supplied and staffed and where the financial responsibility for such matters lay.

These key areas of focus will not only reveal valuable information about the social and day-to-day history of the Montagu family and their households, but they will also challenge some of the current orthodoxies within studies of the aristocracy and country house. They will enrich the existing historiography to provide new evidence and examples of how these great houses were run and how people lived within them – a point which all too often is lost within historians' enduring obsession with the architectural developments of such properties.

In order to achieve this and utilise as much material as possible within the time and word constraints of this thesis, the thesis is divided into five core chapters, each with a focus on a different aspect of aristocratic daily life within grand houses. However, they will also develop themes which recur throughout and help to answer the larger research questions at the heart of the thesis. The chapters have been formed in mixture of chronological and thematic structures, to provide the best way of showing change and development across the three generations and highlighting points of comparisons.

Chapter one will establish and clarify the legal framework upon which the Montagu and Buccleuch properties were inherited and how specific legal terms and bequests were used to allow the Montagu women to have finances of their own and ownership over certain properties. The rare position of the Montagu women as heiresses will be highlighted, as will the importance of provisions in John's will, designed to keep the Montagu estates unified, and the impact that this had on Boughton and other houses.

Chapter two will demonstrate that the patterns of inheritance and legal conventions set out in chapter one were essential in determining the level of influence that the Montagu women had over the running and management of houses. It will consider the difference in responsibilities between husband and wife within each generation and how this may have changed throughout their marriages.

Chapter three will move on to explore how each generation of the Montagu family used various houses within their network of properties, and the reasons why Boughton was not used as a family home. In particular, this chapter will establish which property was used as the primary family home for each generation and what set it apart from other houses in the network in order to fulfil this function. To help establish which house

functioned as home, expenditure on architectural changes and developments will be explored, as will time spent at properties.

Chapter four will take a slightly different turn and focus upon the issue of travel, but not, however, travel for leisure or pleasure, but the everyday travel that was required to move between the sprawling network of Montagu and Buccleuch properties. It will consider the challenges faced by each generation when travelling between their houses, but also look at what opportunities long, cross country journeys could open up.

Furthermore, this chapter will also consider what this large network of properties meant for the staff and servants in their employ and the way in which they were required to move between properties as well.

Finally, chapter five will analyse the control that both husbands and wives had over their own finances and how this influenced their own consumption practices and financial affairs. Not only will it consider personal financial agency, but this chapter will also explore who had the responsibility for paying for certain goods within each marriage and how some generations shared bills, building upon work in previous chapters and reinforcing changes brought about by marriage and inheritance. It will also feed into arguments within current historiography on gendered consumption and expenditure and how this was represented within the different generations.

Together, these chapters will not only bring the Montagu duchesses to the forefront of an academic study for the first time and clarify how the Montagu family used and managed their households during the eighteenth century; it will contribute significantly to our wider understanding of elite women, heiresses and aristocratic property networks. There are still many assumptions in current historiography about primogeniture and the level of power that elite women could exert over a property network, however this thesis will demonstrate that inheritance was a leading factor in giving elite women influence and agency within aristocratic properties. Although this agency was, to an extent, dependent upon caring and companionate marital relationships, elite women could have significant levels of control over their own finances and large property networks, which in turn has implications for the understanding of gendered patterns of consumption and responsibility which has become established in recent studies. Furthermore, through the case study of Boughton House, the fragile position of the country house in the eighteenth century will also be brought to the fore. This period was

not the height of popularity and usage for all large country houses, as it is commonly represented in the literature and in fact, numerous factors could affect its use, often leading to a preference of the urban townhouse over the country estate. This thesis will expose the need for a re-evaluation of the position and use of the country house during this period, particularly when it formed part of an expanding network of properties like that of the Montagu and Buccleuch portfolio.

Methodology, Scope and Limitations

A key part of the methodology of this thesis is the fact that it will predominantly utilise one family as its core case study, with three generations from this family being used to interact with different themes, limitations in historiography and to show change and development over a c.120 year period. Original archival research will be focussed upon the Montagu family and their properties, with comparison to other contemporary families, individuals and houses coming from scholarship in existing literature.

When this project was advertised, it was suggested that key areas of focus should include exploring how Boughton House was managed and by whom; how the house and gardens were constructed and decorated by the family; what active responsibility the Montagu duchesses had in managing the house and estate and also to look at the family consumption habits at Boughton.⁷³ However, since research began in January 2014 these areas have developed and changed to focus on a number of other properties within the Montagu/Buccleuch network, including town houses, suburban properties and other country houses in addition to Boughton House. Furthermore, three generations of the Montagu family have been considered within the context of this case study, to offer a comparison of how a variety of houses were managed at different periods within a c.120 year time frame, and the reasons behind this.

A significant amount of the original material needed for this thesis is located in private archives, which has raised several challenges and limitations which have impacted upon and affected the research which has taken place throughout. A large amount of the Buccleuch archive is held within the private houses of the Duke of Buccleuch and is

⁷³ Taken from the original advertisement for the project which was listed in full on the School of History, University of Leicester website in July 2013. Unfortunately, the webpage for this advertisement no longer exists on the School page and this information is taken from a print out of the webpage made by myself on 31/07/2013 when applying for the project. See Appendix 1 for further information about the nature of the project.

split between Boughton House, Bowhill House and Drumlanrig Castle and is under the care of Crispin Powell, archivist of the Buccleuch collections. Crispin Powell began working for the Duke of Buccleuch only a short time prior to the start of the PhD research began and the archive at that time was almost completely uncatalogued. Since his employment began, Crispin Powell has been working to create up-to-date catalogues of all the material within the archives, as well as clearly ascertaining what material is held at other archives.

This meant that when the PhD began in January 2014, although it was known what types of documents would be available to use within the archive, such as letters, accounts, ledgers, inventories and so forth, as well as what time periods this material covered, there was no full catalogue to consult. The archival material also did not have reference numbers or a clear referencing system, which has had an impact upon the material that has been consulted and available to view. Each of the three PhD researchers within the project has been heavily reliant upon Crispin Powell and what documents he has been cataloguing. Finding relevant material has often been serendipitous and even four years after starting the project the reference system for the archive is still developing.

As such, throughout the thesis reference to primary material within the Buccleuch archive has been referenced in as clear and detailed a manner as possible but does not have specific box or reference numbers. One example of this can be found for a series of letters throughout this thesis, sent by Duchess Elizabeth to John Parker and known in the archive as the 'Parker letters'. When consulted in February 2014, this was one of the first times they had been viewed - they were uncatalogued bar their date range and the content of the letters was largely unknown. Every effort has been made to identify and record the date, the letter writer and location from which the letters were sent, although this has not always been possible.

Access to other private archives has also been a factor in impeding progress, with sections of the archive being held at country estates not owned by the Buccleuch family and as such, beyond the jurisdiction of Crispin Powell. One such case pertinent to this thesis is material which is held at The Hirsell, an estate on the Berwickshire border. Owned by David Douglas-Home, 15th Earl of Home, the Home family archive also has material connected to Elizabeth, which might have been of use to this thesis. However,

it was not until late in the PhD that this material came to light and it was advised that arranging access to view this material would be problematic and take time to arrange. Due to the amount of material already consulted and time constrictions of the PhD, it was agreed with my supervisory team that it would best to leave this material for now and focus upon the documents already consulted.

Due to the time constraints of the PhD and the scale and nature of the Buccleuch archive, there is a limit to what can be consulted and achieved within three years. With no prior knowledge of the Buccleuch archive, nor experience using it, nor full, comprehensive catalogues, there has had to be a limitation on consulting certain material. For example, when considering the legal dispute between Mary and Isabella in chapter one, there are over ten large boxes of uncatalogued material connected to this dispute, which could potentially yield some interesting and important material. However, going through such boxes, of which there are many similar for other aspects of the archive, would have taken more time than was feasible within the duration of the PhD. As such, material which has been catalogued or that was better known to the archivist has been utilized first and foremost.

In addition, some Buccleuch family material had been incorporated into the archive at Palace House, Beaulieu in the New Forest, an eighteenth-century Montagu family property, particularly connected to Duke John. Some account books, particularly pertinent to the study of Mary and George Cardigan, as well as other family papers from the early eighteenth century are held at the house, which is still owned by a branch of the Montagu family today. Under the care of a separate archivist, sources relevant to this thesis only materialised late into the third year, and Susan Thompkins, archivist at Palace House, kindly offered to photograph the account books for use within the thesis. It is, however, unknown if other relevant material may be within the Beaulieu archives. It is also unknown whether any other uncatalogued and undiscovered material may come to light. There are certain gaps within the Buccleuch archives and certain types of material for certain generations, particularly the Cardigans are missing, which indicates that it is likely that material has either been destroyed, lost or is in a property where it has not yet been found.

Aside from material in private archives, a wealth of Montagu and Buccleuch papers is held in local and national record offices. In particular, Northamptonshire Record Office,

Norfolk Record Office, the National Archives of Scotland and the British Library for relevant papers in the Blenheim collection. The NAS collection of Montagu-Douglas-Scott papers, listed under the GD224 code, contains over a thousand category divisions, each with hundreds of subdivisions. The collection is fully catalogued and referenced but the subdivisions and descriptions can often be very brief, making it often quite haphazard as to what may be found on a particular visit.

Financial documents will form a significant basis for the analysis carried out throughout the thesis, and chapter 5 in particular. Within the archives associated with the Buccleuch family, material relating to household finances – including ledgers, account books, vouchers and receipts – is particularly rich for the eighteenth-century members of the family. In comparison, personal correspondence, particularly connected to the Montagu women, is significantly lacking. Nevertheless, financial documents reveal a lot about the consumption practices of men and women in the eighteenth century. For example, Margot Finn, Amanda Vickery and Jon Stobart have utilised account books, vouchers and receipts to transform our understanding of spending patterns across life cycles; the gendered responsibility for purchasing goods; and how households were supplied with consumables, furniture and day-to-day items.⁷⁴ Within this thesis, financial materials will be used to investigate the economic activities of both husband and wife within their marriage. These materials are particularly important as financial documents survive for both parties in two of the generations studied within this thesis. As chapter 5 will explain in more detail, it is often rare to find separate accounts of women's expenditure, let alone ones that cover such large periods of time or are as detailed as the account books which survive for Mary and Elizabeth.⁷⁵ This makes the Montagu accounts a significant discovery that will allow for an examination of gendered consumption within marriage for two successive generations, as well as a focus on elite women's ability to oversee their own financial arrangements and ability to purchase goods and possessions in their own right. This will be enhanced by the use of other source material, including a

⁷⁴ See, for example, M. Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2000); J. Stobart, 'Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736-1806', *Social History*, Vol 40, No 1 (2015); A. Vickery, 'His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present Supplement* (2006).

⁷⁵ J. Hodgkinson, 'The London Accounts of Juliana, Lady Langham, 1774-1794', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, No. 62 (2009) p. 45.

small corpus of personal letters to house and estate stewards and legal documents, such as wills and marriage settlements.

However, the problems associated with a reliance on financial material need to be understood. Whilst such material can significantly improve our understanding of management and responsibility within households, as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, accounts do not reflect any of the decision making process which had occurred behind the purchase or bill, nor if it was willingly paid by them. Amanda Vickery expresses this clearly within her article on gender, consumption and household accounting, when she cautions that

Account books were not written with historians in mind. They lack the emotional expansiveness of diaries and letters, and can give limited insight into attitudes and meanings.⁷⁶

Where expenses were billed to men, for example, we have no knowledge of any involvement his wife may have had, or if she was the leading force behind a purchase, but simply did not pay for it, meaning that the full story can be obscured. While acknowledging the limitations of accounts, particularly in identifying gendered patterns of decision-making within a marriage, other archival material including written instructions to servants and correspondence will be used where available to understand the division of responsibility within households.

In addition to the requirement of the CDA for the core focus of the research to be on the Montagu family and its archival material, such a wealth of material for one family has negated the need for primary research to be undertaken on other contemporary families. For each generation of the eighteenth-century Montagu family, a rich array of archival material survives which can be used to engage with current historiography, and studies of contemporary houses and families. That the content of the Montagu archive has barely been skimmed offers an exciting opportunity to bring to light material which has never been used by researchers, allowing for existing orthodoxies and claims to be challenged and new perspectives within country house studies to emerge.

⁷⁶ A. Vickery, 'His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth- Century England', *Past and Present Supplement 1* (2006) p. 19

Chapter 1

Entail, Heiresses and Legal Disputes: The Complexities of Montagu Property Ownership and Inheritance

The legal position of married women in the eighteenth century was complex. Moreover, the available archival materials make it difficult for historians to unravel and make sense of the position of individual married women. Under English common law in the eighteenth century, a married woman was known as a *feme covert*; her legal rights and rights to own property in her own name were subsumed by that of her husband who was supposed to support his wife in exchange.¹ This meant that a wife did not have a separate legal existence and so could not enter into 'economic contracts in her own right and in order to make basic purchases on credit had to do so in her husband's name'.² However, there were some privileges to be had from the position as well. Joanne Bailey has highlighted the mixed contemporary view of coverture. For some, the *feme covert* was a 'favourite of the law', thanks to the privilege of avoiding punishment for committing theft in the company of her husband. For others, however, it was a situation 'worse than slavery'.³ Nevertheless, as Danaya Wright argues, legal rights did not always match the reality of married women's experiences.⁴

Amy Erickson and, more recently, Joanne Bailey and Susan Staves have highlighted the need to separate the legal fact and fiction in regard to women's ability to own property. As they have shown, the use of legal loopholes, placing property in trust and informal agreements between husband and wife could allow her to exert agency and authority over property. Erickson, focussing on 'ordinary women' within her study on women and property, notes that 'in practice wives maintained during marriage substantial property interests of their own', whilst also highlighting that many husbands and wives entered into informal agreements about property between them. This connects to more recent research about the development of the notion of marriage during the eighteenth century, with more marital relationships being built on love, rather than matches for

¹ J. Bailey, 'Favoured or Oppressed? Married Women, Property and 'Coverture' in England, 1660-1800', *Continuity and Change*, Volume 17, Issue 3 (2002), p. 351; D. C. Wright, 'Coverture and Women's Agency: Informal Modes of Resistance to Legal Patriarchy' in T. Stretton and K. J. Kesselring (eds) *Married Women and the Law. Coverture in England and the Common Law World* (London: 2013), p. 244.

² J. Bailey, 'Favoured or Oppressed?', p. 352.

³ *Ibid.*, see pp. 351-352.

⁴ D. C. Wright, 'Coverture and Women's Agency', p. 241.

convenience.⁵ If there was a genuine level of friendship and love within marriage, a husband may therefore have been more inclined to allow his wife a high degree of autonomy over property management, regardless of the stipulations of common law. Erickson has also highlighted how the term ‘sole and separate use’ could be utilised in marriage contracts in order to protect and preserve a woman’s rights to property during marriage.⁶ In *Married Women’s Separate Property in England, 1660-1833*, Staves explores in detail the payment of pin money, which she defines as payments of a set annual sum made under a contract by a husband to a wife during coverture. This, she argues could be defined as separate property, property that women could own despite the common law of coverture.⁷

Marital relationships and legal clauses were instrumental in providing married women with opportunities to own or oversee their own property, make wills and keep separate accounts, showcasing a different reality than that which was assumed under coverture in common law. However, existing studies have largely overlooked married women’s connection to property as heiresses. What was the reality faced by married women inheriting property networks? Would her husband step in and immediately take the right to manage her land and properties, as might be assumed under coverture? Or, did the personal knowledge of the estates, family connection and value of properties give her leverage and a more powerful position over which to personally take a role in their management?

Within the existing historiography, attention on the heiress in the eighteenth century has been somewhat underwhelming. Studies focussing on inheritance, marriage contracts, strict settlement and English property law, published between 1950 and 1990 – during the ‘great English debate over marriage and inheritance’⁸ – made reference to the position of the heiress in more general terms, but failed to explore the reality of her fortunes. Christopher Clay’s study of ‘Marriage, Inheritance and the Rise of Large Estates in England’, published in 1968, for example, discusses the heiresses, but without giving specific examples. He makes generalising statements such as ‘it was doubtless

⁵ A. L. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: 1993) pp. 3, 19, 145.

⁶ ‘Common Law versus Common Practice: The use of Marriage Settlements in Early Modern England’, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (February 1990) pp. 21-22.

⁷ S. Staves, *Married women’s separate property in England, 1660-1833* (London: 1990) pp. 132-133.

⁸ A. P. W. Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress. Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland, 1750-1820* (Ulster Historical Foundation: 1982) p. 2.

true that the greatest heiresses married the eldest sons of the greatest landowners' or states the conditions that a father could make to ensure his family name survived, if his daughter was to inherit.⁹ The repetition of Habbakuk's assertions that there were few heiresses during this period has perhaps limited the desire for a more detailed exploration of specific case studies. Trumbach likewise remarked that if there were only daughters to inherit, they inherited jointly: 'women always inherited jointly'.¹⁰ No evidence was offered to support this rather bold remark. Susan Okin began to explore the possibility of the control women had over inherited property by remarking that when a woman had inherited land, her husband's claim to it under common law was more limited than his claim to her personal property. This is an interesting distinction of how a woman's inherited houses might be seen.¹¹ Okin also importantly highlights that the use of terms such as 'separate use' were key parts of marriage settlements in protecting women's rights.¹² Moreover, she highlights that even when this clause was used, the control that a woman had in practice still needs to be explored and assumed.¹³ Often, however, these studies discuss only a single property, that may have been brought to the marriage as a dowry. But what of heiresses of large networks of country, urban and suburban properties that were inherited after marriage? In 1990 Eileen Spring stated that the heiress has been treated unfortunately in works of history, calling for her to be given due historical attention. Whilst important works by historians such as Bailey, Erickson and Staves have significantly developed our understanding of the theory and practice of women's property ownership, works focussing on the eighteenth century heiress have been minimal.

A.P.W. Malcomson's *The Pursuit of the Heiress* is the main study of heiresses to have been published in recent years, and focuses on the issues of elite female inheritance during the years 1740-1840. By delving into the Irish marriage market, Malcomson explores the advantageous marriages made to heiresses, both in Ireland and across the Irish Sea to English heiresses – Lady Isabella and Edward Hussey are even featured.¹⁴

⁹ C. Clay, 'Marriage, Inheritance and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815', *The Economic History Review*, Volume 21, Issue 3 (December 1968) p. 504.

¹⁰ R. Trumbach, *The Rise and Fall of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: 1978) p. 42.

¹¹ S. Okin, 'Patriarchy and Married Women's Property in England: Questions on Some Current Views', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Volume 17, No. 2 (Winter 1983/4) p. 125.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁴ A. P. W. Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress: Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland, 1740-1840* (Belfast: 2006) pp. 102-104.

This is a fascinating account of the position of both the heiress and her suitor which begins to consider the impact that heiresses and their marriages could have upon estates and their unity, a point which was often underdeveloped in the related studies of the late twentieth century. This study brings the heiress to the forefront of a major work, exposing her to the historical attention that Spring argued they so desperately needed. Ann Marie Curtis and Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery have also focussed more on the practical nature of the heiresses' influence,¹⁵ however, further work is required to investigate the power that heiresses of significant landed property exercised over their houses and estates.

The Montagu family of the eighteenth century provide a rare case study of two successive heiresses of landed estates through which to give the heiress historical attention and compare theory and legal practice with reality. Prior to the inheritance of the Montagu estates by Mary in 1749 and Elizabeth in 1790, there was already an established pattern whereby inheritance through heiresses increased the size and scope of the family estates. During the late seventeenth century, Ralph Montagu, later 1st Duke of Montagu, not only inherited land of his own from the Montagu family, but also acquired land and properties from his two marriages to wealthy heiresses. In 1673 Ralph married Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, the widow of Joceline Percy, 11th Earl of Northumberland. There are several theories as to how Ralph and Elizabeth's union came about and debate as to how genuine Ralph's affections were for the young widow. Nevertheless, they remained married until Elizabeth's death in 1690 and had several children together. However, the £6,000 per year income that Elizabeth received was substantial and within two years of their marriage, Ralph had set about building the grand Montagu House in Bloomsbury and also spent large sums remodelling Boughton in the French style. With Ralph outlaying the large sum of £14,000 for the post of Master of the Great Wardrobe shortly before his marriage, it is likely that Elizabeth's income was instrumental in Ralph being able to afford such large scale building projects.

¹⁵ A. M. Curtis, 'An Accidental Heiress? The Life and Times of Anna Maria of Mollington Hall (1771-1861)', *Cheshire History*, Vol. 50 (2010-2011) pp. 50-59; J. Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738-1806', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 27, Issue 3 (December 2012) pp. 379-407.

In 1692, less than two years after Elizabeth's death, Ralph remarried, once again to an heiress. Ralph's reasons for pursuing Elizabeth Monck, Dowager Duchess of Albemarle are more overt, yet they make for uncomfortable reading and his decision to pursue Elizabeth was even questioned by his contemporaries. By the time of the marriage, Elizabeth had been known for many years as 'The Mad Duchess of Albemarle', a moniker which referred to her fragile state of mind and unpredictable nature in public. She was cared for by physicians and two 'conniving' sisters. Elizabeth's 'madness' was further highlighted when she supposedly declared that she would only consider a marriage proposal if it came from a reigning monarch. Whilst other potential suitors were perturbed by such a statement, Ralph relished the challenge and was reported to have dressed up as the Emperor of China in a bid to woo her, as figure 1.1 is alleged to depict. Ralph's ruse worked and after their marriage Elizabeth lived out her days believing that she was indeed the Empress of China, and Montagu House became her 'court', whilst Ralph appropriated her £7,000 annual income and continued his ambitious building projects and lavish entertainment.

In these cases, the heiress does not appear to have fared well, nor retained much influence over her inherited property. But what of Mary and Elizabeth? Both were already married to wealthy landowners who already owned their own network of properties; their unions produced a complex arrangement of houses and estates united by both husband and wife within marriage. However, perhaps synonymous with the apathy surrounding the landed heiress, Mary and Elizabeth have received very little attention, both within studies on the families and wider historical scholarship, making them a fascinating case study to utilise.

This chapter will unravel the complex legal situation surrounding the Montagu family in the long eighteenth century, using content from marriage settlements, wills, acts of parliament and other legal documentation to clearly set out who owned which properties and the terms under which they were inherited. In particular, the position of the heiress will be re-examined to demonstrate the influence and power which they could retain over their property within marriage. The chapter also explores the impact that two successive heiresses had on the unity and usage of the Montagu family properties. Furthermore, the utilisation of a single family for this case study will allow for an in-depth analysis of both the heiress and eighteenth-century property inheritance that has

been so lacking in recent historical accounts. The chapter therefore also provides an opportunity to correct some of the assumptions made about the position and plight of female inheritors. The three generations of the Montagu family allow for a detailed study of how an aristocratic family gained and bequeathed their complex network of estates, demonstrating the importance of detailed legal documents to the protection and ownership of so many properties.



Figure 1.1: Portrait in the Buccleuch Collection, long thought to be of Ralph Montagu dressed as the Emperor of China, in order to woo the Duchess of Albemarle. Artist not known.

An Advantageous Match

In 1705, John, then the fifteen year old Viscount Monthermer, married Lady Mary Churchill, youngest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough. The Marlboroughs had received numerous marriage offers from members of the English and Scottish aristocracy for Mary – the first when she was only ten years old – but it was the proposal from Ralph Montagu on behalf of his son which Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough favoured above all others.¹⁶ Sarah also took on the responsibility of drawing up her daughter's marriage settlement, and stated that it was her aim to make her the most advantageous settlements she could.¹⁷

Until very recently it was thought that John and Mary's marriage settlement had not survived, as it had not been found amongst Montagu or Blenheim papers and had not been used by authors such as Frances Harris or Ophelia Field within their studies of Sarah. Instead key terms of the settlement had been gained from reading Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough's 'Green Book', an account she wrote of her relationship with two of her daughters, Mary and Henrietta. The book, so named because of the colour of the parchment it was bound in, recounted Sarah's views of how terribly her daughters had behaved towards her, whilst highlighting all the good things she had done for them throughout their lives.¹⁸ This was subsequently circulated amongst Sarah's contemporaries, causing already strained relationships to further fracture. In her account of Mary, Sarah noted:

The Dutchess of Montagu's settlement for herself was £800 a year pin money, £3000 a year jointure, Ditton very well furnished and all rent charge, free of all manner of taxes. . .¹⁹

Frances Harris, author of one of the most comprehensive biographies of Sarah's life, states that Mary's portion also included the reversion of Ralph's Mastership of the Great Wardrobe to his son – a very lucrative position; the promise of a dukedom for Ralph, which Sarah could bring about through her connections at court, plus the sum of £10,000.²⁰ Whilst offering an insight into the key terms of the settlement, the information gained from Sarah's account is basic and likely misses out other terms

¹⁶ F. Harris, *A Passion for Government. The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: 1991) p. 109.

¹⁷ British Library (BL): Add MS 61451. Blenheim Papers. Papers relating to the 'Green Book', fols. 2-3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 3.

²⁰ Harris, *A Passion for Government*, p. 110. Harris' references show that this information was also gleaned from Sarah's green book.

normally included in a settlement, yet it was better than nothing. However, whilst consulting partially catalogued material at Northampton Record Office in 2017, the original settlement and its official copies were found and they substantially help to increase our knowledge and understanding of Mary and John's settlement and the provisions made for their future, as well as the future of the Montagu estates.²¹ Whilst providing precise detail about the inheritance of the Montagu estates, the settlement also states that Mary was to receive a sum of 'five hundred pounds of good and lawful money of England' whilst she, Ralph and John were to be jointly living.²² Upon Ralph's death, this was to rise to £800 per year, with both sums being for her sole and separate use and not liable to the control or power of John.²³ Whilst not explicitly labelled as such, this was clearly to be Mary's annual pin money, with it being likely that Ralph had been responsible for paying some of her bills whilst he was alive. The settlement goes on to allocate Mary £3,000 per year for every year she should outlive John as her jointure, plus the use of Ditton Park during the same period.²⁴ Additionally, the settlement laid out how much money the children of Mary and John would receive, dependent on the number and gender of the children. Mary and John had two surviving daughters from their marriage, who according to the settlement would be granted a sum of £40,000 to be equally divided between them, a smaller sum than two sons would have received - £60,000 to be divided.²⁵

This was a generous provision for the youngest daughter of a duke who had already settled three other daughters. The Churchills had concerns in the 1690s about the need to dower four daughters and Princess Anne had given them £10,000 for the portion of Lady Henrietta's settlement, although Sarah split this into two sums of £5,000, one share to be used for Lady Henrietta and the other for their next daughter to be married.²⁶ Mary's substantial portion highlights the progression of the Churchills by the time of

²¹ I ordered a box of mostly uncatalogued legal documents, of which the only document listed to be contained within the box was the marriage settlement of Lady Isabella Montagu and the Duke of Manchester from 1722. The box contained several wrapped bundles, bound and knotted in old string. Within these I found an original version of Mary and John's marriage settlement, plus several more copies, made later in the eighteenth century. I have not come across a reference to this source in secondary literature before and believe I may be the first person to have found it and used it. [Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO): Montagu (Boughton) X8792]

²² NRO: Montagu (Boughton) X8792. Settlement on the marriage of John, Lord Monthermer, son of the Duke of Montagu, with the Lady Mary Churchill youngest daughter of John Duke of Marlborough, p. 25.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 26

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁶ Harris, *A Passion for Government*, pp. 78-79.

Mary's marriage, and the influence that they were able to exercise by this time. This combination of evidence for their marriage settlement reveals that although Mary's portion was generous and came with significant benefits for Ralph and the Montagu position, no land or properties went with Mary into her union with John. Instead this was a marriage arranged by the Marlboroughs, although primarily Sarah judging by her remarks, and Ralph Montagu to mutually benefit both of their positions. For Ralph, this new, close relationship with the Marlboroughs led to the Dukedom of Montagu being created for him – something he had attempted to gain for many, many years. For Sarah and John, the advantages are less obvious, but having used their influence to secure Ralph a dukedom, they were ensuring that their youngest daughter would become a duchess and be mistress over numerous houses and estates. The reversion of the Mastership of the Great Wardrobe was a further measure by Sarah to ensure that John not only gained a position connected to court, but also had a stable source of additional income. Through this marriage alliance, they ensured that Mary would be wealthy, titled and comfortable for life, despite not taking a large dowry with her.

The terms of Mary and John's marriage settlement are key in establishing the balance of power within their marriage and the influence that each party had within the network of houses that they owned, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. As already noted, the settlement demonstrates that Mary did not take a Churchill property with her to her marriage, nor any substantial sums of money, and the only money that she was to have personal access to was a sum of £800 per year, paid to her as a form of pin money. Mary therefore, did not have a legal claim nor personal interest in any of the houses and estates in which she lived, as John did. John inherited all of the Montagu estates from his father upon his death in 1709, and as only the second holder of a dukedom that was less than five years old, John would have been under pressure to ensure that the estates flourished and the dukedom was successful, a tough challenge given that he also had to settle the large debts accumulated by Ralph.²⁷

The settlement did however, ensure that Mary was not completely dependent on John financially by providing a sum of £800 per year pin money. Susan Staves, who dedicated a whole chapter of her book on married women's property to the subject of

²⁷ Ralph is said to have had issues managing his finances throughout his life, with Cornforth questioning where he found money to rebuild properties and purchase positions. See Cornforth, 'Boughton: Impressions and People', p. 22; T. Murdoch, 'The Patronage of the Montagus' in T. Murdoch (ed.) *Boughton House: The English Versailles* (London: 1992) p. 36.

pin money, states that pin money allowed women to purchase their own clothes, finance amusements and charity subscriptions and pay for other small out of pocket expenses that she generated on a day-to-day basis.²⁸ That such sums of money were being assigned to women for their own use has led Stone and Trumbach to argue that pin money was indicative of the growing independence and equality of eighteenth-century wives - a bold statement.²⁹ Although accounts do not survive for Mary, she spent a lot of her time in London and also went travelling in the 1710s for which her pin money would have allowed her to purchase items on her travels, such as the lace, cloth and small paintings she talks about in letters to her mother whilst travelling in Europe.³⁰

However, this idealistic notion of pin money and the independence which it gave married women has been challenged by Staves and Okin, who have noted that pin money was often not at a wife's exclusive disposal or hers to do with as she wished and she could easily be "kissed or kicked" or "bullied or coaxed" out of it by a husband who had physical or emotional power over her.³¹ Correspondence from John to the Churchills casts doubt as to how much of her pin money Mary actually received and suggests that she was one of the women who was coaxed into giving her pin money to her husband. Muddled within Mary's letters to Sarah in the Blenheim papers held at the British Library are also some letters sent by John to his wife's family. In 1724 he wrote twice, once in March and once in April, to ask that Mary be sent her annuity which had been due several months earlier but had not been paid - he stated that he 'must insist upon her having her just due'.³² He chased the annuity payment again in April, reminding Sarah of when the money should have been originally paid.³³ From this exchange, John comes across as being concerned that Mary was missing out on her promised pin money.

²⁸ S. Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property in England, 1660-1833* (London: 1990) p. 132.

²⁹ S. M. Okin, 'Patriarchy and Married Women's Property in England: Questions on Some Current Views', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Winter: 1983-4) p. 136; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (Middlesex: 1979) (Abridged version) p. 167; R. Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: 1978), p. 76.

³⁰ BL: Add MS 61450. Blenheim Papers, vol. CCCL. Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her daughter, Mary, wife of John Montagu c.1702-1742. See for examples, fols. 100, 102, 105.

³¹ Okin, 'Patriarchy and Married Women's Property', p. 136; S. Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property*, p. 135.

³² BL: Add MS 61450. John, Duke of Montagu to recipient addressed as 'sir', fol. 147.

³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 149.

However, a codicil to John's will reveals a further reason for his impatience at Mary's failure to receive her money. In it, he stated that he wished to leave Mary an extra £1000 per year on top of the provisions of her jointure, as from the time of the death of her father:

she never received the pin money which she was intitled to by her marriage settlement but freely and out of her own good will and generosity suffered me to receive and retain the same for my own private use.³⁴

This shows that from the time of the Duke of Marlborough's death in June 1722, John was appropriating Mary's pin money for his own uses and his chasing up of the money was not out of concern for Mary, but concern that he was missing out on money to bolster his own finances. Judging by the wording of the codicil, this arrangement continued for over twenty-five years and would have left Mary with little direct money of her own. It does, however, also suggest that she did receive her own pin money from the time of her marriage in 1704, through to her father's death in 1722, indicating that John did not feel that he could appropriate Mary's money at such a time, as she may have been able to raise the issue with her father. Although John's compensation to Mary was generous, since judges had developed a rule that women could only claim for one year's arrears of pin money, his actions had left her without financial independence for a significant portion of their marriage, thus reducing her ability to buy what she wanted.³⁵

After her father's death and given that she had such a tumultuous relationship with her mother, Mary may have felt less able to challenge John on his actions; as Staves notes, the only way she would have been able to attempt to claim her pin money would have been to have sued him, which risked the possibility that he could have been imprisoned.³⁶ Although such an outcome would have been highly unlikely due to the privilege of peers being tried by fellow peers, any public attempt by Mary to claim her pin money would have courted scandal amongst society, with it being extremely doubtful that Sarah and her family would have supported her. However, that John made such a declaration in his will and offered Mary compensation is in itself an interesting point. By adding such a large sum to Mary's jointure as compensation for appropriating

³⁴ Buccleuch Archives, Boughton House, Northamptonshire (BA, BHN): Copy of the Will and Codicil of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu. 10th June 1749, p. 16.

³⁵ Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property*, pp. 135, 141-142.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

her pin money, John was showing that he had some sense of justice and recognised that he had infringed upon her rights by using her money. Such an action by John would likely not have been a common one amongst his peers and gives the impression that he almost felt guilt for having appropriated it for so long.

Whilst marriage settlements often included clauses to protect women in marriage, such as assigning them their own financial expenditure and ensuring their dower years were comfortable through the provision of a jointure, such provision could clearly be manipulated to suit a husband and remove independence from a wife. Although John states that Mary ‘willingly’ gave up her pin money, this is unlikely and it is telling that he did not start to appropriate it until after the death of her father, to whom Mary was close. Mary can therefore be seen to have been in a weak position within her marriage to John, in terms of wealth and property brought to marriage. Whilst her daughter and granddaughter would go on to be wealthy heiresses with significant power and influence, the terms of Mary’s settlement did not put her in such a position and John’s protectiveness over the Montagu estates consolidated this.

Where There’s a Will . . .

With the lack of a surviving male heir, it was the death of John in 1749 which threatened the stability and unification of the network of Montagu estates and properties. After only 44 years, the Montagu dukedom became extinct and with only two surviving daughters, there was a strong possibility that the network of Montagu estates could either have been entailed away to a male relation, or jointly inherited by Lady Mary and Lady Isabella, becoming divided up and amalgamated with other estates under new family names.

It was the wills of both John and Mary which set in motion the shaping of the Montagu estates going forward and with only two surviving daughters, inheritance by heiresses was the only way for the estates to remain intact. These two wills set the basis for ensuring the continued unity of the majority of the Montagu estates over the subsequent years, whilst also laying the framework for Lady Mary Cardigan and her daughter Elizabeth to retain significant control over the management and future of said properties.

In April 1723 John's elder daughter, Lady Isabella, married William Montagu, 2nd Duke of Manchester when she was around sixteen or seventeen years of age.³⁷ William was a distant relative of the Boughton Montagus, as he was also a descendant of Sir Edward Montagu, who had purchased the manor of Boughton and built the original property on the site in 1528.³⁸ At this time, John agreed in the couple's marriage settlement that should William and Isabella not have a legitimate son before his death, he would split his estates between his two daughters and they should have an equal share to estates including Montagu House, Bloomsbury; Ditton Park and Beaulieu.³⁹ This had also been a clause of Ralph's will, as he stated that should John have no surviving sons, his daughters should inherit the Montagu estates as tenants in common.⁴⁰ These clauses give the impression that Mary and Isabella would be joint heiresses, inheriting an equal share of the Montagu estates and wealth, as was frequently the case for heiresses when there was more than one daughter.⁴¹

John and Mary went on to have a son named Edward in 1725. However, he died before his second birthday and so John's will, drafted only several months before his death in 1749, became the final and most important document in laying out his final decisions on how his estates were to be divided. John stated that it was his 'most earnest desire and request' that:

. . . my said entailed estates should not be divided but that the same should be all kept together undivided and possessed entirely by my daughter Mary, Countess of Cardigan and her issue in the same manner as if I left a son.⁴²

³⁷ G. S. Thomson (ed.), *Letters of a Grandmother 1732-35. Being the Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her granddaughter Diana, Duchess of Bedford* (London: 1943) p. 31. The precise year of Isabella's birth is unknown, but it is thought to be in 1706 or 1707, as Thomson asserts.

³⁸ Cornforth, 'Boughton: Impressions and People', p. 17. Sir Edward Montagu had seven sons and subsequent generations of three of them went on to receive peerages. Edwards's branch became the Earls and Dukes of Montagu; Henry's branch the Earls and Dukes of Manchester and Sydney's branch, the Earls of Sandwich. See also the family tree on pp. 188-189 of *Boughton House: The English Versailles*. That John engineered a marriage for Isabella to a fellow Montagu further demonstrates his obsessions with lineage and desire to continue his family name.

³⁹ NRO: Montagu (Boughton) X8792. *An Act for Confirming and Establishing Articles of Agreement between the most noble John, Duke of Montagu, William Duke of Manchester, and others; upon a marriage intended between the said Duke of Manchester and the Lady Isabella eldest Daughter of the said Duke of Montagu* [Dated 1st January 1722]. pp. 18-19.

⁴⁰ BA, BHN: A Copy of the Will of the Most Noble Ralph, late Duke of Montagu, dated 21st August 1707. p. 2.

⁴¹ See for example, Spring, who states that if there were several daughters, they were equally heirs. Spring, 'The Heiress-at-Law', p. 274; Trumbach also argues that women always inherited jointly, see Trumbach, *Egalitarian Family*, p. 42.

⁴² BA, BHN: Copy of the Will and Codicils of John, Duke of Montagu, 1749. p. 16.

Rather than split the estates between his two daughters, John instead willed that his younger daughter, Mary – by this time the Countess of Cardigan, after her own marriage in 1730 to George Brudenell, 4th Earl of Cardigan – should inherit the entailed estates in order to keep them unified. This is a key clause in John's will which not only placed the ownership and control of the Montagu estates with Lady Mary, but initiated a series of events which would go on to affect the estates for several decades and cause severe discord between the two sisters. That John left the entirety of his estates to Lady Mary in the 'same manner' as if he had a son is a clear signal that he envisaged Lady Mary to be the rightful heir to the Montagu estates, regardless of the fact that she was the younger of his two daughters.

However, this is not to say that Isabella was completely excluded from her father's will. Whilst John desired that Isabella was to have no claim to inherit the actual estates, he did provide the following for her:

. . . [Isabella] shall be entitled thereto one full moiety of the clear year rents and profits of the said intailed estates in the nature of a fee farm rent annuity or rent charge.⁴³

Instead of inheriting individual estates to manage as she chose, or jointly with her sister, Isabella was left 'one full moiety' of the rents and profits of the Montagu estates which Mary would inherit. That is to say that, whilst Mary would be due to inherit the actual estates, Isabella would in turn receive half of the rents and profits generated from the said estates, clear from debt or any other hindrances. John stated within the will that he felt this arrangement would be equally beneficial and profitable to Isabella and her issue as if she were to actually receive possession of a share of the estates and gain the rents in that manner. This 'earnest desire and request' by John was brought to a close by stating that should Lady Isabella not agree to the terms he had listed and instead insist upon the estates being divided up, she would forfeit any use of the estates at all.⁴⁴

Unsurprisingly, Isabella was extremely unhappy with the clauses laid out in John's will, however, the wording of the clauses needs to be clarified here, as although John stated that he wished Mary to inherit his entailed estates, it is clear that the Montagu's did not employ the traditional form of property entail. Entailed estates were freehold estates that had been deliberately limited to descend to specified, named people and the device was

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

predominantly employed to ensure the continuation of estates through a male line.⁴⁵ This form of land entail was known as ‘tail male’ and limited the descent of the estates and properties to the legitimate male heirs, such as sons and grandsons.⁴⁶ Even when no such heirs survived, Susan Okin argues that daughters still rarely inherited land or property and ‘collateral’ males were then chosen to inherit entailed estates.⁴⁷ However, this ‘tail male’ form of entail, although the most frequently used, was not the only form of land entail which explains how John was able to leave such properties and estates to Mary. Whilst ‘tail male’ restricted the lineal succession to the male line, ‘tail general’ allowed for the inclusion of women, where there were no sons to inherit the estate.⁴⁸ It is this form of property entail which the Montagu family were using in the first half of the eighteenth century, going against traditional forms of inheritance, with John following the terms of his father’s will and employing a ‘tail general’ pattern of succession to allow his daughters to become inheritors of the Montagu estates.

Instances of women inheriting great estates through ‘tail general’ were uncommon during the eighteenth century. Jamoussi states that due to the aristocracy wanting to maintain the attachment of the estate to the family name, primogeniture in tail male was more generally preferred.⁴⁹ In his study on the egalitarian family, Randolph Trumbach also went on to argue that:

If men allowed women to inherit land or other significant property, it was because they had no regard for a family identity that extended over several generations; for only through the patrilineal inheritance of titles and their supporting estates could such an identity normally be maintained.⁵⁰

The use of ‘tail general’ to avoid estates passing to distant, collateral males was most definitely an example of the Montagus ‘allowing’ women to inherit both land and significant property. However, rather than demonstrating a lack of regard for family identity as Trumbach asserts, for the Montagus, stipulating female inheritance of entailed property was a way of trying to preserve and protect the family identity and to

⁴⁵ ‘Terms of Settlements’, *Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham* [<https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/>] (Accessed 19th April 2017); See also D. N. Durant, *A Historical Dictionary. Life in the Country House* (London: 1996) p. 115 for a detailed definition of ‘entail’.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ‘Terms of Settlements’.

⁴⁷ Okin, ‘Patriarchy and Married Women’s Property’, p. 127.

⁴⁸ Z. Jamoussi, *Primogeniture and Entail in England. A Survey of their History and Representation in Literature* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: 2011) p. 14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Trumbach, *Egalitarian Family*, p. 46.

ensure the continued prosperity of the Montagu name and estates for future generations. A further term of both Ralph's and John's will, was that if the person who inherited the estates did not bear the Montagu name, they had to adopt it in order to keep the inheritance – a condition also used when collateral males without the family name stood to inherit.⁵¹ George and Mary therefore altered their surname from Brudenell to Montagu upon the death of John in 1749. Rather than showing no regard for family identity, Ralph's and John's decisions to adopt 'tail general' highlighted the importance of family identity. Instead of allowing the estates to descend to a distant male relation, they showed that maintaining a direct blood relation connection to the name, title and estates was more important.

However, whilst Mary's sole inheritance was intended to keep the Montagu estates unified and safe from being divided up, this clause in John's will, in reality, directly threatened their stability and unity. Isabella launched a legal challenge to the will, primarily based upon the settlement made upon her first marriage which promised an equal division of the Montagu estates between Mary and Isabella, leading to a long and drawn out dispute over the Montagu properties, which dragged on between Mary and Isabella until the 1770s. The basis upon which Isabella was ultimately successful in her claim to a share and use of certain Montagu properties is at present still unclear, however contemporaries even suggested that her victory contributed to Mary's death in 1775. It was observed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* that:

... a law suit, relative to their respective shares of their father's inheritance, made a breach between the two sisters; and the loss of that suit preying upon the spirits of the Countess of Cardigan, Duchess of Montague, together with the loss of her only son, the Marquis of Monthermer, sent her to her grave.⁵²

John's will clearly snubbed his elder daughter and so it is debateable as to what extent his actions were purely to keep his estates unified, or if other reasons influenced his preference for Mary. A leading reason behind the terms of John's will was likely to have centred on his displeasure at Isabella's second marriage. Isabella's first husband William, Duke of Manchester died at the age of 39 in 1739 after sixteen years of marriage, with no surviving children. In 1743 she remarried, this time to Edward

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7; C. Clay, 'Marriage, Inheritance and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 21, Issue 3 (1968) p. 504.

⁵² 'Births and Marriages of Considerable Persons', *The Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1787) p. 637.

Hussey, an Irish gentleman who was more than ten years her junior. The marriage was mocked by contemporary society and satirised in the press.

An ode printed in 1746 spoke of an unnamed duchess who had fallen into ‘*Irish clutches*’ and had subsequently lost her ‘*sway*’ and ‘*power*’.⁵³ It went on to suggest that Hussey ‘*won his place by inches*’ in his quest to ‘*comfort English widows*’.⁵⁴ The ode is not solely focussed on Isabella and Edward Hussey, as it is connected to the political activities of Henry Fox, but the mocking of Isabella and her marriage is very clear. Other derisive accounts featured in poems and spoof pamphlets, all of which brought ridicule to the Montagu name, something which John would not have looked favourably upon.⁵⁵

After their marriage, Isabella and Edward did not have a good relationship with her parents and rarely visited or spent time with them: a direct contrast to Mary and George. Whereas Bills of Fare from the 1740s, listing who was present for different meals of the day and what was being served, show that the Cardigans dined regularly with John and Mary and stayed with them, both in London and at their country properties, Isabella was never listed as being in attendance.⁵⁶ Edward did dine on occasion with his parents-in-law, which suggests an effort on his side to ingratiate himself to his new family and smooth over the discord that had been generated by his marriage to Isabella, but her absence suggests a greater reluctance to involve herself in her family and that her relationship with her parents was under great strain prior to the creation of John’s will.

That Isabella decided to challenge the terms of her father’s will and fight for what she saw was a fairer inheritance is not surprising. Although the money that Isabella would have received from her share of the rents and profits would have been substantial, her desire to challenge the will may have been rooted not only in anger that her father had not bequeathed her a property, but also the loss of status and prestige that a solely monetary settlement brought. Not only had John gone against common custom by

⁵³ *An Ode To The Honourable H____y F_X on the Marriage of the Du____s of M____r to H____y, Esq;* (London: 1746) p. 4. See also A. P. W. Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress. Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland, 1750-1820* (Belfast: 1982) p. 29.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ See for example C. Hanbury Williams, *An Ode Addresses to the author of the Conquered Duchess in Answer to that celebrated performance* (London: 1746); Anonymous, *The Irish Register, or a List of the Duchess Dowagers, Countesses, Widow Ladies, maiden Ladies, Widows and Misses of large Fortunes in England, as registered by the Dublin Society for the Use of Members; Together with the Places of their Several Abodes* (London reprinted: 1742).

⁵⁶ BA, BHN: Bills of Fare and Abstract of Accounts, 1740s.

leaving the estates solely to one daughter and not dividing them, he had also taken away the symbolic importance of inheriting a landed estate, something which she probably desired even more, having married an untitled gentleman with no English estates, and in doing so had clearly been snubbed by society.⁵⁷

Isabella's decision to challenge the will was based on principle – receiving financial remuneration was not, as John asserted, equally beneficial to what she had been promised years before. Crucially, it was also not as valuable as what her sister was due to inherit. Receiving no properties or estates was a public slight by her family and one that would also affect what she could pass down to any children that she had with Edward. However, Isabella had been left a property by a grandmother, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough in her will. Sarah noted that:

I give, devise and bequeath unto my granddaughter Isabella, Duchess Dowager of Manchester, her heirs and assigns, all that my piece of ground, with the messuage thereon built, and the appurtenances, in Dover-Street in the county of Middlesex.⁵⁸

This demonstrates that Isabella did have access to a home, albeit a town residence which Sarah had recently purchased, but nevertheless it supports the notion that Isabella was not challenging John's will purely to be able to have a place to live. Whilst Mary had not received a bequest in Sarah's will, Isabella, a favoured grandchild of Sarah, had been left a property to live in, which she could also leave to her children. However, it was a new addition to Sarah's property portfolio and did not have an established Churchill or Marlborough connection, nor was it a country estate, something which Isabella seemed to covet.

The importance of a connection to the Montagu name and associated titles to Isabella can be seen in her continuing attempts to gain a title for her husband and her son. Whilst Edward embarked on a political career and was returned as a Member of Parliament for Tiverton in 1758, Isabella continued to petition for her husband to be made a peer, however, she faced a struggle as George III was reluctant to create an abundance of new peers early his reign, averaging only two new creations a year.⁵⁹ In 1762 her efforts

⁵⁷ Spring, 'The Heiress-at-Law', p. 273.

⁵⁸ *True Copy of the Last Will and Testament of Her Grace Sarah, late Duchess Dowager of Marlborough with the Codicil thereto Annexed* (London: 1744), p. 55.

⁵⁹ M. W. McCahill, 'Peerage Creations and the Changing Character of the British Nobility, 1750-1850' in C. Jones and D. L. Jones, *Peers, Politics and Power. The House of Lords 1603-1911* (London: 1986) p. 407.

were finally to be rewarded but her success was immediately dampened by the announcement that Mary's son was to receive the family title of Montagu.⁶⁰ Four years later, the dukedom of Montagu was also recreated for Mary's husband, making Mary and George the new Duke and Duchess of Montagu. Isabella had been overlooked in favour of her sister once again. She protested this second slight by withdrawing herself from court, with Edward also withdrawing his support for Rockingham's government and joining the opposition.⁶¹

Further problems over titles arose in the 1770s after it was announced that George was to receive another title, this time the earldom of Montagu, with the remainder to his daughter, Lady Elizabeth. Isabella once again protested, claiming that she had been promised that this title would be bestowed upon her own husband. The king wrote to Lord North, the current Prime Minister, in May 1776 to state the following:

. . . She never had any promise from me, and no other proof can be necessary that her manifest appearances of neglect in never coming to court since the Duke of Montagu was advanced, which conduct has uniformly been followed by her son, and the political part Lord Beaulieu has taken if the others are not proofs sufficient show none of the family placed any hopes on me.⁶²

The wording of this statement highlights how Isabella's absence from court had been noticed and additionally, her husband's actions had not endeared them to the king. The talk of 'neglect' and 'conduct' signals that Isabella's abandonment of court life was seen by the king as poor conduct, which had been adopted by her son. Lord North later recollected that he (North) had indeed made such a promise to Isabella several years previously. However, the king would not rescind his offer to George, clearly placing his preferences with Mary and George after Isabella's snub to court.⁶³ Further conflict was avoided when George waived his claim to the earldom, clearly eager to avoid another quarrel with his wife's sister. Isabella lived just long enough to see her husband finally created an earl in 1784, when he was created Earl Beaulieu by William Pitt. Isabella, now Countess Beaulieu, died two years later in 1786 having finally achieved her long desired aim of raising her husband and family to a title. However, her family name of

⁶⁰ L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1754-1790. Volume II, Members A-J* (London: 1964), p. 664.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Montagu and any titles associated with it, were continually denied and withheld from her.

Although the full details of the legal dispute between Isabella and Mary will not be explored within the boundaries of this thesis, some of the effects that it had on the Montagu estates will be.⁶⁴ The impact that it had upon the management and prosperity of the properties will be of primary concern since Isabella's challenge led to a division in estates, sometimes quite literally, and a shared method of administration and financial responsibility between the sisters.

Of all the Montagu estates and properties, it was Boughton that was most significantly and adversely affected by the ongoing quarrel. After John's death, Boughton was practically abandoned until the latter years of the nineteenth century when it was once again used as a family home. Boughton was a principal property at the centre of the legal dispute and as the question of who had a clear claim to use or inherit it was never settled, the house was left with little in the way of contents and only one or two staff members to act as caretakers.

An account by Horace Walpole from 1763 gives an insight into how Mary and Isabella treated their ancestral home and the impact their dispute had upon the use of the property:

Yesterday morning we went to Boughton, where we were scarce landed, before the Cardigans, in a coach and six and three chaises, arrived with a cold dinner in their pockets, on their way to Deane: for as it is in dispute, they never reside at Boughton. This was most unlucky, that we should pitch on the only hour in the year in which they are there.⁶⁵

Walpole went on to remark on his hurried visit through the property and made disingenuous comments as to Boughton's remote location, but this section of his letter reveals a great deal about the House during the eighteenth century and the reasons behind its abandonment. Whilst Walpole's claim that Mary and George only visited Boughton once a year is unsubstantiated and likely exaggerated for effect, their visits

⁶⁴ At present, whilst it is known why Isabella launched a legal challenge against her father's will and the outcome of the challenge, the finer details are unknown. As discussed in the introduction, there are several boxes of uncatalogued material relating to the intricacies of the case but it has not been possible to examine them due to the constraints of the thesis. This has an impact on what we are able to clarify about the full situation at the time.

⁶⁵ Horace Walpole to George Montagu Esq., 23rd July 1763 in W. S. Lewis and R. S. Brown jr (eds) *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Volume Ten. Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu, Volume Two* (London: 1941) p. 89.

were likely occasional and crucially, Walpole is very clear about the reason it was not used – it was in dispute. This reveals that neither Mary nor Isabella were willing to rescind their claim on Boughton and that it became one of the primary properties within their ongoing legal dispute. However, that the Cardigans went to visit Boughton does show that both Mary and George did monitor the property and wished to view it, however rarely, to ensure that it was being maintained to a satisfactory level and not being allowed to be left to fall into total disrepair.

Correspondence from Mary to William Folkes, her steward, also reveals that the dispute at Boughton ran so deep that the house itself appears to have been divided, with certain rooms off limits to Isabella and Edward. Whilst staying at Bath in 1757, Mary added a postscript to her letter to Folkes, asking him to do the following:

. . . if Sir Edward Montagu should come there, to have every thing of every sort that belongs to me removed into that half of the house which he does not use and there locked up!⁶⁶

The Sir Edward Montagu being referred to is Isabella's husband because he had changed his surname in 1749 to Hussey-Montagu. Mary's comment reveals that Isabella and Edward also visited Boughton on occasion but also highlights how damaged the relationship between the two factions of the family was. Boughton was seen as being literally divided in half, with a clear ownership of certain items by different family members. Mary was so concerned about her property that she asked for it to be locked away and out of Edward's reach, suggesting a deep distrust of Isabella and her husband.

However, Mary Churchill's will must also be considered as it had a significant impact on securing a household for the sole use of Mary Cardigan and her daughter, Elizabeth. At initial consultation, it is the content of John's will which lays the framework for Mary's strong claim to the Montagu estates, providing her with an assortment of properties throughout her marriage which would have given her a significant level of influence over their management, as will be discussed further in chapter 2. Yet it was Mary Churchill's short will that gave her daughter the means to personally pay for land in her own right, and the ability to bequeath a property to Elizabeth for her sole and separate use. Duchess Mary's will is split into two parts, the initial section dated 7th July 1749 and a second section added on several weeks later on 25th July 1749. The initial

⁶⁶ Norfolk Record Office Archive Centre (NROAC): MC 50/12, 503X4. Lady Mary Cardigan to William Folkes, Bath, 23rd October 1757.

will of 7th July was created only two days after the death of John and suggests that Mary must have been anxious to put her affairs in order quickly, possibly shaken after the death of her husband. The content of this first section is revealing in itself as the only clause that it contained was Mary's desire to leave all of her personal estate for the sole and separate use of Mary, Countess of Cardigan and her heirs, including the property of Blackheath and a substantial sum of money - free from the control, debts or intermeddling of her husband.⁶⁷ The property at Blackheath, a brick "country cottage" close to the south west corner of Greenwich Park, had been purchased by Ralph in the early years of the eighteenth century and at some point after inheriting it in 1709, John is said to have made it over to Mary. The second section added bequests of five thousand pounds apiece to Lord Brudenell and Lady Elizabeth 'to do with as they pleased', yet Isabella does not feature within her mother's will at all and she was left no portion of her estate, nor did she receive any financial settlement.⁶⁸

Mary and George had leased a property at Richmond for the majority of their marriage, however, in the 1760s, they purchased a house, with Mary's cash books showing that she paid for the site at Richmond herself. An entry from 1765 records the following: '11th July. To Mr Perkins and his trustees for the purchase of Richmond House - £2000'.⁶⁹ There are other entries within her accounts relating to her purchase of the house and site at Richmond, yet it has never been ascertained where the money came from to fund this purchase, which at £2000, plus extra expenses, was a substantial outlay. Because she had inherited the Montagu estates from her father and was known to have been a wealthy heiress, it had been assumed that the money used to purchase Richmond was derived from this inheritance. However, closer inspection of Lady Mary's own will from 1774 reveals a different perspective and highlights the

⁶⁷ BA, BHN: Copy of the Will and Codicil of Mary, Duchess Dowager of Montagu, 7th July 1749; R. Rhind and P. Cooper, *Montagu House and the Pagoda* (London: 2012) pp. 5-7. Rhind and Cooper also note that when John died in 1749 'Blackheath was left to be held in trust until his wife died, for his daughter' (p. 8). This booklet on the property and its Chinese pagoda gives a useful, basic overview of the history of the property, particularly during the eighteenth century. However, there are several errors throughout the text and no references are given for where information has been gained from. Surviving material relating to Blackheath is fragmentary and it is difficult to grasp how regularly Mary and John used this property. Bills of Fare, to be discussed within subsequent chapters, indicate that Mary did stay at the property and from entries within John's cash book, he paid for staff at the property and for maintenance and repair bills. It is therefore likely that this house was used semi-regularly as a suburban retreat, for short stays.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, addition made on 25th July 1749.

⁶⁹ BA, BHN: William Folkes's account for the Countess of Cardigan, from 10th July 1755 to 19th July 1769. See 11th July 1765.

importance of Duchess Mary's will over John's in this matter. Lady Mary's will clearly states that the 'capital messuage or Mansion House' at Richmond was 'purchased with money arising from the personal estate of the said late Duchess of Montagu'.⁷⁰ This shows a direct line of female inheritance which allowed Lady Mary to purchase the land at Richmond herself, adding a new property to the Montagu estates and marking out a household over which she had principal ownership and control.

That Lady Mary purchased Richmond House herself is an extremely important point as it was set aside as her property, one that was separate from the bitter disputes with Isabella and was not part of the Cardigan entail or inheritance. With Richmond, she could make her own decisions without having to consult with others first, be it her sister or her husband. Duchess Mary's will can then be seen as a turning point in the land owning and power interests of the two successive Montagu women of the family. The terms of her will allowed successively Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth to have money and property that was separate to that of their husbands and gave them a personal domain separate from the interests and interference of others.

As Duchess Mary's will had provided the finances for Lady Mary to purchase Richmond, Lady Mary's own will continued to protect Richmond for the female Montagu line. Although Lady Mary stated her wish that her husband should be able to use Richmond and enjoy it whilst he was alive, on the event of his death, Richmond was to be inherited by Elizabeth and be free from Henry's debts and interferences.⁷¹ Richmond would continue to play an important role in the network of Montagu properties and be of particular use in Elizabeth's later years.

A House Belonging to Me

Upon the death of George in 1790 it was Mary and George's daughter Elizabeth who became the sole inheritor of the Montagu estates. Elizabeth's elder brother and the heir apparent John, Marquess of Monthermer and 1st Baron Montagu of Boughton, died in 1770 having never married and leaving no legitimate issue. Mary and George's two other daughters, Henrietta and Mary had also died before they reached the age of 21 and so with a lack of surviving siblings the entirety of the Montagu estates passed to Elizabeth, with no division of properties or familial disputes to deal with.

⁷⁰ BA, BHN: Last Will and Testament of Mary, Duchess of Montagu. 2nd February 1774, pp. 1-2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Elizabeth had married Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch in 1767 when she was 24 years of age, however, a special act of parliament was required, since Henry was still shy of his 21st birthday at the time of the marriage. At this time, Lord John was still living and as there was little reason to suggest that his demise was imminent, Elizabeth's marriage settlement did not make provision for her inheriting properties in the future, nor did her jointure include a property. However, in 1754 her mother had made a deed of appointment which assigned Mary's property of Blackheath to Elizabeth upon her death, plus the sum of £10,000 to each of her three daughters. Because her sisters did not survive, Elizabeth also received their shares, bringing her financial award to £30,000 – a large sum of money.⁷² Although not explicitly stated, this sum was likely not for Elizabeth to use as she pleased, but rather was to form the portion for her marriage settlement. A point within Elizabeth and Henry's marriage settlement seems to support this, as it states that:

The said George, Duke of Montagu and Mary Duchess of Montagu his wife have in consideration of the said intended marriage and of the settlements before mentioned upon the said Lady Elizabeth Montagu and issues of the said intended marriage made payment to him the said Henry Duke of Buccleuch the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling money part of the sum of thirty thousand pounds the portion of the said Lady Elizabeth . . .⁷³

Elizabeth was promised a financial settlement upon the death of Mary and George and had also inherited £5,000 from her grandmother, both for her sole and separate use.⁷⁴ The allocation of pin money, plus inheritance of other small financial sums meant that Elizabeth had access to her own finances from the beginning of her marriage, offering her a degree of financial independence from Henry.

However, only three years into her marriage to Henry, Elizabeth's brother died without an heir and Elizabeth became heiress apparent to the Montagu estates. She was not, however, due to inherit property or land from her father's Cardigan estates as they had been inherited by George in tail male and would pass to his brother upon his death now that he did not have a surviving male heir.⁷⁵ Mary passed away in 1775, yet due to a

⁷² BA, BHN: Deed of Appointment of Mary, Countess of Cardigan, 1754.

⁷³ BA, BHN: Contract of Marriage between the Most Noble Henry Duke of Buccleuch and the Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth Montagu, 1st May 1767. p. 26.

⁷⁴ BA, BHN: Copy of the Will and Codicil of Mary, Duchess Dowager of Montagu, 7th July 1749.

⁷⁵ NRO: Copy and Call of Mr Hargreaves Opinion, p. 1. This document answers a query upon George's death as to whether Elizabeth had a claim to the half years rent which was recently due, since she was his executrix (p.8). However, this document contains the best account of Mary and George's marriage settlement from 1730, since the original has either not survived or has not yet been found.

clause in her will stating that George was to be able to continue to live in the Montagu properties for the rest of his life, Elizabeth did not inherit the network of Montagu properties and estates until 1790.

Therefore, for the first 23 years of their marriage, Elizabeth and Henry resided in properties which Henry had inherited, purchased or leased, which as chapter 2 will discuss, had a significant influence upon the level of influence she had on household management in the first half of her marriage. These were principally properties and estates located in Scotland, including Dalkeith Palace, near Edinburgh, Bowhill House in Selkirk and Langholm Lodge in the borders. As soon as Elizabeth received her inheritance, the Montagu properties were immediately amalgamated into their existing network and the town house in Grosvenor Square, which Henry leased, was given up in favour of Montagu House.

In a surprising turn of events, Elizabeth also inherited some of the Montagu properties which Isabella had fought so hard to gain throughout her bitter legal dispute with Mary. Isabella died in 1786, having won her dispute and attained a title for her husband, yet only a year after her own death, her son and heir also died. Edward lived for a further 15 years, passing away in 1802 and upon his death, left the shares of the Montagu estates, such as Ditton Park and Beaulieu to Elizabeth, thereby reuniting the Montagu property network which John had aimed to keep intact. Interestingly, within his will, Edward made certain stipulations about this inheritance and specifically stated that Ditton Park should be for the use of Elizabeth and Henry's youngest son, Henry, who did go on to live there with his wife, Jane.⁷⁶

Henry, Elizabeth and their family used this mixed and integrated network of Montagu and Buccleuch properties from the 1790s onwards, yet interestingly, it is possible to determine that Henry and Elizabeth made a clearer distinction between properties and their ownership than the two previous generations had ever made. One of the clearest references to this can be found in a letter sent by Elizabeth to John Parker, her London house steward, in 1810. Within this letter, dated 9th February, Elizabeth had written to Parker to question a number of bills she had recently received from him. She first listed

⁷⁶ The National Archives, Kew: PROB 10/7393/7. The Last Will and Testament of The Right Honorable Edward, Lord Beaulieu. May 1806. p. 305 verso.

two articles which had been erroneously charged to her in Parker's abstract before coming to a bill for seeds for the garden. Here she told Parker:

I don't understand Ronald seedsmans bill being so high as 37:13 - I cannot think where such a quantity of seeds could be used in any garden belonging to me.⁷⁷

This seemingly inconsequential message by Elizabeth, questioning why a bill for seeds was so expensive, instead becomes a turning point in understanding the way in which Elizabeth and Henry viewed their multitude of estates and hints that they maintained a level of separation between their properties. That Elizabeth states such a large quantity of seeds could not be for use in a 'garden belonging to me' is a key and curious point. The terminology she used within this sentence, that of the garden belonging to her and not 'us', rather than wording it to say that it was too large a quantity for a garden at Montagu House or Blackheath, for example, but could have been for Sudbrook, demonstrates that certain properties and estates remained Elizabeth's domain and were considered as separate from Henry's. Henry and Elizabeth are the only couple to clearly demonstrate an awareness of different owners for different houses, based on patterns of inheritance. As will be shown within subsequent chapters, this recognition of property ownership had a significant impact upon which houses Elizabeth had a greater influence. This will particularly be demonstrated in terms of the agency she had over how houses were managed and administered, as well as financial contributions she was able to make for building works, goods and services.

In 1810 yet more properties were added to Henry and Elizabeth's network, after Henry inherited the dukedom of Queensberry, making him 3rd Duke of Buccleuch and 5th Duke of Queensberry. He was one of only 12 'millionaires' Beckett argues, and also one of the largest landowners – a point that still stands for the present Duke of Buccleuch some 200 years later.⁷⁸ With the new title, came the addition of new properties, the principal one of which was a large seventeenth-century castle – Drumlanrig Castle – located in Dumfries and Galloway. It was after this inheritance that Henry also altered his family name to Montagu-Douglas-Scott in order to reflect the three families which had come together to form the vast Buccleuch estates.

However, in 1812, less than two years after inheriting the Queensberry dukedom, Henry passed away at the age of 65, leaving his titles and estates to be inherited by his and

⁷⁷ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker, 9th February 1810.

⁷⁸ J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford: 1986) p. 287.

Elizabeth's eldest son, Charles. Henry does not appear to have left a traditional will, but instead recorded some of his wishes and bequests in a letter addressed to Charles. The original date of this letter was 1810, but Henry continued to add extra notes throughout the year and into 1811. It is likely that with so many sons and grandsons living at the time that Henry did not feel the need to create a full will, since his entailed estates and titles would have passed in turn to his surviving heirs. However, a key point of this bequest letter is the way in which Henry spoke of Elizabeth. He asks Charles to 'look after your mother, my dear wife as the best friend you have in this world' and went on to praise her as 'the best mother and kindest friend that ever God created in this world'.⁷⁹ Although the letter does not include any specific provisions for Elizabeth, the warmth, love and affection in Henry's words are clear, as are his instructions that she is to be well cared for.

Whilst Charles inherited the Buccleuch and Queensberry estates upon his father's death, he did not inherit Elizabeth's Montagu properties, since Richmond and Blackheath had been left to her and her heirs, free of any involvement or influence from Henry, while the other Montagu estates such as Boughton and Ditton were to be used and owned by Elizabeth for the term of her life, before passing to her heirs.⁸⁰ Henry's death signalled a shift in the properties which Elizabeth had access to, but she continued to remain responsible for the maintenance and management of her Montagu based family estates.

Whilst the Buccleuch properties no longer formed part of Elizabeth's property network, she had her own range of houses in England which she could utilize and she made the villa at Richmond her principal dower house.⁸¹ Richmond appears to have fitted her needs for much the same reasons as her mother originally selected the site – its semi-urban location meant that the conveniences of the capital were within easy reach, yet the sprawling gardens and shielded location allowed for a degree of privacy and solitude, which Elizabeth seems to have preferred.⁸² By choosing to live at Richmond, Elizabeth

⁷⁹ Buccleuch Archives, Bowhill House, Selkirk (BA, BHS): Henry, Duke of Buccleuch to his son Charles. Dalkeith House, March 15th 1810.

⁸⁰ BA, BHN: Last Will and Testament of Mary, Duchess of Montagu, p. 2; Will and codicils of John, Duke of Montagu, p. 2.

⁸¹ Correspondence addressed to Elizabeth for the late 1810s and early 1820s is primarily addressed to her at Richmond, with a number also sent to Montagu House. This would suggest that Richmond was the principal property she was based at during her dower years.

⁸² In correspondence between Elizabeth and her friend Lady Louisa Stuart, Elizabeth remarked how she did not like to be disturbed by people calling on her at Dalkeith for something to do. See Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, August 3rd, 1784 in A. Clark, (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio Containing Some Correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and Her Sister*,

was continuing her mother's legacy at the property. She could have selected other residences to make her dower home or could possibly have continued to live within one of the Buccleuch houses in order to be closer to members of her family. The selection of Richmond, a Montagu family property, highlights her continuing connection and identification with her own family background and a desire to remain connected to the Montagu name.

It is also important to note here that with a choice of her own properties to use as her dower house, Elizabeth and other elite women with their own fortune, such as Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, directly contravene Lloyd Bonfield's assertion that widows were a 'problem' to an estate.⁸³ Bonfield's argument centres around the point that when a landowner died, his heir would expect to move into the inherited property in a reasonable amount of time after his death and had he left a widow, it would be expected that she would vacate the property to make room for the new owner. It is at this point that Bonfield sees the widow as a problem, for the estate now had to support 'a second household' for the widow for an indeterminate period of time. Yet this would not have been an issue for the Buccleuch estates with Elizabeth having her own houses to retire to and finance herself, with her personal income. That an heiress might have been more secure throughout her life and saved the estates money in such circumstances, seems to have been an issue overlooked in the limited studies of female inheritance. By having her own properties, Elizabeth was not dependent on or beholden to her children and could live through her dower years the way she wished.

A final point to be raised in relation to the legal constructs which had a significant impact on ownership for Lady Mary and Elizabeth is the employment of the term 'sole and separate use'. Duchess Mary was careful to leave her daughter Mary, the property of Blackheath and a substantial sum of money by using this term, and Mary in turn left Elizabeth Richmond and money in the same manner. As married women could not legally own property until the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, leaving something for the 'sole and separate use' of a woman ensured that she retained her rights to its ownership and it did not fall under her husband's ownership as common law

Caroline, Countess of Portarlington and Other Friends and Relatives, 3 vols (Edinburgh: 1895), vol 1, pp. 266-267.

⁸³ L. Bonfield, 'Affective Families, Open Elite and Strict Family Settlements in Early Modern England', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3(1986), p. 344.

dictated.⁸⁴ The term sole and separate use helped to preserve a woman's independent interest in a specific property, or properties, during her marriage and also protected sums of money from being appropriated by a husband or used to pay his debts.⁸⁵ Erickson argues that the development of married women's separate estates was born out of the increasing size of marriage portions, which fathers were eager to secure and protect from their future son-in-law and detailed marriage settlements helped them to not only protect their daughters within marriage, but also protect their family estates and property.⁸⁶ By using this legal convention, Duchess Mary set in a motion a way of providing for and protecting her daughter and granddaughter within their marriages, should their husbands have attempted to interfere within their households or appropriate their money, as John had done with her own pin money.

Interestingly, however, Elizabeth did not carry on this tradition in her own will, for her own daughters. Elizabeth had seven children with Henry, four of whom were daughters and three of whom were still alive at the time of Elizabeth's death in 1827. Yet whilst Elizabeth left substantial sums of money to her daughters for their sole and separate use, she did not leave Richmond to any of them, instead wishing for her grandson to inherit the property from her.⁸⁷ Elizabeth went on to say that 'I hereby declare my wish that my said house and premises at Richmond aforesaid may not be sold but may continue in my family as long as conveniently may be'.⁸⁸ This statement shows a clear affection for the property and Richmond and may help to explain why she left the property to her grandson, rather than her daughters. Had it been left to Elizabeth's daughters, it would have been separated from the rest of the Montagu properties and amalgamated within other property networks. By leaving it to her grandson, Elizabeth was keeping the Montagu properties united, albeit within the Buccleuch network, as her grandfather had sought to achieve in his will in 1749.

This chapter has sought to establish and clarify the legal framework upon which the network of Montagu and Buccleuch properties operated across the long eighteenth

⁸⁴ M. Rothery and J. Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country Home: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738-1806', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 27 (December 2012) p. 384; Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property*, p. 133.

⁸⁵ A. L. Erickson, 'Common Law versus Common Practice: The use of Marriage Settlements in Early Modern England', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (February 1990) p. 21.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37

⁸⁷ BA, BHN: Last will and testament of Elizabeth, Duchess Dowager of Buccleuch and Queensberry. 16th & 17th June 1814. p. 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

century. With multiple marriages to wealthy landowners, two successive heiresses, legal challenges and varying forms of property entail, the legal foundation of the family and their estates is complex and multifaceted. It has been demonstrated that the use of 'tail general' was essential for the Montagu women to inherit such a large network of properties. However, attempts to keep the Montagu network unified through the inheritance of Lady Mary rather than her sister nearly had the opposite effect and threatened the continued stability, usage and unification of the estates. It was only through the death of Isabella's son and her husband's will that the Montagu estates were reunited at the start of the nineteenth century.

Without the use of specific legal clauses, Lady Mary and Elizabeth may have been left financially vulnerable and faced the prospect of their inherited properties becoming amalgamated with those of their husbands, losing any power or hold over them. Both Duchess Mary and John were instrumental in paving the way for the success of two wealthy and powerful landed heiresses who followed in the second half of the eighteenth century. Whilst the clauses of John's will were made in an overt bid to keep the Montagu estates and properties unified, Duchess Mary's ability to leave substantial finances and a property for the sole use of her daughter marked a turning point in ensuring that the women of the family would be secure within their marriages. Using a case study of a single family with such a complex inheritance pattern over several generations has helped to expose some of the weaknesses within older studies of the heiress and the terms upon which she inherited property. The latter two generations of the Montagu family provide evidence of the large networks of properties which women could become owners of, and the separate identity which these estates could retain distinct from the family of a woman's husband. This challenges the idea that heiresses often had their inherited property amalgamated with that of her husband's and retained little control over it. The Montagus have offered a rare opportunity to look at how specific legal terminology and clauses could be utilized in an attempt to preserve a family dynasty and actively encourage the transmission of wealth and property through the female line and choose heiresses over collateral males, a phenomenon which does not appear to have been discussed in secondary studies. Furthermore, exploration of the assignation and then appropriation of Duchess Mary's pin money by John in the 1720s has built upon the innovative work of Susan Staves, helping to demonstrate that even when women were provided with an independent income, it could quickly and easily be

taken from them by their husbands. However, they could be fairly compensated by husbands, such as John, who made extra provisions for Mary in his will. Mary's lack of inherited property and later financial dependence on her husband highlights that Mary Cardigan and Elizabeth were fortunate within their marriages, not only through the strict legal provision that had been made for them, but that they also had relationships and marriages which allowed them to retain high levels of control over their properties, without attempts from their husbands to leave them with the property in name only.

Chapter 2 will go on to show that these patterns of inheritance and the legal terminology used to ensure women retained sole and separate use of properties, were key in determining the level of influence the Montagu women had over the running and management of properties that they lived in. Legal provisions and inheritance clauses were essential in providing the Montagu women a basis for exerting power within the properties over which they presided.

Chapter 2

A Gentleman's House but a Woman's Domain? The Management of a Network of Households

By the turn of the eighteenth century, Henry and Elizabeth counted over twenty-five houses within their family ownership, a vast network of country, urban and suburban properties within England and Scotland. Such a number of large estates and properties would have required precise and extensive management to ensure that households were running successfully; however, the practicalities of this have not been fully explored within existing literature. Current studies predominantly focuses upon the management of one or two properties, such as town and country houses, but has not considered how inheritance patterns and heiresses bringing property into marriage may have affected the management of aristocratic households.¹

The gendered responsibilities of managing a household and who had overarching responsibility for certain decisions, such as instructing servants and monitoring the household economy, remains a common theme of discussion within both popular and academic studies of the household. However, there is still a level of uncertainty about the true balance of power within managing households. Elite women barely featured in Mark Girouard's seminal book on the eighteenth-century country house, first published in 1978, and by arguing that elite women were preoccupied with London and 'anxious to attend all the entertainments' that it had to offer, Beckett was building upon the eighteenth-century stereotype that wealthy women were obsessed by only the luxuries and fripperies of life.² This in turn gives the impression that they had little interest in how the country estate, or indeed any property, was managed and that the responsibility lay with their husbands. Furthermore, Judith Lewis argues that the titles alone of several books connected to the country house during this period such as *The Gentleman's Country House and Its Plan, 1835-1914* by Jill Franklin and J. H. B. Peel's *An*

¹ See, for example, the case studies discussed by: R. Baird, *Mistress of the House. Great Ladies and Grand Houses, 1670-1830* (London: 2004); Jon Stobart's research focussing on Stoneleigh Abbey, including J. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 64, Issue 3 (2011) pp. 885-904.

² J. V. Beckett, *Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford: 1986), p. 366. Beckett does not provide a new depiction of women in the Georgian period with such a statement, instead he uncritically reproduces what were clichéd assumptions about women's behaviour even in the eighteenth century.

Englishman's Home, perpetuated the view that the country house was the preserve of gentleman, with little female presence – a view which she herself went on to challenge.³

Four years after Beckett's publication, Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh summed up the situation well in *Women and the Country House*, arguing that it was men who had historically 'been credited with all the important roles connected with stately homes' despite the home being traditionally seen as 'the woman's domain'.⁴ Men had been recorded as being the ones who commissioned architects, planned and paid for alterations, managed the estate and welcomed guests to the country house, whilst women's involvement has been 'rendered less visible by the shorthand of history'.⁵ Although Marsh and Lummis' survey was published twenty-seven years ago, at a time when gender history was beginning to gather momentum, their call for a re-examination of women's role within country house management was slow to develop, particularly in comparison to the spread of gendered analyses within other areas of study. Ten years later, Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley still asserted that elite women had little impact on the construction, decoration, furnishing or management of country estates, instead being preoccupied with extravagant spending, akin to Beckett's argument some 14 years earlier.⁶

However, a number of works have since begun to focus more on women's roles within households, exposing the weaknesses of these earlier studies.⁷ Rosemary Baird stated that there was a 'particular symbiosis between a woman and her house' and that the smooth running of a home was 'special' to women, with Evans building upon this to argue that women were actually 'mistresses of households who were responsible for the

³ J. Lewis, 'When a House is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, Issue 2 (April: 2009), p. 338. See also J. Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and Its Plan, 1835-1914* (London: 1981); J. H. B Peel, *An Englishman's Home* (Newton Abbot: 1972).

⁴ T. Lummis and J. Marsh, *The Woman's Domain. Women and the English Country House* (London: 1990) p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Lewis, 'When a House is Not a Home', p. 338'; R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: 2000) p. 271.

⁷ In addition to published works, a number of PhD theses also focussed on women and the country house around this time, including R. M. Larsen, 'Dynastic Domesticity: The Role of Elite Women in the Yorkshire Country House, 1685-1858', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York (2003); J. Day, 'Elite Women's Household Management: Yorkshire, 1680-1810', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds (2007). Larsen went on to edit *Maids and Mistresses. Celebrating 300 years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York: 2004), a book of essays for the Yorkshire Country House Partnership, which also ran simultaneous exhibitions on the topic in the seven properties within the partnership. See foreword and also the connected website [<http://www.ychp.org.uk/exhibitions-maids-and-mistresses>].

household's orderly and successful management'.⁸ Furthermore, household management has been ascribed as the proper 'domain' for women to exert their authority over, allowing them to have control over staff, household budget and the physical appearance and content of the family seat.⁹ In short, a wife was 'expected to run her husband's households in both town and country' and it was a duty of her marriage to carry out this role.¹⁰

Joanna Martin's 2004 book focussed entirely on women and children of the Georgian Country House, using the Strangeways family as a case study to bring women and their households to the forefront of an academic study. Much like the Montagus, an 'overwhelming amount of material' survived connected to the Strangeways which allowed Martin to explore four generations of the women and how they used and managed multiple properties, a fascinating change of tack compared to the earlier, previous studies.¹¹ Other authors have attempted to take Martin's approach of focusing on the women of one specific family, such as Natalie Livingstone's *The Mistresses of Cliveden*, and although popular, interesting reads, they tend to be aimed at those with a general interest in women's history and lack critical analysis of their roles within such households.¹² As Amanda Vickery, Dana Arnold and Judith Lewis highlight, the relative lack of attention of elite women in elite households is something of an odd contradiction given the traditional feminine associations of words like 'house' and 'home' and the separate spheres ideology that located a woman's place within the private realms of the house.¹³

However, whilst more recent studies have asserted that women were responsible for 'running' or 'managing' a property, this is not always fully developed or explored to show what is actually meant by such terms and how much power they truly had, nor

⁸ T. Evans 'Women, Marriage and the Family' in H. Barker and E. Chalus (eds) *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850. An Introduction* (Oxon: 2005) p. 63; R. Baird, *Mistress of the House. Great Ladies and Grand Houses* (London: 2004) p. xii and p. 4.

⁹ I. H. Tague, *Women of Quality. Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Woodbridge: 2002) p. 97.

¹⁰ Baird, *Mistress of the House*, p. 27.

¹¹ J. Martin, *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London: 2004) p. xv.

¹² N. Livingstone, *The Mistresses of Cliveden. Three Centuries of Scandal, Power and Intrigue* (London: 2015).

¹³ A. Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36, 2 (1993) p. 383; D. Arnold, 'Defining Femininity: Women and the Country House', in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: 1998), p. 79; Lewis, 'When a House is Not a Home', p. 337.

how much they shared with their husbands. Evans argues that there was a divide within elite houses, with women becoming the mistress of the house and so being responsible for the ‘orderly and successful’ management of the property, whilst it was her husband’s duty to provide and care for the family.¹⁴ Baird also reiterates that it was women who made the choices in the household, especially on matters such as acquiring furniture, commissioning portraits and buying prints – decorating, however, depended on the dynamics of the marriage.¹⁵ Baird, Tague and Lummis and Marsh all acknowledge that the home and domestic economy were the woman’s domain, whilst Vickery is slightly more cautious, stating that household accounting could be the domain of women, even elite women, but that it depended on the dynamics of the marriage – a key point.¹⁶

The view in historiography of household management is complex and not yet complete, with new directions still being explored, as can be seen by Karen Harvey’s recent article and book which sought to re-examine the role of men within the domestic sphere and their involvement within the household.¹⁷ Harvey stated that she wanted to ‘extend our currently poor developed view of men’s gendered engagement with home’ with an aim of her research being to ‘write men back into a history from which they have been written out’.¹⁸ Harvey’s aims highlight the importance of taking a gendered approach to exploring how properties were managed and maintained. Whilst questions still remain about the level of influence that elite women could have in managing households, this needs to be explored in terms of the responsibilities that both husband and wife had within properties in order to see the wider picture and not obscure either men or women from household histories. Although this chapter will focus predominantly on the Montagu women, it will explore their roles within their houses in connection to their husbands, in an attempt to offer a more complete view of how networks of elite households were managed.

¹⁴ Evans, ‘Women, Marriage and the Family’, p. 63.

¹⁵ Baird, *Mistress of the House*, p. 4.

¹⁶ See for example *Ibid.*, p. 27; Tague, *Women of Quality*, pp. 106-109; A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England* (London: 2009) p. 110.

¹⁷ K. Harvey, *The Little Republic. Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: 2012) (Open Access version) p. 12.

¹⁸ K. Harvey, ‘Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Gender & History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (2009) p.520.

This chapter will look at how the three generations of the Montagus managed their ever increasing network of properties, exploring who had responsibility and control over household staff, household finances and who made decisions regarding the general maintenance and upkeep of houses. Building on the legal framework set out in chapter 1, it will show how the inheritance of a property significantly affected who had a leading influence in its administration and how dynamics within individual marriages also contributed to the influence that elite women in particular could have within such a large property network.

Mary and John: A Gentleman's Domain?

In 1709, Ralph Montagu died and his only son, John, inherited the dukedom of Montagu and the large network of properties associated with it. Studies of the Montagu family have depicted John as a micromanaging figure who had complete control over all aspects of his estates, households and particularly, the gardens, for which he has earned the nickname 'John the Planter'.¹⁹ His wife, Mary, is rarely mentioned in connection with any of the houses in which she lived or had access to, further perpetuating the view that John was the key figure and ruler over the Montagu property domain. When considering some of the central points that have been ascribed as the domain of women within managing the household, notably commanding servants, overseeing accounts, arranging entertainments and providing food, John can be seen to have taken the leading role in all of these aspects and to have retained far-reaching control over his households and estates.

A number of cash books and accounts survive from throughout John's tenure as duke, which are particularly revealing and can be used to explore the extent of his financial responsibilities connected to the management of the households. One such document is a large, leather bound 'cash book', which covers the period 1725-1746, however, unfortunately similar sets of accounts have not survived from earlier in John's life and so it is not possible to chart how his financial oversight may have developed.²⁰ Also, as with the subsequent generations to be discussed, it is likely that there was more than one

¹⁹ J. Cornforth, 'Boughton House: Impressions and People', in T. Murdoch (ed.) *Boughton House: The English Versailles* (London: 1992) p. 24.

²⁰ Buccleuch Archives, Boughton House, Northamptonshire (BA, BHN): London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1726-1746.

account book being kept during this time by John and his stewards and this is only one aspect of his expenditure.

The scope and content of the cash book shows John's outlay on personal items, household goods, household repairs and servants' wages, clearly reflecting his financial control over the various Montagu households. A regular and repeating set of entries relate to the paying of bills connected to food supplies, with entries for poulterers, cheesemongers, butchers, grocers, fishmongers, bakers and so on, as well as various wine merchants. As well as foodstuffs; bills for candles, coals, soap and other household essentials are billed to John, as are expenses connected to the upholstering, decorating and furnishing of the properties. Additionally, the cash book also covers bills for repairs needed at various houses, including small glaziers and carpenters bills for a few pounds but also larger payments, such as £40 for a carpenter and another £40 for a bricklayer at Ditton Park.²¹ Other such payments are littered throughout the cash book, reflecting John's responsibility for maintaining the properties in a good condition, which given his ownership of all of the houses, is not surprising. Although this cash book does not expose any of the decision making process behind the purchases and orders, nor who had made decisions as to where purchases were made, it confirms John's position as the leading figure in this generation in managing the multiple Montagu properties and suggests that he did not delegate any authority over such matters to his wife. It is unknown if Mary maintained any financial accounts in her own right, but if so, none have survived and there is no reference within the Buccleuch archives to them.

The final principal category of expenditure to be highlighted from the cashbook in connection with household management is paying for servant's wages and any items that they required. John's accounts clearly reflect his outlay on wages for all household staff, as well as grooms, gardeners and coachmen. Bills for board wages for the servants were paid by John throughout the period that the cashbook covers and he also paid for extra staff when necessary, as well as any additional disbursements that had been generated in the course of their work and liveried servant's uniforms.

His firm control over the household servants can be seen in a fascinating box of 'Instructions for Servants', held at Boughton House. This large box of documents

²¹ *Ibid.*, 30th May 1725/6.

contains a mixture of final and draft versions of instructions for a variety of household staff working and living in the Montagu houses and most are signed off 'Montagu', with some of the content also in John's handwriting.²² These documents give a clear view of what was expected of a range of household servants, including porters, housemaids, scullery staff, footmen and butlers. These instructions were comprehensive and designed to ensure not only that each member of the household knew their specific role, but also that the house operated smoothly and a clear record of the expectations of the family was known.

Despite the inherent interest of these instructions, they do not clearly identify which household they were for; what date they were drafted and whether they applied to multiple properties. However, in certain places the documents do give an idea as to which house the instructions were for, for example, one booklet containing 'The Porter's Instructions', lists one of the duties as:

²² The majority of the instructions appear to have been written by several different stewards/members of household staff, with the one signed off with 'Montagu' also not appearing to have been written by John. However, there are a small number within the box which match the handwriting of John's personal correspondence, indicating that he did actually draft some of these instructions personally. For example, see 'Duty of the Auditor', which is written in John's hand.

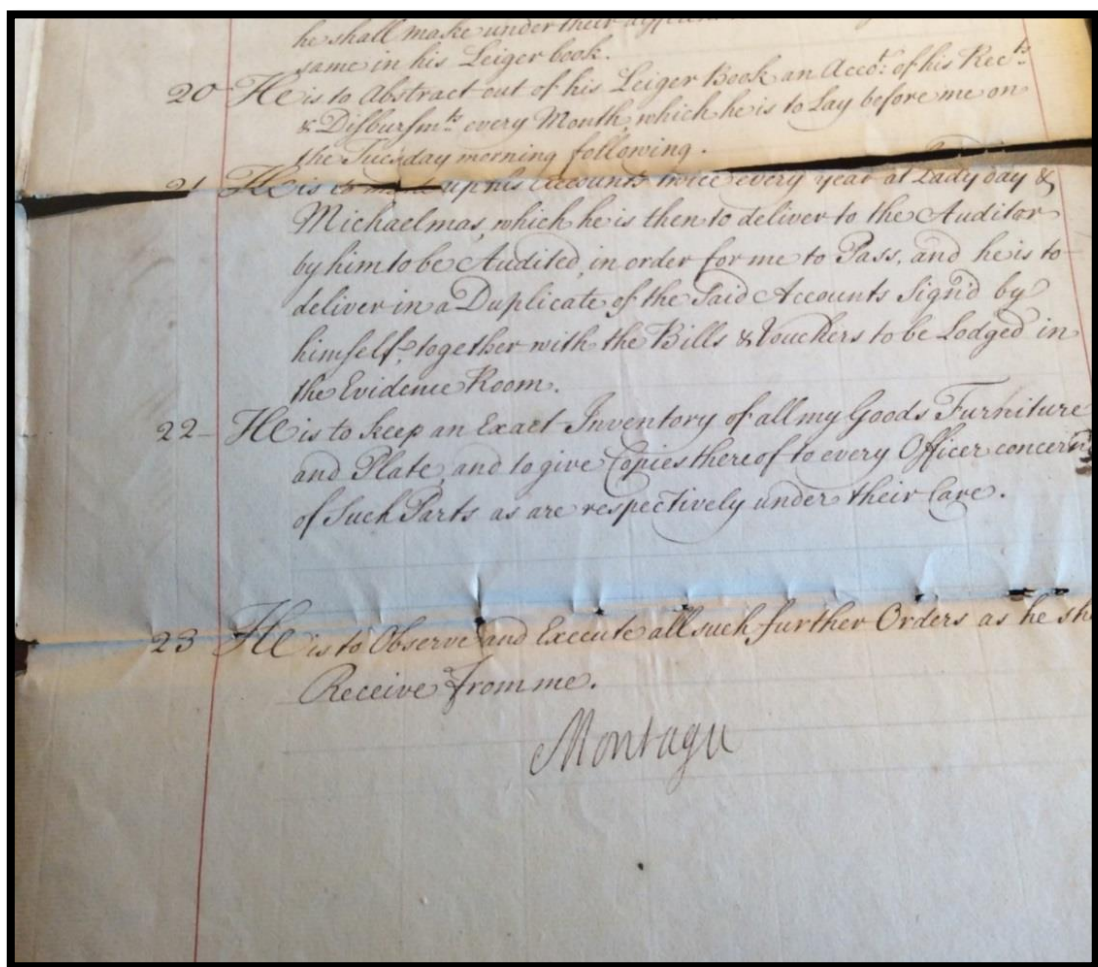


Figure 2.1 – Instructions to Household Servants.

1. He is, as soon as he is up in the morning, to take care to open the Great Iron Gates leading to the marsh and Edgware Avenue . . .²³

The mention of ‘the marsh’ and Edgware Avenue suggests that this particular document was for use by porters at Montagu House – most likely Montagu House, Bloomsbury, indicating that this specific set of instructions pre-dated the 1733 move to Whitehall. None of the other documents make any other specific household or geographical references which could imply that all of the instructions were for the London households.

Through these instructions, John dictated the individual rules of each position, such as whether accounts and ledgers needed to be kept and also laid out rules on how his staff were to behave when they were not on duty, stipulating that all servants were to be back in the house no later than ten o’clock in the evening, and that they were to live together without any quarrelling.²⁴ Additionally, there were rules to attempt to protect the privacy of the family, which highlights the interesting position which servants occupied in elite households, potentially being privy to personal and sensitive information, as the following point to be adhered to by footmen highlights:

If in case he should hear eny thing, what is spoke at the tables wither by millord duke, millady duchess or eny stranger, or of eny body in the house . . . he are not to run to every beer house in town, and make a towns talk of . . . for such things are absolutely forbidden.²⁵

This control over servants had been something that John had focussed on as soon as he inherited the dukedom and extended to the gardeners too. Almost immediately, John went about issuing new and very specific instructions for the head gardener at Boughton, Leonard van der Meulen. These instructions covered all the duties and jobs that van der Meulen was to have, as well as the specific times of the year he was to carry them out. The agreement, which had been drawn up between van der Meulen and John Warner, acting on behalf of John, covered points such as how many times parts of the lawns and parterres were to be mown; that it was his job to ensure the walks were to be kept free from weeds and well gravelled; the types of fruits trees that were to be kept in the gardens and even how often the bottoms of hedges were to be trimmed.²⁶ The

²³ BA, BHN: ‘The Porter’s Instructions’ kept in Draft Instructions to Household Servants box. Undated.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ‘Instructions for Footmen’, point 12; ‘General Instructions to Servants (draft)’, point 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ‘Instructions for Footmen’, point 17.

²⁶ BA, BHN: An Agreement between John Warner and Leonard van der Meulen. July 1709.

agreement is long and detailed and at the initial reading, it would be supposed that this agreement was listing out duties for a new gardener, one who did not know how the gardens were to be tended.²⁷

However, Leonard van der Meulen, a Dutchman, had been hired by Ralph to help him create his grand vision for the gardens at Boughton and they had worked together for over twenty-five years by the time of Ralph's death.²⁸ A skilled engineer, van der Meulen worked on new piped water systems and fountains, as well as the layout of the parterres and walkways. It is surprising that one of the first things John did after his father's death was to create such a detailed set of instructions for van der Meulen, who should have been capable of tending to the gardens without significant instruction.

The detail of the agreement and the speed at which it was drafted sets out John's desire to take control of the Montagu estates and embark on his own methods of managing the many properties, but may also have signalled a change in direction from Ralph's methods to John's. In later years, John would redesign the gardens and move away from the formal Baroque style which had been prevalent during Ralph's era, towards a more pared back and simple design. The agreement for van der Meulen may have been an attempt to restrict his licence to make any more alterations to the gardens and parkland, as well as a bid to control his expenditure on such projects, since John had also inherited significant debts from Ralph and needed to keep a firm hand over his financial outlay. By limiting his tasks, John could ensure that van der Meulen had a strict script to work to that focussed on maintaining what was already laid out, rather than creating any new additions with excessive costs.²⁹

When drawn together, these examples show the widespread and tight control that John had over a large swathe of the management associated with the Montagu households in the first half of the eighteenth century. In contrast to the generalised arguments that it

²⁷ Within chapter 4 of her thesis, Helen Bates discusses John's drive to revive his rights and also states that after the death of his steward, John Booth in 1734, John did not appoint a new steward for several years, overseeing matters himself. Bates has also highlighted the leading role he took in controlling his Lancashire estates and that John also gave instructions to his northern steward on estate management and record keeping. See H. Bates, 'Boughton and Beyond: An Investigation into the local, national and global interests and activities of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu and the Impact on his Estates, 1709 -1749'. Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Leicester: 2017). His detailed instructions to van der Meulen highlight that he wanted meticulous control over all aspects of his estates management from the outset and this continued throughout his life.

²⁸ The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry KBE, 'Boughton House, Kettering, Northamptonshire' in T. Compton, *The Private Gardens of England* (London: 2015) p. 100.

²⁹ BA, BHN: An Agreement between John Warner and Leonard van der Meulen. July 1709.

was a woman's role to manage households, John was seemingly responsible for all aspects of management, instruction and payment within the Montagu properties that he had inherited from his father and it is difficult to see where Mary could have had even a small input in this arena, even if she had wanted to have taken an active role

However, Mary should not be written out of the household narrative so easily. Whilst the range of surviving material is balanced towards John, Mary is not completely absent and in reality had a presence in asserting her ideas for how certain aspects of the properties should be managed. One of the key documents which indicates her active role in this arena is the set of instructions for household servants, already discussed in the context of understanding the scale of John's control over household staff. Going back to the draft set of instructions reveals that two different hands were responsible for listing some of the rules and responsibilities to be observed.

Figure 2.2 shows a draft set of instructions for porters, with the majority of the content written in the lighter, flowing script of a steward, which is present throughout these documents in the 'Instructions to Servants' box. However, what can clearly be seen here is the addition of a second set of handwriting, added later, in a darker ink. The author of this hand has gone through the points listed and made their own edits to his outlined instructions, sometimes crossing entire points out or more simply, just adding new duties for that particular member of household staff. Figure 2.2 is one of the more heavily edited pages in all of the booklets and the content of the points reveals that the additional hand is likely to have belonged to Mary, proving for the first time that she did have some input in the way the Montagu households operated and were run. Point 13, added at the end of the page in this image begins with the following line:

13. He is at eleven o'clock at night if I and his Grace be at home . . .³⁰

The specific wording of 'I and his Grace' evidently shows that John was not the author and that logically Mary provided these alterations.³¹ On this page, she has made one or two minor alterations to the wording of the listed points, but has also inserted two points of her own. One is point 13, touched upon above, where Mary made it very clear that

³⁰ BA, BHN: 'The Porter's Instructions' kept in Draft Instructions to Household Servants box. Undated.

³¹ When the handwriting of the letters held in the Blenheim Papers at the British Library that Mary sent to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, is compared to the additions made to the instructions to servants documents, it appears to be the same hand.

the gates to the house were to be locked up no later than eleven o'clock in the evening, or otherwise, as soon as she and John returned from their evening excursions.

Figure 2.2 - ‘Instructions to the Porter’. Instructions to Servants Box.

She stipulated that the porter was to be solely responsible for looking after the key and must take it to bed with him, not allowing any other member of the household staff to have access to it. It was also to be his responsibility to open the gates in the morning, when he was ‘called’ to do so.³² Another annotation on the page is an addition regarding the admittance of visitors to the house – both these additions are related to the admittance and security of the household, indicating that Mary was particularly concerned with when visitors were permitted to call upon her and also the general safety of the house and garden area.

Although such annotations by Mary are only present on one or two of the pages of booklets contained in this collection, the booklets and loose sheets also reveal areas where Mary appears to have an influence or input, with household staff and servants reporting to her. The duties of the porter in particular appear to have rested more with Mary than they did with John. A point in a separate draft document to the one pictured above reads:

15. If any servants should take the liberty to [stop] the porter for observing his orders, he is to tell the clerk of the kitchen, that he may acquaint her grace with it and the offenders may be called to an account for it.³³

This is a clear example of Mary having staff report to her, but also of disciplining staff members who had not obeyed their orders, which highlights that she had a degree of authority over the staff and responsibility for ensuring there was order amongst them. With image 2.2 clearly showing that Mary did make suggestions regarding the roles and duties of certain members of staff, it is entirely possible that she contributed to other lists in this collection of ‘Instructions to Servants’. Moreover, this indicates that John must have shown his drafts of the instructions to Mary for her approval or additional suggestions, which implies that there was discussion and negotiation on matters relating to the management of the households between Mary and John, evidence of which has never been discovered before. Although John appears to have been the clear leader of providing instruction to household servants and defining their duties for each day, these documents have helped to reveal that Mary was not just a passive presence who lived in these properties and had little involvement in how they operated. Additionally, it is fortuitous that the drafts of these documents have survived alongside the final versions,

³² BA, BHN: ‘The Porter’s Instructions’ kept in Draft Instructions to Household Servants box. Undated.

³³ *Ibid.*

since the final ones do not show that Mary had a hand in shaping the duties of household staff. Had only the completed documents survived, Mary's input would have been rendered invisible, as would the likelihood of shared responsibility with John. Crucially, her connection to managerial responsibility would have been completely lost, a facet of her life which has previously never been seen. This raises the issue of the nature of archival material connected to household management and the likelihood that women's presence, where not overt, has been masked by the nature and preservation of material.

There is also further evidence to suggest that Mary had an active role in purchasing or commissioning items of furniture, particularly at Montagu House. Hannah Greig, for example, relates that the Countess of Strafford ordered tables for her property that had been made by the same man who 'had don all for the Dutchess of Marlborough, the Dutchess of Montagu and now is doing for Lady Massam'.³⁴ The letter that the Countess of Strafford wrote this in is dated 1712, three years after John and Mary assumed their titles of duke and duchess. The extract from this letter provides a rare contemporary example of a reference to Mary connecting her to items not related to personal goods, such as articles of clothing.

This extract gives the impression that Mary commissioned items of furniture for the houses, particularly the townhouse, and that this role was associated with her in wider society. Although it is unlikely that she paid for such goods herself, this is the first time it has been possible to connect Mary with any influence upon furnishing households. It suggests that, particularly for the house she appears to have been spending the most time at, Montagu House, she was selecting items of furniture that she required and was acknowledged to be doing as such by her contemporaries. Additionally, by wanting to purchase tables for her property, not just in a similar style, but made by the same man who had made them for Sarah and Mary, Lady Strafford was demonstrating a desire to have the same goods as these prominent members of society. This indicates that Mary was involved in setting trends and fashions amongst the aristocracy and that lesser

³⁴ H. Greig, 'Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's *Beau Monde*' in J. Styles and A. Vickery (eds) *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (London: 2006) p. 300; British Library (BL): Add MSS 22226, Countess of Strafford to the Earl of Strafford, 26th December 1712. fol. 354.

members of the aristocracy were keen to copy the goods she ordered for the household in a bid to emulate her style and choices.

These archival examples aside, the primary instance of Mary being associated with any of the Montagu properties in recent scholarship can be found within Tessa Murdoch's edited volume on household inventories. In the introduction to the Boughton House inventories, Murdoch states that the naming of a room at Boughton as 'The Duchess's Drawing Room' 'demonstrates the welcome female presence' that Mary brought to the halls of Boughton, as Ralph's second wife had never resided there.³⁵ Murdoch gives the impression that Mary spent a significant amount of time at Boughton throughout her marriage to John and that her 'presence' within the property was directly responsible for alterations and changes to the function, use and decoration of rooms. Murdoch does not expand upon this statement or go into any further detail about what Mary's welcome presence may have achieved at Boughton, and likewise did not in an earlier edited book on Boughton published in the early 1990s.

However, the renaming of a room within the ancestral seat does not mean that Mary was spending time at Boughton or even visited frequently. In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that Mary spent any great periods of time at Boughton throughout her marriage and it is likely that she only visited extremely infrequently, as will be shown in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. Murdoch appears to have made this assumption purely based on the assignation of a room name, without finding out how much time Mary actually spent at the property. Whilst such a connection of Mary to one of the country estates, particularly Boughton, would have shown a different angle to Mary's association with the Montagu properties, an inference drawn from the renaming of a room cannot be taken to mean that she was regularly there. Cornforth relates that even John 'spent little time' at Boughton during the first decade of his ownership of the House and with such a fondness for town, Mary would not have stayed at Boughton alone.³⁶ Instead, it is likely that the room was designated, and labelled on inventories, as being for Mary's personal use should she ever have visited Boughton.

Many discussions associated with Mary focus upon her behaviour; her relationship with her mother or husband but the comment by Lady Strafford, in combination with the

³⁵ T. Murdoch, 'Boughton House, Northamptonshire, 1709, 1718, 1730' in T. Murdoch (ed.) *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses* (Cambridge: 2006) p. 49.

³⁶ J. Cornforth, 'Boughton House: Impressions and People', p. 25.

information gained from the instructions to servants, generates another facet to Mary's life and character and indicates that she did have a hand in the decisions of how the households were run.³⁷ This small measure of agency in shaping the Montagu households is something that has never been discussed in relation to Mary, and places her in an important position both within her marriage and her households. It also highlights how easily women's presence can be hidden in the archives and overshadowed by the wealth of material that often survives connected to their husbands. Mary is very difficult to see within the Montagu archives and references to her are either not recorded or buried within material associated to John, something which is likely to apply to women more generally in other archive collections.

Mary and John offer a contradiction to the established narrative of both contemporary ideals and modern historiography. Mary does not appear to have been involved in managing, caring for and maintaining the large network of Montagu properties during her marriage, nor did she manage the household accounts and had little interest in the country estates in particular. Rather, this by all accounts, was the responsibility of John, whose households seem to have very much been his domain. He had great interest in their continuation and history, in connection with his own family history and heraldry and took the responsibility of overseeing the management of the variety of his households. Whilst Mary had small levels of input at Montagu House, she appears to have little connection to any of the other properties which formed the Montagu network of properties. As will also be shown to have been the case for the subsequent generations, the influence in household management was intrinsically linked to the inheritance and ownership of the estates. John had brought all of the houses they lived in into their marriage and continued to remain more attached to their continued longevity and prosperity, a connection which Mary did not have. The impact of inheritance, however, can more significantly be seen in the subsequent generation, where the inheritance of the Montagu estates by an heiress and the ensuing legal dispute

³⁷ See, for example F. Harris, *A Passion for Government. The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: 1991), pp. 239-240 and p.335 which talks of Mary in relation to the relationship she had with Sarah and the strained correspondence across many years; O. Field, *The Favourite. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London: 2002) briefly discusses Mary's personality and the circumstances surrounding her marriage to John, however the primary focus is her relationship with Sarah; J. Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (London: 1953) p. 250 again discusses Mary in relation to the tumultuous relationship she had with Sarah; Cornforth, *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24 only mentions Mary in terms of her marriage to John.

highlighted the impact that ownership could have upon the dominant influence within a household.

Mary and George: A Joint Endeavour?

Mary and George's generation reveals both a shift in the dynamic of household responsibility compared to that of Mary and John and the impact that extra households and financial independence could have upon managerial responsibilities. Whereas Duchess Mary had a small amount of input in aspects of the household management which may have affected her more on a day-to-day basis, her daughter, Mary Cardigan, had a significantly increased and far reaching role in overseeing multiple households. The principal reason for this increased agency lay with the terms upon which Lady Mary inherited the Montagu estates and the financial freedom which she also possessed.

Lady Mary married George Brudenell in 1730 and George inherited the earldom of Cardigan in 1732 when he was still under twenty years of age.³⁸ Joan Wake recounts in her study of the Brudenell family that George took time to settle into his marriage but after three or four years he 'pulled himself together and became a model husband'.³⁹ Quite what evidence there is to suggest this is unclear and Wake offers no references. She does, however, go on to state that the couple divided their time between Deene Park, a townhouse in London and a property at Richmond, whilst Mary was prominent in the social rounds of the town, being at the centre of the 'fashionable world to which they belonged'.⁴⁰

However, in 1749, Mary inherited certain Montagu properties from her father outright and shared an interest and responsibility in others with her sister Isabella, who had challenged the terms of John's will. Mary's inheritance added a number of country, urban and suburban properties to the existing network of Brudenell properties which Mary and George had been using throughout their marriage. The townhouse of Montagu House, Whitehall was a principal addition, as was a suburban property at Blackheath. Estates at Ditton Park; Beaulieu and Lancashire were in dispute and jointly claimed by both Mary and Isabella. Mary was therefore in a very different position to her mother, as she had brought wealth and property into her marriage in her own right. This created

³⁸ Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene*, p. 247.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

a network of properties owned by George and Mary that had Brudenell and Montagu backgrounds, and individual properties which were owned separately by each of them.

Despite this amalgamation of properties within Mary and George's generation, little has been written about them. Wake's study of the Brudenells is one of the most comprehensive secondary accounts of the family across many generations and likewise provides valuable information about Mary and George's marriage. This account, however, is not very detailed on matters connected to the couple's households and sweeping statements about Mary being taken with the social entertainments of London seem to compare her to her mother and offer little insight into the power dynamics of Mary and George's marriage, nor how they maintained control over their households. In contrast to both the first and third generations of the eighteenth-century Montagus, material surviving for Mary and George is slightly more problematic. For both, the surviving financial accounts begin around 1750, which miss the first twenty years of their married life, with George's accounts also missing the last 14 years of his life, which provides a patchy view of their financial arrangements. Other material, such as correspondence and household accounts which are present for the other generations also appear not to have survived. This makes it difficult to explore whether Mary had greater input in the household management after her inheritance, or whether she already had played an active and substantial role, as much of the secondary commentary asserts should have been the case for an elite woman during this period.

Whilst the majority of the archival material for Mary and George is for the period post 1750, a small collection of receipts from the 1740s has recently been found in the archives at Beaulieu Palace House in Hampshire. These receipts offer a rare opportunity to see what Mary and George were purchasing before the period that their account books cover, and crucially, before Mary inherited her own households. It needs to be noted, however, that these receipts are problematic in that they have been selected and either copied into a book or pasted in, as can be seen in figure 2.3. It is not known when this was done or by whom and also begs the question of why only these particular receipts were saved and others discarded, or not afforded the same preservation process, meaning they offer a skewed view of the pre-1749 period.

Nevertheless, they do offer a unique insight into a period in Mary and George's marriage where little other material survives and show that both George and Mary were

contributing to household expenses. Her father's marriage settlement stipulated that she would receive a sum of £20,000 upon her own marriage as a portion and with no evidence that there was a provision for her to receive a sum of pin money annually like her mother had, it is likely that this was used to provide Mary with a form of annual allowance, which she was able to use to pay for a range of household goods for the Cardigan properties.⁴¹ These receipts cover a multitude of goods and services, ranging from household furniture, fabrics and clothing, to items of jewellery and include payments made by both Mary and George, with Mary actually featuring more heavily in this edited collection of material. Although weighted towards fabrics, dress material and items of personal clothing for Mary, these bills also show her purchasing goods for the houses, at which time would all have been Cardigan properties, and paying for them herself. Mary can be seen to have purchased smaller items such as teapots and tea ware, as well larger items of household furniture including a mahogany dressing table.⁴² The bills were clearly addressed to Mary and a note records that the money was received from her in full, indicating that even prior to her inheritance Mary was financially contributing to providing goods for the household, as well as paying for all of her own personal attire and goods she may have desired, such as books.

⁴¹ NRO: Montagu (Boughton) X8792, Marriage Settlement of John, Marquess of Monthermer and Lady Mary Churchill, p. 32.

⁴² Palace House Archives, Beaulieu, Hampshire: Cardigan receipts, bill paid by Mary, Countess of Cardigan, February 1744/5. p. 46, front.

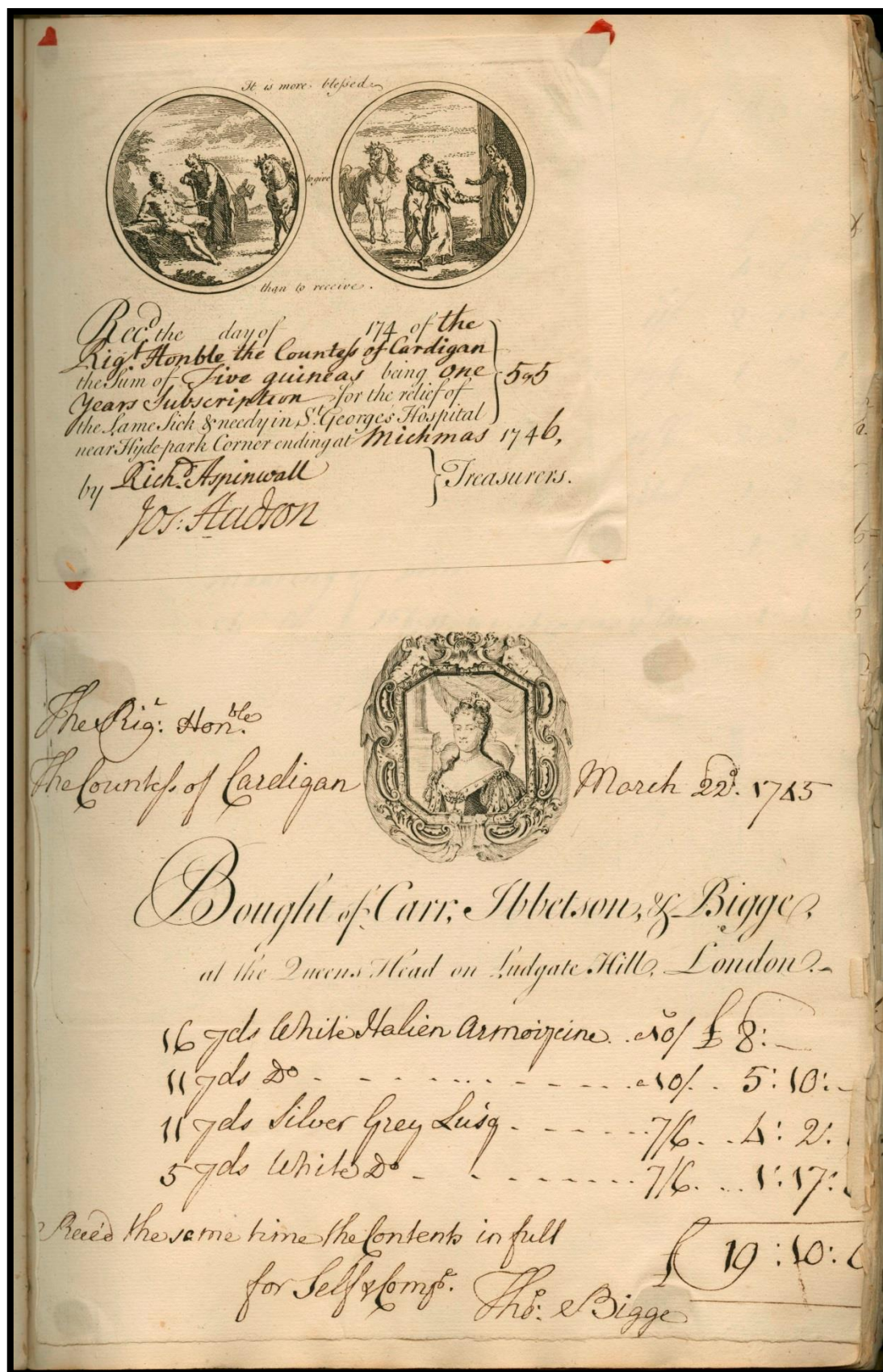


Figure 2.3. A page from the Countess of Cardigan's Account Book held at Beaulieu Palace Archives.

This early evidence that Mary was paying for household goods may have been linked to George's financial problems and the debts which he had racked up as a young man. The situation was so serious that Duchess Mary had to give her daughter permission to sell her jewellery in order to raise funds to help to settle some of George's debts.⁴³ That Mary was paying for such a range of household goods suggests that George was not in a stable enough position to pay for all goods and services as John had done and instead Mary may have been coaxed, much like her mother had into giving up her pin money, to make up the shortfall. This puts Mary in an interesting position. Whilst she had agency within her marriage in that she had the ability to purchase goods in her own right, which likely gave her more control over decisions and choice, she was arguably being pressured into using the money she had access to in order to support her husband and protect their family image within society.

In contrast to this earlier period, from the time Mary inherited the Montagu estates in 1749, a wealth of financial records and a small collection of correspondence for both her and George survive, making it easier to build up a picture of how they went about managing their joint network of households. There is clear evidence to suggest that Mary retained a greater level of control and influence over the Montagu properties she had inherited, whilst the same can also be said for George and the Brudenell estates. However, there is also a sense that despite a distinction of separate property ownership, Mary and George did work together to administer aspects of their households jointly and shared certain financial responsibilities.

It is particularly clear that Mary and George both had an active role in overseeing the duties of servants, and paying for their wages, board, travel expenses and livery for their individual estates. A combination of correspondence and extracts from accounts books show that for the period post 1750, Mary and George were both in contact with a house steward for the Montagu estates, and issued him with instructions for staff at the Montagu properties, yet clearly maintained the principle that Mary was the owner of such estates.

A small cache of letters in Norfolk Record Office, sent by George and Mary to William Folkes, chief steward for the Montagu estates, represents some of the only surviving

⁴³ BA, BHN: Bargain and sale of Jewels from the Earl of Cardigan to Martin Folkes Esquire, 14th February 1740.

correspondence of the couple and offers a rare insight into how they administered aspects of their households. The letters cover the period 1757-1770 and feature a mixture of correspondence from both Mary and George, although there are a greater number of letters from George. This could be a simple issue of which letters have survived; or an indication that George was in more regular contact with the stewards than Mary; or may possibly have been connected to Mary's deteriorating health and eyesight affecting the frequency of her correspondence, which she cited as a reason for a shorter letter to Folkes in 1765.⁴⁴

The letters reveal the collaborative way in which Mary and George undertook managing their properties, with numerous references to consulting each other before an instruction was given or a decision made, even though these properties were Montagu estates. The use of terminology such as 'we think' or 'we desire' demonstrates that they worked together and shared responsibility in key areas.⁴⁵ In the majority of the letters, George replied to Folkes in a manner expressing both his and Mary's view or opinion. In October 1759 he wrote 'we beg the favour of you to write, by the next post . . .' to a member of household staff at a property in dispute with Isabella and often acknowledged that 'we were favoured with your letter', highlighting a sharing of correspondence between husband and wife from their steward.⁴⁶

In 1762, Mary and George were in discussions with Mr Perkins to buy the villa at Richmond which they had leased from him for a number of years, but it was a process which took time. George can be seen to be writing to Folkes on the subject within several of these letters and always wrote in terms of 'we'. For example:

If Mr Perkins can be brought to reasonable terms, so that if you will be so good tomorrow, when you see him and his agent, to let them know, that we shall be inclined either to take a long lease of it, or purchase it, at a reasonable price, if he will procure an act of parliament for that purpose.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Norfolk Record Office Archive Centre (NROAC): MC 50/12, 503x4, Mary, Countess of Cardigan to William Folkes, 21st September 1765.

⁴⁵ It is not possible to prove/know conclusively if George always wrote in this manner, as other letters connected to him have at present not been found, or are lost. The collection at Norfolk provides the majority of the surviving correspondence connected to George and he predominantly uses the term 'we' rather than I throughout.

⁴⁶ NROAC: MC 50/12, 503x4, George, Earl of Cardigan to William Folkes, 4th October 1759 and 29th September 1766.

⁴⁷ NROAC: MC 50/12, 503x4, George, Earl of Cardigan to William Folkes, 15th February 1762.

George was talking in terms of both leasing or purchasing the villa, highlighting that he did not see the purchasing of properties or land as just a male domain or his personal responsibility, but instead an important decision to be made together. George had clearly discussed the purchasing of Richmond with Mary and saw it as a matter that required her input and interestingly, it was Mary who went on to personally pay for the villa, with money left to her by her mother.

However, within the letters which Mary sent to Folkes, there are fewer examples of her using collective terminology and instead she was very to the point about what she was asking Folkes to do for her. Mary's letters were often about issues or problems she was having with her sister, Isabella, about disputes at estates such as Ditton or Beaulieu and reveal the complex management processes these estates had. For example, in 1766, Mary wrote to Folkes with regard to the hiring of a new steward at the Beaulieu estate; it seems that Isabella and her husband had promised the position to a Mr Warner without consulting her on the matter first. She remarked that 'having the misfortune to know them' as she did, they were 'very capable' of making such a promise. However, Mary appears to have not wanted Warner to take the position, stating that whilst he may be a steward for them 'he shall not be mine', which, she went on to say, would lead to a situation where, if they did not go back on their promise to Mr Warner, there would be two stewards responsible for the Beaulieu estate, which would undoubtedly cause issues.⁴⁸

When writing on issues concerning the contested estates with Isabella, Mary did not use any collective terminology to indicate that she was writing on behalf of her and George's interests. Mary clearly saw the Montagu inheritance as her personal domain and the legal dispute with Isabella as a conflict with her sister that she was dealing with personally. Chapter 1 laid out how Mary had inherited the estates free from any claim or involvement from George and he would have been aware that his interest in Montagu properties both owned by Mary and still in dispute, was by virtue of his marriage to Mary only. This helps to explain why George always used the first person plural when referring to any of the Montagu properties, as it implied that he was acting on behalf of Mary when he was contacting Folkes, rather than acting independently.

⁴⁸ NROAC: MC 50/12, 503x4, Mary, Countess of Cardigan to William Folkes, 1st September 1766.

It is revealing that George's letters feature Mary so heavily and prominently display a joint manner of managing their households. It highlights that Mary and George consciously saw their properties as being separately owned and that George had not attempted to amalgamate the two sets of properties, or wrestle more control from Mary, which might have been possible had she been a weaker character. Furthermore, it can be inferred through this and her continuing dispute with Edward and Isabella, that Mary had a strongly developed sense of her inheritance as a Montagu, as her father had. Not only did she vehemently contest her sister's claim to the estates to prevent them falling into the care of Isabella's 'common' husband, she retained the separate identity of the Montagu estates within her own marriage to avoid them being swallowed up within the Cardigan estates and losing their own heritage. George can also be seen to have referred to his own estates in a similar way but primarily with reference to the estates where he and Mary did not reside and spent little time at, such as Leeds and Wakefield, which he referred to as 'my estates'.⁴⁹

That there was a division in the management of properties determined by inheritance and ownership is supported by the content of individual account books and cash books belonging to both George and Mary. Whilst John's cash book in the previous generation was detailed and clearly labelled as to whom payments were being made to – such as grocers, bakers and servants – the surviving accounts of George are much more basic and amalgamate payments together. Throughout his cash books, payments for stays at a particular house are labelled under 'housekeeping accounts', followed by the location of the house that George and, likely Mary too, were staying at. For example, figure 2.4 shows a page of the book from 1763 and records for 4th February that £211 was paid to Dixon for 'H^{se} Acc^t London'.⁵⁰ Such entries are found throughout for the books for a variety of properties that Mary and George owned, including Blackheath, Richmond and Deene Park and all for sums of money totalling several hundred pounds at a time.

⁴⁹ NROAC: MC 50/12, 503x4, George, Earl of Cardigan to William Folkes, 29th July 1762.

⁵⁰ BA, BHN: Private Account Books of George, Duke of Montagu, 4th February 1763.

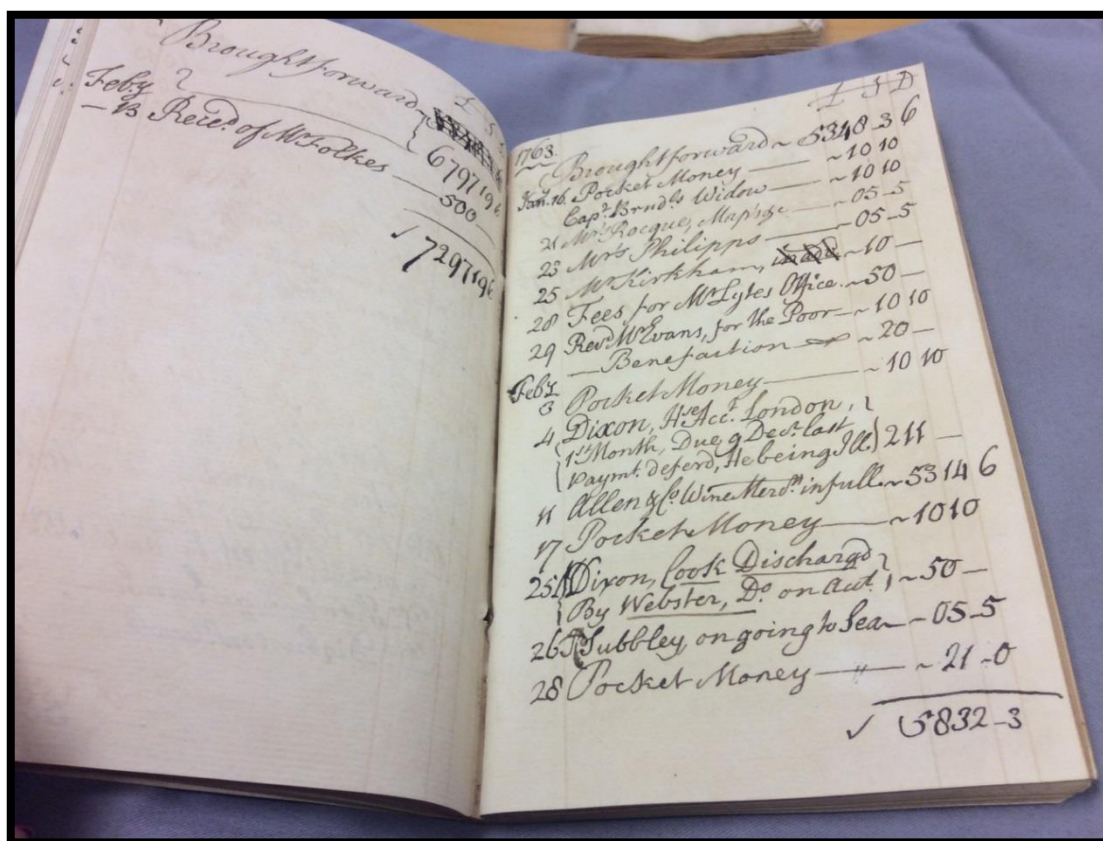


Figure 2.4 – Private Account Books of George, Duke of Montagu. Page depicting January and February 1763.

No individual food bills or suppliers are recorded within the book, nor do such bills feature within Mary's accounts, suggesting that these 'household account' payments of George's covered food and household essentials, such as candles and soap. George maintained this responsibility throughout his marriage, which indicates that he was financially responsible for keeping the core households which he and Mary lived in, including the townhouse of Montagu House which Mary owned, supplied with everyday essentials and necessities, regardless of location. This appears to corroborate Evans' argument that it was a husband's duty to provide for the family.⁵¹

A further point which can be drawn out of both Mary and George's account books, is their expenditure on repair and maintenance. As noted above, George's cash books are not always very detailed, however, there are examples throughout the three cash books which record repairs and 'work' being carried out at properties, particularly at Deene Park, where he also commissioned and paid for architectural additions.⁵² In the same manner, Mary can be seen to pay a variety of bills connected to the repair of the original Montagu House at Bloomsbury, in the early 1750s. A large collection of receipts at Norfolk Record Office reveals her outlay on bricklayers, slater, plumbers, carpenters and other tradesmen, all employed to make basic repairs to the property, which had stood empty since Mary and John moved their town residence to Whitehall in 1733.⁵³ Her later accounts also show her paying for repairs at Richmond and Montagu House, as well as land tax and insurance fees for the properties at dispute with Isabella, notably Ditton Park.⁵⁴ Mary and George did not pay for such bills at each other's inherited properties, reinforcing the clear delineation of responsibility for their own estates.

Mary and George had a very different approach to managing their network of households compared to the previous generation of Mary and John. Whilst surviving material indicates that John had primary control and influence over almost the entirety of his estates, Mary and George retained control over their own inherited estates, whilst also working in a joint manner to facilitate their smooth management. Unfortunately, corresponding material which could have expanded upon the way in which Mary and George went about using their houses on a day-to-day basis and instructing their staff is

⁵¹ Evans, 'Women, Marriage and the Family', p. 63.

⁵² BA, BHN: Private Account Books of George, Duke of Montagu. 16th June 1763 – 'works at Deene'.

⁵³ NROAC: MC 50/8, 503X3, tradesmen's bills and taxes paid by Mary, Countess of Cardigan.

⁵⁴ BA, BHN: Insurance of Ditton Park from Fire, 1768. This document is addressed to both Duchess Mary and Lady Beaulieu. It erroneously lists Mary as the wife of Duke John, rather than Duke George.

lacking, but excerpts from correspondence does show how they made decisions together and acted on each other's behalf.

Mary and George's marriage presents a more complex picture than that offered in the prescriptive literature, as had the previous generation of Mary and John. Whilst scholarship has suggested that household management was a woman's domain, Mary clearly had significantly more responsibility in this realm as a result of her inheritance. This was primarily focussed upon the Montagu properties which she had inherited, rather than the combined Cardigan and Montagu network as a whole. Such a demarcation demonstrates the importance of inheriting properties to elite women during this period and shows that successfully utilizing legal clauses could significantly increase a woman's agency within her marriage and the power that she could exert within her households. Mary highlights the power that an eighteenth-century heiress could have and the strong position that she could occupy both within her marriage and her households, which was further demonstrated and built upon by Elizabeth, the second Montagu heiress of the period.

Elizabeth and Henry: A Divided Network?

At the time of their marriage in 1767, Elizabeth was not the heir apparent to the Montagu estates and nor was she ever expected to be so. The houses which she and Henry were living in and moving between were all properties which he had inherited, purchased or leased. Dalkeith Palace, near Edinburgh was the ancestral Buccleuch seat and became the couple's principal home and country residence, whilst other Scottish properties such as Bowhill House, Langholm Lodge and Branksome Castle were also used sporadically throughout the year, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3. A rented townhouse in Grosvenor Square was their main London residence.

Like her mother, Elizabeth came into her inheritance twenty years after her marriage and likewise, it would be interesting to ascertain the involvement Elizabeth had in managing her husband's households prior to this date and to establish whether personal inheritance of properties was the lynchpin in this family of enabling female managerial responsibility within properties. In contrast to Mary and George, there is an enormous amount of primary material surviving connected to Elizabeth and Henry, covering personal material, estate papers and household related accounts. This covers the entirety of Elizabeth and Henry's marriage and continues into Elizabeth's fifteen year-long

widowhood, after Henry died in 1812. Although the amount of personal correspondence of both Elizabeth and Henry is limited, this wealth of material can be drawn together to offer a fascinating insight into how a large and continually increasing network of households was managed, as well as revealing the changes that one family saw within only two generations.

A particularly useful source for the early period of Henry and Elizabeth's marriage is a large housekeeping book from the 1770s which helps to reveal a great amount about what was considered to be a 'household' expense at this time, who the household was attributed to and who was paying the majority of the household expenses. This leather bound volume covers the years 1772-1779 and each page is entitled 'The Duke of Buccleuch's family expenses', clearly establishing that household expenses were seen as Henry's property and Henry's responsibility. Each year had between 10-13 pages devoted to it with details of the monthly expenses for a variety of items, including firstly 'housekeeping' costs for food and drink expenses, such as meat, poultry, fish, groceries, oils, confectionary and wines and brandy. This is then followed by expenses for 'household' costs covering coal, starch and candles. Tradesmen's accounts follow subsequently, then house repairs and household servant wages, board and liveries. 'Equipage' and 'uncertain expenses' such as travel costs, round off the yearly account.⁵⁵

The detail included in this document provides a fascinating insight into the quantity and cost of goods ordered by the family and the vast array of goods and services which were seen and labelled as household expenses. The book does not clearly label which property this book was for, or if it covered multiple houses, however it is likely that it covered costs principally for Dalkeith. Costs for London were also included as additions for properties such as stays at Richmond and Aspenden were listed separately within the totals. This highlights the scope of Henry's responsibility in the early years of his marriage to Elizabeth, while Elizabeth herself is very hard to place within the Buccleuch properties at the start of her marriage. Unfortunately, there are no documents akin to the instructions to servants which survive for Mary and John to help to give an insight into the decisions and discussion process behind these expenses. Accounts, being highly impersonal, do not reveal whether Henry consulted Elizabeth on the duties

⁵⁵ NRS: GD224/457, Volume giving abstract of the Duke of Buccleuch's family expenses within each year, under various heading, 1772-1779.

of servants, or where goods were to be sourced from for example, and it is possible that Elizabeth could have had role which is invisible within the archives.

Elizabeth's separate accounts also support the assumption that Henry maintained financial control over the Buccleuch households during this period. Her accounts from the 1770s, to be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5, reveal minimal expenditure on goods at Dalkeith and certainly no payments for food items, servants' wages or other household essentials.⁵⁶ They do, however, show payments for substantial food items for London during the latter part of the 1770s and 1780s, suggesting that Dalkeith and the Scottish Buccleuch estates were Henry's main focus and Elizabeth had more freedom over household expenditure in the leased London townhouse at Grosvenor Square. It is likely that such bills were paid for by Elizabeth during this period of marriage from a form of pin money, which was allocated to her within her marriage settlement.

Although not immediately clear, a section of the settlement noted that Elizabeth was to be entitled to the sum of £1,000 per annum 'for her sole and separate use and benefit', indicating that was indeed pin money, which would have allowed her to make certain purchases without consulting Henry, in addition to the other sums of money she had inherited.⁵⁷

However, the inheritance of the Montagu estates in 1790 provided a turning point in the visibility of Elizabeth's influence and involvement in the management of households, particularly Montagu households, with her financial responsibilities also more clear to see. This can particularly be seen in the content of correspondence between Elizabeth and her house steward, throughout which she sent precise and detailed instructions on how her households were to be run and cared for. The letters, which have not been used in any studies connected to the Buccleuch family before, cover the period 1809 through to the early months of 1812 and feature Elizabeth's side of the correspondence to John Parker, a house steward primarily based at Montagu House. Although they cover a relatively short time period, the collection of several hundred letters offer a fascinating insight into Elizabeth's day-to-day control of her households in her own words – it is rare to have surviving letters from Elizabeth, since she asked her son to 'examine all the contents of my drawers, presses, trunks . . . both here and at Richmond to destroy all

⁵⁶ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch's Tradesmen's Bills, 1777-1812.

⁵⁷ BA, BHN: Contract of Marriage between the most noble Henry, Duke of Buccleuch and the right honourable Lady Elizabeth Montagu, 1st May 1767, p. 23.

useless papers and rubbish of every kind and in short to leave every thing empty'.⁵⁸ Elizabeth went on to say that it was a relief that she knew Henry would do this for her upon her death and it is likely that a significant amount of her correspondence and other papers were destroyed after her death.

In the period c.1808, John Parker appears to have taken on the role of house steward after the previous steward, John Reynolds became ill. The early letters of this collection reveal Elizabeth's concern for Reynolds' welfare and her insistence that he should not conduct any work for her, nor write to her, until he was much better.⁵⁹ Her concern, however, although it appears to have been genuine was not purely for Reynold's health. She was worried about the 'confusion in [her] business' which would be generated as a result of Parker stepping in to cover Reynolds' role and she hoped that Reynolds would recover sufficiently to return to his position.⁶⁰ At this stage, the severity of Reynolds' unspecified illness and how long he would be absent from his duties was unknown. Parker had worked within Montagu House and with Reynolds and Elizabeth for several years and judging from the content of the letters, was thrown straight into taking over Elizabeth's affairs and picking up matters that Reynolds had been responsible for, for many years.

However, even though Parker was acting as a temporary replacement, Elizabeth forthrightly informed him that after conversing with Mr Cuthill, Henry's personal steward, she had discovered that Parker was very deficient in keeping figures and this had to be remedied immediately. Mr Cuthill had advised Elizabeth that in order for Parker to be employed in the position he had found himself in and be of use in the future should Reynolds need assistance, he needed to take lessons to enable him to keep common accounts.⁶¹

Unfortunately, Parker's replies to Elizabeth are either lost or have been destroyed, but Elizabeth stated she would pay for such lessons and clarified her meaning in a subsequent letter. She informed Parker that:

What Mr Cuthill said of your deficiency in figures was not the want of basic arithmetic but common book keeping which would be required at any time you might be employed in money transactions for me. It is that to which I wish you

⁵⁸ BA, BHN: Copy Letter from Duchess Elizabeth, Montagu House, to Henry, Lord Montagu, 1819.

⁵⁹ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker, 13th February 1809.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29th February 1809.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 21st February 1809.

to apply. . . As to your writing and spelling, I see a very great improvement in both and indeed am perfectly satisfied in that particular.⁶²

Elizabeth's insistence here in Parker taking book keeping lessons highlights not only the control she exerted over the people she employed within the households, but also that it was important to her that her staff were correctly trained to keep her accounts in a proper order. It is clear from her interaction with Parker that Elizabeth kept a close eye on her own finances and also what was going on within households and that she was willing to pay for book keeping lessons highlights her preference for keeping her trusted existing staff, rather than employing someone new to fill Reynolds' position. Reynolds never returned to his position and so Parker's training in accounts proved to be a good investment, as he remained as Elizabeth's steward for the rest of life.

Not only do these letters highlight Elizabeth's interaction with house stewards, as her mother had, and responsibility for other members of household staff, they are also invaluable for providing a snapshot into Elizabeth's responsibility for redecorating houses, purchasing items of furniture and repairing damages. The letters are full of Elizabeth's preferences and instructions regarding the redecoration of Montagu House, including new carpets, new wallpaper and the repainting of several rooms. Not only do the letters reveal her choices, but also offer the practical reasons behind her choices and that she had a clear understanding of how processes were carried out.

In March 1810, Elizabeth and Parker exchanged letters regarding new carpets that needed to be chosen and fitted at an unnamed property, although this was likely to have been Montagu House since a lot of other redecorating and building work was also being carried out at the property at this time. Carpets were needed for several rooms, as well as the staircase. For the rooms (it is not stated which rooms in particular are being referred to), the decision on what colour seems to have been left to Parker, however, Elizabeth made a very specific caveat - that the carpet must 'not easily be dirtied'.⁶³ This is a clear example of practical thinking for rooms that sound as though they would have been high use thoroughfares. Having a colour and carpet type that did not show dirt easily would also have been a savvy economic decision as the life of the carpet would be extended and less time needed to be spent by household staff on cleaning it.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 29th February 1809.

⁶³ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker, March 1810.

Elizabeth also required another carpet for Montagu House at the same, this one for the main staircase of the house and took a different approach, declaring that she would ‘like to choose it myself and it can be laid down a day or two after my arrival’.⁶⁴ There is a specific distinction here by Elizabeth between the carpet for the rooms and the carpet for the hallway. For the first carpet, she was happy for it to be taken care of and overseen by Parker, but for the hallway, a main, public thoroughfare, she not only wanted to pick the carpet herself, but also wanted to oversee its fitting, instructing that it was not to be laid until she was present at the house. That Elizabeth took such an attitude shows the importance she placed on the image of public rooms that people would see when initially arriving at a property. The staircase would have been a central feature of the entrance of Montagu House that would have been highly visible to guests and visitors. Here, the desire for functionality of the carpet was not paramount. It does not appear to have mattered whether the carpet showed the dirt or not, what mattered was what appearance it made to those entering the property and that it was neatly and correctly fitted.

This mix of practical and aesthetic rationale behind decorating the property can further be seen in her exchanges with Parker on wallpaper and paint. In February 1810 Elizabeth was in contact with Parker in regards to the purchasing of new red flock wallpaper. It is unclear as to where this new wallpaper was destined for, but a key point is that Elizabeth instructed Parker that she desired the paper should be hung in a different way to normal. Traditionally, flock wallpapers were applied to walls that had already been prepared with a stretched linen canvas, which would make the heavy paper easier to hang and give it a better base to bind to.⁶⁵ However, Elizabeth instructed Parker to see if there was any reason why the paper she had ordered could not be applied directly to the wall, for the house ‘swarms with mice’, who would have got behind the canvass and chewed holes through the paper – something that would not have been desirable given the great cost involved in purchasing such labour intensive paper.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ A. McDermott, ‘Wallpapers in the Historic Interior’ (This article is reproduced from *The Building Conservation Directory*), *Building Conservation*, [<http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/wallpapers/wallpapers.htm>] [Accessed 1st April 2014]

⁶⁶ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker, 9th February 1810.

Elizabeth was likewise detailed in her instructions for how rooms in the house were to be repainted, with her concern about the lingering smell of paint being so paramount that she ordered Parker to purchase a special type of paint that did not produce a noxious odour. The paint that she desired to be used at Montagu House was made by T. H. Vanherman, an ‘artist and house painter’ who wrote a publication nearly twenty years after Elizabeth’s period of redecoration, entitled *Everyman His Own Housepainter and Colourman*, in which he explained that the ‘Aromatic Paint’ he had developed was:

Free from those noxious qualities so justly to be dreaded in common paint, while it embraces, in a pre-eminent degree, all the good properties that paint should possess, viz. - brilliancy and durability of whiteness uniformity and solidity of texture, preserving the beauty and sharpness of the most delicate carved work, combined with little smell in the operation. . .⁶⁷

He went on to state that any smell that was produced would disappear quickly and that unlike other paint, it could be washed with soap and water if marked and not be damaged, making it practical for areas of high wear and tear. However, the paint was used incorrectly and Elizabeth was unhappy to discover that Montagu House was filled with a pungent paint smell that lingered for weeks and interfered with her allowing guests to stay at the property.⁶⁸ It is interesting that Elizabeth was so keen to use Vanherman’s paint, which would have been a relatively new product at the time Elizabeth was ordering it. This reflects her willingness to test and use innovative products in a property she owned, whilst also highlighting her own knowledge of new goods and services which could be incorporated into her properties.

This rich set of correspondence also draws out Elizabeth’s experiences with tradesmen working at the properties. In one letter from 1810, Elizabeth had just received a set of bills from Parker and one amongst them was to do with work being carried out in the gardens. She asked if the ‘Smith’ listed on the bill was the same ‘Smith’ who had carried out work at Montagu House for her previously. She stated that she was enquiring only because the Smith who had worked on the gardens at Montagu House had used her ‘very ill’ and she did ‘not want to have any more dealings with him’.⁶⁹ This highlights that Elizabeth had first-hand knowledge of problems with workmen who were employed on her properties and would not allow people who had caused her

⁶⁷ T. H. Vanherman, *Everyman His Own Housepainter and Colourman* (London: 1829) p. 22.

⁶⁸ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker, November 1809.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 9th February 1810.

problems in the past to be trusted to carry out further services for her again. With Parker only taking over from Reynolds several months earlier, he may not have known of the problems with Smith, but Elizabeth clearly consulted her bills and documentation from Parker thoroughly herself in order to question such details.

Although only covering a small time period, these letters are invaluable in showing not only the precise manner in which Elizabeth micromanaged her estates – a common Montagu trait – but also that Henry had minimal involvement in the way in which she went about overseeing her properties. Henry was rarely mentioned in these letters and Elizabeth did not use collective terminology to talk about instructions that she was giving or decisions which had been made. These were properties which she owned and they were managed very separately from Henry's Scottish, country estates. However, much as her father had done in the previous generation, there is evidence to suggest that Henry paid for some housekeeping bills and servants wages when he and Elizabeth stayed at Montagu House or Richmond after her inheritance, showing that whilst the overarching managerial and financial responsibility for the care of the Montagu properties rested with Elizabeth, Henry did contribute towards living expenses, as he had done at the Buccleuch properties.⁷⁰

Elizabeth's firm control over her properties continued throughout her widowhood, a period of over 15 years, after Henry died in 1812. Elizabeth principally used the villa at Richmond as her dower house and continued to make architectural repairs and additions to the other Montagu properties which she still owned, whilst her children and their families used and occupied them. In April 1812, just three months after Henry's death, a fire started at Ditton Park and the whole house was destroyed. The cause of the fire was said to be a faulty flue connected to the stove, which burst, causing the fire to quickly spread throughout the house and leading to it needing to be extensively rebuilt.⁷¹ William Atkinson, who had been working at Bowhill House, was employed to rebuild Ditton. It is unclear to what extent Elizabeth was involved in the planning and redesign of the property, but she did pay for the rebuilding work and left the property to Lord Montagu, one of her younger sons.⁷² Additionally, John Parker continued to be her primary house steward, earning a wage of £200 per year, and she also paid the wages of

⁷⁰ NRS: GD224/462/11, Household Accounts paid by John Lemoine for the Duke of Buccleuch, at London and Richmond, 1810-1811.

⁷¹ M. Levy, 'Ditton Park, Berkshire', *Country Life* (11th January, 1990) p. 70.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

a further 23 members of staff, ranging from a librarian to footmen to a groom. In total, this generated an annual bill of over £900 per year for servants alone which Elizabeth was responsible for throughout her dower years; a significant sum.⁷³ There is also evidence to show that she continued to pay wages of some of the staff associated with the Buccleuch properties who had been under her charge at Dalkeith Palace – such as the librarian, John Stewart.⁷⁴

These examples demonstrate the importance of the Montagu inheritance in providing Elizabeth with the ability to make decisions regarding the management of properties, the ability to pay for goods and services connected to them and for allowing her to continue to have a secure and financially stable widowhood. Elizabeth became responsible for a network of country, urban and suburban properties which she retained ownership of and control over, as accounts and letters to staff show. As chapter one discussed, Henry and Elizabeth saw their estates as separate and managed them independently of each other, which gave Elizabeth the opportunity to have control over the decisions related to her own households, a position which she did not enjoy earlier in her marriage. Given how active she was in managing the Montagu properties post 1790, it would seem strange if Elizabeth had had no involvement or influence over household staff and household maintenance at Dalkeith, the main property at which she resided and this may have been rendered invisible within the surviving archival material.

It is important to note that the inheritance of the Montagu properties may not have been the only catalyst behind Elizabeth taking on significantly more responsibility and influence than she appears to have had in the first twenty years of her marriage. During the eleven year period between 1769 and 1780, Elizabeth gave birth to seven children – three sons and four daughters. Six of these children survived infancy, meaning that for the majority of the early years of her married life, Elizabeth would have been pregnant or lying in, with a number of small, young children to care for.⁷⁵ By the time Elizabeth inherited the Montagu estates in 1790, her children would have ranged in age from 10 through to 21, with the eldest, Lady Mary, marrying in 1791. By this time, the younger ones would have had tutors, whilst older ones could have been away at school.

⁷³ Buccleuch Archives, Bowhill House, Selkirk (BA, BHS): Establishment of Her Grace, the Duchess of Buccleuch, 1819. fols. 1-2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fols.1 and 4.

⁷⁵ Evans, 'Women, Marriage and the Family', p. 70.

Elizabeth would have had a greater amount of time to travel between properties, oversee accounts and acquaint herself with what was going on at the various households, than she would have had earlier on in her marriage. This, combined with the inheritance of the properties, would have combined to make her involvement appear significantly greater than in previous years.

This chapter has demonstrated the development in household management and responsibility witnessed by one family across the eighteenth century and highlighted the importance of inheritance of properties in determining the level of female agency in this realm. In the first half of the century, John was the leading figure in managing the network of estates that he had inherited, with little room for input from Mary, even if she had wanted to have significant involvement. She did, however, have smaller roles in the townhouse house of Montagu House and was not entirely invisible from the houses in which she lived.

Both Mary Cardigan and Elizabeth, on the other hand, had involvement in small areas of their marital households prior to their inheritances, yet their ability to instruct servants, correspond with stewards, pay for building works, repairs and maintenance, as well as pay everyday household expenses was significantly increased once they had inherited properties from their parents. Although they continued to share certain aspects of responsibility with their spouses and work as a partnership as times, inheriting their own properties was instrumental in Mary and Elizabeth having significant influence within households. They were able to make decisions independently and administer these properties as they saw fit; agency which they did not have prior to inheritance. Without the legal framework established by the family through wills and marriage settlements, it is likely that Mary and Elizabeth would have remained in a similar situation to Duchess Mary, having only a limited role in the houses in which they lived and little independence to act as they pleased.

Chapter 3

House vs. Home: The Use and Function of a Network of Households

In an article published in *Gender & History* in 2015, Katie Barclay stated that it was during the eighteenth century that the concept of ‘the home’ was invented, or at least consolidated, and that it was inherently a romanticised idea of belonging in a certain space and where the self was primarily seated.¹ She built upon this by arguing that the ‘the intimacy of family life’ was a core and central component of what differentiated a home from other households.² Barclays’ argument feeds into a recent burgeoning of literature exploring the concept of the home, property networks, the domestic interior and the altering notion of comfort throughout the eighteenth century. Her research also builds upon previous explorations of the differences between house and home.

In 1990, *Social Research* and the New School for Social Research organised a conference entitled ‘Home: A Place in the World’, part of a series of projects focussing around the idea of ‘home’ throughout history and how we approach its study.³ The following year, the journal published a special volume dedicated to developing this theme and discussion of the terms of ‘house’ and ‘home’ was a prominent feature amongst a number of the articles. John Hollander discussed the difficulties of demarcating one from another and how the process has become more complicated, thanks to muddling of the original meaning of the two terms in contemporary usage.⁴ Rykwert, on the other hand, moved towards a delineation between the two, specifically stated that ‘a home is not a house’ and appeared to suggest that family was key to making somewhere a home, arguing that people could make a home anywhere, even without a building.⁵

Whilst the majority of articles in this volume focussed upon the theoretical concepts of house and home, Lawrence Stone concentrated his argument on English stately homes

¹ K. Barclay, ‘Illicit Intimacies: The Imagined ‘Homes’ of Gilbert Innes of Stow and his Mistresses (1751-1832)’ in Raffaella Sarti (ed.), ‘Men at Home – Special Issue’, *Gender & History*, vol. 27, No. 3 (2015) p. 578.

² *Ibid.*

³ A. Mack, ‘Editor’s Introduction’, *Social Research*, vol. 58, No. 1 (Spring 1991) p. 5.

⁴ J. Hollander, ‘It All Depends’, *Social Research*, vol. 58, No. 1 (Spring 1991) p. 41.

⁵ J. Rykwert, ‘House and Home’, *Social Research*, vol. 58, No. 1 (Spring 1991) p. 54.

during the period 1500-1990 and immediately set out to define the difference between a house and home. Stone stated that:

A house is just four walls and a roof, but the word “home” conjures up a large number of moral and psychological associations, all of them positive: warmth, intimacy, security, domesticity, and, last but not least, privacy.⁶

He went on to discuss how country houses were both public and private, yet with many properties consisting of over a hundred rooms, he argued that it was difficult to see how such properties could be regarded as ‘homes’.⁷ This was further impacted, Stone argued, by the public nature of aspects of the country estate, such as the collections of pictures, statuary and furniture which were designed to be seen and were for show.⁸ Conversely, Stone also stated that a function of country houses ‘was of course as family homes’,⁹ an argument which highlights the complex nature of the use and function of a country estate. A balance had to be struck by aristocratic families in order to have a private family ‘home’ whilst also having a house that was to be shown off to family, friends and visitors.

Stone’s association of privacy as one of the key tenets of what helped to constitute a home is an aspect which is regularly connected to the home by historians. Stone asserts that a home needed to provide a retreat for the family, where there were no stresses, no noise and no ‘stench’ from the city.¹⁰ This generates the impression that country houses were more likely to be considered as homes, compared to townhouses or suburban properties, a notion supported by Caroline Knight who has argued that the latter two types of property ‘were not permanent residences’.¹¹ In a more recent article, published nearly twenty years after the *Social Research* special issue, Judith Lewis also argued that implicit to the word of home are notions of family, and again, privacy.¹²

Within her article, Lewis also posed the question of whether a country house could function as a home, but crucially went on to raise the issue of the aristocracy and

⁶ L. Stone, ‘The Public and the Private in the Stately Homes of England, 1600-1990’, *Social Research*, vol. 58, No. 1 (Spring 1991) p. 227.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-233.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ C. Knight, *London’s Country Houses* (Hampshire: 2009) p. 3.

¹² J. S. Lewis, ‘When a House is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House’, *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48, Issue 2 (April 2009) p. 340.

multiple residences.¹³ Whilst Stone had raised an interesting point, that is, that a single property might act as both a house and a home depending on the desired function and audience at any one time, what he and others have not taken into consideration when discussing aristocratic households is that such families often owned a number of urban, suburban and country estates at any one time. Lewis made this issue a prominent point of her article, seeking to question amongst wealthy families who owned several houses and different property types, whether one became a designated home – the ‘site of domestic intimacy and warm attachments’ – while others had alternative functions.¹⁴

Whilst Lewis framed her exploration of houses and homes in terms of the connection that several elite women, including Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, had to different properties, she raised some more general questions which apply to aristocratic families in general and require further study in order to better understand how such families established their principal property and utilised the houses they had amassed. How did aristocratic families select one household as their principal property, the main place where they resided throughout the year and where their family was seated when they owned multiple urban, suburban and country estates? Furthermore, what reasons were behind making one property a principal residence within a large network of households and how did this change from one generation to another? Lewis began to highlight issues such as lifecycle stage and the size of a property as significant factors in establishing a principal residence.

However, despite providing a useful approach for the study of aristocratic families and their households, Lewis’ conceptualisation of the notion of ‘home’ is problematic. It is unclear whether Lewis is building an analysis of her case studies based on her own, modern definition of home rather than historicising the meanings of home to contemporaries. For example, Lewis discusses Lady Oxford and her furnishing and decoration of her ancestral estate of Welbeck Abbey during her widowhood. Lady Oxford turned Welbeck into a monument to her ancestors, with their portraits, arms, crests, sculptures and family history filling the house. This clearly made Lady Oxford content but Lewis remarks that ‘in creating such an environment at Welbeck, Lady Oxford was not creating a home’.¹⁵ Lewis went on to state that ‘I define a home as an

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 340.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

environment in which one privileges comfort and convenience over grandeur and display' and where living family members are prioritised in the decoration of the house.¹⁶ This leads on to a wider issue of how we define the concept of home in the eighteenth-century and how we approach an exploration of it without projecting modern day conceptualisations and personal experiences of what creates a home. As discussed, historians have attributed certain characteristics, such as privacy, as key markers for what created a home rather than a house, but there is no one agreed upon definition of what made an eighteenth century house a home. This is in part because, as is the case today, the notion of home is inherently subjective and what is expected from it differs between individuals. Barclay highlights this issue within her article on Gilbert Innes and his mistresses by using the example that home and the connection one had to it, differed for men and women within marriage.¹⁷

When this Collaborative Doctoral Award was advertised, the principal focus was to be exploring the importance of Boughton House, the 'great house' of the Montagu family and to look at how it was used, run, managed and maintained by different generations of the family across the eighteenth century. However, as explained within the introduction and the opening chapters, this was not possible due to its lack of use and phase of sleep within this period. Instead, Boughton needed to be explored in connection with the other properties that the family owned, rather than in isolation, to more fully understand its history and the position it occupied in relation to the other country, urban and suburban residences that the Montagu's owned. A key theme of this chapter is to establish how Boughton fitted into the network and the reasons that contributed to the ancestral Montagu country house receiving so little usage. Additionally, whilst the Buccleuch archives do not contain the same type of qualitative material that scholars such as Lewis have used to explore the contemporary attitudes towards different properties when looking at concepts of house and home, this chapter will suggest that stronger attachment towards a certain property can be inferred based on, for example, the length of time spent there and money spent on extending, developing and modernising a property. A large outlay of funds on a particular property would suggest a high level of use by the family and residence in it for significant periods throughout the year, implying that this was the principal 'home' over other 'houses'. However, Boughton

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Barclay, *Illicit Intimacies*, p. 578.

will once again be shown to be an anomaly, receiving significant investment in the early eighteenth century, yet was still not resided in by the Montagu family for extended periods of time.

This chapter will explore the impact that owning a large network of properties had on the utilisation and function of different households for different generations of the Montagu family, who had multiple estates across the country throughout the eighteenth century. It will be shown that there were a range of reasons which determined why one particular property was more likely to be ascribed a home and how issues such as inheritance, legal disputes, employment, household location and lifecycle stage could all affect the way in which properties were viewed and used. The study of large property networks will be brought to the forefront of focus, with houses being considered as part of a wider collection, rather than just individual, isolated properties; this will highlight why certain houses were preferred, how and why this changed from generation to generation and what, for the Montagu family, created a home.

John and Mary: A Town Affair

Existing studies have shown that aristocratic families traditionally split their time between two main properties – a large estate in the country and a town residence in the heart of London. The summer months were to be spent in the country, away from the stifling heat and bad smells of the capital, whilst the period of October through to April was for the townhouse, which coincided not only with cooler weather, but also the sitting of parliament.¹⁸ An array of entertainments, balls, theatre shows and events would occur in the capital during this period, in what became known as ‘the season’.¹⁹ During the respective time in each place, the corresponding property would be shut up until the family returned several months later.

Despite the use of the townhouse for long periods throughout the year, there is little sense within existing historiography that aristocratic families could see their townhouse as their principal home or main property, with the country house retaining that assumed title, despite Lawrence Stone’s argument that it is difficult to see how a building with over a hundred rooms could be a ‘home’.²⁰ Lewis even highlights that recent

¹⁸ M. H. Port, ‘Town House and Country House: Their Interaction’ in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: 1998) pp. 120-122.

¹⁹ H. Grieg, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: 2013) pp. 1-4.

²⁰ Stone, ‘The Public and the Private’, p. 230.

scholarship suggests that town houses were ‘too public a venue for women to regard. . . as private spaces’, thus not being able to function as a true home.²¹ However, John and Mary went against this traditional pattern of aristocratic movement between two principal households, shunning the country estate of Boughton House to base themselves and their family in London for the majority of the year.

When John inherited the dukedom of Montagu from his father in 1709, the main properties he inherited were the town house of Montagu House, Bloomsbury; Boughton House; Ditton Park and the suburban property of Blackheath. The opening chapters made reference to the fact that Mary and John appear to have spent very little time at Boughton, primarily using it to host gatherings of distinguished guests and parties, rather than as a location to raise their children and retreat away from society. John Cornforth supports this, noting that John made few developments to Boughton in the first decade of his ownership and spent little time there.²² This strongly indicates that Boughton was not being used as a regular residence or principal property by the family in the early eighteenth century. So why was Boughton so overlooked as a family home during this period and not even used by Mary and John for the traditional summer months, given that it was supposed to be the ancestral Montagu seat and country estate? Unlike subsequent generations, there does not appear to be a clear set of reasons, however, Mary’s influence and preference for life in town was a strong contributing factor and she spent even less time at Boughton than John did.

Bills of Fare show that for gatherings and parties held at Boughton in the 1720s, John was present but Mary never was, highlighting her desire to stay in town, even when her family was elsewhere.²³ Indeed, there is only one letter surviving which indicates that Mary visited Boughton, known because she wrote ‘Boughton’ at the top of the letter, and within this she remarked, ‘I am so far out of town now that I can never hear how my father and you do. . .’.²⁴

²¹ Lewis, ‘When a House is Not a Home’, p. 339. Joan Perkin discusses town houses as ‘centres of national politics’, which Lewis uses a reference to support the argument that townhouses could not be seen as private spaces. J. Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (Chicago: 1989) pp. 86-87.

²² J. Cornforth, ‘Boughton House: Impressions and People’ in T. Murdoch (ed.), *Boughton House. The English Versailles* (London: 1992) p. 24.

²³ Buccleuch Archives, Boughton House, Northamptonshire (BA, BHN): Bills of Fare, 1728 and 1730.

²⁴ British Library (BL): Add MS 61451. Blenheim Papers. Vol. CCCLI. Papers relating to the ‘Green Book’ comprising narratives by the Duchess concerning her quarrels with her children. 1722-1744. Mary, Duchess of Montagu to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. 20th July [1718 added in pencil]. fol. 128.

Mary's comment to her mother, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, highlights how isolated she felt at the property and that in order to find out information about her parents, for example, she had to resort to contacting them directly, since she could not rely on hearing gossip in passing when she was residing at Boughton. By being at Boughton, Mary would have been removed from her friends and acquaintances and all of the entertainments and activities that were widespread and commonplace in London.

Bills of Fare have traditionally been used by food historians to show what was being eaten by family members, household staff and guests at entertainments, however, they can more usefully be used to track residency at different households and the movement that a family made between their properties. During periods in the late 1720s and 1740s, continuous runs of these Bills survive for Mary and John's southern properties and not only indicate what they were eating and where ingredients had come from, but also which property they were individually at for different meals of the day, allowing data to be gathered to show household location over an unbroken period of several months.

Using a continuous run of Bill of Fare entries from August 1730 to December 1731, it has been possible to show where John and Mary were based or moving between over the course of a seventeen-month period, which also highlights the differences in their respective locations. The Bills for this period record when the couple were in London or at Ditton Park, whilst a number of dated pages from these properties do not record them at either, suggesting that they were either staying with family and friends; visiting another property or were travelling. However, what the chart in figure 3.1 shows is that Mary was spending the majority of her time and the majority of the year, at the townhouse in London. John also spent a substantial proportion of his time in London with his wife, however, he was also more frequently at Ditton Park than Mary and had over double the number of non-recorded pages compared to her.

Figure 3.1 demonstrates that Mary was predominantly based in London, making the townhouse her principal residence and as such, her and John's designated home within the Montagu network. Whilst Mary was principally in the capital, John had a large number of pages with no recorded location, which suggests that he was travelling to other estates in the Montagu network to liaise with stewards and monitor development and maintenance. Mary was not going with John on many, if any, of these visits and instead remained in London alone, or made the short journey to Ditton Park. That she

was evidently so comfortable to be there alone, spending time away from John and living quite independently from him, suggests that Mary was instrumental in influencing the decision for the townhouse to become the principal family home for this generation. Further material from a steward's treatise from the early years of Mary and John's marriage also shows that it was Mary who was not happy with John's stepmother, Elizabeth the 'mad Duchess of Albemarle' continuing to reside at Montagu House once John had inherited it in 1709. Whilst John had wanted Elizabeth to continue to stay at Montagu House out of 'respect for his father's memory and his duty to the Duchess Dowager his mother in law' and be cared for as she had during his father's lifetime, Mary voiced significant opposition and was ultimately successful in having Elizabeth moved from Montagu House.²⁵ This insistence by Mary highlights not only the influence that she had over John's decisions within their marriage, but also the say she had over the way in which Montagu House was used and the importance of gaining control and influence within the house.

Figure 3.1 also reveals the usage of Ditton Park by both Mary and John and the likelihood that it played the role of a country retreat in place of further afield estates, such as Boughton. Ditton was only 13 miles away from Montagu House, a journey which could have been done quickly, allowing Mary and John to be out of the city and in the countryside without having to take a prolonged visit out of town.²⁶ Crucially, in Mary's case, she would have been able to spend a day or two at Ditton and easily return to town for any scheduled entertainments or events. The use of Ditton does indicate that Mary and John did have a need or use for a country property and did wish to retreat to quieter surrounds on occasion. This is a function which Boughton should have fulfilled, however, due to the couple's strong attachment to London and Boughton's isolated location in the Northamptonshire countryside, it was never used in such a way. Despite being only 77 miles from London, with no major urban centre nearby, few close neighbours or social scene, Boughton must have seemed far removed from their life in the capital, with Mary's comment to Sarah suggesting a lack of opportunities for social

²⁵ BA, BHN: Stewards Treatise entitled 'the Duty of an Auditor'. Elizabeth, Dowager Duchess of Montagu was taken into the care of John, Duke of Newcastle; Thomas, Earl of Thanet and the Earl of Sunderland and was moved to Newcastle House, Clerkenwell. She went on to live until the age of 80 and passed away in 1734 at Newcastle House.

²⁶ T. Jefferys, *Jefferys's itinerary; or Travellers Companion, through England, Wales, and part of Scotland* . . . (London: 1775) p. iii.

interaction and communication.²⁷ The dynamic of Mary and John's marriage, with each party having quite separate lives at stages, meant that for this generation, Boughton's location was its downfall for use as a family home, yet its selling point for public displays of wealth, grandeur, prestige and pedigree.

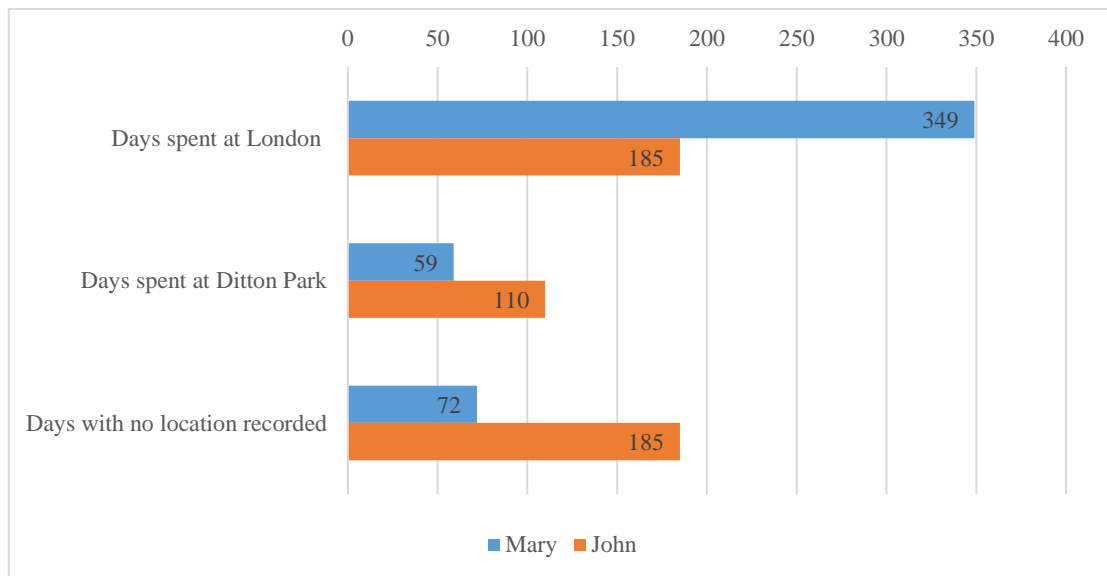


Figure 3.1: Bar chart comparing the number of days spent at different properties by Duke John and Duchess Mary in the period August 1730 – December 1731.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. v.

The importance of the townhouse to Mary and John can further be seen by their determination to retain ownership of a property in the capital, rather than leasing one, even when they were facing financial problems. As discussed, Montagu House, Bloomsbury was the principal residence of Mary and John from the beginning of their marriage. Montagu House had been built for Ralph Montagu between 1675 and 1679 on land acquired from his sister-in-law Rachel, Lady Russell. In 1686 a fire broke out at the property whilst it was being leased to the Earl of Devonshire and the house was rebuilt, and redecorated by leading artists sent from the court of Louis XIV, including Rosseau and Monnoyer.²⁸ As the floor plan in figure 3.2 shows, the rebuilt Montagu House was a large and grand property, with inventories showing that it had at least 108 different rooms, however, this is likely a conservative figure as passages and galleys were not assigned room numbers in later inventories.²⁹

In the 1720s John ran into financial difficulties, having invested a large sum of money, said to be over £40,000, in his failed attempt to colonize the islands of St Lucia and St Vincent in the Caribbean.³⁰ However, even before losing this money, Sykes states that John's father-in-law, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, had advised John to sell Montagu House and either move into a smaller property or rented accommodation, as his debts continued to escalate.³¹ Sykes provides no references for when the Duke of Marlborough advised John on such a matter, however, John did eventually opt to downsize – some ten years after Marlborough's death, suggesting that if Marlborough had given John such advice, he did not act on it imminently and was not in as dire a financial situation in the early 1720s as is suggested.³² John commissioned the building of a new town house, again to be called Montagu House, but this time in the less fashionable area of Whitehall, which does indicate that he could not afford to buy or

²⁸ T. Murdoch, 'Montagu House, Bloomsbury, London. 1709 and 1733', in T. Murdoch (ed.) *Noble Households. Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses. A tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge: 2006) p.11; C. S. Sykes, *Private Palaces. Life in the Great London Houses* (New York: 1986) pp. 53 -54.

²⁹ BA, BHN: Montagu House, Bloomsbury Inventory 1735.

³⁰ Sykes, *Private Palaces*, p. 59.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³² *Ibid.* Within chapter 2 of her thesis on John, Duke of Montagu, Helen Bates discusses the impact of the South Sea Bubble on John's finances and has tried to work out if John lost money, or in reality, gained money. Although she has not been able to conclusively prove John's situation after the Bubble, Helen has argued that he was financially confident enough to carry out work at Boughton and invest in his St Lucia expedition, which contemporary accounts claimed cost him £32,000. This suggests that he was not in a dire financial situation. H. Bates. 'Boughton and Beyond: An Investigation into the local, national and global interests and activities of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu and the Impact on his Estates, 1709 -1749'. Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Leicester: 2017).

commission a property in the west of the city, which was growing in desirability and popularity during this period.³³

³³ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 10-11. Greig asserts that the West End was the 'heartland of the season, accommodating its political infrastructure, including the court at St James's and parliament in Westminster, as well as its major social institutions' and where the 'beau monde' were to be found.

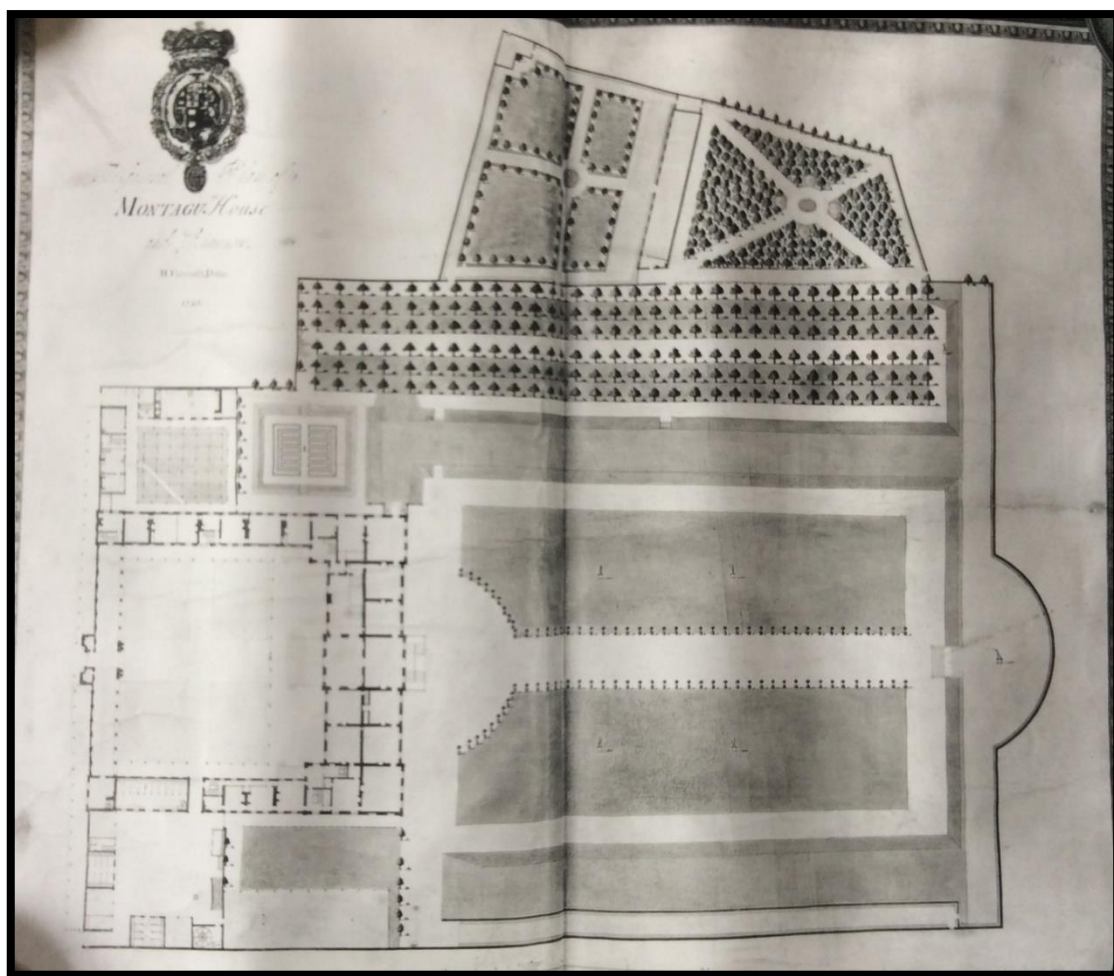


Figure 3.2 – The General Plan of Montagu House and Gardens, 1725. Plan showing ground floor and plan of extensive gardens at Montagu House, Bloomsbury.

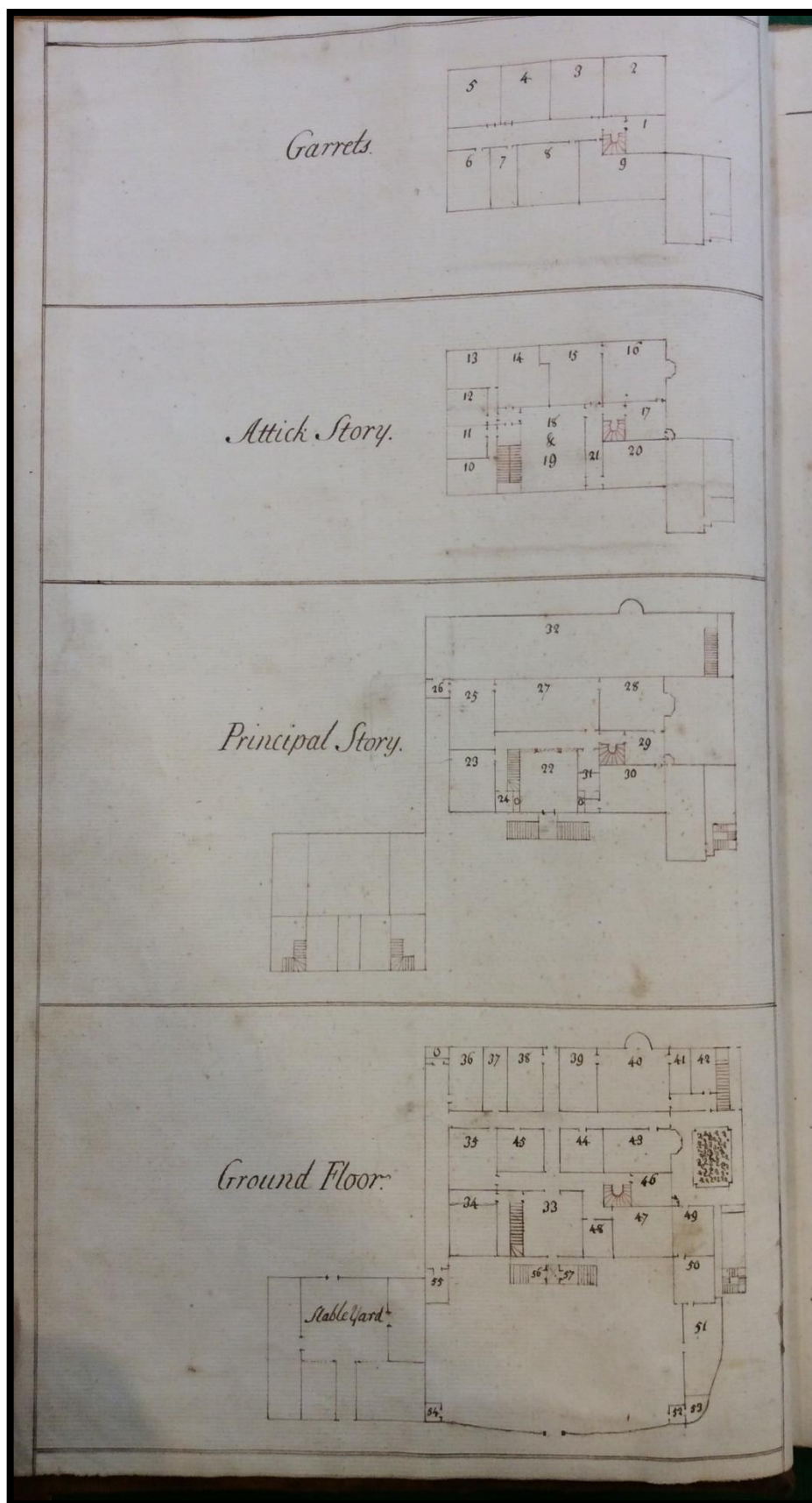


Figure 3.3. Plan showing the four storeys of Montagu House, Whitehall (c.1746).

The new property at Whitehall cost John £3,755 11s 5d to build, with an annual charge of £50 16s for ground rent and was completed for him and Mary to move in to in 1733.³⁴ Floor plans of the new property, which can be seen in figure 3.3, as well as household inventories, show that it was certainly likely that this was a move for the purposes of downsizing and reducing expenditure. Montagu House, Whitehall contained between 57 and 59 rooms, almost half the number of the Bloomsbury property, with the rooms looking to be smaller and more compact than the property depicted in image 3.2.³⁵ John attempted to sell the Bloomsbury residence once he had moved into the new property, however there were no interested parties to take a long lease on the property, meaning that rather than generating a lump sum to help with any financial issues or to contribute towards the new building, the Bloomsbury property became something of a white elephant. However, a chancery examination from 1768 states that whilst it was unoccupied, John did use the Bloomsbury property to house the king's wardrobe for a number of years, due to his position as Master of the Great Wardrobe.³⁶ This could also provide a reason for entries within John's cash book after 1733 which refer to bills for 'watching' at Montagu House, suggesting that John employed men to monitor the property, which would have been needed had the king's wardrobe been placed there.³⁷

John's desire to build a new townhouse highlights the inherent importance of this residence in Mary and John's network of properties at this time. Had John been truly desperate to save money and serious about trying to minimise his debts, the couple could have rented a property in the capital when they needed it and relocated to one of the other properties which they owned nearby, such as the suburban house at Blackheath, or even Ditton Park which was still within each reach of the capital. However, leasing or moving out of the capital would have indicated a reduction in their finance and weakened their position and influence within London's social and political network. The ability to run and maintain a town residence, which, for the majority of owners would only be used for part of the year, signalled wealth, prosperity and substantial rural and regional assets which would be questioned should a man of John's

³⁴ BA, BHN: 'Relating to Montagu House', a dated account of the developments at Montagu House, Whitehall. Entries dated 1727 and 1731.

³⁵ An inventory from 1735 lists that there were 59 rooms in the property, however only 57 are labelled on the corresponding floorplan.

³⁶ BA, BHN: Chancery Examinations, 1768.

³⁷ BA, BHN: London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1726-1746. See for example 21st June 1735 'to Geo. Markland and Corn. Maddock, f.r watching at M H as per Bills', £17 17s 2d.

rank have retreated from the capital.³⁸ Instead, John took the option of building a smaller property in a less fashionable area of town, allowing him and Mary to keep their family home in their desired location.

Whilst the Bills of Fare help to demonstrate that Mary and John were primarily spending their time in London, indicating that the old Montagu House was their principal home, continued developments and architectural additions to the Whitehall townhouse throughout the 1730s and 1740s supports the notion that town very much remained home for the couple in the later years of their life. After being granted various extensions to the lease of the land upon which Montagu House had been built, John was also able to purchase parcels of land which abutted the property and proceeded to add stables and offices. A more substantial addition occurred in 1743 when John ‘added the south wing containing the Duchess’ apartments to Montagu House’.³⁹ This addition to the property cost £1877 4s 6d, a large sum of money considering the original cost of the building the house was just short of £2000 more.⁴⁰ That Mary had her own personal apartments added to Montagu House offers the strongest evidence yet that this was where Mary considered home to be and where she envisaged spending the rest of her life. Although other houses, such as Boughton, had individual rooms named for her usage, none had specific apartments created for her, like these in the new south wing at Montagu House.

However, whilst Boughton was not favoured as a family home during this period John did value and take an interest in the property, making his relationship with Boughton more complex than initially thought. In reality, John maintained a significant connection to his other properties and estates, with Boughton in particular receiving continued attention throughout his life. Major projects included the construction of the New Gallery, now known as the Audit Gallery and the building of the Music Room, as well as the creation of the Armoury and a new Brewhouse.⁴¹ Work to the façade, porch, steps, gateways and staircases was also carried out, in addition to extensive maintenance and repair work, as well as various forms of heraldic decoration being introduced

³⁸ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, p.14.

³⁹ BA, BHN: ‘Relating to Montagu House’, entry dated 1743.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Murdoch (ed.) *Noble Households*, p. 49. For a recent extended over view of Duke John’s contribution to Boughton see J. C. Schuster, ‘A Reassessment of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu’s Contribution to Boughton House, Northamptonshire, 1709-49’, unpublished Mst dissertation University of Cambridge (2016), particularly pp.52-65.

throughout the house, including fireplaces to commemorate his Order of the Garter and Order of the Bath.⁴² The extent of the work highlights that this was not merely maintenance work to keep the property in a good state of repair when it was not being used, but instead they were significant new developments which contributed to the enduring appearance and layout that Boughton has today.

A particular area of the property which John appears to have wanted to make functional was the Unfinished Wing, the north east wing of the house which had not been completed during Ralph's time and had been left to stand empty. Giving this space a designated function or purpose would have completed Boughton as a property and, on multiple separate occasions, plans were devised to make the unfinished wing a useful and usable space. In 1723 a plan was drawn up by William Sutton, as can be seen in figure 3.4, to turn the wing into a set of apartments, complete with bedchambers, dressing rooms and spaces for servants – the annotations for these room names and labels were added on by John. These new apartments would have provided a separate lodging area and living space and due to the French pavilion style plan which Boughton is based on, it possible that these plans could have been drawn up to provide apartments for Mary. Dana Arnold has suggested that French influence on country house layout made separate apartments from husbands and wives more common in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, matching when these plans were drawn up.⁴³ Although there are no notes on the plan to indicate such a use, if these apartments had been planned with Mary in mind they would have linked to the current fashion of separate apartment and the plan could also indicate that John hoped that they might spend more time at Boughton in the future, or retire there in their later years.

There was no further movement to develop this plan and it was never enacted, however, a further plan was drawn up in 1727, this time by George Nunns, again to convert the wing into a set of apartments. Twenty years later, there was another plan to transform the Unfinished Wing, this time drawn up by a good friend of John's, the antiquarian William Stukeley. Stukeley's sketch, pictured in figure 3.5 envisaged transforming the wing into a dramatic gothic-style chapel, which although it would not have added any living space to Boughton, would have added a chapel which the property did not already have. This plan would have utilised the entire floor to ceiling space, removing the need

⁴² Murdoch (ed.) *Noble Households*, p. 49.

⁴³ D. Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London: 2002) p. 152.

to add the divisions between floors. This plan was also not implemented and recent scholarship has suggested that due to the disruption it would have caused to the prospect view of the exterior, it is likely that John never seriously considered implementing the plan.⁴⁴

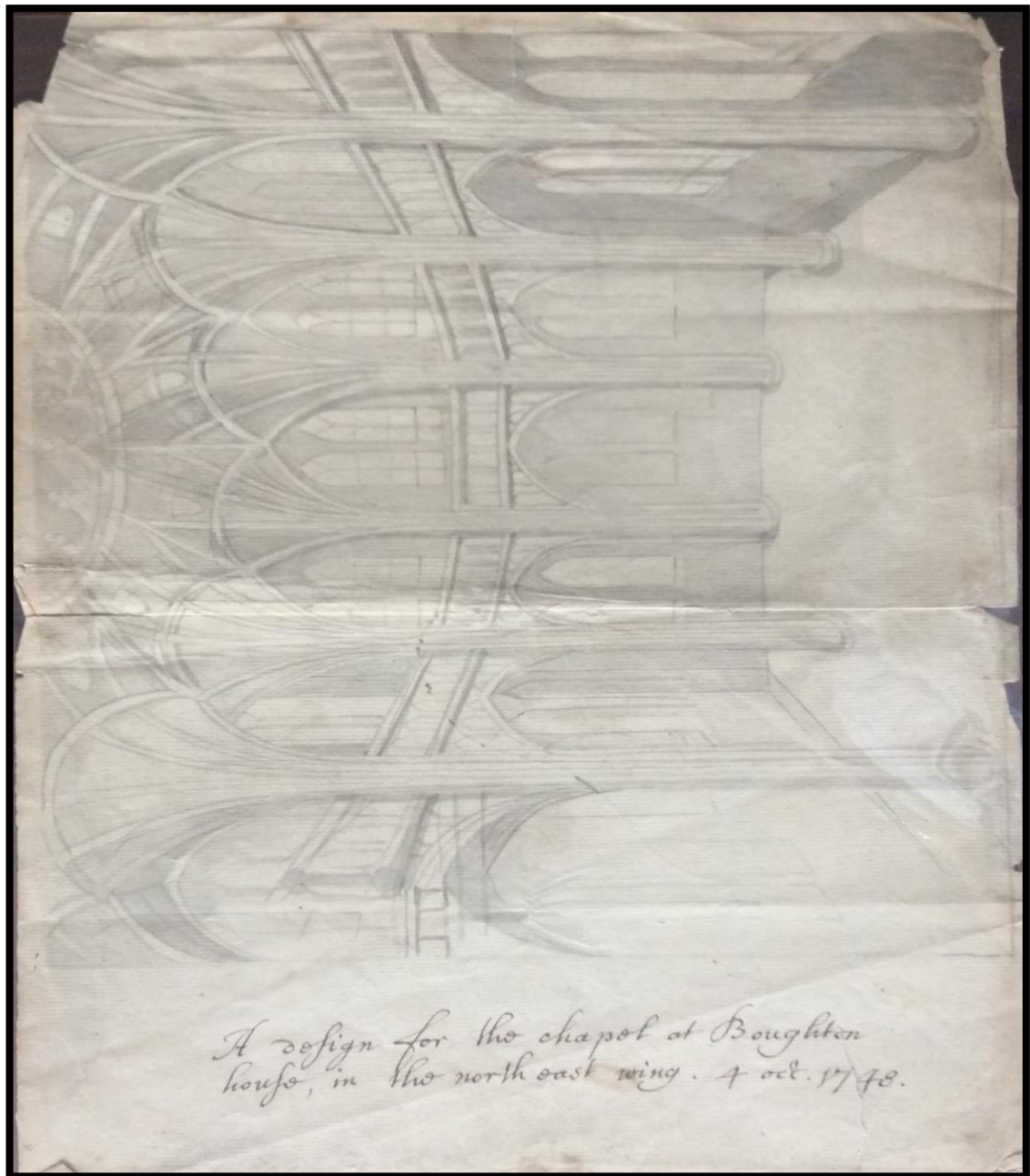
One of the main aspects of development at Boughton which is associated with John is his extensive work on redesigning the elaborate gardens which Ralph had developed. Ralph's gardens included fountains, parterres, and walkways, elaborate waterways, set out in a very formal style, reminiscent of what he had seen at the Palace of Versailles during his tenure as ambassador to the French court. John had this ostentatious outlay removed, favouring a simpler, pared back look for the gardens and also added his own features such as the Grand Etang, which led to him becoming known as 'the Planter'.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Schuster, *A Reassessment of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu's Contribution to Boughton House*, p. 81.

⁴⁵ Cornforth, 'Boughton House: Impressions and People', p. 24.



Figure 3.4 – Plan to Redesign the Unfinished Wing, 1723.



**Figure 3.5 - A Design for the Chapel in Boughton House, in the North East Wing.
4th October 1748.**

This continued development of Boughton instead shows that John retained a strong personal attachment to the ancestral Montagu seat, despite there being no evidence to suggest that he spent any time there as a child, and wanted to put his mark on the property, as well as reflect his own interests and achievements.⁴⁶ He continued to adorn the property with heraldic symbols, coats of arms and connections to his ancestors, so much so that Walpole blithely commented on a visit in the 1760s that:

. . . there were nothing but pedigrees all round me, and under my feet, for there is literally a coat of arms at the end of every step of the stairs - did the Duke mean to pun, and intend this for the *descent* of the Montagus?⁴⁷

John's obsession with heraldry and desire to weave his family connections throughout the ancestral Montagu seat, coupled with his continued financial outlay and plans to develop the property show that John valued Boughton greatly. Whilst Mary's predilection for the metropolis marked Montagu House as the property which was ostensibly their family home, John retained an unwavering attachment to Boughton throughout his life.

Mary and John went against the traditional pattern of aristocratic movement and shunned the country estate. Instead, the townhouses located in Bloomsbury and Whitehall were the main properties used throughout the year and throughout their marriage, heavily influenced by Mary's preference for town and desire to avoid being in the countryside for extended periods of time. For this generation, the isolation of Boughton and its distance from London were key contributing factors to its lack of use as a family home. John continued to develop Boughton but its primary function came to be that of a show house, a dramatic and grand aristocratic seat and a statement of his dynastic ambition, used to impress guests and host occasional entertainments. Properties which had a close proximity to the capital were favoured by Mary and John for frequent use, with Ditton Park, only a short journey from central London, serving as a form of country seat rather than Boughton. For the two subsequent generations, it would be the issue of inheritance that would determine the functions that specific properties had and which property would be established as a home.

⁴⁶ Inventories of Boughton taken during the time of Duke Ralph show that rooms were named for John, but as discussed in relation to the naming of a room for Duchess Mary, this is not strong enough evidence to show that he ever spent time there.

⁴⁷ Horace Walpole to George Montagu Esq., 23rd July 1763 in W. S. Lewis and R. S. Brown jr (eds) *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Volume Ten. Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu, Volume Two* (London: 1941) p. 89.

Mary and George: A Convenient Home?

By the mid eighteenth century, there was a significant development in the size and complexity of the Montagu property network and the variety of properties available for Mary and George's generation to use. With both George and Mary inheriting houses and estates, by 1749 the couple had an amalgamation of Montagu and Cardigan properties to monitor and move between, however, Mary did not inherit the Montagu properties until nearly twenty years into their marriage. This, in addition to the companionate nature of their marriage, had a significant impact on which houses they used and where they considered home to be.

Material connected to Mary and John, particularly Bills of Fare, indicate that Mary and George were frequently residing with her parents directly after their marriage on 7th July 1730. For eight of the ten months between August 1730 and May 1731, they were located at either the Montagu townhouse at Bloomsbury or at Ditton Park, and were principally with Mary and John throughout.⁴⁸ Whilst the bills cannot conclusively prove that Mary and George were staying in these properties, just that they were dining there, it would seem likely that they did stay with Mary's parents during this early stage of their marriage, during which they could be introduced into London society. There is a period of six weeks where they are not listed, when there is similarly no reference to John's location, suggesting that they could have been away at a country estate together, while Duchess Mary stayed in London. The Bills also reflect that Lady Mary stayed with her mother in London and at Ditton whilst John and George were at a different property, showing that John was possibly helping and guiding George at this early time.

Comments from Wake and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, help to build up a clearer picture for the rest of the 1730s. Wake remarks that Mary and George divided their time between their houses in London; Richmond and at Deene, whilst in 1734 Sarah remarked in a letter to the Duchess of Bedford, another of her granddaughters, that she had heard 'that my Lady Cardigan lives very well in the country with her husband', a situation that she remarked, was 'better late than never'.⁴⁹ Sarah's comment confirms that Mary and George spent little time at a country estate prior to the mid-1730s and

⁴⁸ BA, BHN: Bills of Fare record book 1730-1731.

⁴⁹ Wake, *Brudenells*, p. 252; Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to Diana, Duchess of Bedford, 15th October 1734, Windsor Lodge in G. S. Thomson, (ed.) *Letters of a Grandmother, 1732-1735. Being the Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her granddaughter Diana, Duchess of Bedford* (London: 1943) p. 147.

may indicate that they also spent periods of time apart, much like Mary and John did throughout their marriage. It is also likely that Sarah is indicating that Mary and George had not had a smooth start to their married life, but the move to the country suggested that they were beginning to settle into their marriage and partnership together. However, George did not inherit Deene Park until 1732 so initially, Mary and George would not have had a country residence of their own in which to live. Judging by Sarah's comments, the couple moved into Deene Park swiftly after inheriting and even if they did also make use of a townhouse when in London and a leased suburban property at Richmond, Deene was regarded by Sarah to have been a principal home for them.

This also establishes that fairly early on in their marriage, Mary and George had three principal properties which they utilised and that they adhered more closely to the traditional aristocratic pattern of movement, splitting their time between the town and the country. That Sarah remarked that Mary was 'living in the country' reinforces that this was not just a brief visit for Mary and George, but that they had set up home at Deene and were using it as a main residence, rather than a property for entertaining guests, as Boughton had been used by Mary and John. Deene remained an integral part of Mary and George's household network throughout their lives, with references in their correspondence to them 'returning' to the property after having stayed in London, or visiting a spa town, for example.⁵⁰ From letters to the Cardigan steward at Deene, it would appear that Mary and George spent less time at Deene in the latter half of their marriage than they did earlier on, likely connected to George's role at Windsor Castle, to be discussed in more detail below.

George referred to Deene fondly in correspondence and evidently held his childhood home in high regard. Wake reports that George 'left his mark' on the architecture of Deene, adding a laundry – a stone building consisting of two storeys – and turned the Elizabethan windows on the south front of the house into double-hung sash windows with raised stone architraves.⁵¹ There is also evidence to suggest that as Lord Cardigan, George was responsible for creating an entirely new form of interior decoration or design. In 1753 Horace Walpole wrote a letter to Sir Horace Mann, the British Resident

⁵⁰ See for example, Norfolk Record Office Archive Centre (NROAC): MC/50/12, 503x4 (Mc 50/12/9) Lord Cardigan to William Folkes, 29th July 1762.

⁵¹ Wake, *Brudenells*, p. 262.

at Florence between 1740 and 1786, discussing his Strawberry Hill residence.⁵² He gave a room by room tour of Strawberry Hill so that Mann would be able to build up a picture of Walpole's residence, telling him that:

The room on the ground-floor nearest to you is a bedchamber, hung with yellow paper and prints, framed in a new manner invented by Lord Cardigan, that is, with black and white borders printed. Over this is Mr Chute's bedchamber, hung with red in the same manner.⁵³

These prints were cut out and pasted directly on to walls which were brightly coloured – hence Walpole's yellow and red paper backgrounds – to set them off.⁵⁴ This fashion had started in Paris in the 1720s and gradually spread to England over the subsequent years and although George is certainly not being credited with the invention of using prints in such a manner, it seems that he and Mary were very early in adopting the concept and even created a whole print room at one of their properties in the 1740s.⁵⁵ Walpole's letter is the principal source for this claim and does not appear to be contested elsewhere – indeed, many secondary works have taken Walpole's statement as truth and despite little other evidence, support the notion that George invented framing these stuck on prints with a thick black or white border.

While Deene Park became Mary and George's principal country home early in their marriage, primarily established as such through inheritance and lack of other such available properties, in 1749 Mary inherited the Montagu estates, bringing new properties to their network. Despite the difficulties of Mary's inheritance, new country seats, suburban properties and townhouses were added to Mary and George's network, yet they did not have a significant impact upon the properties which they frequently used. Deene remained their principal country seat, with Montagu House, Whitehall becoming the major addition to the properties which they used.

⁵² H. Belsey, 'Mann, Sir Horatio, first baronet (bap. 1706, d. 1786)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17945>] [accessed 15 June 2016].

⁵³ Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, Strawberry Hill, 12th June, 1753 in W. S. Lewis, W. H. Smith and G. L. Lam (eds) *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Volume Twenty. Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann. Volume Four* (London: 1960) p. 381.

⁵⁴ S. Lambert, *The Image Multiplied. Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings* (London: 1987) p. 183.

⁵⁵ Palace House Archives, Beaulieu, Hampshire: Cardigan receipts, bill paid by Mary, Countess of Cardigan. Bills show Mary buying 'Indian pictures', as well as 'India paper', which was sent to Richmond. See 11th June 1743 (p. 25 back); 25th February 1745 (p. 46 front) and 27th June 1747 (p. 82 front).

For the first twenty years of their marriage, Mary and George had leased a townhouse in London, possibly in Lincoln's Inn Field, where George's father and grandfather had leased a property during the early eighteenth century.⁵⁶ This leased property gave them a base in London and allowed them to participate in the fashionable society, which Wake claims they were so eager to be a part of at this time.⁵⁷ However, Montagu House was part of Mary's inheritance and it makes sense that this property now became their principal London residence. Residing in a property that had the Montagu family connection and link to Duke John would have been more prestigious than staying at a leased property.

Mary also had the additional job of finding a buyer or a tenant for the old Montagu House which her grandfather had built in Bloomsbury. As part of the ongoing legal dispute with Isabella, Mary and George stated in a chancery examination that selling Montagu House to the trustees of the British Museum in 1755 was the best solution for the property since it would have been

Very difficult if not impossible to have let the said house at a yearly rent sufficient to have answered the taxes, repairs and outgoings.⁵⁸

This indicates that the size and running costs of the building, estimated to have been £875 6s in 1711,⁵⁹ had discouraged tenants or buyers from taking the property on and that rather than being a benefit, the inheritance of the Bloomsbury house was actually a liability rather than an asset.

⁵⁶ George's father and grandfather has resided at a property in Lincoln's Inn Fields and George was also born there. See "Lincoln's Inn Fields: Nos. 39 to 43 (Royal College of Surgeons)," in *Survey of London: Volume 3, St Giles-in-The-Fields, Pt I: Lincoln's Inn Fields*, ed. W Edward Riley and Laurence Gomme (London: London County Council, 1912), 48-58. British History Online, [accessed June 13, 2017], [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol3/pt1/pp48-58>].

⁵⁷ Wake, *Brudenells*, p. 252.

⁵⁸ BA, BHN: Chancery Examinations, 1768.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*



Figure 3.6 - Staircase of the old British Museum in Montagu House, George Scharf (1845). ©Trustees of the British Museum.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ 'Drawing: Staircase of the old British Museum in Montagu House', *The British Museum* [<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research>] [Accessed 13th June 2017].

The lack of interest in taking on this property also suggests a change in fashions in this period and a reluctance to take on a town property which could rival the size of many country estates - as noted above, the Bloomsbury property was large, with over 108 rooms and extensive formal gardens. Whilst a popular design and layout for its time in the late seventeenth-century, by the mid eighteenth century, smaller, more compact townhouses were increasingly favoured rather than large 'private palaces' like Montagu House.⁶¹ Not long after her inheritance, Mary paid for significant repair work to be carried out at the Bloomsbury property including payments to glaziers, bricklayers, slaters, plumbers, carpenters and so on, in order to make the house in a condition fit for sale.⁶² Whilst a private owner was not found, in 1755 Montagu House was purchased by the trustees of the British Museum as a site to house its first collections, with a nineteenth century account of the Museum founders alleging that 'its price was but ten thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds' making it a preferable option to the trustees first choice of Buckingham House, which had a price of thirty thousand pounds.⁶³

After several years of refurbishment, the property reopened its doors as a museum, rather than a family home, on the 15th January 1759, as can be seen in figure 3.6. This striking image, painted by George Scharf, highlights the sheer scale and size of the original Montagu House property and is one of the few views of its interior. The giraffes at the top of the wide staircase offer a brilliant perspective on the height of the ceilings and scale of the rooms, which would have been carried throughout the property. Historians have argued that the desire for comfort assumed greater importance for families in the later eighteenth century so that ostensibly grand and elaborate houses, such as how Scharf depicts Montagu House, would have seemed less attractive, which may account for the difficulty the Montagus had in finding an interested party to take up the lease or purchase the property.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Sykes, *Private Palaces*, p. 51. Sykes writes that Montagu House was the 'most splendid house built in London in the 1670s and 1680s', indicating its contemporary size and grandeur for the period. Stewart also notes that Montagu House was 'more analogous with country mansions than with even the grander terrace house in town' – R. Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (London: 2009), p. 149.

⁶² NROAC: MC 50/8 503x3. Vouchers re Montagu House, Great Russell Street, London. 1750-1754.

⁶³ E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum; with Notices of its Chief Augmentors and Other Benefactors. 1570-1870*. Volume 2 (London: 1870) pp. 318-319; Sykes, *Private Palaces*, p. 59.

⁶⁴ Palmer and West discuss domestic comforts being incorporated into Audley End, suggesting that water supply, sanitation, lighting and heating all contributed towards a comfortable and convenient house, whilst Lewis argues that homes were created by being sites where one could be emotionally and physically comfortable, with the ability for family intimacy. Edwards links comforts and the transformation of houses into homes with consumption and goods, whilst also highlighting that comforts such as hearths and windows provided a source of tax. See C. Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes. A*

Additionally, Mary's inheritance allowed the couple to permanently add a new type of property to the network of combined households. From early in their marriage, Mary and George had leased a property in Richmond, on the bank of the River Thames. However, as discussed in the previous chapters, in the 1760s Mary purchased land on which she and George constructed a new suburban villa, complete with extensive outbuildings and large, terraced gardens which reached down to the river's edge. Although the couple had leased a Richmond-based property for many years and the Cardigans had a history of residing in Richmond, this purchase signals the importance they attached to having a permanent, family property in this location. Bryant defines the Georgian villa as a property which was 'planned for pleasure' and was 'compact and convenient', meaning that it was modest in scale with no wings specifically for additional family members or household servants.⁶⁵ Such properties could naturally vary greatly from one another in composition, however, by combining an eighteenth-century map, a nineteenth-century painting and an early twentieth-century floor plan of the villa, which later went on to become known as 'Buccleuch House' after Elizabeth inherited it in 1790, it is possible for the first time to get a clear picture of the size, structure and layout of the property which Mary and George had constructed mid-century.

Figure 3.9 depicts a plan of the first floor the villa in 1902, which should accurately reflect the layout of the villa from Mary and George's time, since no architectural alterations were made to the main house after it was completed. The layout of the villa was compact and modest, although it was spread over several floors, as can be seen in figure 3.8, producing a relatively spacious property with over 64 rooms for use by family, servants and gardeners.⁶⁶ There were no large extensions to the property itself to house servants or extensive visiting parties as might be found on a country house and so ostensibly the property appears to conform to Bryant's definition of what a villa was - a

History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings (Aldershot: 2005) p. 91. See M. Palmer and I. West, 'Comfort and Convenience at Audley End House', *English Heritage Historical Review*, Vol. 8 (2013) p. 83; Lewis, 'When a House is not a Home', p. 344 and 362.

⁶⁵ J. Bryant, 'Villa Views and the Uninvited Audience' in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Villa* (Stroud: 1996) p. 13.

⁶⁶ BA, BHN: A copy of Richmond Inventory, 14th December 1772. This inventory assigned numbers to 64 rooms, however, there are also separately numbered rooms such as the 'The Coachman's Room' and the 'Grooms Room' which were likely located in the additional office spaces and stables and so not part of the main house.

brief retreat not intended to serve as a principal residence or place where one spent extended periods of time.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

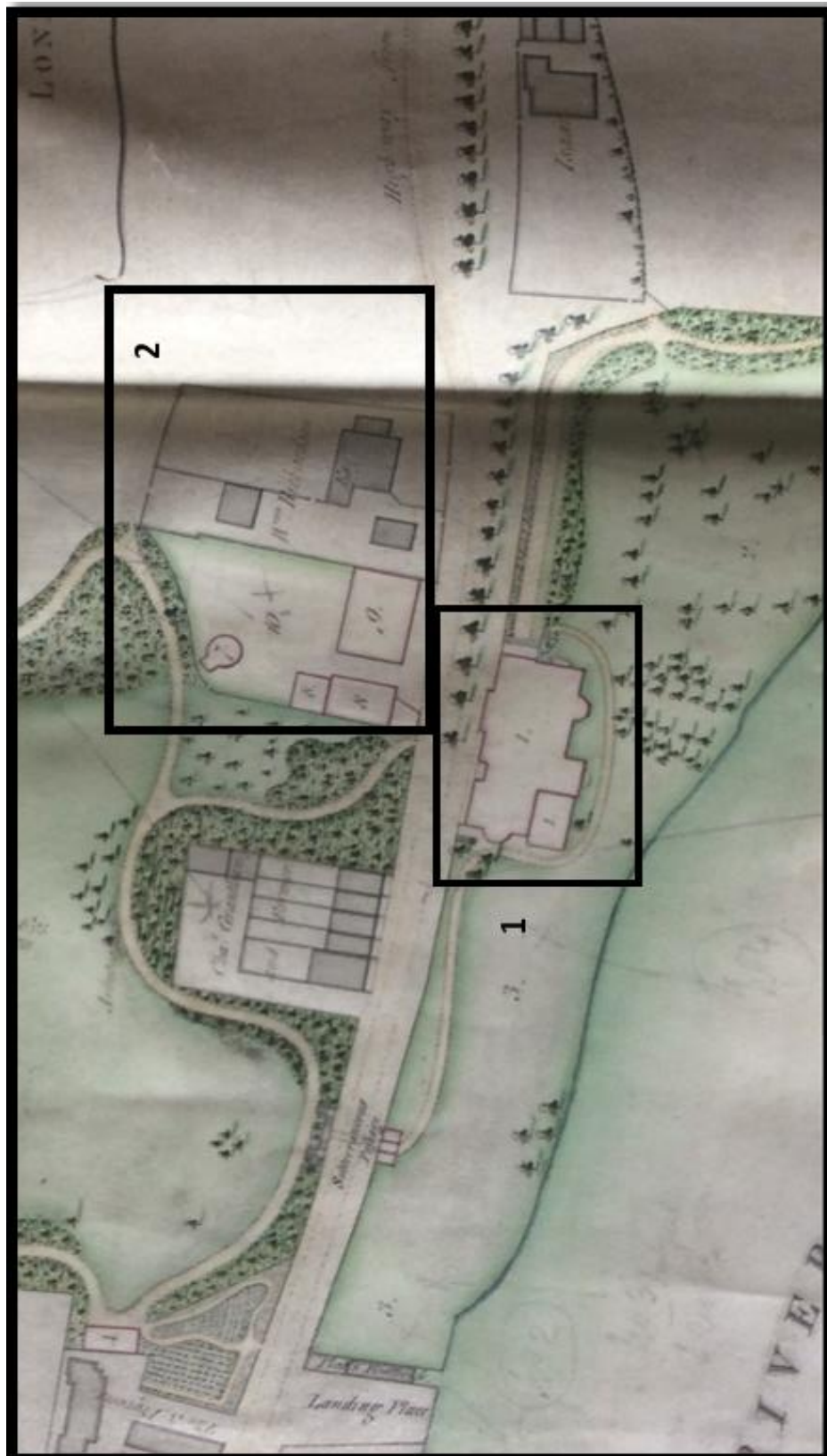


Figure 3.7 – Extract from a plan of Richmond Villa, 1771.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Box 1 – Richmond Villa. Box 2 – Out Buildings.

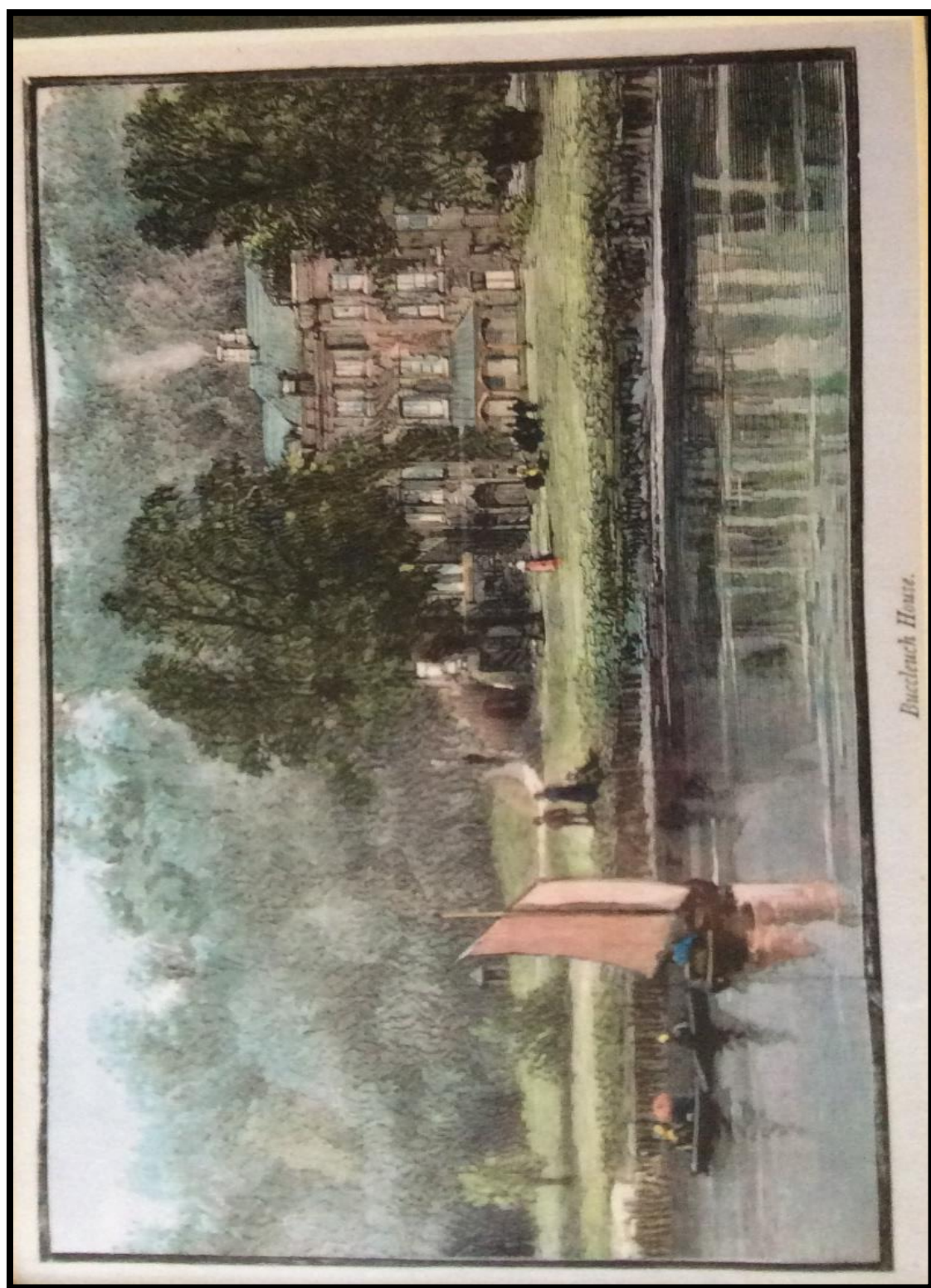


Figure 3.8 – Buccleuch House, Richmond. 19th century painting, artist unknown.

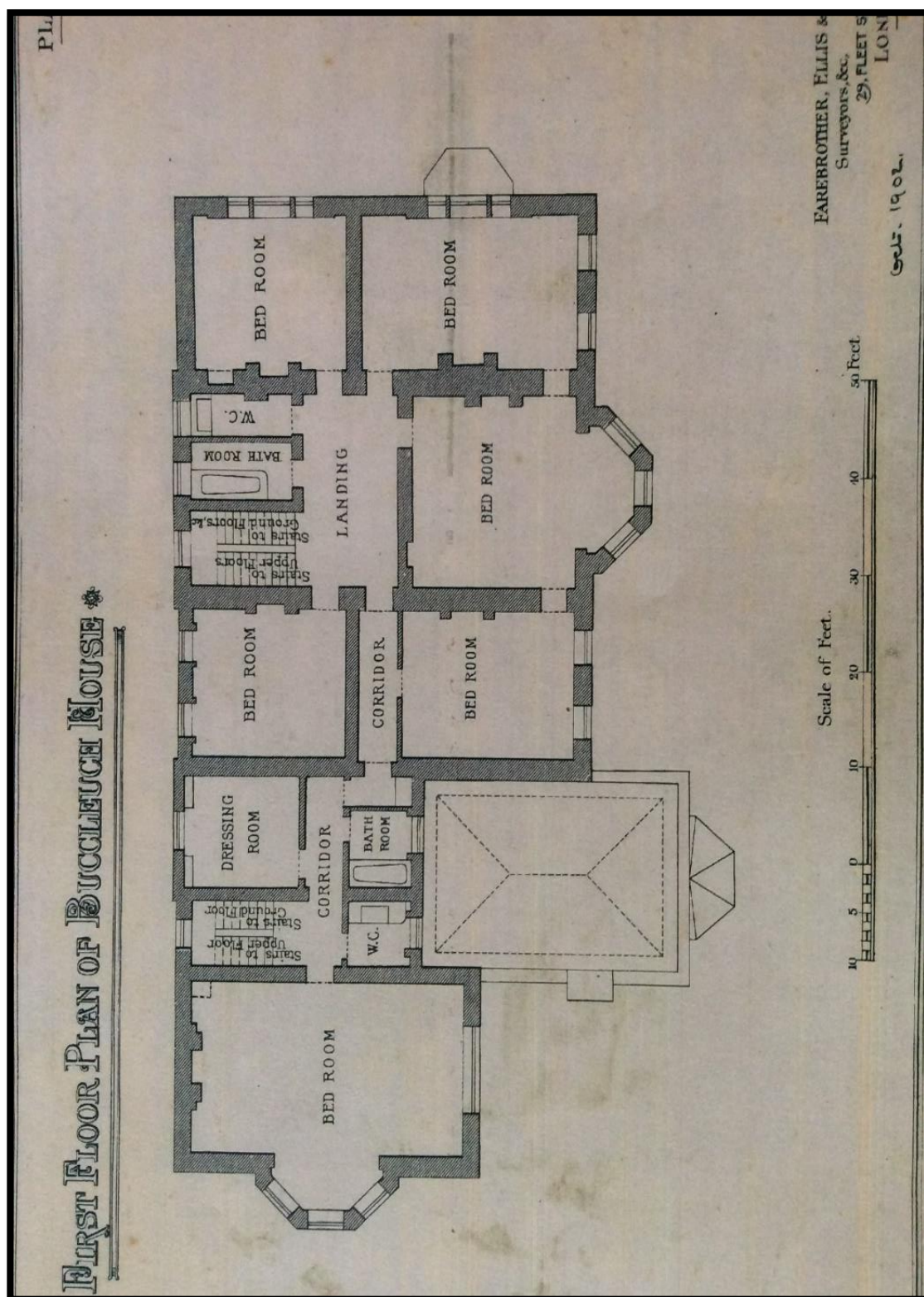


Figure 3.9 - First Floor Plan of Buccleuch House, 1902.

However, a closer look at the map and plan of the wider estate from 1771 in figure 3.7 reveals that the site also had a number of outbuildings nearby. The main villa and the ‘little garden’ were located beside the river and are highlighted within the box marked with a number ‘1’ on the map. However, within box ‘2’ a number of other buildings were clustered together which included an ice house, a kitchen, offices and stables, whilst summer houses and green houses were located elsewhere in the extensive upper gardens. This indicates that the Montagus’ Richmond villa was designed to serve a dual purpose. It was a compact property which could not house large numbers of visiting guests, yet had external buildings which could help supply the couple for longer than just brief visits. Instead, this property was a key part of Mary and George’s network and is more in line with Harris’ claim that by mid-century, the villa was more akin to a small country house and operated as ‘the secondary seat of a nobleman in a suburban situation’.⁶⁹

Whilst Wake suggested that Mary and George moved between London, Richmond and Deene early in their marriage, in the latter half Richmond seems to have become increasingly important to them and its location was particularly useful when George took on the role of governor and captain of Windsor Castle, a post which he held for nearly 40 years.⁷⁰ Richmond offered a suburban location which was close to town and close to Windsor Castle, yet offered privacy and tranquillity for residing in for more prolonged periods of time. In 1790 Horace Walpole remarked:

The new garden that clambers up the hill is delightful and disposed with admirable taste and variety. It is perfectly screened from human eyes, though in the bosom of so populous a village; and you climb til at last, treading the houses under foot, you recover the Thames and all the world at a little distance. I am amazed that it is not more talked of. . .⁷¹

Mary and George’s early fondness for a property at Richmond led to a permanent addition to their property network, a villa which would provide all they needed to stay at on a regular basis. Additionally, by leaving this property strictly to her daughter for her sole and separate use, Mary was able to establish a property which could not be

⁶⁹ J. Harris, *Georgian Country Houses* (Middlesex: 1968) p. 39.

⁷⁰ H. M. Chichester, ‘Montagu, George Brudenell, Duke of Montagu (1712–1790)’, rev. M. J. Mercer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19019>, accessed 13 May 2017].

⁷¹ Horace Walpole to Mary Berry, 29th July 1790 In W. S. Lewis and A. Dayle Wallace (eds) *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence. Volume Eleven. Horace Walpole’s Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry and Barbara Cecilia Seton. Volume One*. (London: 1944) pp. 105-106.

controlled by anyone else and which, as will be discussed, became particularly useful to Elizabeth after the death of her husband when Richmond became her dower house.

In addition to urban and suburban properties, Mary also inherited or had claim to country properties, including Boughton and Ditton Park. However, whilst an arrangement was reached for Isabella and her husband to reside at Ditton Park, Boughton remained part of their legal dispute and as such could not be used by either party. That Mary and George had been happy to make Deene their home, only a short distance away, suggests that they would not have had the same issues with Boughton's location and isolation as Duchess Mary had had in previous years. However, even if Mary had been able to fully inherit Boughton, they would already have been residing at Deene for nearly twenty years and it would likely have been a concession too far for George to have given up his ancestral family seat in favour of his wife's, meaning Boughton would probably have remained as an infrequently used show home.

Mary and George's generation highlights that properties could have their usage affected by a variety of different reasons and a property's usage could alter significantly from one generation to another due to their circumstances and personal relationships. Rather than being unused because of its location, Boughton for example, was neglected throughout this period during the ongoing legal dispute of the two sisters, however, the use of Deene Park as a family home for Mary and George highlights that they had no issue with being based in the Northamptonshire countryside which had been so unthinkable to Duchess Mary.

Henry and Elizabeth: An Ever Expanding Network

When Elizabeth and Henry married in 1767, Henry was already a wealthy duke and on the verge of attaining his majority and taking control of the vast Scottish estates which he had inherited from his grandfather. The Buccleuch inheritance included land located primarily in the borderlands, known as the 'South Country estates' which included Langholm; Liddesdale; Hawick; Jedburgh; Kelso; Selkirk and Melrose. Further north were the Midlothian estates which included land in Edinburgh and the Buccleuch's principal family seat of Dalkeith House.

Henry and Elizabeth travelled to Scotland for the first time in September 1767, some four months after their marriage in May, however, maintenance and improvement work had been carried out in the months before their arrival, suggesting that Dalkeith was in

need of repair and modernisation in order to ensure it was suitable not only as a ducal seat, but also as a regularly used house. Table 3.1 summarises major building expenses relating to Dalkeith from 1767. The bill of £70 16s 7d for the ‘repairs and improvements’ consisted of many smaller bills, covering charges such as laying new pavements in passages within the palace, which gives a sense that surface work was being carried out in order to smarten the appearance of the house and make it aesthetically pleasing. The bundle of bills labelled ‘furniture’ in fact covered a number of household goods which indicates that prior to Henry and Elizabeth’s arrival, the house had not been frequently used and lacked many basic items. For example, a bill for £87 15s 1d included candlesticks, snuffers, extinguishers, a coffee mill, a new copper kettle, new ladles and a copper spice box, in addition to new bedstead chairs.⁷² Items such as candlesticks and snuffers would have been a basic requirement for such a property, yet clearly they were lacking within the house. Additionally, the need for new kettles, coffee mills and kitchen equipment suggest that old households good were not in a good condition and needed to be replaced in preparation for the Palace being in greater use.

Table 3.1 – Expenses connected to building work at Dalkeith Palace, 1767.⁷³

| Date | Work | Cost (£ s d) |
|-------------|--|-------------------------|
| 1767 | Building repairs and Improvements at Dalkeith and East Park Houses | 70 16 7 |
| 1767 | Furniture | 87 15 1 |
| 1767 | Work in the Duke’s Dressing Room | 57 00 11 |
| 1767 | Building an Ice House | 51 18 5 |
| 1767 | Water Pipes | 201 10 10 |

⁷² National Records of Scotland (NRS): GD224/208/1. ‘Furniture’ bundle. Vouchers of John Alves, 1767-1771.

⁷³ NRS: Data taken from various individual receipts, vouchers and bundles contained in GD224/208/1 – Vouchers of John Alves, 1767-1771.

Other work at the Palace, which was carried out in 1767 but not paid for until a year later in 1768, included the construction of a new ice house close to the Palace and over £128 for new pipes to convey water directly to the Palace.⁷⁴ This sum included two new land stools for a bridge to enable the conveyance of the water, as well as a new water house, and would have allowed water to be piped from the River Esk which ran alongside the house, or another source further afield – the bills mention conveying water from ‘Houlands’.⁷⁵ Palmer and West have highlighted that very few country houses had provisions for water supplies above the ground floor before the second half of the nineteenth century, however the mention of a new water house in the bills implies that Henry had installed a feature found at only a smaller number of other properties, including Houghton Hall, which at least provided pumped water directly to the property.⁷⁶

The changes to Dalkeith Palace incorporated the latest technological developments and fashions as part of its overhaul, as a bill from the buildings, repairs and improvements set of vouchers for 1769-70 demonstrates, with a charge of £16 15s 10d for ‘bells and hanging’.⁷⁷ The bill offers very little information as to what this is or where it was installed, but it is likely that this was a bill for installing all, or part, of a new system for calling servants in a different part of the house. Wiring and pulley mechanisms would have been strung in different rooms allowing the master or mistress of the house to pull a cord in the room they were in and have a servant alerted by a bell ringing, through the series of pulleys.⁷⁸ This was a relatively new system which was gradually being incorporated into large country houses, connected to the increasing desire for privacy within the home and the separation of the family and servants, and highlights Henry’s keenness to incorporate modern inventions into his main property.⁷⁹ Girouard states that by this period ‘servants were kept out of sight except when actually about their business, and even then kept as invisible as possible’, something which bell systems would have encouraged, as servants would not need to be present within rooms or

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ M. Palmer and I. West, *Technology in the Country House* (Swindon: 2016) pp. 52- 55. In a separate article, Palmer and West discuss the introduction of piped water at Audley End, suggesting that it showed the very latest developments in sanitation and was a key feature of modernising country houses at this time. See ‘Comfort and Convenience at Audley End House’, pp.85-89.

⁷⁷ NRS: GD224/209/4 – Branch 3: Buildings, repairs and improvements: Dalkeith and East Park Houses. 1769-70.

⁷⁸ Palmer and West, ‘Comfort and Convenience’, p. 89.

⁷⁹ Palmer and West, *Technology in the Country House*, p. 131.

waiting outside in corridors should they be needed.⁸⁰ Further bills from the 1789 also list costs relating to bells, this time stating ‘At the house bells with the London bell hanger’.⁸¹ The vouchers do not make clear at which house the bells are being installed at – the bundle relates to work at Dalkeith, Castlesteads and Smeaton Houses – but considering Dalkeith was the most used out of these three, it is more likely to have been for there. An interesting aspect of this voucher is the additional information that the bells were hung by the London bell hanger. This implies that Henry had employed a bell hanger to install a similar system at his townhouse in Grosvenor Square or knew the man from recommendations and had him go to Dalkeith to install the system or to upgrade an existing one. Whilst undertaking extensive renovations and alterations directly after inheriting was a common practice, by introducing this system to Dalkeith, Henry was actively modernising how the country house operated and also facilitating the further separation of household servants from the family, indicating a heightened desire for privacy at this property.

Henry’s continued connection to Dalkeith and desire to make it the heart of his property network can be seen with the extensive building work and overhaul of the interiors of the Palace in the months and years after he came into his majority. He embarked on an ambitious regeneration project at Dalkeith, in addition to developing other aspects of his Scottish estates and commissioning the building of a new property at Langholm. One of the first things that Henry appears to have undertaken was the building of a new library. James Blaikie, a wright, was paid £70 8s 3d for ‘making a New Library in Dalkeith House’ between 31st January 1769 and 28th May 1770.⁸² Blaikie was also employed in this period to carry out work in the dining rooms, housekeeper’s room, bed rooms, cistern and water closet and for mending windows and panels in the stair case area, bringing his bill to just over £200. A painter’s bill for over £70 also indicates that large areas of the house were repainted during this time. New large scale projects continued to occur into the 1770s, with a new kitchen being constructed, along with a greenhouse and kitchen garden. The expense of the new kitchen, over £416, included work on a pantry, corridors, storage spaces and copper piping to transport fresh water directly into

⁸⁰ M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House. A Social and Architectural History* (London: 1980) p. 143; Stone, ‘The Public and the Private’, pp. 235-237.

⁸¹ NRS: GD224/204/7 – Dalkeith vouchers: Buildings and repairs etc, at Dalkeith, Smeaton and Castlesteads Houses 1787-93.

⁸² NRS: GD224/209/4. Branch 3: Buildings, repairs and improvements: Dalkeith and East Park houses. 1769-70.

the new kitchen area, highlighting that the latest innovations were being incorporated throughout the property.⁸³

Whilst Dalkeith was Henry's principal architectural focus directly after his inheritance, in the 1780s his attention turned to completely redesigning another property– Langholm Lodge, previously known as Langholm Castle. The additions made by Henry included two new large wings, significantly expanding the size of the house and altering not only its appearance, but as Brian Bonnyman notes, its entire function and purpose.⁸⁴

Bonnyman argues that this change in style and name reflects a different use for Langholm, from being another country house/castle to a retreat for sporting and recreational use.⁸⁵ Bonnyman suggests this was part of a wider scheme to develop the sporting potential of his Scottish estates, with Henry also employing game keepers and reintroducing pheasant and black grouse to the land surrounding Langholm.⁸⁶ This desire for a sporting summer retreat ties into the increasing popularity of shooting and field sport in the later eighteenth century. It is interesting that this project was started after the majority of the remodelling of Dalkeith had been completed. Rather than have several building projects ongoing at once, all of which would have required large sums of money and attention, Henry waited until the major projects of his primary seat were completed before embarking on a project at a property which would not be used to such a regular degree. The newly extended and renamed Langholm Lodge was finished by late 1786/early 1787 and was ready to be used by the family for times when they wished to remove themselves from Dalkeith but did not want to travel far. It represented the first time in these three generations that a house had been developed with its intended function to be a leisure property. The redesign and development of Langholm can also be seen as part of the wider expenditure by the aristocracy during this time on their hunting lodges and retreats and Henry's desire to be engaging in this elite pastime.⁸⁷

However, not all properties within the Buccleuch network received the same attention and development. Some properties were in desperate need of architectural maintenance, yet because they occupied an insignificant position in the network they therefore fell

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ NRS: GD224/347/2. Voucher connected to Building new wings at Langholm Castle, North Wing Bundle.

⁸⁵ Bonnyman, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 168.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ J. Black, *Culture in Eighteenth Century England. A Subject for Taste* (Hambledon and London: 2005) p. 72.

into a state of disrepair. A particularly clear example of this can be seen with Sudbrook House, which Henry had inherited after the death of his mother in the 1790s. In 1798 Mr Heath, presumably the house steward or housekeeper at Sudbrook wrote to Henry's steward in Scotland, Mr Cuthill, not only to ask for money to pay the taxes for the property but also to inform Cuthill of the poor condition of the estate. A bridge was 'ready to fall in' and railings were rotting away and Mr Heath wrote that he would be pleased if he knew if the duke had any plans to have such things fixed.⁸⁸ This is a clear indication of what could happen to estates when so many were owned and new ones continued to be added to the family network. Not all could have a clear function or place when so many properties already occupied roles as country, urban and suburban residences. Without regular reminders from those charged to monitor them, properties in such a large network could easily fall into a state of disrepair and require large amounts of money to be spent on them in order to bring them back up to a respectable standard.

This situation was not improved when, much like her mother, some twenty years into her marriage to Henry, Elizabeth also inherited a variety of properties which when added to Henry's predominantly Scottish collections of estates, created a vast and complex collection of houses and estates. The addition of Montagu properties such as Montagu House; the villa at Richmond; Blackheath; Boughton House and later on, Ditton Park, had a mixed impact on the properties which Henry and Elizabeth favoured and used as regular residences. Some were immediately integrated into the property network and became key properties which were regularly used and well maintained, whilst others were left standing empty or did not become principal properties until a much later date. A crucial point to make, however, is that Elizabeth's inheritance brought properties to their network of a type which Henry simply did not own – an urban townhouse, multiple suburban properties and a large, English country house.

As with Mary and George forty years earlier, Montagu House, Whitehall became the most important addition to the couple's property network when Elizabeth inherited it in 1790. As briefly mentioned in the opening chapters, from the time of their marriage in 1767, when Henry and Elizabeth stayed in London, they resided in a townhouse in Grosvenor Square which Henry leased. Henry is thought to have taken on the lease of a

⁸⁸ NRS: GD224/689/6/4. Sudbrook House papers. Letter from Mr Heath to Mr Cuthill. 23rd September 1798.

double residence, numbers 20 and 21 Grosvenor Square in 1766, paying £11, 000 for the 58 years remaining on the leases and set about making a number of alterations, led by renowned architect Sir William Chambers.⁸⁹ For over twenty years, this large, multi-storeyed property in one of the most fashionable areas of town served as Henry and Elizabeth's household in London when they visited, although little is known at present about their utilisation of this property or how often they stayed there.⁹⁰ However, when Elizabeth inherited the Montagu properties, the remaining leasehold on the Grosvenor townhouse was immediately sold - for £10,000 to the Earl of Leicester – and Montagu House, Whitehall became Henry and Elizabeth's principal residence in London.

Montagu House was well used during the period of Elizabeth's ownership and was also frequently used to host parties and entertainments by her children and their families, even when Henry and Elizabeth were not there. Given the distance between Dalkeith Palace and Montagu House, around 378 miles, the townhouse became more of a property for the whole extended family to use and friends and family often appear to have stayed there when passing through London.⁹¹ Elizabeth and Henry, therefore, did exactly the same as her parents had done – replaced a leasehold property with no family connection, with one that had been erected by a previous generation of the family and had a strong family association. This family heritage and sense of past family connection was something that appeared to be very visible within the property. In May 1798 Lady Louisa Stuart wrote to Elizabeth after spending an evening at Montagu House:

I take this fit time to write, when I have just been at the prettiest entertainment possible in your house. I expected it would feel very strange, and something like melancholy, not to see you, the Duke, etc., but you might have been there for aught I knew; and as I went with Mrs. Weddell, who loves and understands

⁸⁹ No. 20 (formerly 19) 'Grosvenor Square: Individual Houses built before 1926', in Survey of London: Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings), ed. F H W Sheppard (London, 1980), pp. 117-166. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol40/pt2/pp117-166> [accessed 11 October 2017]. The page also provides the following reference: *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol. I, 1889, p. 205.

⁹⁰ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, p. 9-11. Greig discusses the increasing popularity of the West End, including Grosvenor Square, where 69% of the first tenants in the 1720s were titled.

⁹¹ BA, BHN: Extracts from a number of the letters held in the Parker collection have references to Elizabeth stating that various members of her family may be arriving to stay at Montagu House, as well as herself. She was also very concerned about the property being ready and prepared for visitors and would not have them stay if there was an issue with the property. For example, in March 1809, Elizabeth wrote to Parker to say that both Lady Home and her boys and Lord and Lady Montagu might both be in town at the same time, whilst in 1810, Lord and Lady Home would need to move rooms when Henry and Elizabeth arrived. Jefferys, *Jefferys's Itinerary*, p. iii states that London to Edinburgh was a 378 mile journey. There is no listing for Dalkeith.

pictures and all the other fine things your rooms are filled with, her delight in examining them took away my attention from the company. It certainly is a sight that strikes one with surprise, after being used to the frippery of common furniture, and so different from anything else in London, that, without having in the least an old-fashioned air, it seems the remains of a better age.⁹²

Lady Louisa evidently attended a party at Montagu House that had been organised by one of Henry and Elizabeth's children and took the opportunity to pass judgement on the property and its contents. She expressed her surprise to find that the contents of the rooms reflected a 'better age' and were not filled with 'common' furniture that she claimed filled the rooms of other townhouses across London. Lady Louisa's comments can be interpreted in several ways. On the one hand, her surprise at finding the house 'different from anything else in London' could be interpreted to mean that Elizabeth and Henry were seen to not be keeping up with the latest trends, fashions and consumer goods of the era and be taken as a thinly veiled slight against her friend's property and choices. However, her subsequent comments about the house being 'of a better age . . . without having the least an old-fashioned air' suggest Lady Louisa was voicing a dislike of the spread of modern, yet frivolous and unnecessary goods into London households and that Elizabeth's Montagu House set itself apart by retaining items that were heirlooms, or at the very least were special or unique goods.⁹³

The ancestral Montagu seat of Boughton House, however, continued to suffer neglect under Elizabeth's ownership. Although she paid for bills connected to the property and ensured that it was maintained to prevent it falling into a complete state of disrepair, the property was not used as a family home, nor as a backdrop for entertainments and parties as it had been for John and Mary two generations earlier. Instead it was left to sit almost completely unused for the entirety of Elizabeth's ownership, except for a short stay by members of the family, likely due to the death of one of Elizabeth's grandsons, George Henry Scott, the first born son of Charles, Lord Dalkeith, who passed away aged ten in 1808. A bundle of housekeeping bills from 1808 for Boughton show that for part of April, May and June there was significant activity at the property which warranted fresh grocery supplies and additional servants, with bills for the stay totalling

⁹² Lady Louisa Stuart to Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch, Gloucester Place, 31st May 1798', in A. Clark, (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio Containing Some Correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and Her Sister, Caroline, Countess of Portarlington and Other Friends and Relatives*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: 1895), vol 2, p. 246.

⁹³ H. Greig, *The Beau Monde*, p. 62. Greig notes that 'fashion was not achieved through modish trendsetting' and Lady Louisa's comments suggest that Elizabeth did not incorporate the latest passing fashions and trends into Montagu House.

£386 2s 1d.⁹⁴ It is unknown who was staying at the property, but the bills were addressed to ‘their graces’ and the ‘duke of Buccleuch’, suggesting that Henry and Elizabeth may have been present. Notes taken in a miscellaneous notebook by an unnamed family member, recorded the circumference measurements of several trees on the Boughton estate during June 1808, indicating that a number of family members may have been present at Boughton at this time and were utilising the property as a private retreat where they could deal with their grief.⁹⁵ Due to Boughton’s lack of use for so many years, the family would not have been expected to be there and they may have been able to avoid unwanted visitors and gain privacy by ensconcing themselves away at such a residence. By this generation, Boughton’s disuse was a result of a number of factors, but primarily it was a casualty of this extended Montagu and Buccleuch network of households. The properties which Henry and Elizabeth owned seemed to continually swell throughout their marriage and by the time Elizabeth had inherited Boughton, despite its grand appearance and personal family connection, it served no new purpose amongst the properties they already had. Additionally, having sat unused for over forty years, it is likely that Boughton would have required large sums of money spending on it to repair and modernise it in order for it to serve a useful purpose for the family, whilst the balance of power within the marriage would have continued to have been with Henry and his Scottish property portfolio.

Whilst such a large property like Boughton did not find a function, other properties which Elizabeth inherited did go on to have alternative functions, even if they were not in regular use by Henry and Elizabeth. Ditton Park, for example, became the principal home of Henry James Montagu-Scott, 2nd Baron Montagu of Boughton, their fifth child, and his wife Jane Douglas. Several letters from the Parker collection of letters from 1809-1812 were sent from Jane to Elizabeth and are often primarily concerned with Ditton and Jane’s plans for what she wanted to do and materials she needed.⁹⁶ Each letter Jane sent to Elizabeth was marked as sent from Ditton Park and Jane’s ambitions to carry out work and changes to the house indicate that she and Henry must have been staying there regularly, indicating that Edward, Lord Beaulieu’s wish for Elizabeth’s

⁹⁴ NRS: GD224/351/126. Household bills at Boughton, paid by Gunter. 1808.

⁹⁵ BA, BHN: Miscellaneous notebook (containing notes of tree measurements; heights and weights of family members and details of a tour to Harrogate in 1802).

⁹⁶ BA, BHN: Parker letters. For example, see letter from Jane, Lady Montagu to Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch, 16th May 1809.

youngest son to live at the property was followed. However, the fact that she was relaying her ideas to Elizabeth, suggests that Elizabeth retained ultimate control over the property and that her son and his wife had to seek her approval before making any significant changes. This can also be seen when the property suffered significant damage in a fire in 1812 and needed extensive rebuilding – the cost was entirely met by Elizabeth.⁹⁷ Upon Henry's death in 1845 the property reverted back to the wider Buccleuch network, but their use of the property highlights that surplus houses within a large network could provide ideal homes for younger siblings, particularly sons, who were not due to inherit the principal property network.

Finally, the issue of property use being affected by lifecycle stage needs to be discussed here as it is particularly pertinent in Elizabeth's case. Richmond, which was used sporadically by Henry and Elizabeth after her inheritance, came to be an important household for Elizabeth in her dower years. As this chapter and previous ones have demonstrated, Richmond had been a key property for Mary and George and Mary had purchased the land that the villa was erected on, herself. Her will left Richmond to Elizabeth for her sole and separate use, with the proviso that George could continue to use it until his death. When Elizabeth inherited it in 1790, it is unclear how often she and Henry used it, as at this stage it was a property on the periphery of the combined Montagu and Buccleuch network. However, after Henry's death, this changed and Richmond gave Elizabeth the opportunity to have her own dower home to manage as she saw fit. Richmond offered a more modest size property in a quieter location than the urban townhouse and also, the family connection to her mother and that it had been well maintained all contributed to its being favoured by Elizabeth.

With the addition of Elizabeth's inherited properties, plus further houses which Henry inherited from his mother, Caroline, Baroness Greenwich, the couple's property network had increased to number over twenty houses by the end of the eighteenth century, producing a large and extremely complex collection of households. Lady

⁹⁷ NRO: Montagu (Boughton) X8664. Particular and Valuation of Joint Estate at Ditton by Robert Edmonds (April 1814). Edmonds states that after the fire 'the Duchess is now building a new one. The money already expended is £9,050 and it has been estimated that about £14,000 more will be wanted in the course of the present year'. The individual bills connected to the rebuild can be found within Elizabeth's accounts and vouchers with Henry Hoyle Oddie senior and junior, 1810-1826, which are held at Boughton House (BA, BHN). Oddie Senior retired as Elizabeth's steward in 1820, with his son taking over the position. These show that Elizabeth also rebuilt the school and shared the expenses with her son for rebuilding the chapel.

Louisa Stuart summed up the situation well when she wrote to Elizabeth in 1798 observing:

I don't know whether to condole with you or congratulate you on the destruction of East Park, for you were so overstocked with houses in that part of the world that one less might be no bad circumstance; but a fire can hardly ever be otherwise than frightful, and as the building was there, I suppose you made some use of it.⁹⁸

Not only does Lady Louisa's humorous quip reveal that even contemporaries of Henry and Elizabeth saw their extended property network as somewhat unusual, but emphasises that even with so many households, many had a use or a function to the family.

This chapter has used the concept of house and home to explore the connections the Montagu family had to different properties within their respective networks throughout the eighteenth century. It has kept Boughton at the centre of the discussion, whilst looking at the reasons why it did not suit the needs of the family and how other properties actively did. Each generation of the family had a different set of priorities that contributed to the reasons certain properties were seen and used more as homes, compared to other houses within the network. Looking at the properties which received the most investment and development can help to highlight which property or properties may have been favoured as a principal residence, which was true for Deene Park and Dalkeith Palace, both of which were a focus for George and Henry respectively and acted as the principal country seat for their generation. However, John invested heavily in Boughton throughout his life, maintaining a close connection to the Montagu seat, yet only used the house for entertaining purposes, instead primarily basing his family in the London townhouse of Montagu House, an unusual choice for a permanent residence. This reflects that financial investments were not necessarily indicative of property usage, nor the level of time spent there by a family. Mary and John's preference for London dictated the use of Montagu House and nearby country houses such as Ditton Park, which were used due to their proximity to the capital.

Whilst a lack of qualitative evidence from personal accounts has made it difficult to conclusively state what qualities each generation saw in their households and the notions that they associated with creating a home, combining a variety of less

⁹⁸ Lady Louisa Stuart to Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch, February 21st 1798, in Clark (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol. 2, p. 242-243.

promising, fragmentary material has allowed for convincing conclusions to be drawn for each generation's view of a house and a home. It has been possible to draw together material to provide evidence of how the different generations used and invested in their properties, which would have been significant factors in generating the sense of attachment to place, the sense of privacy and comfort and the emotional ties that historians have identified with the concept of home. Boughton, however, despite meeting a number of these criteria, particularly for John, was never a principal home for any generation during this period, with proximity to London, isolation and multiples of country houses within established property networks all playing a factor in limiting its suitability as a home.

Chapter 4

'I Must Now Say a Word or Two of My Journey':

Travel, Communication and the Mobility of the Montagus

We found the Duke and his party arrived here about an hour before us, and all our servants, baggage, etc. both by land and sea, came in the course of the next day, which was very odd, considering we all began our journey at different times.

*Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch, 1784.*¹

In September 1784, Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch left her town residence in Grosvenor Square, London, bound for her country estate of Dalkeith Palace, for the winter season. In a letter to a close friend, Elizabeth recounted some details of her journey and rounded off the account with the description quoted above of how her family made this cross country voyage. Her experience highlights the importance of everyday travel between aristocratic estates and reveals the coordination of objects and people that was involved. Families such as the Montagus conducted large amounts of pragmatic travel, moving between their numerous houses and estates. This travel was a significant part of their lives which required careful planning and often resulted in significant upheaval, yet it has remained virtually unexplored in the secondary literature.

Other aspects of elite travel in the eighteenth century, however, have attracted considerable historiographical attention, with the Grand Tour and accounts of other foreign voyages dominating such literature.² Developing from the core premise that the

¹ Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, 3rd August 1784, in A. Clark, (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio Containing Some Correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and Her Sister, Caroline, Countess of Portarlington and Other Friends and Relatives*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: 1895), vol 1, p. 269.

² There have been numerous different approaches to the study of the Grand Tour, with research investigating the cities visited; behaviour of travellers; dangers of travel; art and architecture encountered, for example, as well as more general overviews. See for example, R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820* (Cambridge: 2012); B. Redford, *Venice & the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: 1996); J. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (London: 1989); B. Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: 2002); S. A. M. Goldsmith, 'Danger, Risk-taking and Masculinity on the British Grand Tour to the European Continent, c.1730-1780', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2015; J. Black, *The British Abroad. The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: 2003).

Grand Tour was originally and essentially for educational purposes, more recent studies have taken educational travel as the central theme and explored what was gained from these tours and how this varied between trips and families. Richard Ansell, for example, has focused upon the educational travel of protestant families in post-reformation Ireland, highlighting how family circumstances and strategies shaped travel itineraries and what young men saw.³ Ansell also connects foreign travel with domestic travel and the 'home tour', which has drawn increasing academic attention in recent years and offers a new perspective on eighteenth century elite travel.

Ansell argues that domestic travel through Britain and Ireland was a 'final method of preparation' for those embarking on foreign travel, giving them experience of the basic practicalities of travel.⁴ However, the home tour was also an increasingly popular form of travelling in its own right, as a leisure pursuit rather than for explicitly educational purposes, and opened travel up to wider participation, not just the aristocratic elite who could afford to finance such endeavours.⁵ Domestic travel allowed those who were restricted in their travel, such as women, to experience leisure travel and see 'historic attractions and picturesque resources' in their own country.⁶ Zoe Kinsley's work on women's travel writing and their accounts of home tours is particularly valuable in demonstrating the way in which women viewed travel, recorded what they had seen and demarked their travels from other 'everyday' activities that they experienced throughout the year.⁷

A prominent aspect of home tour travel included visits to country houses, castles and ruins, leading to the coining of the phrase 'country house tourism', which has received prominent attention in recent studies, exploring how a leisure activity beloved today initially developed. Adrian Tinniswood, a prolific writer on country house tourism, discusses how the 'Georgian excursionist' travelled the length and breadth of the country in search of properties to visit and art and architecture to view.⁸ In highlighting

³ R. Ansell, 'Educational Travel in Protestant Families from Post-Reformation Ireland', *The Historical Journal*, 58, 4 (2015) p. 936.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 941.

⁵ B. Colbert, 'Introduction: Home Tourism' in B. Colbert (ed.) *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (Ebook. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) p. 2.

⁶ K. Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800* (Aldershot: 2001) p. 4.

⁷ See Z. Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot: 2008) and Kinsley, 'Narrating Travel, Narrating the Self: Considering Women's Travel Writing as Life Writing' *eBulletin of the John Rylands Library* 90, 2 (2014) pp. 67-84.

⁸ A. Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist. Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London: 1998). See for example, p. 9, p. 91.

that such tourism was growing in popularity, Tinniswood also labels country house visitors as ‘polite tourists’, insinuating that while it was not the preserve of the elite, it was still very much a past time for those with sufficient leisure time and excess finances.⁹ Ousby argues that factors such as the development of new coach springs, improvements to road surface and the proliferation of turnpike trusts were all essential in ‘penetrating’ the country and allowing for easier, long-distance travel to make such tours and visits.¹⁰ With increasing numbers of people wanting to conduct home tourism, these developments contributed to the steady reduction of journey times throughout the eighteenth century, making the countryside more accessible and improving journeys for both locals and tourists.

Despite this continued interest in educational and leisure travel, surprisingly, the essential everyday travel of the aristocracy, which Elizabeth so clearly depicted in her correspondence, has been little discussed. Wealthy elite families often owned several different properties, incorporating at least one country residence and a town house in London, although there were also families like the Montagus, who had a diverse property network dispersed over a large geographical area, which they needed to travel between. Such a network would have significantly increased the amount of essential travel required to move between properties, with issues such as whether staff and servants also moved with the family and how frequently families moved from one property to another also not being satisfactorily addressed within current literature. The theme of essential aristocratic travel has briefly been covered in a number of studies, to be discussed below. However, this has tended to focus on the movement between town and country, or perhaps between two estates in different parts of the country.

In her study of the Verney family in late Stuart England, Susan Whyman moves closer to a detailed discussion of inter property travel, by looking at the movement of the family between London and the country and why the amount of time spent at the two locations changed depending on the needs of different generations.¹¹ A list of goods sent back and forth from London to the Verneys’ country estate and a large collection of

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108. Ousby also supports this, stating that country houses were ‘a prominent and familiar part of the landscape for the leisured, mobile middle classes’. See I. Ousby, *The Englishman’s England. Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: 1990) p. 65.

¹⁰ Ousby, *The Englishman’s England*, pp. 10-12.

¹¹ S. E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England. The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford: 1999) p. 57.

letters helps, Whyman argues, to reveal the ‘complexities and hazards of being a commuter’, a striking phrase to discuss inter-property travel.¹² She also touches upon the need to bring servants from one house to another, yet does not build upon this to discuss the number or types of servants being moved, nor any extra cost or how such a move was managed. Moreover, Whyman only discusses Lord John Verney as a commuter but does not apply the same term to the female members of the family. However, she does state that compared to earlier generations, John’s third wife Elizabeth travelled frequently and was able to develop her own ‘gendered visiting patterns’.¹³ Whyman’s study depicts the different way male and female travel could be witnessed, whilst highlighting that the generational shift in travel patterns is important to bear in mind when considering the three generations of the Montagu family and also the impact that two of the Montagu duchesses being heiresses had on the need for essential travel in addition to leisure travel.

Most other studies simply include brief allusions to the need to travel between properties without any sustained discussion of its prominence in everyday aristocratic life. Hartcup remarks that for a family like the Berwicks, who lived so far from London, horses and carriages were an ‘important part of the establishment’ and a necessity for linking them to other parts of the country.¹⁴ Girouard also credits the improvement of carriages with an increased desire for travel, as journeys were made more comfortable.¹⁵ As he observes, the combined improvement in roads and carriages allowed aristocrats and landowners to ‘have their cake and eat it’ as they could enjoy the solitude of their country seats but easily remove themselves from it and head elsewhere when they wished.¹⁶ Rosemary Baird simply notes that it was the upper classes who ‘habitually’ undertook ‘extraordinary amounts of travel’, while Christopher Sykes acknowledges that for families with country estates in more distant locations, the move from town to country was a ‘considerable business’.¹⁷ From this he relates the long journey time and need for comfortable carriages, as well as the stop offs at inns along the way, to the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁴ A. Hartcup, *Below Stairs in the Great Country Houses* (London: 1980) p. 183

¹⁵ M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House. A Social and Architectural History* (London: 1980), pp. 190-1. Attingham Park, near Shrewsbury, was the seat of the seat of the Barons Berwick and located 147 miles away from London (T. Jefferys, *Jefferys's Itinerary; or Travellers Companion, through England, Wales, and part of Scotland . . .* (London: 1775) p. vii.

¹⁶ Girouard, *Ibid.*, p. 190, p. 218.

¹⁷ R. Baird, *Mistress of the House. Great Ladies and Grand Houses, 1670-1830* (London: 2003), p. 37; C. S. Sykes, *Private Palaces. Life in the Great London Houses* (New York: 1986) p. 166.

need for luggage to be sent separately to the family.¹⁸ However, these are only small excerpts from larger chapters. Pragmatic travel and the geographical mobility a family had is not the primary focus, which gives the impression that such travel is deemed unimportant in studies of the daily life of aristocratic families. Nevertheless, the logistics of managing an extended network of properties faced by each generation of the Montagu family, coupled with the amount of surviving material which makes reference to travel, demonstrates the importance of pragmatic travel between properties and that it played an important part in their day-to-day lives.

To address this lacuna within studies of aristocratic life, this chapter will take the theme of travel but use it in a different way from that in which it has traditionally been considered. It will demonstrate how the marital balance of power within each generation of the Montagu family affected the type and amount of both leisure and pragmatic travel that was undertaken. Furthermore, it will show how the nature of the property inheritance shaped what family members did and where they travelled to. The changing size of the property network owned and used by each generation was key in determining the amount of time that each generation spent travelling in any one year, as well as having a significant impact on the state of readiness at which individual properties were maintained and the need for cross country travel by servants. The principal location of each generation's main houses and homes, demonstrated in chapter 3, was instrumental in determining the amount of time that was spent travelling by each generation, as well as affecting the scope that was generated for other forms travelling and engaging in leisure interests. Spa travel, foreign travel and journeys for leisure are discussed as a costly endeavour, reserved for those who had the time and finances to engage in such activities, yet this regular, pragmatic travel was almost as costly and time consuming when a large network of properties is taken into consideration.

Family Travel

The extent to which each generation was on the move between properties varied in response to the evolving nature of the property network and also according to their individual circumstances. As we saw in the previous chapter (figure 3.1), Mary and John experienced very different patterns of mobility which in themselves are revealing of the nature of their relationship. Mary's travel was primarily concentrated around

¹⁸ Sykes, *Ibid.*

moving between town houses and suburban houses, with Ditton Park the most distant property from London she visited. Conversely, as John can be shown to have spent less time based solely at one property than did Mary, it is likely that he was moving between estates, spending only a short time at each one, to check on them and monitor progress of any works or developments being undertaken. The third column, which listed days with no recorded location is particularly interesting in interpreting John's travel patterns. Rather than that the clerk of the kitchen, whose job it was to keep the bill of fare entries up to date failed to record John's location, it is instead likely that this set of bills were for the London properties and Ditton Park only. There were often individual bills of fare kept for specific properties, which would later be entered into a single book. The absence of records for a number of days during this period indicates that Mary and John were either visiting another estate or were staying or dining at other people's properties. The high number of unaccounted days compared to Mary and continuous, prolonged periods of time away, suggests that John was more frequently away from London. It is therefore likely that he was using this time to visit other Montagu properties and estates, staying for periods of several weeks at a time, before returning to the principal home in London.

However, Mary's local travel cannot be seen as symptomatic of a dislike of travel, or unwillingness to embark on long journeys. She did, on very rare occasions, visit and stay at Boughton House and more significantly, Mary also undertook foreign travel without her husband. Foreign travel for women was more unusual than for men at this time, although her position as a rich, aristocratic woman afforded Mary opportunities which would not have been an option for her less wealthy contemporaries in the early eighteenth century.¹⁹ In 1716 Mary set off for a three-month trip to France and Aix en Chappelle, travelling without John and her young children. Her letters to her mother indicate that the underlying reason for the trip was her health, although sightseeing, shopping and engaging with society were also of great interest to her.²⁰ Given that she endured stage coaches, hired carriages and a sea crossing, she evidently did not have an

¹⁹ J. Martin, *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London: 2004) pp. 323-326.

²⁰ British Library (BL): Add MS 61450. Blenheim Papers, vol.CCCL. Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her daughter, Mary, wife of John Montagu c.1702-1742, fols. 95-107.

objection to travelling *per se* and her failure to make long journeys or visit family estates at home was out of choice.

This raises an interesting point, which is particularly pertinent when Mary and John are compared to the later Montagu generations. Because they were primarily based in London and did not engage with the traditional aristocratic pattern of spending time in the country during certain periods of the year, Mary and John did not have to pack up their households and transport themselves and their chattels to another property. Mary's disinterest in the wider Montagu properties and the fact that she did not own any property in her own right led to her adopting an independent form of travel within a relatively small geographical range, allowing her to freely move between urban and suburban properties, which were likely kept in a permeant state of readiness, with servants on hand, ready for her arrival. This made John a solo traveller to the country estates, meaning that as there was not a lady in tow, there would have been a reduced need for an entourage of servants to move from one property to another. Furthermore, there was a reduced need for a country household to be fully prepared in advance of his arrival. This independent travel of both parties is reflective of the nature of their marriage and for this generation, this not only led to a gender divide of travel to houses, but also a town and country divide, with the urban and suburban properties seeing a greater year-round usage and need for staff.

John's solo travel was essential to the continued successful existence of the Montagu estates and network of properties, and his travel conformed to traditional social gender norms of the time, which ascribed the responsibility of maintaining estates primarily to men. Mary's everyday travel, however, at once matches the associated patterns of female travel at this time, whilst also going against them. This was due to her foreign travels without her husband or family, highlighting her independence away from her husband. Mary and John can then be seen to have quite separate and geographically different patterns of everyday travel throughout the early eighteenth century, influenced by their contrasting interests in the Montagu estates. This pattern altered significantly throughout the latter half of the century for the later generations, sparking a change in the pragmatic travel the family undertook.

By the mid eighteenth century, Mary and George instead conducted their travel more jointly, moving between properties together, spending only minimal amounts of time

separated from one another and also sharing the responsibility of financing travel costs. In addition to their inter property travel, the couple regularly visited provincial towns, seaside towns and spa resorts, as well making foreign tours and visiting family, which built up quite a travel portfolio. In a cache of letters sent to the Cardigan estate steward, Folkes, Mary and George discuss their travel plans together, commenting, for example, that ‘we shall pass through my estates, by Wakefield and Leeds’ or ‘we hope to see you on our return to Deene’.²¹ Throughout this collection both Mary and George discuss when the two of them were planning to leave a particular property, what their travel itinerary was and when they hoped to reach their destination property, such as Deene or Montagu House. The terminology of ‘we’ used throughout reinforces the impression that Mary and George had a closer, more companionate marriage than the previous generation and made decisions jointly. These letters also show that Mary and George made shorter stays at Deene and were frequently moving between their properties at Whitehall, Blackheath and Richmond.²² In August 1768, George wrote to Folkes after the couple had arrived at Montagu House. After recounting that they had arrived safely, George remarked that they had journeyed to London from Deene, ‘where we stayed a week’.²³ This week long stay came directly after a long journey to visit their daughter, Elizabeth and her new husband at their home in Dalkeith – a trip which George states must have been ‘about a thousand miles’, suggesting that although they frequently travelled, they were not accustomed to such long journeys and found the trip arduous.²⁴ That they stayed at properties for short periods of time is further supported by content from George’s personal accounts, which show regular housekeeping payments for the different properties, reflecting that they were not based at one property for a substantial amount of time.²⁵ That Mary and George moved between country and town so easily suggests that like Mary’s townhouses in the previous generation, houses such as Deene, Whitehall and Richmond were kept to a basic level of readiness with duplicates of personal items and core servants, allowing easy transfer between properties. However, the correspondence with Folkes also suggests that Mary and George had an outline of

²¹ Norfolk Record Office Archive Centre (NROAC): MC 50/12, 503x4, George, Lord Cardigan to Folkes, 29th July 1762.

²² NROAC: MC 50/12, 503x4.

²³ *Ibid.*, 16th August 1768.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Buccleuch Archives, Boughton House, Northamptonshire (BA, BHN): Private Accounts of George, Duke of Montagu. These private accounts consist of four separate booklets, covering the period 1753 – 1776.

their intended itinerary for the forthcoming weeks and would give estimations of how long they would stay at a property and the date they would be leaving which would have allowed stewards and housekeepers to prepare the property and forward correspondence to them accordingly.²⁶

The joint nature of their travel did not just extend to their physical journeys, but also the financial costs of moving. When the accounts of Mary and George are first consulted, it appears that George was principally responsible for travel conducted by the couple, as they are littered with references to payments for journeys, covering both movement between properties and leisure travel. For example, throughout his personal accounts, George recorded paying for individual journeys to houses such as Deene, costing on one occasion £15 5s and travel to his position at Windsor for £10 10s, as well as more general ‘travelling charges etc and London bills’ for £124, likely including housekeeping expenses for the stay. In addition, Mary and George paid many visits to spa destinations, particularly Bath in the later years of their marriage, likely in a bid to aid Mary’s declining health. These were often long stays, lasting five or six weeks at a time, with George recording in 1763 that the journey there cost £12 12s and the return journey to London £20, indicating that they could have set off from Deene and travelled down to London after their stay. Sometimes the combined cost of the journeys and the stay were recorded instead, with a £305 bill in January 1768 for a stay of 6 weeks and 6 days.²⁷ However, annotations by George reveal that Mary did contribute towards travel expenses on numerous occasions. After a journey to Worcester in 1763 George recorded that he had received £50 ‘From my Lady C towards the expenses of the Worcester journey’ and that this sum was to be deducted from his costs, whilst after a stay with Henry and Elizabeth at Dalkeith in 1770, which came to a combined total of £280, George wrote ‘Received of the duchess for the journey to Scotland £60. Besides this sum the duchess gave me £100 not accounted herein’.²⁸ This suggests that whilst George had overall responsibility to pay for travelling expenses, the companionate

²⁶ NROAC: MC 50/12/9, 503x4. For example, whilst in Knaresborough in August 1762, George wrote to Folkes to say ‘We propose leaving this place tomorrow afternoon, and to be at Deene next Tuesday morning, where we intend to stay till the 12th next month . . .’.

²⁷ BA, BHN: Private Accounts of George, Duke of Montagu. Book 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.* It is not specified within the account books as to who was keeping them. However, a comparison of the handwriting with letters of George’s held at Norwich Record Office suggest that the account was kept personally by George. Notes within, such as ‘received for me at Hoares by T Pilliner’ (February 1774, book 4) and a bill labelled as ‘Reynolds, for my portrait’ (19th August 1758, book 1), further support this, as does a lack of signature signing the accounts off throughout by George, which is present in accounts kept by stewards for members of the family in other generations.

nature of their marriage and the access that Mary had to her own finances meant that she was able to divide costs and contribute towards expenses. Mary's accounts do not explicitly list her payments towards such items, or paying solely for a journey herself. However, Mary made payments to George throughout their marriage and only the amount transferred was listed, not the reason why. These large, bulk payments likely covered a variety of shared expenses and costs she contributed towards, including travel between households, as well as leisure journeys.

Mary's inheritance of the Montagu estates in 1749 did not have a significant impact upon the pragmatic travel she and George undertook, since the properties which she inherited were in locations which they already travelled between. Because some estates were in dispute with her sister Isabella, the only additional impact that this expansion of the network had was the need to visit, or monitor some of the estates which Mary had a claim to, the main one being Boughton House. An extract from a letter by Horace Walpole, cited in chapter 1, reported that the Cardigans only visited Boughton once a year, but when they did they arrived in a coach and six, with three chaises in tow and were on their way to Deene. This indicates that Mary and George combined visits to Boughton when they were on the way back from another journey – this time, George's accounts show that they were on the way back to Deene after a stay in Worcester – but by doing so, they would have arrived with quite an entourage, displaying a certain level of grandeur for their annual visit.²⁹ This display of fashionable consumption would have reflected their wealth and status and was possibly intended to assert Mary and George's claim to the property and upstage her sister. After Mary's death in 1775, the amount of regular travel that George made between estates can be hard to pinpoint due to the fragmentary surviving evidence for the period. However, his position as governor at Windsor Castle kept him in London for long periods of time, something which Elizabeth seems to support when she remarked to Lady Louisa that 'my father arrived yesterday while we were at breakfast. He is vastly well, and not sorry, I believe, to find himself here; he has been doing duty at Windsor almost ever since we left him'.³⁰ Although it is uncertain when Elizabeth had last been with her father, it is clear that his

²⁹ BA, BHN: Private Accounts of George, Duke of Montagu. 22nd July 1763, book 2.

³⁰ Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, 2nd October 1784, in Clark (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 1, p. 276.

position significantly occupied his time and would have required him to have been within close proximity to Windsor.

By the latter period of the eighteenth century, the required pragmatic travel of the family significantly expanded, since long, cross country journeys to the Scottish Buccleuch properties and the principal seat of Dalkeith had to be considered – a factor which had not been an issue for previous generations. From the beginning of their marriage, Henry and Elizabeth moved between houses regularly. After their wedding in London, the couple travelled to Sudbrook in Petersham, a house which Henry's mother, Lady Townshend had just inherited. After a week at Sudbrook, they returned to town, from whence they again set off, this time for Adderbury, an estate in Oxfordshire, which had been given to them as a wedding present. From Adderbury Henry and Elizabeth later embarked on their first journey north to Dalkeith.³¹ All of this travel occurred within the first month of their marriage, forming part of their 'wedding trip' and so is not unexpected.³² However, such movement between properties was a theme which continued throughout their marriage.

The need for long distance travel to Dalkeith meant that new considerations of transportation had to be taken into account. Elizabeth's correspondence shows that a combination of road travel and sea shipping was relied upon to ensure smooth movement of the family and their belongings, and that she and Henry did not always make the journey together. The distance between houses meant that stays at these properties were for longer periods of time and not for short visits, like those made by Mary and George when they stayed at a property for only a week at a time. Whilst source material for establishing Henry and Elizabeth's household movement is difficult to pin down, a housekeeping book from early in their marriage and a series of day/dinner books for Dalkeith House help to give a crucial insight into the journeys they conducted. This makes it possible to reconstruct several years of their lives and the travel they conducted, although this is of course not representative of the travel throughout their life.

³¹ B. Bonnyman, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith. Estates Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland* (Edinburgh: 2014) p. 54.

³² Jennifer Phegley states that the custom which has become known as a 'honeymoon' developed out of an increase post wedding travel in the eighteenth century. See J. Phegley, *Courtship and Marriage in Victorian England* (Oxford: 2012), p. 136.

Initially, memorandums recorded in a housekeeping book covering the period 1770-1779 give a glimpse into pattern of Henry and Elizabeth travel early in their marriage. Although not detailed or covering an extended period of time, these memorandums, which can be seen in figure 4.1, were noted down on the inside cover of the book and record the movement of Henry and Elizabeth for the years 1769-1772, the years directly after their marriage. During this period, they were spending most of their time in London with a stay of several months at Dalkeith. The memorandums show that they typically arrived at Dalkeith in June or early July with an entourage of family and stayed until late October, at which time they returned to London. When staying at Dalkeith, both Henry and Elizabeth took the opportunity to visit other Buccleuch properties in Scotland, specifically Langholm Lodge and a property at Kelso in Roxburghshire. Whilst Henry and Elizabeth arrived at and left Dalkeith at the same time, they travelled to these other properties independently, spending differing amounts of time there. This early pattern of travel fits the more traditional pattern of aristocratic movement, with the couple leaving London for the summer months to spend time at their country estate.

However, Henry and Elizabeth's patterns of movement appear to have changed significantly throughout the marriage, with a reversal of the movement initially depicted in the housekeeping book. This shift is shown through dinner books for Dalkeith covering the period 1775-1885.³³ Of the volumes which cover Henry and Elizabeth's generation and the duration of their marriage, unfortunately for the period 1775-1798, only names of guests to the house are recorded, with Henry and Elizabeth not being mentioned. There is a gap in recordings until 1804, when the dinner books begin again. This set of entries was kept by Major Walter Scott, who made a full list of those in attendance every evening, including Henry and Elizabeth, and also recorded where they had gone if they were absent. This enables these later records to be used for tracking how much time was being spent by Henry and Elizabeth at different houses, the seasonality of their movement and the amount of time they spent travelling.

The new dinner book began in 1804 and shows that by this time, Henry and Elizabeth were predominantly based at Dalkeith but made one single extended trip south annually. For this particular year, January-June was recorded in one booklet, which contains no

³³ National Records of Scotland (NRS): GD224/1085. Dalkeith House day/dinner books. 1775-1885. There are 14 separate volumes within this reference listing.

marginalia to explain where Henry and Elizabeth were if they were not present for dinner, and July- December was recorded in a separate booklet, with full marginalia. Despite this, it is possible to ascertain that for the majority of January-June, Henry and Elizabeth were resident at Dalkeith, with only individual nights where they were not present for dinner, suggesting they were dining with friends or had made a short journey to a nearby house. When the more detailed account starts in July, Henry and Elizabeth can be seen to have missed dinner on a number of occasions, with notes to say who they were dining with and where. Occasionally Henry went away for a few days to another estate, such as Roxburgh, where he stayed for two nights in July, for example.³⁴ They also went to other houses together, spending a week at Bothwell Castle in August. It was not until September, however, that an extended journey took place. On the 21st September, ‘the Duchess of Buccleuch, Lady Harriet Montagu and Major Scott set out on their journey to Northamptonshire’, indicating that they were calling at Boughton on their way to London.³⁵ Henry remained at Dalkeith, making journeys out to Bowhill and Selkirk, with several dinners away from Dalkeith during Elizabeth’s absence. She did not return to Dalkeith until the 6th November, when it was recorded that she had ‘arrived this morning from London’, with Lady Harriet and Major Scott in tow.³⁶ No further extended journeys were made by either Henry or Elizabeth that year, indicating that Henry did not travel to London annually at this time.

In 1805, however, Elizabeth spent over 5 months in England and Henry continued to visit his Scottish estates whilst also joining Elizabeth for the final month of her stay. He visited Boughton House on his way south; considering that Elizabeth also made the same stop in the previous year, this could indicate that this was a staple of their journey when going to London and, as with Mary and George, formed their yearly visit. In 1806, Elizabeth travelled to The Hirsell, a property in Berwickshire to stay with her daughter Elizabeth, who had married Alexander Ramsey-Home, the 10th Earl of Home in 1798, as well as embarking on a two month trip which saw her call at Bowhill on the way to Harrogate and come back to Dalkeith via Langholm Lodge. Cross referral with Elizabeth’s cash books and financial accounts show that she paid for such journeys and all expenses which occurred whilst staying away, with the journey to Harrogate alone

³⁴ *Ibid.*, July 1804. Volume 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21st September 1804. Volume 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6th November 1804. Volume 3.

costing £50.³⁷ Correspondingly, 12 days prior to Elizabeth departed for her trip to Harrogate, Henry arrived back after spending two and a half months in London.³⁸

Using these three years as an example has helped to show that while Henry and Elizabeth did not have a strict seasonality about their travel during this period, they did have a reversal in travel patterns compared to the start of their marriage. Instead of being predominantly based in London with a single visit to Dalkeith, by the mid to latter years of their marriage, at least one of them spent a period of time in London each year, but only one such journey was made. This was in direct contrast to the amount of time that both Mary and John and Mary and George spent at Montagu House and the ability they had to spend shorter stays there. Whilst the distance between London and Dalkeith may have been the primary reason why only one extended journey a year was made, highlighted when Elizabeth tellingly remarked to Lady Louisa that ‘moving anywhere is always a serious thing to me’,³⁹ having Edinburgh within only ten miles of Dalkeith, with its own established theatres and entertainments which Elizabeth frequented, meant that they were close to a major metropolis and were not completely isolated.⁴⁰ This reversal in location suggests a closer affinity to Dalkeith as their family expanded and their marriage progressed, with Dalkeith more of a favourable location to raise a family.

³⁷ See NRS: GD224/1093. Miscellaneous Volumes: Account books, kept by a member of the Buccleuch family. July – September 1806 reflects the bills Elizabeth paid for the travel on this journey and the expenses generated whilst staying at Harrogate, including servants, washing and purchases made. Volume 1.

³⁸ NRS: GD224/1085. Dalkeith House day/dinner books. April-July 1806. Volume 3.

³⁹ Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, September 1784, in Clark (ed.), *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 1, p. 275.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth makes reference within her letters to Lady Louisa of having been to the theatre with members of her family, for example, in July 1789 she wrote that ‘we were all at the play last night to see Mrs Jordan, who is to act six nights at Edinburgh’. Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, July 1789, in Clark (ed.), *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol. 2, p. 149.

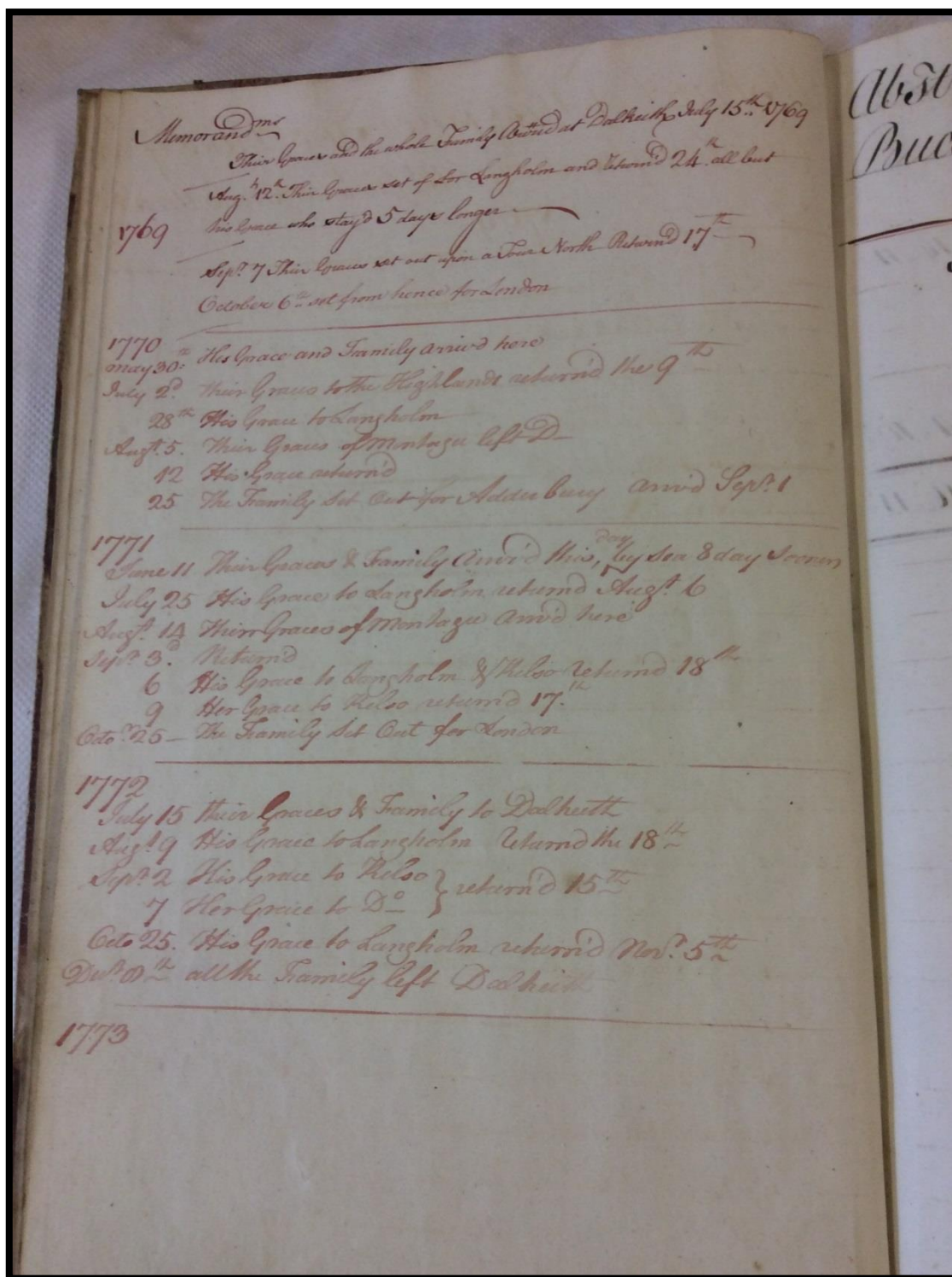


Figure 4.1: Page from housekeeping book for Dalkeith, showing memorandums.

However, whilst the principal location may have reversed, the pattern did not. In the early 1770s and during the period 1804-1806, there was only one extended trip away from the property they were principally using at the time to its town or country counterpart. The travel they made to other properties whilst in London in the early period is unknown. Furthermore, while journeys were made to other properties in Scotland, such as Langholm, Bowhill and properties in Roxburghshire when at Dalkeith, these were only for a few days or up to a week at a time and journeys further afield were limited to once per year. A lone note on one of the pages in the 1790s dinner books, does however state that Elizabeth set out for London on the 7th April 1797, and returned on the 7th June after a ‘solo’ visit to the capital, with the time of year and length of the trip indicating that being principally based at Dalkeith was the norm by this time.⁴¹

Such long stays at London and Dalkeith meant that substantial personal luggage also needed to be moved between the two households, but rather than using the road networks as they did for their own travel, the Buccleuchs instead primarily utilised sea shipping services for this. Letters and bills reveal that luggage was loaded on to ships at ports in London and sent to the port of Leith, near Edinburgh where it was collected and finished the last part of its journey via road. The types of goods sent via coastal ship were principally heavy and bulky and so it was likely easier and cheaper for the family to transport their luggage and items in this manner. On 30th July 1792, for example, two chests, two boxes, a portmanteau, a case and one sack were loaded aboard ‘The Star’ at the Adelphi Wharf in London, bound for Leith.⁴² There are no details of the precise content of what Henry and Elizabeth were moving between their properties and what their luggage contained as receipts only record details such as boxes, sacks, cases and chests. However, one or two bills offer slightly more detail but still only record that ‘a piece of furniture’ was shipped, for example.⁴³ At present, only material showing one way coastal shipping, that of London to Leith, has been discovered, suggesting that such a method of transportation was employed due to the amount of goods purchased on stays in London and there was not the same volume of luggage to be taken to London on a southern trip. This would also have likely been connected to London’s position as the dominant supplier of goods, in particular luxury goods and specialist items which

⁴¹ NRS: GDD4/1085. Dalkeith House day/dinner books, volume 1. Noted on inside front cover.

⁴² NRS: GD224/351/40. Freight bills, 1792.

⁴³ NRS: GD224/351/40. Miscellaneous accounts. 1st August 1792 – A piece of furniture, £1 12s 7d.

could not be sourced from local provincial sellers.⁴⁴ Henry and Elizabeth would have required large amounts of shipping back to Dalkeith after stocking up on such items, but would not have had the same demand for the reverse journey. It is, however, possible that such bills have simply not survived. Prior to the improvement of the road systems and developments in carriages,⁴⁵ coastal shipping had been the most effective and efficient way of transporting goods across long distances, minimising the amount of road travel that had to be made and the risks of potential damage to items or loss of them altogether.⁴⁶ Despite improvements in the road network it continued to be swifter and better value. Coastal shipping allowed Henry and Elizabeth to move large quantities of luggage between their principal town and country residences in one go, for a relatively cheap price and reduced chance of damage thanks to a smoother journey.⁴⁷

Movement of Servants

Whilst the pragmatic travel of the core members of the aristocratic family has received cursory attention in a small number of studies, a particularly overlooked aspect of travel connected to aristocratic households is whether, and how, servants and other household staff also moved between properties. There is a passing assumption in studies that certain household servants went with the family wherever they were needed, and may even have accompanied a family on spa breaks or foreign voyages, as Joseph Florance, the 4th Duke of Buccleuch's chef did when the Duke journeyed to Lisbon in a final attempt to recover his health in 1819.⁴⁸ However, what of other staff? It would not have been economically viable for the Montagus to have had duplicates of staff at every

⁴⁴ J. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 64, 3 (2011) pp. 889-890.

⁴⁵ Road developments and the spread of turnpikes significantly improved journey times and conditions, see W. Albert, 'The Turnpike Trusts' in D. H. Aldcroft and M. J. Freeman (eds) *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: 1983), p. 38-42; P. J. G. Ransom, *The Archaeology of the Transport Revolution, 1750-1850* (Tadworth: 1984), p. 20-28. Alastair Durie also explores travel in early modern Scotland, stating that prior to road improvements, 'Scotland was not a society without movement, but most movements were only short in distance', see A. Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel' in E. Foyster and C. A. Whatley (eds) *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 – 1800* (Edinburgh: 2010) p. 54. Girouard also notes that in addition to improved road networks, 'increasingly sophisticated' carriages greatly contributed to improving the comfort and speed of journeys. See Girouard, *Life the English Country House*, p. 190.

⁴⁶ J. Armstrong and P. S. Bagwell, 'Coastal Shipping' in Aldcroft and Freeman (eds) *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 142-143.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.142. Durie also notes that whilst coastal shipping did not increase in speed during this period, voyages were not scheduled on the main sea routes, such as Leith-London which was ideal for the location of Henry and Elizabeth's households. See Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel', p. 261.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Hartcup, *Below Stairs*, p. 149; S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: 1998), p. 103; Martin, *Wives and Daughters*, p. 98; G. Waterfield and A. French, *Below Stairs: 400 Years of Servants' Portraits* (London: 2003) p. 74.

property they owned or used, particularly given John's clear need to save money and George's struggles with debt in the early years of his marriage. Instead, it is likely that servants moved with the family between properties and there are snippets of material connected to the family which are rich in references to servant travel which help to explore a severely undeveloped and overlooked aspect of aristocratic household life.

Evidence for the travel and movement of servants and goods fluctuates between the three generations. However, it is the period of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries with the cross country travel of Henry and Elizabeth which offers the clearest insight into how servants moved between properties. From the beginning of their marriage, references to servants following the couple around the country are associated with them. Bonnyman remarks that prior to their first journey to Dalkeith after their London wedding, 'the first servants' were sent ahead from Adderbury to make preparations prior to the couple's arrival.⁴⁹ Henry and Elizabeth stayed at Adderbury for a short time after their wedding and servants were dispatched from there to Dalkeith. This suggests that there may have been a shortage of household staff at Dalkeith and that the family recruited servants from existing properties or from England and they relocated to Scotland. It is likely that any servants recruited from England were for more specialised positions such as valets, ladies maids and housekeepers who had been trained in aristocratic households and knew what was expected of them in their position. Such trained 'elite' servants may have been difficult to recruit in the borders and even within a provincial city like Edinburgh, where less skilled servants such as footmen and maids would be employed.

After their arrival at Dalkeith, Henry and Elizabeth's bills and accounts are littered with payments for travel expenses for their servants following them around the country. Servants did not travel in family-owned coaches, but instead used hackney and stage coaches to make their way across the country at their own cost and then appear to have been reimbursed for the cost, plus their expenses on the road on their arrival. For example, on the 27th July 1791, Henry paid for a Stephen Rooke to take a hackney coach to Holborn, costing a shilling, followed by a stage coach to Dalkeith at a cost of £5.10s. He was given a further two pounds to cover his expenses on the road.⁵⁰ Rooke's

⁴⁹ Bonnyman, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 54.

⁵⁰ NRS: GD224/351/32. Miscellaneous accounts, including: servants' board wages and travelling expenses, 1791.

bills for travel seem quite high compared to that of other servants, so it is unclear precisely what his position was within the Buccleuchs' service. Other servants, such as Catherine Jones in April 1781, laid out only £1 15s from London to Dalkeith, a fraction of Rooke's costs and more in line with the charges made by other servants.⁵¹

In June 1781, 22 individual bills were submitted by servants for travelling expenses from London to Dalkeith, totalling over £72 7s 1d.⁵² These bills were not only for servants themselves travelling, but also bringing goods belonging to the family with them. One bill from Mr Foot, for example, included a charge of £1 19s for the carriage of trunks and Edward Fawcett endured an 11 day journey as he was taking four horses up to Dalkeith with him.⁵³

Table 4.1 – Travelling Expenses by Servants, 1781.

| Month | Cost (£ s d) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| July | 14 5 0 |
| August | 2 8 1 |
| September | 1 3 4 |
| October | 5 12 2 |
| November | 14 4 1 |
| December | 4 6 2 |
| Remainder of another travel bill | 0 19 5 |
| Total | 42 18 3 |

Table 4.1 shows the travelling expenses submitted by servants over a 6 month period in 1781.⁵⁴ These costs include journeys from London to Dalkeith, as well as travel between the Scottish properties of Langholm Lodge and Bowhill House, plus local travel, such as the turnpike costs expended by the servants when they or the family travelled to Edinburgh. The high expenses for the June bill shows that this was likely

⁵¹ NRS: GD224/365/7. Vouchers of GD224/365/1, Servants expenses travelling from London to Dalkeith, 1781.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Data in table 4.3 taken from monthly abstracts of servants bills for travelling expenses at Dalkeith, 1781. NRS: GD224/365/7. Vouchers of GD224/365/1, Servants' expenses travelling from London to Dalkeith, 1781.

the month that Henry and Elizabeth left London and made their way back to Dalkeith. These bills also demonstrate that household servants not only made long distance travel between London and Dalkeith, but also traversed between the Buccleuch properties in the Borders, either following the family or running errands between properties.

The bills are also backdated, revealing that the servants appear to have paid for their travel out of their own money upfront and were repaid at a later date. Expecting servants to pay for their travel expenses relied upon them having access to funds of their own, a system which may have been put in place to ensure that staff completed the journey and arrived at the household they were expected to. If money was supplied in advance of a journey, not only might too much be given, but there may have been a chance that a servant could have used the money to abscond from the destination they were supposed to be going to, or use it for another purpose. By asking for bills and receipts of travel, the Buccleuchs could ensure that only exact amounts were paid for the precise journeys made.

All of these examples of servant or household staff travel have shown that such travel was conducted by road, rather than sea and it was likely due to the significant cost of shipping servants, compared to road travel. While cheap for transporting parcels and luggage, sending servants to Leith from London by ship was significantly more costly than road transportation, as a bill from 1792 reveals. On the 13th August Henry paid for two servants to travel on board 'The Star' to reach Leith, paying £4 4s for their combined journey.⁵⁵ This would have made their fare £2 2s each, a standard fare for a person aboard such a vessel from London to Leith, which when compared to a journey by stagecoach, such as the £1 15s paid by Catherine Jones, is quite an additional cost. From bills and receipts, the majority of servants travelled by road in stage coaches or family carriages and it was only infrequently that servants would have been sent by ship. Similarly there is only one reference to suggest that Henry and Elizabeth ever used a coastal service to travel between London and Leith themselves.⁵⁶ When servants did go by ship, it is possible that they had been assisting with the loading of the luggage on

⁵⁵ NRS: GD224/351/40. Bill for servant's passage from London to Leith, 1792 in miscellaneous accounts, including: freight from London; Dr Graham's bills; Samuel Young, upholsterer, 1792.

⁵⁶ NRS: GD224/352/1. Housekeeping and other accounts at Dalkeith House, July 1769 to December 1779.

board and joined the passage to help at the other end and to convey the freight from Leith to Dalkeith.

Whilst the majority of this expenditure has highlighted Henry's outlay on staff and servant travel costs, the period after Elizabeth's inheritance also reveals that she began to pay such expenses as well. Her own personal account books from c.1807 feature regular entries for such expenses and highlight the impact that the inheritance of the additional Montagu estates had on the way the couple administered their properties.⁵⁷ However, it may be the case that Elizabeth's contribution towards servant travel costs has been obscured by the nature of her accounts. Her account books from early on in her marriage contain entries which are very basic, often just listing a name and a sum of money to be paid and there is often no indication of what the sum of money was for.⁵⁸ They indicate that she was transferring large sums of money on a regular basis to Henry and his stewards and housekeepers, which could show that she was indeed contributing towards such costs. In her later accounts, which she kept herself, Elizabeth made a note of what the payment was for and journeys for house stewards or servants feature throughout.⁵⁹ These include travel between the southern properties of Richmond, London and Ditton, as Sharp was paid for in September 1809, but also longer journeys to the Scottish Buccleuch properties of Langholm and Dalkeith.⁶⁰ This indicates that Elizabeth was not just taking responsibility for paying for travel between inherited Montagu properties, but Buccleuch properties too, making it likely that she did contribute towards such expenses earlier in her marriage to Henry.

Henry and Elizabeth's vast property network and increased long distance travel offers an insight into the level of required movement which servants employed by them would need to undertake, but there is less evidence for servant mobility in the previous generations. For Mary and John in the earlier half of the century, there are only scant indications of the movement of household staff or servants between Montagu

⁵⁷ NRS: GD224/1093. Miscellaneous Volumes: Account books, kept by a member of the Buccleuch family. Volume 1.

⁵⁸ NRS: GD224/1092/1. Private accounts of Elizabeth with Henry Hoare & co 1775-1824.

⁵⁹ Although Elizabeth's accounts and book keeping will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, the change in Elizabeth's accounts was likely brought about by her inheritance in 1790, suggesting this gave her more control over her own personal finances. Additionally, by keeping the more detailed accounts herself, Elizabeth was making sure she could keep track of her expenditure, which had become broader since her inheritance.

⁶⁰ NRS: GD224/1093. Miscellaneous Volumes: Account books, kept by a member of the Buccleuch family. 12th September 1809. Volume 2.

properties. Within the numerous versions of the instructions to household servants, so useful for examining the specific duties of the various members of the household staff, there is no mention of the possibility of having to travel away from the property at which they were based.⁶¹ This suggests that a large variety of servants were required at Montagu House all year round, supported by the evidence which shows how much time Mary and John were based at the property, yet were not required at larger country properties. The evidence of John's account books also supports the notion that servants were not regularly moving between properties with him when he visited other households, or when he and Mary had short stays elsewhere. Payments which explicitly cite travel by a servant or other employee are rare, despite the book covering a period of twenty years. One entry in 1726, for example, records a payment of £3 08s 20d to 'Aug: Dupre, the cook, for charges to and from Boughton', which demonstrates that on that particular occasion, John took his own cook to Boughton for an undisclosed period of time rather than relying on hiring a local cook for his needs.⁶² This suggests that a small number of core staff were kept at the main properties used in addition to Montagu House, such as Ditton Park and skeleton staff at Boughton and that additional staff were either hired if needed, or came along with the family and did not make separate journeys, as was needed for such large moves during Elizabeth and Henry's time.

It is equally difficult to get a sense of servant travel within Mary and George's era mid-century. There are examples within George's accounts of his paying for such journeys, but they are few and far between. In over twenty years of account books, there are fewer than ten references to George paying for travel for someone other than his family.⁶³ These principally state 'for the journey to Deene', likely indicating a trip from London and cost between £15-£20 which is expensive considering the costs of Henry and Elizabeth's servants journeying between London and Edinburgh. This could indicate that payments were being made not to servants such as footmen, but for household employees such as stewards or men of business from the capital who were travelling in comfort, or indeed family members or acquaintances. Frels, who appears to have been a steward based in London, received travelling expenses from George, including for journeys to Deene, likely to visit George, and for trips elsewhere, such as Bath, where he may have been conducting business on George's behalf. Frels appears to have been

⁶¹ BA, BHN: Draft Instructions to Household Servants.

⁶² BA, BHN: London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1725/6.

⁶³ BA, BHN: Private Accounts of George, Duke of Montagu.

responsible for distributing servants board wages and his travelling expenses were often amalgamated into the bill, as can be seen in September 1757 when Frels was due to be paid £143 10s for board wages at Richmond, plus a journey to Deene.⁶⁴ This indicates that it was not always George conducting the travel required to monitor business at houses and estate. Those who held a position of authority within the Cardigan properties were expected to travel to where George was located and were reimbursed for the cost of their travels. That journey expenses were combined with other expenses on occasion could also highlight why servant travel can be difficult to find. Within accounts, such expenses may have been grouped under generic terms such as ‘disbursements’, as features regularly within the Montagu accounts, or simply added on to wages without an additional note to state what had been included.

Conversely, Mary’s various accounts for the period do not make any reference to her paying for servant travel. This seems puzzling considering that her accounts do feature regular payment of servants’ wages and bills for tradesmen and other services connected to her properties. Combined with the limited number of such entries in George’s accounts, it can be inferred that servant travel was also limited within this generation. With more frequent visits to different properties for shorter lengths of time, the properties were likely being kept in near constant state of readiness for visits, with a basic household staff in place throughout the year. Specific staff, such as George’s valet or Mary’s lady’s maid may have travelled with the couple, with specific bills for their travel becoming combined with other expenses within the couples account. Also, whilst the accounts do not reflect it, with the properties they were frequently moving between being in close proximity to each other, it is likely that servants did move between certain households, such as Montagu House, Blackheath and Richmond, which would have been relatively inexpensive and easy to implement, reducing a need for multiples of the same servants.

However, it must be noted here that a difference in source material may have contributed to the conclusions drawn above. For Elizabeth and Henry’s generation, details of servant travel were discovered in the voucher receipts of household expenses now held at the National Records of Scotland, whereas for the previous two Montagu generations of the earlier eighteenth century, account book entries were the primary

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Book 1.

source utilised. This thesis has not heavily relied upon, nor explored the majority of individual vouchers and receipts of purchases which survive for Mary and John and Mary and George's era, simply due to the vast numbers which survive and the time constraints of this thesis. Additionally, these early vouchers have not been catalogued or subdivided, whereas some of the vouchers for Henry and Elizabeth's have been broken down into smaller, year by year groups relating to household expenses, which have also been given partial catalogue descriptions to indicate the presence of servant orientated bills. Some of these bundles were randomly ordered on multiple visits to the NRS, allowing for a more in depth view of the travel which was made by household servants during this period. When compared to corresponding surviving cash books or account books of Henry and Elizabeth, there are no explicit references to either paying for the servant's travel expenses which the vouchers indicate. Instead, large payments were made to house stewards or other members of staff who distributed servant's wages and expenditure. This could indicate that a detailed study of the surviving Montagu vouchers for the early and mid-eighteenth century could help to develop the understanding of servant travel between households and the frequency during which they moved. However, this initial exploration of payments connected to servant travel has highlighted that for generations with a larger geographical spread of households, such as Henry and Elizabeth, certain servants were expected to travel. If households were not being used frequently, there was little reason for a property to have a staff in multiple places, whereas for Mary's urban and suburban network early in the century and Mary and George's more frequent movement between properties, for shorter periods of time, it is likely that a basic staff was kept at each property and other key servants moved with them.

Travel and Sociability

The pragmatic travel undertaken by the Montagu's has been set within the wider context of other types of travel which was undertaken by individuals, such as trips to the continent, domestic tours and visits to spa towns. However, regular pragmatic travel could also open up opportunities to engage in leisure travel and domestic tourism without the need for separate journeys, opening up networks of sociability and an independence of movement for women in particular. Conversely, it will also be shown that the need for long journeys to reach properties at a distance from London, such as

Dalkeith, led to social isolation, separation from family and exclusion from entertainments.

Throughout this thesis, Duchess Mary Churchill has been difficult to place within the early eighteenth-century Montagu houses, but surprisingly, the topic of travel has revealed a new facet to Mary's activities during this period. As has already been established, Mary's travel was predominantly focussed around London and its suburbs, visiting friends and family, attending events and moving between townhouse and suburban properties, particularly at Blackheath. However, from reading her correspondence with her mother Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, and using extracts from the Bills of Fare, it is possible to establish that Mary conducted a significant amount of this urban travel via sedan chair. Sedan chairs were a popular form of transportation in the early eighteenth century, offering a personal means of conveyance that could collect its passenger from within their property and deliver them into the household of the person they were visiting.⁶⁵ Sarah made reference to Mary using a chair early on in her marriage. Further references in bills of fare from the 1730s and 1740s to Mary taking game out in her chair, as well as payments by John for 'chairmen', indicate that this was a method of transportation that Mary favoured throughout her life. At this time the sedan was at the height of its popularity and would have provided Mary with a quick, easy and private method of transportation which she could utilise to engage with people as she pleased. Sarah, for example, recorded that when she saw Mary 'in the street in her chair', Mary would not put the glass down to acknowledge her properly, a slight which Sarah did not take well.⁶⁶ Sarah's comment does, however, show that the sedan could limit the interaction that one had to make with passers-by and that greeting people could be avoided altogether. Using a sedan, rather than a carriage, allowed Mary to visit friends and acquaintances quickly and easily and move around the capital and its surrounds as she pleased.

Mary's use of sedan chairs whilst in the city allowed her to travel freely around London, visiting friends and family with ease and two generations later, Elizabeth was also able to exploit her necessary pragmatic travel to her own benefit by combining domestic travel with her commute back to Dalkeith. A particularly clear example of this can be

⁶⁵ H. W. Hart, 'The Sedan Chair as a Means of Public Conveyance', *The Journal of Transport History*, 5 (1961-1962) p. 213.

⁶⁶ BL: Add MS 61451. Blenheim Papers. Vol. CCCLI fol. 198. Papers relating to the 'Green Book' comprising narratives by the Duchess concerning her quarrels with her children. 1722-1744 fols. 3-4.

found in a letter written by Elizabeth to Lady Louisa Stuart in August 1784, when she was detailing her return journey from London to Dalkeith and began by saying ‘I must now say a word or two of my journey’.⁶⁷ Rather than just a brief overview, Elizabeth provided a detailed description of over 400 words, forming the majority of the length of her letter and providing a fascinating insight into what could be incorporated into the long journey between London and Dalkeith.

After setting off from Montagu House, Whitehall Elizabeth’s first stop was ‘Luton’ that is Luton Hoo House, around 31 miles from Montagu House.⁶⁸ Luton Hoo, owned by the 3rd Earl of Bute had only recently been rebuilt and completed by the architect Robert Adam.⁶⁹ Here Elizabeth and her travelling party, though it is not clear with whom she was travelling, spent two hours viewing the house and all the paintings contained within it, but could not view the gardens due to the weather. The reason for Elizabeth’s stop at this house becomes clear in her next sentence to Lady Louisa – ‘I did not omit to visit your apartment’. The 3rd Earl of Bute was John Stuart, Lady Louisa’s father, and she had her own apartment within the property. Elizabeth went on to add that she ‘would not have missed seeing it upon any account’ although she believed ‘the housekeeper thought me very troublesome’ for specifically requesting to see it, highlighting that this stop on her journey was very much due to her friendship with Lady Louisa, rather than to see a well known property which attracted tourists. From Luton Hoo Elizabeth went on to dine, and tour around, ‘Wooburne’ - Woburn Abbey. The final leg of her journey that day was to Market Harborough, where her party stayed the night, likely at the well-known ‘Three Swans’ inn, because ‘Northampton was too near, and Leicester too far’. That Elizabeth stayed at an inn at Market Harborough, rather than travelling to her father’s house at Deene Park in Northampton would have been a matter of convenience and saved traversing too far off the main route north.

The next day began with breakfast in Leicester, followed by dining in Nottingham, with a visit to Nottingham Castle, a seat of the Duke of Newcastle, although poor weather once again hampered matters. Elizabeth next travelled to Hardwick Hall which she described as ‘altogether the place most worth seeing of any in England’. Elizabeth does

⁶⁷ Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, 3rd August 1784. in Clark, *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 1, pp. 268-270.

⁶⁸ T. Jefferys, *Jefferys's itinerary; or travellers companion, through England, Wales, and part of Scotland* . . . (London: 1775) p. v.

⁶⁹ J. Pile. *A History of Interior Design* (London: 2005) p. 202.

not elaborate on what helped to constitute it being such a fine house in her view, but she did run in to problems with the housekeeper who showed her round, remarking ‘I was provoked with a stupid woman who showed it, and who had not one anecdote about it’. Elizabeth’s comments highlight that she expected to be shown around the property by someone who was knowledgeable about the house and the family who owned it, someone who could tell her stories and anecdotes. Elizabeth’s encounter with the housekeep at Hardwick clearly struck a nerve and also reveals she was something of a country house tourist. By visiting Hardwick, Elizabeth was visiting a well-known and well established property on the tourist itinerary of the Peak District at this time

After driving through ‘Welbeck and Worksop Parks’, part of district in Nottinghamshire known as ‘the Dukeries’, Elizabeth’s party rejoined their ‘old road’ at Doncaster, indicating that this early section of the journey was a change from their normal route and made to allow for the visits to the various country houses and parks they had stopped off at along the way. The journey from thence ‘plodded on without anything to enliven’ them, apart from a stop at Lumley Castle near Durham, a seat of the Earl of Scarbrough, to see if there was anything worth buying at the auction which was being held there. The fourth earl had had financial problems at various times in his life, which had led to the family jewels being sold and the plate was only saved when Lady Scarbrough’s brother stepped in.⁷⁰ After the earl’s death in 1782, Lady Scarbrough continued to struggle for ‘ready money’ and her son, the fifth Earl, did not economize and was known for his extravagance.⁷¹ This led to the necessity for sales at a number of the family properties including Glentworth and Sandbeck, in addition to the ‘disastrous’ auction at Lumley.⁷² Elizabeth lamented the state of the house and the disrepair that it had fallen into, remarking that ‘it is quite a melancholy thing to think of a great family place so entirely destroyed; indeed, all his places will be the same, for everything in general is to be sold’, alluding to the auctions being held at the other properties.⁷³ Lumley remained unused by the family for many years, much like Boughton, but rather

⁷⁰ E. Milner, *Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle*, ed. E. Benham (London: 1904) p. 245.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

⁷³ Although not listed by Elizabeth in the letter, the book of letters in which it is published has a footnote to say that ‘There is a fine Holbein, now at Dalkeith, “Sir Nicholas Cary, Master of Horse to Henry VIII” which was bought at this sale’. Clark *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, p. 270. This letter, despite featuring in a published volume, was unknown to Boughton House prior to my research. Showing Crispin Powell and Gareth Fitzpatrick this letter allowed them to record the provenance of the painting for the first time, since it had not been known where it had been purchased from.

than being unused due to expense, Boughton was a victim of the family owning too many properties and at least remained furnished and kept in a good state of repair. Elizabeth recorded nothing more of her journey after this stop at Lumley Castle, only stating that the Duke and his party had arrived an hour before them at Dalkeith.

This account of Elizabeth's journey back to Dalkeith reveals that Elizabeth was able to combine her pragmatic travel with other domestic travel, engaging in tourism on her way home, without the need to undertake additional, long journeys. Girouard argues that stopping to stay at the country houses of friends or visiting those of strangers was a popular pastime when travelling between a house and a provincial centre such as Bath, and Elizabeth's engagement in domestic travel was very similar, as she was able to build her stops around her annual commute back to Scotland.⁷⁴ She did not travel too far off the standard London to Edinburgh route and the properties she visited were ones that followed the general course of her journey, rather than creating an entirely new trip and itinerary.

⁷⁴ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 191.

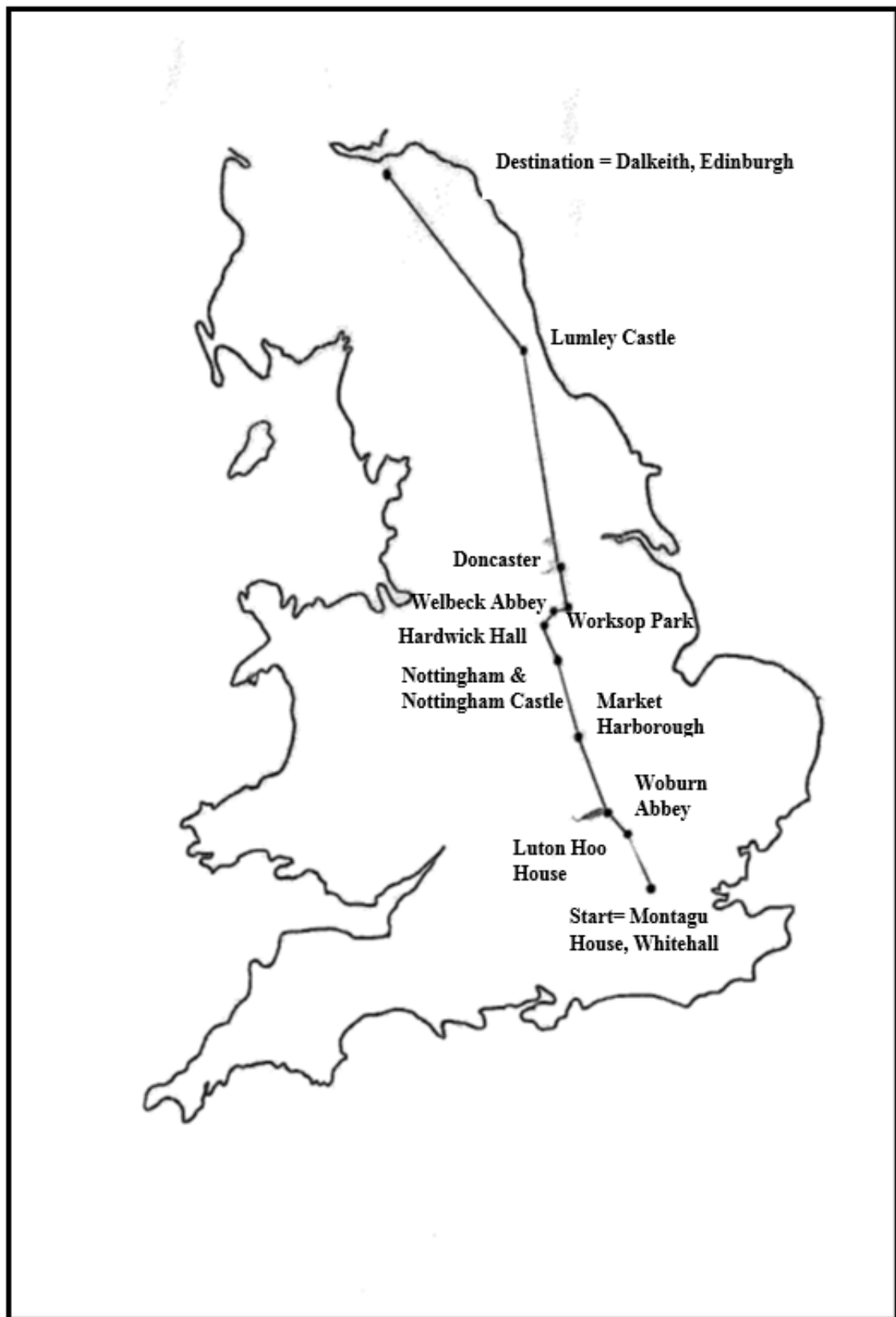


Figure 4.2. A map depicting Elizabeth's London-Dalkeith journey in 1784. E. Purcell.

Whilst this example of Elizabeth's London to Dalkeith journey exposes her personal friendships and what could be achieved over the course of a long, cross country journey, her correspondence also reveals the negative aspects of the principal Buccleuch residence being so far north and such a distance away from the social hub of the capital. Louisa wrote, on occasion, of having visited one of Elizabeth's properties, either Montagu House or Richmond, for a party and lamented that Henry and Elizabeth were not present.⁷⁵ Instead, it was one of Henry and Elizabeth's children who had hosted the event and due to the distance, they had not attended. The distance of London from Dalkeith prevented Henry and Elizabeth from making short stays in the capital to attend such events, meaning that they were not regularly able to renew contact with friends and acquaintances.

However, Louisa also remarked that the distance between their residences in London – hers in the Portman Square district and Elizabeth's at Whitehall – would also prove too great for them to see each other more frequently, since as Louisa appeared to be without a carriage at the time, Whitehall was simply too far away from her.⁷⁶ Louisa went on to say that even if Elizabeth had still been residing at Grosvenor Square, only half a mile from Portman Square, then that still would have been too great a distance without a carriage. Half a mile would not have been a great distance to walk and reveals an interesting reflection of the unacceptability of aristocratic women walking on public streets within large cities. This is a stark comparison to the freedom with which Mary moved around the capital in her sedan chair in the first half of the century. Such a distance would have been easy for Mary to cover in a chair on her own, and would have led her directly into the house of the person she was visiting. With the lack of a carriage, Louisa appears to have had her freedom of movement greatly curtailed and with improvements in street paving and street lighting, the private and public use of sedan chairs gradually started to decline – there was only one recognised stand for chairmen in London by 1821.⁷⁷ Comparing the activities of Mary with Louisa's comments to Elizabeth, the decline in fashion of such personal means of transport could be said to

⁷⁵ Lady Louisa Stuart to Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch, 31st May 1798, in Clark, *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 2, pp. 246-7.

⁷⁶ Lady Louisa Stuart to Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch, 21st February 1798, in Clark, *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 2, p. 244.

⁷⁷ Hart, 'The Sedan Chair', p. 213.

have had a negative impact on women's travel and the freedom with which they could move, particularly in urban centres. Instead, Louisa and Elizabeth relied on maintaining their friendship through extensive letter writing, which they carried on for over thirty years.⁷⁸ They frequently castigated each other for taking a long time to reply to a previous letter – 3 months on one occasion – and admitted that they were lazy and 'idle' when it came to letter writing.⁷⁹ Interestingly, the delay in return correspondence weighed more heavily on Elizabeth, so far away from her closest friend. When discussing their mutual idleness at corresponding, Elizabeth noted that '... as I lose much more by it than you do, I have most reason to complain'. In a separate letter, Elizabeth stated:

I often regret the immense distance we are placed at, as it cuts off all hopes of seeing some people I wish much to see, and is really a serious inconvenience in many respects.⁸⁰

This indicates that despite acquaintances being present at Dalkeith for dinner almost every evening, as the dinner books reflect for the entirety of their marriage, Elizabeth felt isolated from her close friends by being based at Dalkeith. The distance between Dalkeith and London made an annual trip the most viable and prevented her from making regular calls upon her friends should she want to see them. The extended stay she made in London most years would have given her the chance to reacquaint herself with her friends and wider society, although as Louisa's earlier comments suggest, this might not always have gone to plan. There is however, evidence to suggest that Louisa did make at least one visit to Elizabeth at Dalkeith, as she stayed for a period of two and a half weeks just prior to Christmas in 1804.

This chapter has taken the theme of travel and used it to explore the range of journeys which different generations of the Montagu family undertook in the eighteenth century, with a specific focus on the everyday, pragmatic travel that was generated by owning a

⁷⁸ Letters covering a period of over thirty years, from c.1780-1811 have been used throughout this thesis, however it is likely that this correspondence carried on until Elizabeth's death in 1827. Lady Louisa did not pass away until several years later in 1851. It is possible that such correspondence is held at the archives of The Hirsell, Berwickshire, Scotland.

⁷⁹ See, for example Lady Louisa Stuart to Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch, 1st October 1787, in Clark (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 2, p. 87. Lady Louisa stated 'I will not waste any time in making excuses, because there are none to be made, excepting that I have used everybody else as ill as you. But your letter had got the better of my laziness ...'.

⁸⁰ Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch to Lady Louisa Stuart, July 1789, in Clark (ed.) *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio*, vol 2, p. 150.

large network of properties. By focusing on travel, it has been possible to ascertain the different types of journeys that each generation made and how the geographical spread of households, as well as individual marital relationships, helped to shape the amount of time each generation spent at properties and regularity with which they undertook travel. Henry and Elizabeth were particularly affected by the distance of their principal home and country estate, Dalkeith, being located at such a distance from London, with them able to make only an extended trip south annually. This is a stark difference to the previous generation of Mary and George who were able to move between town and country estates easily and frequently, which allowed them to be able to spend shorter periods of time at any one property before moving to another. Henry and Elizabeth were, however, able to make visits out to their other Scottish estates on a regular basis, but a visit to London required a long journey and was typically only undertaken for an extended stay. Whilst these two generations had more companionate marriages, which saw them travelling together, making decisions and splitting travelling costs, the convenient marriage of Mary and John led to a divide in the nature of travel which the couple undertook. Due to her preference for urban life, Mary's travel was predominantly local, with urban and suburban properties more frequently and regular used, whilst John became a solo traveller, moving between estates yet always returning home to London. This mixture of travel for each generation led to certain households being kept in a permanently state of readiness for the family to visit, with a permanent staff, whereas Henry and Elizabeth's movement meant that servants often had to travel across the country with the family. However, such long distance journeys by the final generation have been shown to have been utilised to engage in domestic travel, combining highlights of home tours with the necessary commute back home. The theme of travel has helped to display the contrasting ways in which each of these three generations used and moved between their properties, why properties received different use between generations and the impact that marital balances of power could have upon the movement of the family.

Chapter 5

Financial Responsibility in the Aristocratic Household

Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery have recently argued that in comparison to other subjects related to country houses and elites, we know relatively little about how family wealth was put to use.¹ The way in which country houses and their finances were transferred from generation to generation has been well covered in existing historiography, as has some of the more lavish consumption practices of the elite and their outlay on expensive, luxury goods.² However, as Stobart suggests, this interest in consumption of luxury goods has left elite consumers strangely detached from their country households with very little focus on everyday goods let alone exploration of the complex supply systems that helped to keep an elite household running.³ Due to this, little has been written on how elite households were supplied with foodstuffs, goods and tradesmen; what was sourced locally or sent out for from major urban centres and crucially, who had the financial responsibility for paying for goods within the household.

Studies exploring the gendered financial responsibilities for both personal and household goods within aristocratic households and studies covering more than a single generation are similarly few and far between.⁴ In a special supplement to *Past and Present* in 2006, Amanda Vickery raised several issues about current historiographical perceptions of gendered consumption, as well as contemporary eighteenth-century views of spending. She highlighted the association between women and shopping in the eighteenth-century imagination, particularly in the realms of luxury goods and that women were labelled as obsessed with the past time of shopping, leaving the sober role as housewife behind.⁵

Vickery's article is important as the case studies she focusses on look at the expenditure and financial responsibilities of both the husband and wife within a marriage, all

¹ M. Rothery and J. Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738-1806', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 27, Issue 03 (2012) p. 380.

² *Ibid.*, p. 380; J. Stobart, 'Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736-1806', *Social History*, Vol 40, No 1 (2015) p. 82.

³ J. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, 64: 3 (2011) pp. 885-6.

⁴ Rothery and Stobart, 'Inheritance Events'. p. 380.

⁵ A. Vickery, 'His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present Supplement* (2006) pp. 12-15.

through existing account books as ‘looking at the consumption of men and women in tandem offsets a tendency in the more celebratory accounts of consumer behaviour to glorify the individual economic actor, wrenching him or her from their household or familial context’.⁶ This highlights the importance of looking at both the economic activities of both men and women within a household or network of households, since the context is likely to be lost if one party is overlooked or under studied. Women have traditionally been associated with expenditure connected to children, china, basic household groceries, cottons and haberdashery, whereas male accounts featured more expensive costs associated with transport, household refurbishment, exotic wines and foods and tailored clothes.⁷ Such a demarcation has been supported by Margot Finn, in her article ‘Men’s Things’, which highlighted masculine expenditure on such goods, as well as their taking responsibility for purchases also associated with women.⁸

Within her article, and book *Behind Closed Doors*, Vickery has highlighted that the reality was much more complex, with certain areas of household consumption straddling the male and female domains, as well as some women having the ability, or indeed the necessity, to take responsibility for goods within the masculine domain.⁹ She went on to challenge the stereotype of the frivolous woman by highlighting that it was men who were often indulging in their tastes and passions, whilst women monitored the household budget and kept an eye on the everyday needs of the family. More recently, Vickery’s arguments have been supported by Karen Harvey’s work on the middling sort, who has shown that women, as well as their husbands, had involvement in keeping household accounts and that husband and wife could work together on such a task.¹⁰ Harvey discusses an example of John and Elizabeth Forth, stating that even though John managed the larger system and oversaw Elizabeth’s accounts, those accounts ‘plainly show that her everyday engagements with the household were critical: it was Elizabeth’s labour. . . that kept the household in operation’.¹¹ However, individual marital relationships, stage of lifecycle and personal circumstances all played a

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷ A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England* (London: 2009) p. 12-13.

⁸ M. Finn, ‘Men’s Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution’, *Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2000) p. 153.

⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-128; K. Harvey, *The Little Republic. Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: 2012) (Open Access edition) pp. 83-86; Stobart, ‘Status, Gender and the Life Cycle’, p. 84.

¹¹ Stobart, *Ibid.*

significant role in the financial responsibility of purchasing goods and paying for services within households, as Stobart showed by highlighting the case of Mary Leigh. Leigh, an unmarried woman, had total control over the domestic realm which she had inherited and was therefore responsible for ‘masculine’ purchases.¹²

It is not always possible, however, to study men and women’s financial responsibilities in tandem since it is often difficult to find corresponding surviving accounts, or indeed separate accounts of women’s expenditure at all. In an article utilising the London accounts of Lady Langham, Judith Hodgkinson, goes as far as suggesting that accounts kept by women during this period seem to be quite rare.¹³ Where accounts do remain, they can often be fragmentary or for only a short period of a woman’s life, much like the accounts Hodgkinson uses for Lady Langham. Finding surviving and intact accounts of both husband and wife for an extended period of time is unusual and the fact that such material exists for the Montagu family for two of the three eighteenth century generations highlights the extraordinary extent of the archives and also further corroborates the powerful position that the later Montagu duchesses occupied during this period.

This chapter will utilise the large collection of personal and household accounts which survive for each generation of the Montagu family, in order to explore where goods were sourced from to supply the households within the network, but more importantly, the gendered division of financial responsibility that occurred within each generation. Although corresponding financial accounts do not survive for each duke and duchess in equal type, quality or quantity, a combination of material will show the level of control that the Montagu duchesses had over their finances, the steps they took to monitor expenditure and the differing level of financial responsibility they had for household goods. Additionally, where possible, these accounts will also be used to highlight the location of purchases for foodstuffs and households good, and how the location of the principal home could have a significant impact on the locality of shopping and what ‘local’ meant.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

¹³ J. Hodgkinson, ‘The London Accounts of Juliana, Lady Langham, 1774-1794’, *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, No. 62 (2009) p. 45.

Mary and John: A Gentleman's Responsibility?

John inherited the dukedom of Montagu in 1709 at the age of 19, attained his majority at the age of 21 and from then on was responsible for a variety of houses, lands and estates. Keeping track of such a large property portfolio required the assistance of a number of stewards and housekeepers who helped John to keep detailed records of his incomings and outgoings for both estate and personal finances. For the first decade or so of John's tenure as duke the majority of the surviving financial records are focused upon the Montagu lands and estates, with little in the way of records connected to personal expenditure or household expenses. By the mid-1720s, however, a rich variety of material from c.1725 through to John's death in 1749 reveals in great detail the day-to-day personal and household expenses generated by John and his family.

Some of the financial material for this latter period includes household ledgers, bills of fare containing abstracts of household accounts and vouchers and receipts of purchases/services. However, there is one item which is of particular use and significance for what it reveals about the various Montagu households and the variety of goods John spent his money on – a cash book covering the period 1725-1745.¹⁴ The cash book, pictured in figure 5.1, is a leather bound book comprising a record of expenditure from 1725 right through to 1745. The record was not kept by John, but instead by a steward who employed a form of double entry account keeping, recording 'cash' on the left hand page and 'per contra' on the right hand side. The left hand pages are typically minimal and note sums of money received from John to pay for the bills recorded within the 'per contra' pages. Unlike some other form of double entry keeping, the left hand column here was being used to record money received to the steward for paying bills, not money that John had received from debtors who owed him sums of money.¹⁵ Therefore this cash book can primarily be used to study John's day-to-day outgoings, rather than to generate a view of his total incomings and outgoings. Towards the mid-1740s a different steward took over control of the cash book, with a notable change in the detail of entries and disappearance of the 'cash' column, however the type of entries did not change and in some cases, there was an increase in detail.

¹⁴ Buccleuch Archives, Boughton House, Northamptonshire (BA, BHN): London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1726-1746.

¹⁵ See for example, the layout of Sir Walter Scott's account books, where the left hand page is used for money received by him and labelled 'credit' whilst the right hand page outgoings are labelled as 'debit' – see S. McKinstry and M. Fletcher, 'The Personal Account Books of Sir Walter Scott', *Accounting Historians Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (December 2002) p. 67.

| | | Per Contra | | | |
|--------|-----|--|---------------|-----|-------|
| March. | 25. | To y ^e . Milkwoman, as p ^r . Bill - | 2. | 14. | 3. ~ |
| | | To y ^e . chairmen a month, to this Day - | 6. | 00. | ~ |
| April. | 7. | To Th ^s . Jewell, Helper, in full of all Demands - | 7. | 05. | 8. ~ |
| | 21. | To my self for servants Board wages, to y ^e . 23 th . of March last. | 33. | 08. | ~ |
| | 23. | To m ^r . Sam: Booth, for Wages, to y ^e . 23 th . of March last. | 25. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To m ^r . Jane Dent for 2. a y ^r . Annuity, to Lady Day last. | 20. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . chairmen a month, to y ^e . 22 th . of this Instant - | 6. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To m ^r . Burton, f ^r . Disbursements, as p ^r . Bills - | 21. | 07. | 9. ~ |
| | | To Ric ^d . Rance, Cooper, as p ^r . Bill - | 2. | 15. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Porter for Disbursements, as p ^r . Bills - | 11. | 15. | 10. ~ |
| | 24. | To W ^m . Barnes, Waterman, for Wages to y ^e . 5 th . of January last. | 5. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Cook for Wages, to Lady Day last - | 12. | 10. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Scavenger for one year, to Lady Day last - | 5. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To Th ^s . Arthur, Help ^r . at B th . for Wages to Lady Day last - | 3. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To Jane Edwards, Maid at B th . for Wages to y ^e . 1 st . of March last. | 3. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To D ^r . for several Disbursements, as p ^r . Bills - | 2. | 04. | 5. ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Coachman, for Wages & whip money, to y ^e . 2 nd . of Feb ^r . last. | 5. | 05. | ~ |
| | | To w ^m . Reason, for Wages, to y ^e . 17 th . of February last - | 7. | 10. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . House Keeper, for Wages, to y ^e . 4 th . of March last - | 7. | 10. | ~ |
| | | To Anth ^s . Selivrel for Wine, as p ^r . Bill - | 2. | 13. | ~ |
| | | To my self for Keeping y ^e . Horses &c. to y ^e . 23 th . of March last. | 82. | 09. | 6. ~ |
| | 25. | To my Lord Dartmouth, f ^r . Ground Rent, to Lady Day last. | 20. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To m ^r . Dainty for Disbursements, as p ^r . Bills - | 26. | 01. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Watchmen, for Wages, to y ^e . 9 th . of March last - | 12. | 10. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Coachman, f ^r . Disbursements in a Journey, as p ^r . B th . - | 4. | 06. | 10. ~ |
| | 27. | To Ric ^d . Gray, f ^r . Disbursements in a Journey, as p ^r . B th . - | 3. | 08. | 8. ~ |
| | | To m ^r . Sarah Monck, f ^r . a quart. of a y ^r . Allowance, to Christm ^s . last. | 25. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To m ^r . Shuttleworth, f ^r . a quart. of a y ^r . Allowance to D ^r . - | 25. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To y ^e . Watch, for a year, to Lady Day last - | 1. | 00. | ~ |
| | | To w ^m . Staker for Lime Juice, as p ^r . Bill - | 21. | 02. | 6. ~ |
| | 28. | To Th ^s . White, Footman, for Wages, to Lady Day last - | 7. | 06. | ~ |
| | | To Jam ^s . Sarnell, Groom, f ^r . Wages & Boot Money, to y ^e . 1 st . of Feb ^r . last. | 4. | 06. | ~ |
| | | To m ^r . Goldstone, f ^r . Wages, to y ^e . 23 th . of February last - | 5. | 00. | ~ |
| | | | L. 388 09. 5. | | |

Figure 5.1. A page from 1730 from the cash book of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.

The book allows a picture to be built of the financial responsibilities that John had during this period, the sheer level of outgoings that he had on a large and varied range of food stuffs, goods and services, as well as revealing more about the interaction of the Montagu households. In particular, it shows how the usage of a townhouse as a main residence shifted the position of London from a site of luxury, specialist shopping to the site of local, everyday purchases. It is surprising that extracts from John's account books to date have been rarely used, with only one or two select references extracted to highlight the cost of a particular building project, item of furniture or philanthropic expenditure, for example.¹⁶

Throughout the book the extent of John's financial responsibility is instantly visible. Entries range from bills for food stuffs from suppliers across London; building expenses; insurance, tax and legal expenses, to servant's wages, wig makers, tailors and so on. Whilst outlay on such items and goods is not unexpected, nor unusual, the detail recorded in the account book allows a view of the movement of goods between the Montagu households and also the proportion of John's spending on traditional masculine goods, such as coaches, horses and other equine related accoutrements; wigs; tailored clothes; fine wines and the latest gadgets compared to costs related to his households.¹⁷ In 1726, for example, the outlay in the cash book for the year was £7789 17s 6d.¹⁸ Of this sum, £837 14s 2d ½ can be clearly be ascribed to have been for food and drink related items, paying poulterers, bakers and fishmongers for example. Over £730 of this year sum was spent on servants and gardeners – their board, wages and clothes – but not just for Montagu House, with Blackheath and Ditton also being explicitly labelled. Further regular bills feature for household staples, such as candles – wax and tallow, soap and coals. There are also a variety of equine related bills, ranging from bills for horses being cared for, associated equipage and expenses for coach repairs and painters. Bills for insurance, tax, sewerage costs and a selection of tradesmen's bills also feature, and the majority of the payments throughout the year are clearly related to household expenditure. However, there is an opportunity to see some of John's personal expenditure. The payments throughout the year for wine, particularly

¹⁶ See for example, S. Llewellyn, 'A List of ye Wardrobe' 1749: The Dress Inventory of John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu', *Costume*, Vol. 29 (1995) pp. 40-54.

¹⁷ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 12-13; J. Stobart and M. Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: 2016) p. 110,

¹⁸ BA, BHN: All figures generated from a study of entries from 1726 within the London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1726-1746.

French claret and Rhemish wine; Usquebagh, a Scottish whiskey; port and brandy, number 12 separate bills. This is quite a variety of different wines and spirits indicating that John had an interest in fine alcoholic beverages. Apart from a small number of bills related to shaving and wig makers, bills which are explicitly connected to John or his interests are hard to find in the bills for this particular year. There are no specific references to paintings, books, new gadgets or even clothes, indicating that this particular cash book was reserved more for household related expenditure. However, examples of payments to charities and an £850 interest payment also suggest that it has a more varied purpose and that John's expenditure at this time was predominantly focused upon the running and maintenance of his houses.¹⁹ Looking at John's cash book in this way also confirms that he was responsible for paying for household items and goods, including food items, an area of expenditure which is frequently associated with women.²⁰ This reinforces the assumption that Mary made little to no financial contribution towards to household expenses of the Montagu properties.

The pages of the account book can also be used to reveal more about how Mary and John used their households in the early eighteenth century. The account book appears to be for expenses primarily in London, which is unsurprising given that the townhouse was the primary family home for this generation. However, the density of the Montagu property network clearly shines through in the bills, with expenses for Ditton, Blackheath, Brigstock, Beaulieu, Boughton and Datchet all included in the book and clearly all John's domain. Entries reveal that in some instances certain goods or products were purchased in the capital and sent out to the suburban and country estates when needed. Many of these such bills are for Ditton Park, with records of trees being sent for the parkland in 1725/6, candles in 1730 and items from a fishmonger in 1734, for example.²¹ With Ditton being the closest country house the family owned to London, the purchasing and transportation of fresh goods to Ditton, as well as pantry essentials, was easily possible and also required since both Mary and John stayed at the property on occasion. Other bills for these properties show that even while John and Mary were absent, they still required a skeleton staff to be present, with a degree of regular maintenance. References to gardeners, plumbers, housemaid's wages, paving work at Ditton and references to 'work' at 'sundry place' all feature throughout for the

¹⁹ Ibid. 8th July 1726.

²⁰ Vickery, 'His and Hers', p. 23.

²¹ BA, BHN: London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1726-1746.

peripheral properties, showing that even though properties may not have been used regularly, they still generated expenses.²²

However, whilst the cash book is useful for discovering more about John's day-to-day consumption and the expense of household goods, a glaring omission in its pages is Mary. Whilst there are a small number of entries for their daughter Lady Mary, fewer than ten, which cover costs for items such as gloves, shoes and stays, the only entries in John's cash book for his wife are related to bills for her sedan chair. Chapter one laid out that as part of her marriage settlement, Mary was due a sum of pin money annually throughout her marriage. Sarah stated in her 'Green Book' that Mary was to receive £800 per year in the form of pin money, however the exact amount appears to have been a slightly contentious matter. In an undated letter Mary states that she thought her pin money would total £800 per year, but it appeared that that had changed and she would instead receive £500 per year, which she hastened to add that she was still very happy with and was by no means complaining.²³ Whether the sum was £500 or £800 is never clarified within correspondence, Sarah's book or the marriage settlement, however, it is clear that Mary had pin money each year, which would have allowed her to purchase personal items and goods without the need to bill the items to John or ask his permission to conduct certain purchases.

That Mary had an annual allowance of pin money shows that she had a certain, albeit limited, control over a section of her finances and was not wholly reliant on her husband. Although such a sum would not have enabled her to pay for large amounts of food stuffs, furniture, tradesmen or pay servants wages within households, it would have allowed her to purchase personal items for herself, trinkets, gifts for friends and family and so on. It is interesting that use of sedan chairs was charged to John and not expected to be taken from Mary's pin money or own separate finances, indicating that her own money was reserved for her own purchases and not everyday necessities, such as methods of transportation. As there are no surviving financial records existing for Mary, pinpointing exactly what she may have spent this pin money on is difficult;

²² BA, BHN: See for example, expenses connected to Ditton Park in 1730; housemaid at Bewley in 1732; window tax at Blackheath in 1727. London House Steward's cash book for John, Duke of Montagu, 1726-1746.

²³ British Library: Add MS 61450. Blenheim Papers. Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her daughter, Mary, wife of John Montagu, fol. 17. the letter is undated, however, a date of July 1705 has been attributed in a pencil annotation, presumably by a member of staff from the BL where the manuscript is held.

however, sparse references in letters to her mother give a brief insight, in particular when she was travelling abroad. There are three separate references in her letters to purchasing fabric, material or cambric and engaging with local shop keepers whilst in Antwerp and Liège. On one occasion she was looking for cambric for Sarah and again mentions the material whilst she was in Liège, stating that she had hoped to buy some there but the several shops she visited only stocked a few examples and they were very coarse and also expensive.²⁴ This indicates that Mary was comfortable in confidently interacting with tradesmen and able shop around for the best price, even when in a foreign country, demonstrating her confidence and experience as a consumer. She did however face obstacles from time to time, as after visiting one shop Mary thought they may have been ‘imposing’ on her and not showing her the full range, nevertheless she believed that had they had anything akin to the standard she wanted, she was sure they would have shown it to her.²⁵

In Antwerp she bought a black petticoat and also some silk for her sister, Lady Henrietta but the most interesting reference to Mary purchasing goods can be found in a letter dated 1716.²⁶ Again whilst abroad, Mary made a purchase for Sarah but this time it was for a number of pictures by Sir Godfrey Kneller.²⁷ The details are very sketchy of precisely what Mary had sent Sarah but she stated that ‘I have sent you the pictures of them all, I believe Sir Godfrey Kneller drew them’.²⁸ The letter and its contents are rather disjointed and places where Mary has crossed words out hamper the deciphering of its content, however it is clear that Mary purchased drawings by Sir Godfrey Kneller and sent them back to her mother. This reveals an unexpected side to Mary’s spending habits. Rather than just purchasing items that may be expected from a lady of Mary’s rank and position, such as haberdashery, china, linens and items for children, she is shown here to have purchased art work by a renowned painter of the era, seemingly using her own finances from her pin money.²⁹ Whilst such a purchase is not rare for women to have made as they frequently acted as patrons to artists, this is a new association to Mary and shows that she was able to engage in independently purchasing goods and items that she wished to have. Such references help to show that Mary likely

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 97.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 105 refers to Mary purchasing silk.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 100.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 13.

regularly engaged in a variety of shopping habits, both to purchase goods from herself and other and therefore did have a degree of financial independence, thanks to her pin money.

Upon the death of her father in 1722, it seems that Mary was also left a significant sum of money, not previously agreed in her marriage settlement. In her 'Green Book', Sarah recounted that the content of various versions of her husband John's will stated that Mary was to receive a sum of £15,000 upon the death of her father – a substantial sum of money.³⁰ Sarah did not record if Mary ever received this money, or even a reduced amount, but it was clearly John Churchill's wish for Mary to receive a sum of money upon his death and had she inherited such a sum, she could have had a significant degree of financial independence. However, it is not clear whether this would have been protected for Mary's sole and separate use, to allow her to spend it as she wished, or whether John may have been able to control its usage. As discussed in chapter 1, John thanked Mary in his will for her generosity in allowing him to use her pin money, which he had started to take from her from the time of John Churchill's death in 1722.³¹ That he was willing to use Mary's pin money would suggest that he would have also been happy to have appropriated this inherited sum as well. That John did not start using Mary's pin money until 1722 is also a noteworthy point and raises a number of questions. John clearly states that he did not start using Mary's money until 'the time of the death of her father' and that 'she never received the pin money which she was entitled to by her marriage settlement' from that point until John's death in 1749 – some 27 years.³² This demonstrates that the pin money she was able to use for the first seventeen years of their marriage allowed her to make her own purchases and possibly finance her own travels abroad, whereas this would have been greatly curtailed once John began taking her money, significantly reducing her personal spending power. Pin money allowances could provide elite women with their only access to funds independent from their husband and if this was removed, as in Mary's case, they would revert to being wholly dependent on their husband, with no financial agency. However, by not appropriating the money until after John Churchill's death, when it is possible

³⁰ BL: Add MS 61451. Blenheim Papers. Vol. CCCLI (ff. 198) Papers relating to the 'Green Book', 1722-1744, fol. 169.

³¹ BA, BHN: Copy of the Will and Codicils of John, Duke of Montagu, 1749. Codicil added 10th June 1749. p. 16.

³² *Ibid.*

that Mary had received a large lump sum of money from her father, John may only have started using Mary's pin money when he knew that she access to other ready funds.

This would mean that her financial situation would not have been affected by the loss of the pin money allowance and instead she had access to far greater sums of money at any one time, should she have wanted to make large purchases.

Mary and George: Separate Accounts, Joint Responsibility?

The difference between generations could not be more obvious than the developments that occurred in the financial responsibilities and consumption practices of Mary and George compared to Mary and John. A greater variety of financial material and account books were kept and crucially for Mary, in addition to George. In fact, a large variety of material was kept and has survived for Mary, particularly for the period 1749 onwards after her inheritance of the Montagu estates, with cash books, account books and annual and half year payment records. Similar records covering the same time period were kept for George, with a series of private account books from 1753-1776, as well as a separate series of account books running from 1749-1769 and cash books likewise covering a similar period.

However, it is likely that such accounts existed, or that more forms of financial records existed for this period, due to the increasing number of properties and complex inheritance issues that were ongoing throughout a large portion of Mary and George's marriage. The documents that have survived are for the most part preserved in the Buccleuch archives at Boughton House, primarily covering the period of their lives after Mary inherited in 1749 with earlier material either lost or not yet located.³³

Interestingly, in the summer of 2016 a previously 'lost' set of accounts for the early period of Mary and George's marriage, which had been referenced in an article written in 1920s but had not been consulted since, have been discovered in the archives at Beaulieu Palace House.³⁴ These offer a rare snapshot of what Mary and George's consumption was like prior to 1749 and what impact the Montagu inheritance may have had on their individual financial responsibilities.

³³ The current occupants and owners of Deene Park, Robert and Charlotte Brudenell have stated in conversation with Crispin Powell and myself on a visit in May 2015 that no archival material for Mary and George's era survives at the property.

³⁴ H. Avery Tipping, 'Saltram, Devonshire. The Seat of the Earl of Morley. II', *Country Life* (30th January 1926) p. 163. Avery Tipping remarked that Lady Cardigan had decorated a room with Chinese pictures in 1742 and a bill recorded that she purchased '88 India pictures at 4/6' each from Daniel Woodroffe. However, the accounts that recorded this had not been used since.

These accounts held at Beaulieu are in fact a collection of receipts, vouchers and payments made by both Mary and George dating from the early 1740s which have been haphazardly written or pasted into a book, as described in chapter 2 above, giving an insight into the dynamics of their marriage prior to Mary's inheritance.³⁵ Bills for George are primarily connected to purchasing and repairing furniture, domestic decoration, such as wallpaper and damask hangings and feature bills which cover several months of expenses at a time.³⁶ Receipts for Mary, on the other hand, reflect a more eclectic mix, with personal items, such as side saddles for riding. However, Mary can also be seen to have paid for household furniture, including 'walnut tree chairs', new mattresses, mahogany tables, and a range of furniture for her bed chamber and dressing room, as well as numerous repairs.³⁷ She also purchased chairs and a table for George's room, showing that they were not simply purchasing their own goods for their own personal rooms within the household.³⁸

These receipts show that from an early stage within their marriage, Mary and George had no clear gendered division of consumer responsibilities within their households and were both purchasing a range of large and small goods.³⁹ In fact, there are significantly more receipts and bills for Mary than there are for George, with over 100 double sided pages of receipts billed to Mary alone and only around twenty for George. Even prior to her inheritance of the Montagu properties, Mary was able to have a significant influence in the purchasing of goods for the household in which she lived, ordering large items of furniture, as well as smaller, more feminine related accoutrements, such as tea-ware and china. Within this expenditure, the majority of the bills are made up of several items at a time, meaning that big, one-off purchases rarely feature within Mary's portion of the receipts. Across the one hundred pages connected to Mary, the largest single item that she purchases is a 'sett of dressing plate' at a cost of £157 10s.⁴⁰ Other significant expenses include expensive fabrics and materials for dress making such as satin and blue velvet, which amounted to over £56 on a single bill, plus payments for boxes at the

³⁵ Thank you to Susan Thompkins, archivist at Palace House, Beaulieu for kindly photographing these accounts and sending the images to me. It is not clear when these receipts or bills were copied and pasted into this book, meaning it cannot be determine whether they are a complete set or what selection process may have been used to decide which bills to include.

³⁶ Palace House Archives, Beaulieu (PHA): Earl of Cardigan Account Book, p. 9.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12, p. 24 for the latter items.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.

³⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁰ PHA: Countess of Cardigan account book, 11th January 1742/3, p. 20.

opera costing £60. Mary's larger bills show a mixture of purchases of personal goods and items for the houses, like damask curtains, demonstrating that whilst the majority of her expenditure during this period was taken up with numerous, lower cost goods, she was still actively contributing to furnishing the properties in which she was living.

Mary and George can be seen to have shared consumer responsibilities in a joint manner, with no limitations on what Mary might be responsible for purchasing. However, it is impossible to determine from these receipts whether Mary was using her own money to make these purchases for what would have been Cardigan properties at this stage, or whether she was using an allowance given to her by George. Furthermore, these expenses only reflect expenditure connected to tradesmen and shopping purchases, rather than any connected to the maintenance or day-to-day running of the households, such as food bills, servants' wages or insurance/taxes, which would likely have been the sole responsibility of George. However, that Mary had so many more receipts than George may indicate that she had more money at her disposal and that due to George's financial problems, previously discussed, Mary took the leading role in paying for goods for the households in which they stayed during this period.

This division of financial responsibilities continued throughout their marriage and particularly developed after 1749 when Mary inherited the Montagu estates and had her own households to manage, as well as continuing to share responsibilities with George elsewhere. In 1749 the first of Mary's own personal account books begin, corresponding with the death of her father, John. The initial account, covering 1749-1751 is relatively basic, primarily covering the outlay of sums of money on aspects of the Montagu estates that Mary had just inherited, including staff and servant wages, watchmen for Montagu House, water bills and ground rent, for example. The pages are very neatly kept, with clear, legible handwriting, yet there are only 20 pages of entries with no details for household expenditure nor personal expenses. Instead, these bills were kept in a separate account book which began in the same year, comprising four separate volumes. Mary's accounts, do however, confirm that she was responsible for the financial costs of running and maintaining the Montagu estates herself, with bills connected to the running, maintenance and protection of the household, such as insurance costs, billed to her. For example, on a single page of accounts in 1753, there are four separate references to her paying for such costs at four different estates - gardeners' bills at Blackheath, servants' wages at Privy Garden (Whitehall), a caretaker

at Montagu House (Bloomsbury) and taking down a hatchment at the Clitheroe estate.⁴¹ Throughout, she can be seen to have paid the rents and leases associated with the properties, particularly of the townhouse at Whitehall, as well as the insurance costs for that residence and Blackheath, as a bill for the two of £52 5s in April 1768 exemplifies.⁴² Additionally, the ongoing legal dispute with Lady Isabella can be seen within the pages, with a number of bills divided between the sisters, particularly at Beaulieu and Ditton. In June 1756, for example, Mary paid £280 17s 1d for ‘half years rents to Ladyday last for Ditton to the Duchess of Manchester’, indicating a clear division of costs between the two and Mary’s personal responsibility for such expenses. Her accounts are littered with numerous other bills which have been divided in half, such as ‘to ½ draft from My Lyte’, a name which features regularly in her accounts, but whose position is not immediately clear. On a single page of Mary’s accounts in 1757, there were 14 separate payments made to him within the period January-May, totalling £705 - a significant sum.⁴³ Whilst initially it seemed that these payments could be connected to the contested estates and Isabella and Mary were splitting bills or legal expenses, in actuality, Henry Lyte was the Grand Tour tutor for Lord Brudenell, Mary and George’s son. He embarked on his Grand Tour between 1754 and 1759, which corresponds with the above entries, showing that these drafts were actually payments to cover the expenses that Lord Brudenell was generating whilst on his Tour. All of the payments to Lyte within Mary’s accounts were for half the cost of a draft, suggesting that rather than Isabella paying the other half, it was instead likely that George was contributing the remaining sum. This not only offers evidence that Mary and George divided certain expenses, but also that Mary financially supported her son’s Grand Tour education, an interesting discovery.

⁴¹ BA, BHN: William Folkes’s account for the Countess of Cardigan under the trust of the late Duke of Montagu, from 7th July 1749 to 10th July 1755. January –February 1753.

⁴² BA, BHN: William Folkes’s account for the Countess of Cardigan, from 10th July 1755 to 19th July 1769. 11th April 1768.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January-May 1756. There are references to Mr Lyte feature through this set of accounts, however, there are 14 separate payments to him, totalling £705 on a single page covering January to May 1756, all of which record Mary paying half of a draft.

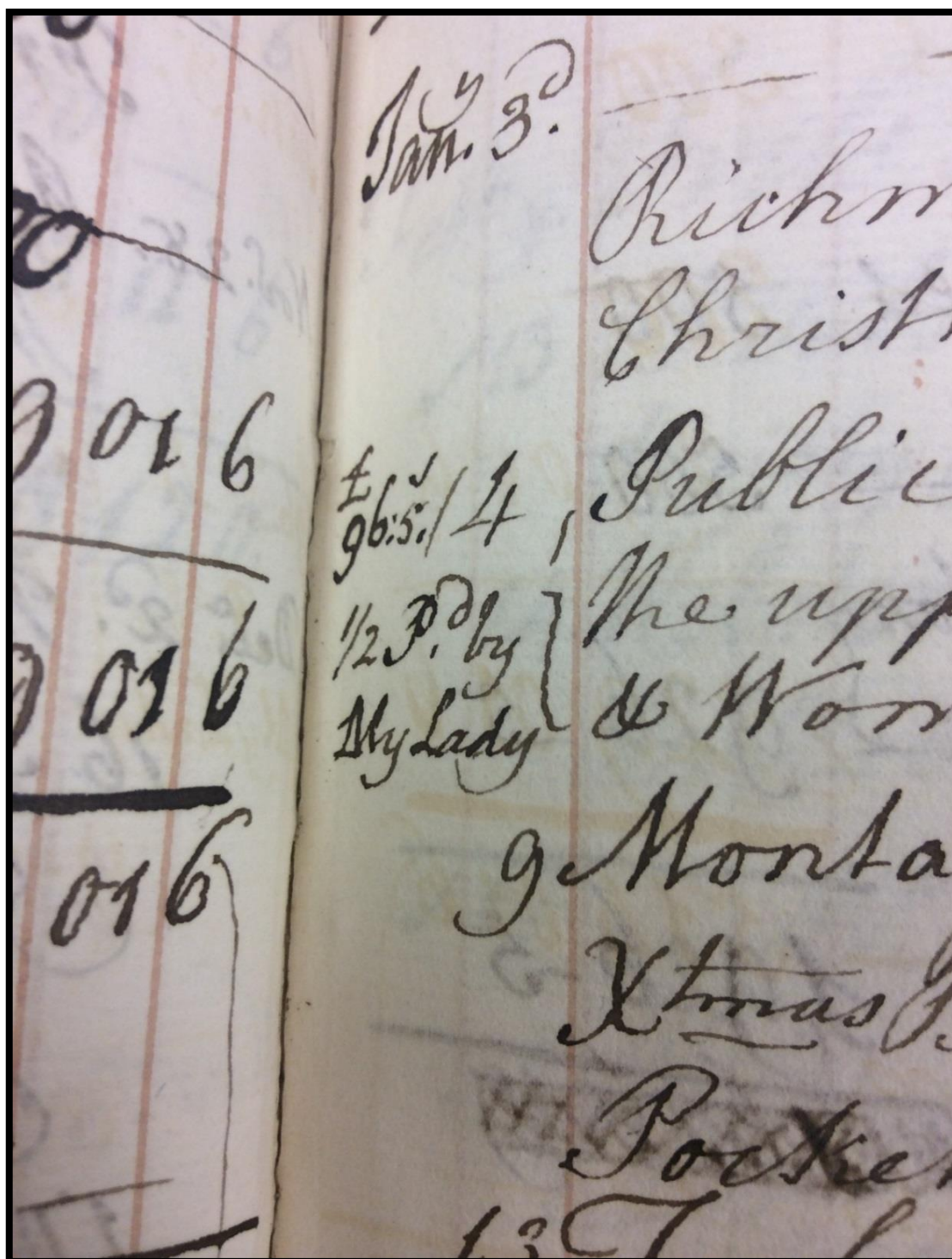


Figure 5.2 – A page of George, Duke of Montagu's account book, 1758.

For twenty-five years of their marriage, Mary and George kept separate sets of accounts which survive in their entirety for the duration. Whilst these accounts are of a different nature, with George's being cash books which were kept personally by him and Mary's kept by a steward, they highlight the individual expenditure and financial responsibilities of each. That Mary's accounts were kept by a steward does raise the possibility that George was responsible for and managed all of their finances, only keeping separate accounts for Mary to show the different elements of the marital inheritance and keep track of the associated expenses at such properties. However, given that Mary had personally inherited estates and money, as well as the fact that she contributed towards certain joint expenses, it is instead more likely that they did indeed have separate, individual accounts. Mary's may have been kept by a steward as she was not well enough versed in book keeping to maintain them herself, as her daughter would go on to do. Her mother certainly did not set her an example of maintaining detailed accounts and although entirely speculative, it is possible that as a result of her own deficiencies, she made sure that account keeping was a skill that Elizabeth was versed in. There is also, of course, the possibility that such personally maintained accounts have been lost or destroyed.

References occur throughout both Mary and George's account books which demonstrate that they divided a variety of costs and expenses during their married lives, an example of which can be seen in figure 5.2 from George's cash book. This piece of marginalia shows that Mary was responsible for half of the cost of this particular bill, similar to the manner of the sharing the cost of Lord Brudenell's Grand Tour expenses, if George was indeed paying the remaining half. Division of costs occur for expenses ranges from household costs to travelling costs, although a particularly interesting shared bill comes from 1761. George's accounts note that £12 was paid for 'Spinedge and Crompton for paper hanging at Deene', with a margin note state 'the rest paid by Lady C'.⁴⁴ This is actually a bill for Crompton and Spinnage, a wallpaper producer and supplier based in St James Square, London which was widely used in the period and supplied wallpapers, including a selection of Chinese wallpapers, to other country estates including Croome Court, Erddig and Saltram.⁴⁵ Whilst highlighting that the

⁴⁴ BA, BHN: Private Accounts of George, Duke of Montagu. Book 1, December 1761.

⁴⁵ E. de Bruijn, A. Bush and H. Clifford, *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses* (2014) [Online PDF: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/documents/chinese-wallpaper-in-national-trust-houses.pdf>] p. 22, p. 25, p. 41.

Cardigans were using fashionable, well known tradesmen who were also suppliers to other aristocratic families, the bill reveals a crucial point. Crompton and Spinnage were hanging wallpaper at Deene Park and Mary was paying part of the bill, providing evidence that she had financial influence within the Cardigan properties. Given that the bills from the 1740s discussed above showed George paying for wallpaper, these later accounts which show Mary paying for the similar goods offer further evidence that there were no strict, gendered rules within this marriage as to who purchased what. The marginalia in George's accounts also reveal how she contributed towards maintenance costs such as cleaning pictures, which similarly suggests that Mary and George managed their households in a collaborative manner, unlike Mary and John, and that they shared costs for running and maintaining properties.

By having Mary and George's account books for the same period, it is possible to look at the different expenses amassed by each of them for the same period and compare the expenses they were generating and paying for.

| Table 5.1 Amounts spent by Mary and George from their respective cash books, 1760. | |
|---|-------------|
| Mary | £9705 4s 7d |
| George | £5227 9s 0d |

Table 5.1 shows the total amount spent by Mary in 1760 from her account book and the corresponding figure spent by George for the same period, taken from his personal account books. The figures reveal a high expenditure for each party for a one year period, reinforcing that both Mary and George had significant sums of money at their disposal, generated from inheritance and profits from estates. It is interesting to see that Mary's account show a figure almost double that of George's expenses; however, the type of accounts book being used are likely to account for that point. The sum for Mary's figure is generated from what appears to be her sole account book for the period and her expenses contain ground rents, payments for servants' wages, attorneys' bills and discharges for parts of her father's estates. One bill alone for the latter item came to £1010 in July 1760, reflecting the cost to Mary of the dispute over the Montagu estates and the ongoing legal bills which she had to pay. Amongst the bills for 1760 are also a number of tradesmen's bills and household servant bills, showing that Mary was paying

for the day-to-day running costs involved at the properties, or at least Montagu properties, since Deene Park is not mentioned within her accounts. There are also several instances of sums of money going to Mary in cash, such as drafts for £300 and £500 in May 1760, presumably coming from her bank, although such detail is not listed. It is not noted what these sums of money were for, nor what Mary spent them on. They may have been used for purchasing personal items, since there are few references to clothes and accessories within the accounts; food items or bills she shared with George.

In comparison, whilst George's expenditure for 1760 is half the cost, these accounts were George's 'personal' accounts and there are few references to estate expenses, ground rents or legal bills, as in Mary's. Instead, George's reflect more day-to-day outgoings, such as travelling costs, household accounts which likely included food bills and expenses for other household items, servant's wages and other tradesmen's bill, as well as, charmingly, small sums for his own 'pocket money'. However, this set of Mary's accounts also reveals that not only did Mary and George divide certain expenses, but that on occasion, Mary paid the balance of some of George's accounts. In July 1752 an entry in Mary's book states:

7th July. To the balance of Lord Cardigans account charged herein by the order of Lady Cardigan. £3171.5.0.⁴⁶

That Mary was covering such a substantial sum from George's bills is significant. Although account books do not survive for this year for George's account, meaning that we cannot see his total outlay for that particular year, based on the figure from 1760 above, this sum of £3171 could have been over half of George's total financial outlay from his cash book in one year. This demonstrates that he was either having financial problems and Mary needed to step in to pay of some his debts, or, Mary was repaying money that she may have owed or borrowed. Either way, that she was able to cover such a large bill in one go reveals her personal wealth after the death of father and her ability to cover large financial outlays.

This mixture of accounts demonstrates that from early on in their marriage, Mary had a significant level of financial independence and was able to engage in purchasing a wide range of consumer goods and services, but also that Mary and George's marriage did not conform to the normative model of gendered consumption expected during this

⁴⁶ BA, BHN: William Folkes's account for the Countess of Cardigan under the trust of the late Duke of Montagu, from 7th July 1749 to 10th July 1755. 7th July 1752.

period. The inheritance of the Montagu estates in 1749 signalled a shift in Mary's financial responsibilities, with the need to keep separate accounts from George to enable her to pay for expenses relating to her own properties and estates. The separate, yet concurrent accounts for Mary and George reveal a complex interlinking of the Montagu and Cardigan properties post 1749, yet they also demonstrate that Mary and George's financial responsibilities within the households overlapped and that there were no fixed rules about who paid for what goods.

Elizabeth and Henry: The Influence of Inheritance

The consumption habits and expenditure of John and Mary and Mary and George yield two different patterns, particularly for the women, with one more dependent on the husband's fortunes and income and one showing a developing shared responsibility of financial concerns and shared responsibility for household purchases and repairs. The final case study focussed on within this thesis - that of Henry and Elizabeth - generates yet another perspective and shows the development of female agency within this family by the end of the eighteenth century.

When Henry and Elizabeth married in 1767, Elizabeth was not an heiress, nor was it considered that she ever would be. However, she was still wealthy in her own right and as discussed in chapter one, had been left money by her grandmother and assigned money from her parents for her sole and separate use, with a further financial inheritance to be received upon the death of her parents. However, when Elizabeth's brother died in 1770, Elizabeth immediately became heiress-apparent to the fortunes of both her mother and her father, as well as an extensive property network. This led to the development of three key, separate periods in Elizabeth's life: the twenty three years from 1767-1790 where upon she was married, yet had not inherited the Montagu fortunes; the period of 1790-1812 during which she and Henry oversaw an extensive network of Buccleuch and Montagu estates and households, with Elizabeth having access a large fortune of her own; and finally, her dower years from 1812-1827.

In direct contrast to her grandmother, Mary, there are multiple surviving accounts connected to Elizabeth, ranging from detailed accounts she kept personally, to those kept by stewards and her bank. At Boughton House a book of tradesmen's bills covering over twenty years is preserved alongside sets of accounts with different house stewards such as John Parker and John Reynolds, reaching from the 1790s through to her death in 1827. These are further supplemented by accounts with Scottish stewards,

including William Tate; ledger books from the 1820s and an array of material held at the National Records of Scotland, including a series of account books kept personally by Elizabeth for nearly thirty years. Several of these account books, however, overlap with each other for a number of years, revealing the complexities associated with the spread of properties and estates that Henry and Elizabeth owned. She had accounts with her English stewards but also other accounts with Scottish stewards for the same period, in addition to the accounts she kept for herself.

In contrast, Henry's accounts are slightly harder to pinpoint. As with the previous generations, there are a variety of accounts surviving connected to the Buccleuch estates, as well as household accounts and personal accounts connected to Henry. However, it is not always immediately clear if certain accounts were the responsibility of Henry due to inconsistent contemporary labelling. Additionally, the catalogue system at the National Records of Scotland has also hindered finding such material by giving only basic titles such as 'cash books' or 'accounts', which do not always appear on searches connected to Henry.

One of the best surviving set of household accounts connected to Henry covers the period 1772-1779 and is a small bound book, approximately A5 in size, which breaks down in intriguing detail the expenses associated with running the Buccleuch network during this period. Each page of the book is headed with 'The Duke of Buccleuch's family expenses', followed by the year, demonstrating from the outset that household accounts were the preserve of Henry. Each year has around 13 pages of expenses associated with it, split down into certain categories including 'housekeeping', 'household', 'house tradesmen', 'house repairs, furniture & taxes', 'servants' and 'travelling expenses', as can be seen in table 5.2. There are further breakdowns within each of these categories, for example 'housekeeping' contains seventeen separate billed items or goods. These include individual food items such as 'fish', 'poultry'; bills for the 'baker' and 'groceries', with a separate category for 'greengrocery'; as well 'charcoal and wood', 'malt liquor' and 'chandlershop' all fall under this wider 'housekeeping' group of bills.⁴⁷ Each of these individual categories had a bill per month, per quarter and a total for the year, with a separate total for each overarching

⁴⁷ National Records of Scotland (NRS): GD224/457. Volume giving abstract of the Duke of Buccleuch's family expenses within each year, under various headings. 1772-1779.

heading and a grand total of expenses for every year, as can also be seen within the table.

Table 5.2 Breakdown of categories of expenditure from the Duke of Buccleuch's Household Accounts, 1772-1779

| Category | Cost per year (£ S D) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|--|--|
| | 1772 | 1773 | 1774 | 1775 | 1776 | 1777 | 1778 | 1779 | | |
| Housekeeping | 2,946.11.1 | 2,636.11.11 | 2,744.11.6 | 3,744.15.9 | 2,631.12.6 | 4,028.16.1 | 4,106.12.1 | 3,234.9.0 | | |
| Household (Candles, coal, soap, starch etc) | 500.19.7 | 488.9.5 | 435.5.7 | 572.17.2 | 602.4.8 | 454.2.6 | 551.19.11 | 566.0.10 | | |
| House – tradesmen (Booksellers, linen drapers, wares etc) | 561.8.1 | 471.13.8 | 577.18.10 | 675.3.3 | 661.12.8 | 594.15.2 | 454.14.0 | 258.8.10 | | |
| House (repairs, furniture, taxes) | 1,039.5.5 | 871.2.4 | 803.2.1 | 98.18.8 | 544.1.2 | 588.13.6 | 881.7.8 | 493.8.11 | | |
| House Servants (Wages, liveries, bills and board) | 1,842.0.9 | 1,732.7.6 | 1,494.15.7 | 1,800.18.3 | 2,191.4.10 | 1,484.8.11 | 1,575.18.7 | 1,705.13.11 | | |
| Equipage (Coachmakers, chair hire, hay etc) | 989.19.3 | 903.18.2 | 975.6.0 | 686.8.3 | 998.5.2 | 795.14.7 | 618.10.1 | 469.3.5 | | |
| Travelling Expenses | 886.14.3 | 754.8.5 | 733.14.5 | 682.15.6 | 437.11.10 | 518.14.11 | 732.11.3 | | | |
| Incidental Expenses | 462.7.5 | 677.10.7 | 922.2.5 | 1,073.14.8 | 871.9.11 | 521.8.11 | 449.2.9 | 279.18.11 | | |
| Incidents | 132.17.9 | 46.13.0 | 56.6.2 | 64.12.0 | | | | | | |
| His Graces & Children's Clothing | | 251.9.0 | 434.11.11 | 729.9.8 | 820.1.8 | 719.13.2 | 636.10.4 | 388.12.1 | | |
| Richmond | 158.14.0 | 153.2.6 | | 14.5.4 | 217.6.2 | | | | | |
| Aspeden | 561.0.0 | 142.15.0 | | | | | | | | |
| Richmond and Blackheath | | | 259.6.3 | | | | | | | |
| Total | 10,081.17.7 | 9,130.1.6 | 9,437.0.9 | 11,163.18.6 | 9,975.10.7 | 9,706.10.6 | 10,007.6.8 | 7,395.15.11 | | |

The accounts are not listed as being for one particular household and when the costs per year are considered, an average of £9,611 annually over this period, it becomes apparent that these accounts actually reflect the household expenses of multiple Buccleuch households at the time. This is further supported by additional households being itemised in the final totals, such as Richmond and Aspeden – such bills would not need to be added on if these were just accounts for Dalkeith Palace. The data drawn out from the accounts and presented in table 5.2 does, however, highlight both the large cost of running aristocratic households and also what was classified as a ‘household’ bill. Everything from food items and candles to coach makers and servant livery was considered within this document to be a household expense.

Furthermore, if all of this variety of goods were considered to be the responsibility of Henry, there would have been little room for Elizabeth to have any financial contribution towards such goods at this early stage within her marriage. Whilst it is impossible to say whether she had a role in selecting or ordering these goods, this set of accounts makes it clear that the financial responsibility of the Buccleuch properties rested with Henry. Interestingly, this document also shows that Henry paid for the clothing for his and Elizabeth’s children, an expense which has traditionally been connected to women.⁴⁸

A further housekeeping book for the years 1780-1786 also survives, detailing a similar level of expenditure connected to the properties.⁴⁹ This book, however, specifically states that it is for housekeeping expenses connected just to Dalkeith House, which is clearly visible in the total expenditure for each year, which does not exceed £4509 7s 8d.⁵⁰ Considering the household accounts within the book for 1772-1779 were frequently between £9,000-£10,000, this latter book helps to confirm that such large figures were for household expenses associated with multiple properties within the Buccleuch network. The housekeeping book for the 1780s is not as neatly laid out, nor as clear in its contents, however, it still highlights that Henry was financially responsible for costs connected to his and Elizabeth’s children, be it clothes or education fees.

⁴⁸ Amanda Vickery discusses the Cottons of Madingley Hall, stating that it was Mrs Cotton who was financially responsible for ‘the equipping of children’, see Vickery, ‘His and Hers’, p. 24.

⁴⁹ NRS: GD224/462/1. Dalkeith House housekeeping book. Housekeeping and monthly tradesmen's bills.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Whilst these accounts are extremely useful for seeing in detail the amounts spent on different items per month across a number of years, they tell us nothing about how the Buccleuch households were supplied with goods and where they were sourced from. However, information gained from a very small sample of them from 1809, selected purely due to the condensed nature of the bills and the detailed abstract which accompanied them, do offer an insight into the complex supply networks employed by Henry and Elizabeth within their properties.

With the move between Dalkeith and London, it is clear that Elizabeth and Henry had a choice between two metropolises, London and Edinburgh when it came to making purchases for their house. Edinburgh and local suppliers served as a source for foodstuffs at Dalkeith, and London was used both as a local supplier for Montagu House and Grosvenor Square, and as a site for purchasing goods to be sent elsewhere. In 1809 a large bill of £242 was paid to John Frost and son, a grocer and tea dealer located on Cockspur Street, only a short distance from Montagu House.⁵¹ This bill covered purchases made throughout the year and shows that items, mainly coffee and sugar, were being purchased in London and sent to households across the country, with a large quantity going to Dalkeith. The ‘best mocha coffee’ was sent to Langholm Lodge, Dalkeith and Ditton Park, as well as some being kept for Montagu House.⁵² Coffee was also purchased from suppliers in Edinburgh, highlighting that the same product would be sourced from several different locations, although likely a cheaper variant that would be used on a more everyday basis. A separate bill of £227 4s for Mackenzies and Co, oilmen located in Bishopsgate included a large order of over £150 worth of goods such as vinegar, cayenne pepper, mustard, anchovies, along with a charge for ‘carriage and charges to the Leith and Berwick wharf from the King George ship, Captain Mr Halliburton’, indicating that this was a large order to be sent to Dalkeith.⁵³

A number of these goods would have been available to purchase in Edinburgh, or could have been sourced for them by local shopkeepers from elsewhere, so it is likely that these goods were either of a better quality that could be sourced locally or that the family had built up a good relationship with their London suppliers and preferred to

⁵¹ B. Critchett, *The Post-Office Annual Directory for 1808. Being a list of upward of 16,00 merchants, traders &c of London and parts adjacent. The Ninth Edition* (London: 1808) p. 108.

⁵² NRS: GD224/351/134. Household Accounts, 1809. Loose bills.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

have their products shipped to Dalkeith. Henry paid for all of these bills and they demonstrate that a mix of local and specialist suppliers were used to supply the various households at any one time, with large, bulk orders being placed to allow for shipping to Edinburgh.

In addition to household and estate accounts, a set of cash books for Henry also survive, covering the period 1764-1812. A continuous run of account books for this length of Henry's life would be extremely helpful in exploring his day-to-day expenditure, however, unfortunately the entries are extremely basic and do not reflect the level of content found in John's cash books of 1725-1746. Whereas John's books contain details of what was being purchased or paid for, as well as who the payee was, Henry's cash books list only the payee, with no further information relating to the bill. This carries on throughout, making it extremely difficult to work out what type of expenditure these books were for. From the first book, covering the period 1764-1769, a key payment received by Henry were two sums of £10,000 from the Duke of Montagu in 1767, part Elizabeth's portion, as set out in her marriage contract, indicating that this cash book was used to record significant sums of money coming in and leaving Henry's coffers. The occasional name of interest can be picked out, such as 'Tho.s Gainsborough's bill' for £100 on the 29th November 1770, with other sums going to stewards but more personal items cannot be highlighted, as was possible for John.⁵⁴ Such a bill shows that one off, luxury goods were being billed to this cash book and that it was not the preserve of everyday, household expenses. Indeed, since no references are made to housekeeping payments, servants' wages and expenses or individual bills which match staff at Dalkeith at a corresponding time, it is possible that these set of cash books were not for household expenditure at all. When comparing the entries from 1772 to the total housekeeping expenditure for the same year in table 5.2, it is clear that the related bills do not feature in the cash book. The book shows a total outlay for the year of £11,355 7s 5d, with some of the entries being labelled as interest payments, for example, which amounted to over a thousand pounds, as well as payments to family members. The grand total for the household expenditure for 1772 was £10,081 17s 7d, showing that these were not including within the cash book for that year and likely featured in separate household accounts, away from Henry's cash book expenses.

⁵⁴ NRS: GD224/585/1. Account between Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch with Messrs Thomas Coutts and Co. Book 3.

Whilst the cash books may have limited use for showing what goods Henry was purchasing, they do reveal that Henry supplied Elizabeth with sums of money for her own use. There are a small number of entries related to payments to Elizabeth littered throughout the eight books, however, the wording on the entries is very important. For example, in book 3, covering 1770-1775, there are two entries which state that sums of £200 and £300 had been paid ‘to Mackenzie for the use of the Duchess of Buccleuch’, which suggests that this was not splitting an expense with Elizabeth, but actually providing her with money to use for her own purchases or expenses.⁵⁵ Entries within the other books did not have such wording, instead just stating ‘to the Duchess of Buccleuch’, making it unclear if this was a form of allowance or a payment towards purchases Elizabeth had made. The infrequency and irregularity of the payments, however, suggests that it was more likely the latter, with Henry dividing certain expenses with Elizabeth.

Whilst the household accounts build up a clearer picture of the cost of running the Buccleuch properties and Henry’s financial control over the majority of such expenses, Elizabeth’s reveal more about her involvement with the households at different stages of her life. A particularly interesting set of bills for Elizabeth comes in the form of tradesmen’s bills, covering the period 1777-1810 and as such covers two of the distinct periods of her life. The volume in image 5.3 is a continuous list of Elizabeth’s payments to tradesmen for services and goods. The book records paid bills only and is split in two, with the first section covering 1777-1786 followed by several blank pages and then resumes again in 1792 until finishing in 1810. For the entirety of the book, the name of the tradesman or woman is recorded, along with the purchase and amount paid. For the first nine-year period the top of each page also records whether the bills were for London or Dalkeith. This offers a fascinating point of comparison between town and country consumption habits and also reveals more information about Elizabeth’s household responsibilities at different locations during different time periods.

A significant point to be drawn out is the level and type of shopping conducted in London, compared to Scotland. The bills reveal that Elizabeth was conducting a large amount of shopping in London, particularly for clothing, fabrics, hairdressers, gloves, shoes and other accoutrements. In 1777 alone, Elizabeth’s London bills ran to over

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, see 22nd April and 29th May 1773.

£1200, including a bill of £214 14s for a new coach, a purchase which would typically be categorised as a masculine item of consumption and appeared to fall under household expenses in the previously discussed document of household expenditure.⁵⁶ The expenses for this particular year are primarily for material goods such as clothing and related accessories, with no bills for servants' wages nor any food items or household essentials, such as soap or candles.

⁵⁶ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch's Tradesmen's Bills. 1777-1812. p. 4.

4

London 10 June 18th 1777

1777
June 17th

| | | | |
|--|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| Paid Silk Mercer | Hing | 458. 11. - | |
| D ^o Linnen Draper | Stewart | 26. 1. - | |
| D ^o Lace Shop | Briguiet | 50. 17. 3 | |
| D ^o French Silks | Coutheart | 12. 12. - | |
| D ^o Flatter &c ^o | Davies | 28. 5. 6 | |
| D ^o Millener | Carey | 19. 3. 6 | 176. 6. 9 |
| D ^o Ditto | Penstone | 19. 6. 6 | |
| D ^o D ^o | Edgcombe | 1. 0. 6 | |
| D ^o Hoops | Hornby | 3. 8. - | |
| D ^o Haberdasher | Victor | ~ 10. - | |
| D ^o Jeweller | Ladocate | 148. 11. - | 43. 14. 6 |
| D ^o Toyman | Willerton | 1. 13. 6 | |
| D ^o a Picture | Gardner | 9. 9. - | |
| D ^o Trunks, boxes &c ^o | Robertson | 1. 7. 6 | |
| D ^o Taylor to Tom Jones, Tuckers | | 7. 6. 6 | 168. 7. 6 |
| D ^o Fans | Nan horn | 3. 11. - | |
| D ^o Shoemaker | Taylor | 9. 8. - | |
| D ^o Glover | Royall | 9. 4. 2 | |
| D ^o Habitmaker | Thomas | 14. 11. - | |
| D ^o Hosiery | Gascoyne | ~ 15. - | 37. 9. 2 |
| D ^o Coachmaker | Atkinson | 214. 14. - | |
| D ^o Silk Lining | Hings | 56. 14. - | |
| D ^o Chair maker | Holmes | 6. 6. 6 | |
| D ^o Ditto | Jones | ~ 19. - | |
| D ^o Chairmen | Doubleday | 3. 13. 9 | 282. 7. 3 |
| D ^o Staymaker | Klamand | 9. 16. 6 | |
| D ^o Mantua Maker | Jones | 3. - - | |
| D ^o Ditto | Mackenzie | 13. 17. - | |
| D ^o Ditto | Smith | 1. 3. - | |
| D ^o Chesnut poney | Johnson | 12. 12. - | 40. 8. 6 |
| Carri ^d forward | | £ 748. 13. 8 | |

Figure 5.3 – A page from Her Grace, the Duchess of Buccleuch tradesmen's accounts, June 1777.

Table 5.3 shows the amount of money Elizabeth spent at London and Dalkeith each year over a nine-year period, all taken from the tradesmen's bills book. By separating out Elizabeth's spending by location we generate a view fairly early in her marriage as to the type of goods she was purchasing, and what goods were purchased where. These accounts do not, however, indicate where the money came from to fund this expenditure, whether it was from Elizabeth's own independent income, or from a housekeeping allowance provided by Henry. Given the time period, before Elizabeth's inheritance in 1790 and the previously mentioned examples of Henry transferring money to Elizabeth for her own use, it is likely that such purchases were being paid for with an allowance from Henry, although she did have personal sums of money which had been given to her for her sole use by this time.

An interesting point to be drawn out from the accounts comes to light when the expenditure is considered month by month. When 1782 is considered, for example, the majority of the cost from London for that year was outlaid during the months of June and July and this is a pattern which is apparent for the rest of the years in the table. This is an unusual pattern since these months were not at the height of the London season and were on the contrary the time when families typically left London. It is unclear if Elizabeth was actually in London when these orders were being placed, but her travel patterns at this time, discussed in chapter 4, would suggest that this was around the time when Henry and Elizabeth also travelled to Dalkeith, typically leaving mid to late June. This would suggest that Elizabeth was stocking up on goods prior to her journey north, whilst also raising the possibility that goods may have been reduced in price when the season was over.

| Table 5.3 – Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch’ s expenses for London and Dalkeith, 1777-1785 (£ s d) | | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| | London | Dalkeith |
| 1777 | 1247 4 3 ½ | 8 19 7 ½ ⁵⁷ |
| 1778 | 600 7 5 | 140 7 7 ½ |
| 1779 | 388 1 0 | 167 7 1 |
| 1780 | 520 9 2 (inc. £33 2 6 for Richmond) | 248 5 1 |
| 1781 | 889 17 2 | 112 6 0 |
| 1782 | 1126 18 3 | 266 5 1 ½ |
| 1783 | 652 5 8 | 225 3 6 |
| 1784 | 654 5 11 ½ | 254 9 2 ¾ |
| 1785 | 592 7 1 | 187 1 8 |

Whilst the accounts discussed earlier showed Henry’s responsibility for paying for household expenses and all which that entailed, from 1779 onwards Elizabeth began to pay for a wide array of food bills, covering hundreds of pounds’ worth of produce.⁵⁸ Interestingly the first bill of this type is for the London household, which in the 1770s and 1780s would not have been Elizabeth’s inherited Montagu House but rather Henry’s leased townhouse in Grosvenor Square. Elizabeth had her final child in 1780, suggesting that the end of her childbearing years allowed her to devote more time to matters which she had previously been less able to focus on, and was either able to use her own personal finances or an allowance from Henry to make such purchases.

There are payments within these early set of bills for a small number of servants’ wages, however, rather than household staff such as maids, cooks and footmen, these are for men such as Mr Reynolds, James Grant and Robert Grierson who were stewards rather than domestic servants. These men helped Elizabeth to manage her finances and

⁵⁷ Only two bills for 1777 are listed for Dalkeith in the book. Unless Elizabeth spent the majority of the year at London or for some reason had little financial outlay that year, it is likely that other bills for the year are missing/not recorded.

⁵⁸ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch’s Tradesmen’s Bills. 1777-1812. p. 13.

ran the various Buccleuch properties. Later entries, after Elizabeth had inherited and the primary townhouse used was Montagu House, include a number of additional bills for a small number of servants, but these are for higher ranking servants, rather than household staff. Since the wages for household staff were not considered as tradesmen's bills, it is likely that such bills were incorporated into another of Elizabeth's account books running at the same time.

A further set of Elizabeth's accounts which need to be highlighted are a trio of small, leather bound journals held at the National Archives of Scotland and cover the period 1801-1825. This is a substantial time period and covers a small portion of Elizabeth's married life, Henry's death and almost the entirety of her widowhood. However, what sets these accounts apart from many of the others is that Elizabeth kept these accounts herself and the twenty-four years of recordings are all made in her own hand. Although not as clear, concise or detailed as the set of tradesmen's accounts discussed above or the household accounts of Henry, for example, Elizabeth did employ a form of double entry account keeping, with money received from people on the left hand pages and her outgoings on the right hand side. These three books reveal that Elizabeth kept a meticulous watch over her expenses and outgoings and liked to keep her own records, separate to others that may have been kept by her stewards or household staff.

This is supported by the content of a series of letters which Elizabeth sent to John Parker in 1811. Elizabeth had been sent a bill from Parker for purchases she had made at Beamon and Abbot, a linen draper and haberdasher, located on New Bond Street.⁵⁹ However, the bill dated from purchases made two years prior in 1809 and Elizabeth questioned why there was such a long delay in her receiving it, particularly when she had shopped on there on several occasions since and already paid the bills for these subsequent items.⁶⁰ Over correspondence with Parker in the next four months, Elizabeth continually remarked on how 'very odd' it was that she was a regular customer at the shop and this bill from 1809 had never been mentioned. She remarks that 'I must pay but . . . I desire when you pay the bill you will tell them I think [it very odd] and that it will not encourage me to have any dealings with them for the future'.⁶¹ She sent Parker a draft in March to cover the cost of the bill, but did not instruct him to go and pay it

⁵⁹ Critchett, *The Post-Office Annual Directory for 1808*, p. 24.

⁶⁰ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker. 26th January 1811.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7th February 1811.

until she had ‘looked in the book’ and checked her own records to ensure that she had definitely not already paid the bill. Parker was instructed to pay the bill in April and Elizabeth rounded off the matter by declaring it ‘very irregular’!⁶²

What this shows is that by keeping copies of her own accounts and expenditure, Elizabeth had been taught book keeping and was capable of monitoring her own incomings and out goings. Such a thing was not unexpected nor uncommon, as Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths suggest in their study of consumption and gender in the early modern household. Women, they argue, were routinely educated in arithmetic and household accounting during this period, as ‘such skills were seen as essential to household management a task every woman was meant to be able to fulfil should her husband wish her to do so’.⁶³ Margaret Hunt, however, states that the ‘principles of bookkeeping were both simple and accessible’ and became a characteristic skill of the middling sort, rather than the aristocracy who often only had a ‘passive knowledge of the art’.⁶⁴ Interestingly, Hunt argues that accounting skills were more crucial for sons than daughters, which parallels the argument made by Anne Laurence that eighteenth-century elite women were withdrawing from ‘hands on’ roles in housekeeping, instead leaving such tasks to a housekeeper.⁶⁵ With Mary Cardigan also appearing not to have kept her own accounts, instead replying on stewards, it is likely that Elizabeth’s accounting knowledge was not developed until after the death of her brother, when she became heiress presumptive to the Montagu estates.

That she was so unhappy with the delay in the bill from Beamon and Abbot and her threat to cease using them as a supplier in the future, shows the level of power Elizabeth had as a wealthy, aristocratic consumer and also the annoyance that was generated by not receiving bills expeditiously. As duchess of Buccleuch and heiress to the Montagu estates and fortune, Elizabeth was an extremely wealthy and powerful individual who could wield great influence through expressing her opinions of establishments and suppliers. If she had a bad experience with a supplier, such as the haberdasher, she could easily take her desired patronage elsewhere and discuss her previous shopping

⁶² *Ibid.*, 6th April 1811.

⁶³ J. Whittle and E. Grittiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household* (Oxford University Press, USA: 2012) (ebook) p. 9.

⁶⁴ M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort. Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London: 1996) p. 58-59.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

experience in less than favourable terms to friends and family. The delay also particularly irritated Elizabeth and it is clear that she tried to pay her bills promptly and in an orderly fashion, quite the reverse of the stereotype of the aristocracy never paying their bills.

Elizabeth's concern over correct book keeping can be further witnessed in her correspondence to Parker, particularly in the early letters from 1809 when Parker was just starting in his new role as Elizabeth steward. As discussed in chapter 2, Elizabeth insisted that it was 'absolutely necessary' that Parker should be able to keep common accounts for his new position as her house steward, even underlining the words in the letter for additional emphasis.⁶⁶ Elizabeth reminded him in subsequent letters to be clear and precise and record things the best he could, showing a real concern that her finances should be kept in check and under control. That Elizabeth was willing to pay for Parker to have book keeping lessons and regularly gave him instructions on how he should manage her accounts shows a genuine knowledge on her side of book keeping and a concern for how confused her incomings and outgoings could become if Parker were to not keep them correctly. Parker remained Elizabeth's steward until her death in 1827 and also received a bequest in her will, demonstrating that he had undergone to required training and became a staple member of Elizabeth's staff.

Returning to the account books kept by Elizabeth, one point they highlight is that Elizabeth remained meticulous about her spending habits and financial outlay through her dower years and until a year prior to her death. The quality and detail of the entries diminishes across the course of the entries and the latter years of the book are slightly more difficult to decipher as Elizabeth's handwriting deteriorates. The entries become less detailed – where she might have given detail in 1802 such as 'Coachmaker for phaeton repairs', by 1825 she tended to record just who the bill was for such as 'sharp's bill' or 'servants'.⁶⁷ However, the crucial point here is that even in her later years and well over the age of eighty, Elizabeth was still maintaining her own financial records and engaging in a significant amount of consumption and expenditure. She was managing her own finances, her own household and was keeping careful control over both her incomings and outgoings, conforming to Vickery's assertion that widowhood

⁶⁶ BA, BHN: Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch to John Parker. 21st February 1809.

⁶⁷ NRS: See GD224/1093/1 for April 1802 references and GD224/1093/3 for March 1825 references. No page numbers are used throughout these documents.

could be a ‘period of unique independence and self-expression’, although with her inheritance of the Montagu estates over twenty years prior to Henry’s death, such freedoms were not entirely new to Elizabeth as they would likely have been for the majority of widows during this period.⁶⁸

| Table 5.4 – Total yearly expenditure from the account books of Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch⁶⁹ | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Year | Total Spent (£ s d) |
| 1803 | 1624 19 11 |
| 1816 | 1622 8 5 |
| 1824 | 1116 6 0 |

Table 5.4 Contains figures for the total yearly expenditure from the account books kept by Elizabeth from 1802-1825. The first and last complete yearly records from the book have been used, along with 1816, a year selected as it was several years after the death of Henry. In 1803 Henry was still alive, Elizabeth had inherited the Montagu properties 13 years previously and the couple utilised a number of Buccleuch and Montagu properties. The figures from this account book alone reveal a personal outlay of over £1600 for the year, a sum which is almost identical thirteen years later when Elizabeth had been a dowager for four years, with a smaller number of households to move between and help to maintain, and without Henry’s money to combine with her own. By 1824, three years prior to Elizabeth’s death, the accounts still reveal an expenditure of over £1110 from this set of accounts, a £500 reduction in expenditure compared to the earlier two selected years. This shows a decrease by around 30% in her financial outlay by the latter period of her life, but also reinforces that she continued to monitor her own financial records for the majority of her life. An obituary published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* states that ‘for a year or two, latterly . . . personal weakness, accompanied by partial loss of memory, has rendered her liable to imposition’, suggesting that declining health was the reason the accounts she kept personally finished in 1825.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 220.

⁶⁹ NRS: Figures have been generated by adding together totals within the accounts for the years 1803, 1817 and 1824 from GD224/1093/1, GD224/1093/2, GD224/1093/3. Miscellaneous Volumes: Account books, kept by a member of the Buccleuch family, probably female, possibly Elizabeth Montagu, Duchess of Buccleuch.

⁷⁰ ‘Obituary. Duchess of Buccleuch’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (February 1828) p. 177.

However, whilst Elizabeth continued to maintain a considerable financial outlay during her dower years and widowhood, there is evidence to suggest that her family did monitor her outlay from time-to-time. Only several months after the death of Henry in 1812, Elizabeth's son, the new Duke of Buccleuch, sent her a letter informing her of the various wines and spirits he had ordered for the wine cellar at Montagu House but goes on to note the following in regards to her allowances for servants:

I observe by Parker's day book that you allow your upper servants wine – I believe that this custom is now abolished in almost every family – I give none, nor have I given any for a great length of time. If your family increased as it often is by the servants of those living with you, I am sure a pipe of wine must be annually consumed at least. This would amount to at least £120 yearly . . . however if you wish wine still to be given to them, I should recommend . . . some other cheap wine.⁷¹

Charles went on to explain that his reason he wished his mother to stop the practice of giving wine to servants was that by giving such an item, the servants were being put in a more luxurious position than men who served within the army or even a number of ordinary gentlemen. There was clearly a concern of blurring boundaries within the social hierarchy here and a fear from Charles that servants might be gaining too many benefits from their position within his mother's households, but the fact that he cites a figure of £120 shows that there was a cost involved in Elizabeth's generosity and one that he felt was too high. That Charles was ordering wines for Montagu House, a Montagu property of Elizabeth's inheritance, and monitoring her day book, suggests that that he took an active role in purchasing goods for this property and that the responsibility of managing it did not remain solely with Elizabeth. In her article on gender, consumption and household accounting, Amanda Vickery raised the pertinent point that women's accounts can be read in one of two ways, either as a map of her jurisdiction or as a document of a patriarch's surveillance of her time and spending.⁷² Charles' comment raises the possibility that he, and Henry before him, inspected Elizabeth's accounts to see how much she was spending and on what, removing a measure of her financial independence and implying that overall responsibility for the family finances still lay with the male head of the family.

⁷¹ Buccleuch Archives, Bowhill House, Selkirk (BA, BHS) Charles, 4th Duke of Buccleuch to Elizabeth, Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch. Montagu House, 17th December 1812. p. 1.

⁷² Vickery, 'His and Hers', p. 20.

This chapter has utilised a selection of the large amount of personal and household accounts which survives for the three generations of the eighteenth century Montagu family. By studying the contents of a variety of these accounts, it has been possible to explore the changes in financial responsibility that husbands and wife exercised within individual marriages and how this changed from generation to generation. Within the earlier generation of Mary and John, a view of John having total financial responsibility for the couple is generated, particularly given that only material connected to John has predominantly survived. John was clearly and unsurprisingly financially responsible for all aspects of supplying and maintaining the Montagu properties yet Mary can be seen to have engaged in shopping practices, although it is highly unlikely that she had significant control over her own money, since John even appropriated her allocated pin money.

Instead it was Mary's daughter who was able to have a degree of agency within her marriage, which appears to have been more companionate, whilst George's issues with debt and the Montagu inheritance further gave Mary the opportunity to engage in purchasing a range of goods and services for properties, including those that have traditionally been seen as the responsibility of men. A significant discovery from this generation is the level of expenditure and variety of goods that Mary was responsible for prior to her inheritance in 1749, demonstrating that the Montagu inheritance did not signal a total transformation in Mary and George's financial responsibilities. Instead, it necessitated the maintenance of separate accounts for two separate family property networks and allowed them to continue to share certain financial charges. This was a theme which continued into the latter part of the century, with Henry and Elizabeth keeping a wide variety of accounts in order to monitor and manage their network of properties. For Elizabeth, the inheritance of the Montagu estates signalled a greater financial responsibility for household goods and larger items, as well as the ability to maintain a similar measure of expenditure throughout her marriage, as well as reflecting that just like her parents' marriage, there was not always strict gendered restrictions on consumption practices.

Studying the financial material connected to the family has helped to explore the level of control that the Montagu women had over their finances, whilst also establishing the gendered responsibilities that were established within each generation. Whilst certain aspects cannot be proven, such as whether these women were made to keep accounts by

their husbands, which were monitored by them or by stewards, it has been demonstrated Mary and Elizabeth were able to make choices and decisions within their marriages and the allocation of money to them for their separate use and the inheritance of the Montagu estates further allowed them to have a degree of financial independence and security throughout their lives which Mary Churchill did not have.

Conclusion

Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry, heiress to the Montagu estates and fortunes, passed away on 21st November 1827. Aged 84 at the time of her death, Elizabeth had seven children and forty-three grandchildren, but also endured the death of two of her children and eight of her grandchildren. Elizabeth had been the sole heiress to the lands and properties associated with the dukedom of Montagu and through a combination of bequests, the use of precise legal terminology and a loving, companionate marriage with her husband, had retained significant power and influence over the inheritance that had passed to her from her mother. She was also to be the last person to bear the sole surname of 'Montagu' from this branch of the family and the last inheritor of the separate Montagu estates, since they became amalgamated into the Buccleuch network upon her death. The changing of the family name to Montagu Douglas Scott in the early nineteenth century did, however, ensure that the Montagu name was not completely lost, and it remains a part of the official surname of the family of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry today.

Upon Elizabeth's death, the Montagu estates, which had remained separate from the Cardigan and Buccleuch estates through two inheritances, finally became amalgamated into the extensive Buccleuch property network. With both her grandmother and her mother making provisions in their wills for their daughters, leaving either substantial amounts of money or a property for sole and separate use, as Mary did in leaving Richmond to Elizabeth, it might be expected that Elizabeth would do something similar for her daughters. However, this was not the case and all of the Montagu estates were inherited by her grandson, Walter, 5th Duke of Buccleuch. The longevity and survival of these estates within the Buccleuch network was, however, mixed. Of the principal Montagu properties discussed throughout the thesis, Boughton House is the only one which has been retained and is still owned by the present Duke of Buccleuch, Elizabeth's direct descendant.

The property at Blackheath was demolished in 1815, whilst still under Elizabeth's ownership. Montagu House, Whitehall was demolished by her son Walter, the 5th Duke, in the 1850s and replaced with a grand Victorian mansion, built in the style of French Renaissance chateau. In 1917 it was taken over for use as government offices and in the 1930s, it too was demolished. Ditton Park was inhabited by Charlotte Anne,

Walter's wife, as her principal dower residence, following his death in 1884. She remained at Ditton until her own death in 1895. It was later compulsorily purchased by the Admiralty during the First World War, ending the Montagu and Buccleuch connection to the property. Ditton still stands today and operates as a venue for events and weddings. Mary's villa on the banks of the Thames at Richmond was sold in 1886 for £30,000 by William, 6th Duke of Buccleuch.¹

The only principal Montagu property to survive is Boughton House, the property which was little used prior to the legal dispute of the mid-eighteenth century and was left practically abandoned by the family until the late nineteenth century. Boughton has passed through successive generations of the Buccleuch family since Elizabeth's death, being fully incorporated into the Buccleuch property network. It was not until after the First World War, however, that successive generations of the Buccleuchs began to focus their interest on Boughton once again, with new rooms created and improvements such as running water and lighting introduced to the property.² It is still used today as both a family home and a site for holding events by the current duke, as well as opening to the public. Boughton does retain a certain degree of individuality, reflecting the strand of the family that it came from. Collections within the property are predominantly connected to the early Montagu members of the family, or came from other Montagu houses, such as the town houses and suburban properties. The logo for Boughton also incorporates the Montagu symbols found on coats of arms.

The Montagu family and their complex property network have provided a case study which has enabled this thesis to utilise under used archival material to look at how an aristocratic family used, managed, supplied and moved between their properties. Crucially, however, this has allowed for engagement with wider themes current within eighteenth-century scholarship, specifically making valuable contributions to existing knowledge of elite women, marital relationships and the nature of the eighteenth-century family and aristocratic property use across time and seasons.

By looking at the position and agency that Mary Cardigan and Elizabeth were afforded as a result of inheriting the Montagu estates, as well as the opportunities afforded to

¹ 'Terrace and Buccleuch Gardens'. *Historic England* [<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001551>] [Accessed 2nd April 2018].

² Chloe Hearn, an MA student at University of Leicester, is currently researching the refocus of the Buccleuch family on Boughton for her dissertation project. To be submitted September 2018.

Mary Churchill, who did not have such inheritance, the lives of elite women and the position of the heiress has been brought to the forefront of analysis. This thesis therefore finally answers Eileen Spring's call, made nearly thirty years ago, for the heiress and her plight to be afforded greater historical attention.³ Due to the assumed dominance of 'tail male' in the inheritance of properties in this period, there is a wider supposition that married elite women had little control over their ancestral family estates and correspondingly little influence over the houses they resided in once married; this is despite the traditional assumption that a woman would manage her husband's households.⁴ However, the cases of Mary and Elizabeth have demonstrated that women were able to inherit estates in 'tail general', which allowed them to inherit their ancestral estates, rather than a distant male relative. This inheritance of property was instrumental in allowing the Montagu heiresses autonomy and agency within properties, giving them power to make independent decisions and retain a degree of distinction between the properties which they had inherited and those which their husbands owned. Legal caveats protecting properties for the woman's sole and separate use, for example, in theory protected their properties from the claims or debts of their husband and could even offer a place of retreat whilst married. These findings, relating to women at the apex of society mirror arguments made by historians of the middling sort such as Nicola Phillips who has shown how married women in trade were able to exploit legal loopholes in order to exercise greater control over their own businesses.⁵

While a better appreciation of the complexity – and even flexibility – of the legal system is essential in order to understand fully the opportunities available to elite women, this thesis has highlighted the need for dynamics and relationships of individual marriages to be taken into consideration when exploring elite women's agency. Both George and Henry showed little interest in the properties which their wives inherited and made little attempt to gain control over them, focussing their attention on their own properties. Not all husbands would have been so apparently complaisant, and this picture could likely change depending on marital circumstances. As such, the wider reality of heiresses retaining control over their estates would benefit from further exploration.

³ E. Spring, 'The Heiress-at-Law: English Real Property Law from a New Point of View', *Law and History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1990) p. 273.

⁴ See discussion of relevant literature in the opening to chapter 2, pp. 67-71.

⁵ N. Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Woodbridge: 2006).

This thesis has demonstrated that the terms of inheritance set out in wills and marriage settlements were instrumental in providing and safeguarding women's ability to retain managerial responsibility and influence over properties which they had brought into marriage. Through this, Mary and Elizabeth had greater authority within these properties in comparison to those which had been inherited by their husbands. This was in part reflected in the limited opportunities afforded to Mary Churchill during her marriage to John. This is likely to have been in part due to a greater personal interest and the ancestral connection to their own family houses and estates. Whilst inheritance and the legal framework were important in ensuring these properties and estates passed to the Montagu women, if Mary and Elizabeth had not enjoyed companionate and loving marriages, and if their husbands had not owned estates in their own right, their agency might have been significantly reduced, and the day-to-day running of properties held securely in the hands of their husbands.

However, this case study has demonstrated that mixed inheritance could also shape the descent not only of property, but also of family identity, with husbands incorporating the identity of their wives' family into that of their own. A family line is often considered to end when only daughters survived, and no male heir lived to marry and continue the male line. The family name would become obsolete and peerages could become extinct, meaning that the family and its history could be lost to posterity. However, there has been little consideration as to the possibility of continuing family identity and name through the female line. The legal requirements within John's will made it a condition of Mary's inheritance that any husband she had would need to forego his own family name and adopt that of Montagu. This would have been a significant act of deference for a titled man like George; he was giving up a name associated with his ancestors and one that was tied to his own personal identity. However, the fact that John also stated that he wished his daughter to inherit as if she were his son further highlights that aristocratic families could give preference to a direct blood connection, even a woman, over that of a distant male relative, who in reality might have had little connection to the family, its values and ideals. Property and family identity could not only pass through the female line but could even take precedence over that of their husbands, in contrast to the subordinate position which elite women are traditionally seen to have had within marriage at this time. It is important to recognise and remember that women had connections and loyalties to two different

families, that of their lineage-family and that of their household family which could have an impact on household management and property networks.⁶ Family was as much a matter of lineage and descent for women as it was for men, an aspect which needs to be explored in greater detail in relation to women's connections to their households.

This case study has highlighted the importance that inheritance by both husband and wife had on the creation of large networks of properties. Moreover, it has demonstrated the need to consider houses as part of such a system, rather than individual, isolated residences. As Habakkuk has argued, heiresses were relatively few and far between in this period meaning that in the majority of cases, aristocratic property networks were formed from houses and estates inherited or purchased by one party, the husband.⁷ However, when Mary and Elizabeth inherited the Montagu estates, they were incorporating these with properties and estates which their husbands owned, creating large networks of urban, suburban and country estates with a wide geographical distribution. The country house, like Boughton, cannot therefore be studied on its own, as many existing studies of the country house do, linking only to a townhouse in London on occasion. In order to understand its use and function, or lack thereof, it must be considered as part of a wider collection, which will also benefit and enhance the study of other aristocratic property types. By taking this approach, decisions relating to household management, financial outlay on maintenance, remodelling and architectural additions can be placed with the context of the wider network and what was being carried out at other properties, whether other country estates, or at a town house. Therefore, the claim that Boughton had no work carried out at it at a particular time means little unless it is contextualised to show if work was being carried out at other country or town properties. This consideration of the network as a whole allows for the meaning and value that was attached to a particular property to be explored, whilst also demonstrating how and why this changed depending on the needs and priorities of a particular generation of a family.

⁶ The differences between the two types of families are explored in detail by Naomi Tadmor in N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England. Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: 2001).

⁷ H. J. Habakkuk, 'Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 32 (1950) p. 28.

Having a multi-generation approach to this case study has been important in displaying the change in usage which different properties had over a c.100-year time span. It has allowed for the ability to explore what different generations looked for in the properties they used more than others; what factors they prioritised; and what the properties that they did not use as frequently were lacking. This would be difficult to do if the focus was only upon one property, without its connection to the wider property network of which it was a part of being considered. Such an approach allows for a greater understanding of how and why aristocratic families used different properties at different times throughout the year. This is another facet which using a case study with a large and varied property network has brought into focus. With multiple property types over a large geographical area, not one generation of the Montagu family considered here followed the traditional pattern of aristocratic movement as discussed by historians. Varying amounts of time were spent by each generation at town, country and suburban properties, with the town house even functioning as the principal family home for one generation, a possibility which has been significantly overlooked in current studies.

By widening the original research focus, this thesis has been able to show change and development between generations over time and explore multiple interconnected themes which have helped to show not only the reasons which influenced who had managerial responsibility over a house, but also a number of other key issues. Extensive networks of different property types have been explored to show how families may have differentiated between conceptions of house and home; how other properties were used; and the implications of such a large and varied network, predominantly in terms of the requirement for frequent travel. It has also elucidated our understanding of how financial responsibility for supplying and maintaining such a collection of properties was divided between husband and wife. This has helped to identify a broader picture of how the Montagu family saw their property and actively engaged with it, whilst also revealing why one generation altered its approach or use of properties compared to another and what they particularly prioritised.

Using the Montagu family as a case study has provided an opportunity to focus on a single family which has received comparatively little historical attention compared to other wealthy landowning aristocratic dynasties. The opportunity to explore original primary material, which has at best rarely been scrutinised in existing academic research, has allowed for current assumptions to be challenged and offered a new view

of aristocratic property networks in the eighteenth century. The research that has been conducted for the thesis has also brought to attention a number of areas, relating to both the Montagu archive itself and wider historical questions, which would benefit from further study and closer examination. As discussed above, the position of the eighteenth-century heiress is still in need of further elucidation; was her position really as unhappy as has been described? The terms upon which women inherited property need to be more closely examined to ascertain what level of control and influence they retained over the properties which they inherited. Similarly, the impact that individual marital situations had upon the influence they retained and the significance of the timing of when they inherited these properties also need to be evaluated. Mary and Elizabeth, for example, were not guaranteed to inherit large property networks and substantial sums of money at the time of their marriages and neither inherited until many years into their marriages. Their husbands owned properties and they already had an established network and pattern of usage of houses, which likely accounts for the relative lack of interference George and Henry made in the running of the Montagu properties.

Additionally, with the volume of material which survives within the Buccleuch archives, there are a plethora of avenues to explore connected to this family, which could significantly contribute to wider themes within existing scholarship. Detailed examination of the large collection of bills, receipts and vouchers of purchases, for example, would demonstrate at a basic level who was responsible for ordering goods as opposed to paying for them, and would also allow for a detailed study of supply at different households. This would facilitate a clearer understanding of how country estates and other properties were supplied with the wealth of goods they needed in order to support the household. This would enable the exploration of gendered responsibility for purchasing particular items for individual properties, which can be lost when simply relying upon written up account books. Of particular relevance to this thesis, the opportunity to examine the uncatalogued material connected to the legal dispute between Mary and Isabella would offer a fascinating insight into the problems that could be generated by women inheriting property and estates. It would also provide an avenue through which to explore how women tried to protect their claim to property ownership, how they defended their case and how they used the legal conventions of the eighteenth century.

Appendix 1

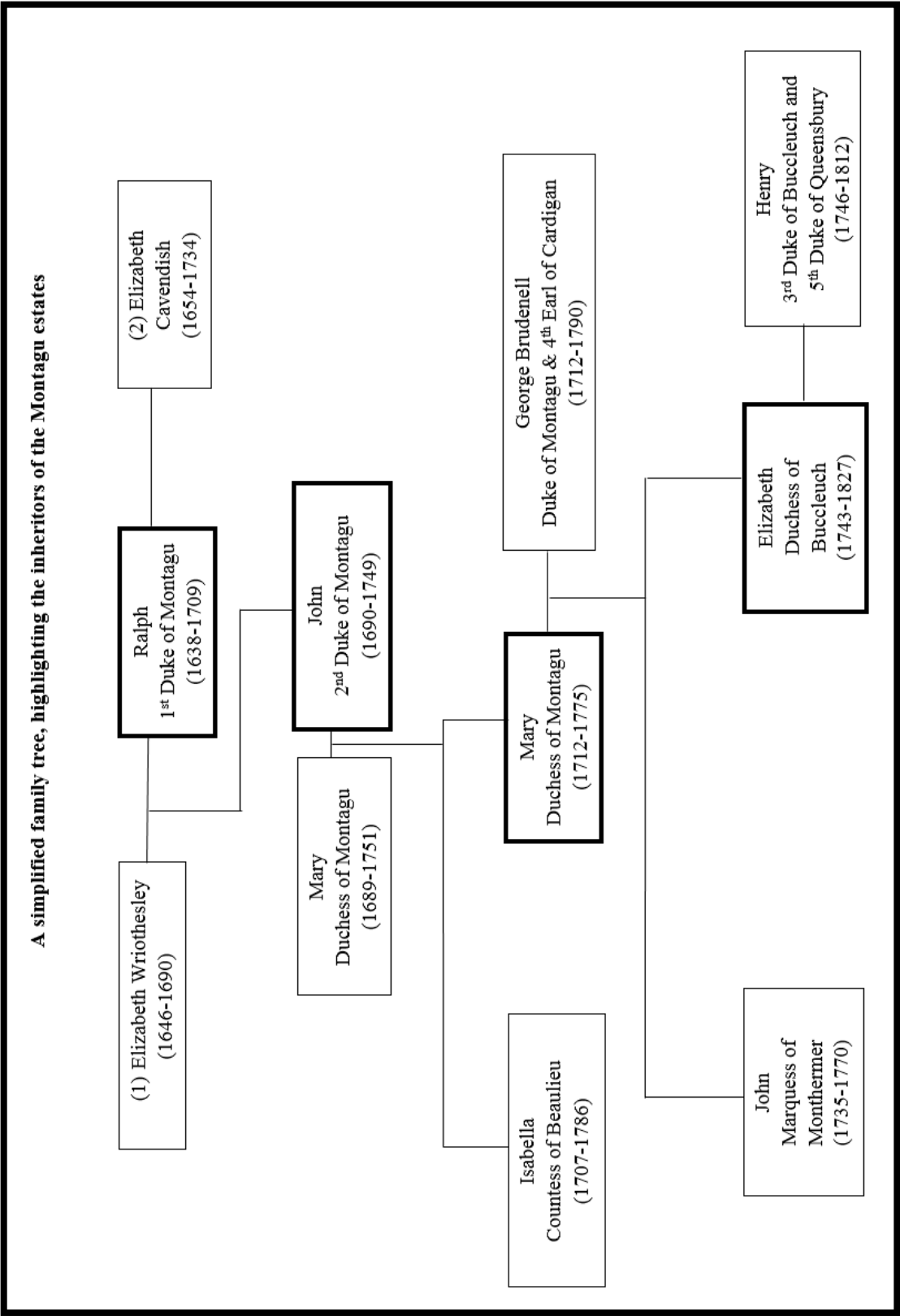
A Note on the Collaboration

The reason for this needs to be explained and also helps to frame the development of this thesis. This thesis is one of a trio within a project entitled ‘The English Versailles: Refashioning the Eighteenth-Century Landed Estate’, and operated as a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) studentship, working in connection with the Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust (BLHT) and more specifically, Boughton House, the seat of the Montagu family, near Kettering in Northamptonshire. The BLHT is a charitable trust which was established in 2010, after two previously existing charities were merged, and supports the ‘advancement of historical, artistic, architectural and aesthetic education’. In particular the BLHT aims to promote the collections, archives and properties under its care which are historic estates of the Dukes of Montagu and Dukes of Buccleuch, through education. Under the auspices of the East Midlands Research Initiative (EMRI), the University of Leicester and the BLHT were awarded three CDA studentships in 2013. These proposed CDA projects would have the opportunity to be based within the University of Leicester but work in connection with Crispin Powell, the Buccleuch archivist at Boughton House and have access to the large Buccleuch/Montagu archive kept there, and at other Buccleuch households. The advertised topics were 1) the family’s philanthropy and household cures; 2) the landed estate and the family’s connection to its tenants and 3) ‘A Great House and its Household Economy at Work’, looking at how Boughton House was used and managed within the eighteenth century. The latter project was the original starting point for this thesis and the research has developed from this theme.

Naturally, the foundation of this project being a CDA has had an impact on the scope and limitations of the research undertaken. The collaborative doctoral partnership was established by the AHRC to give PhD students the opportunity to gain experience of working with a heritage organisation whilst conducting their doctoral research. Within this framework, the heritage organisation, in this case the BLHT and Boughton House, offer opportunities and experiences within their organisation that would not normally be available to the public or other students, as well as priority access to archival material relevant to the thesis topic. This in turn allows a thesis to develop with material that has had limited use and will be of benefit to the organisation.

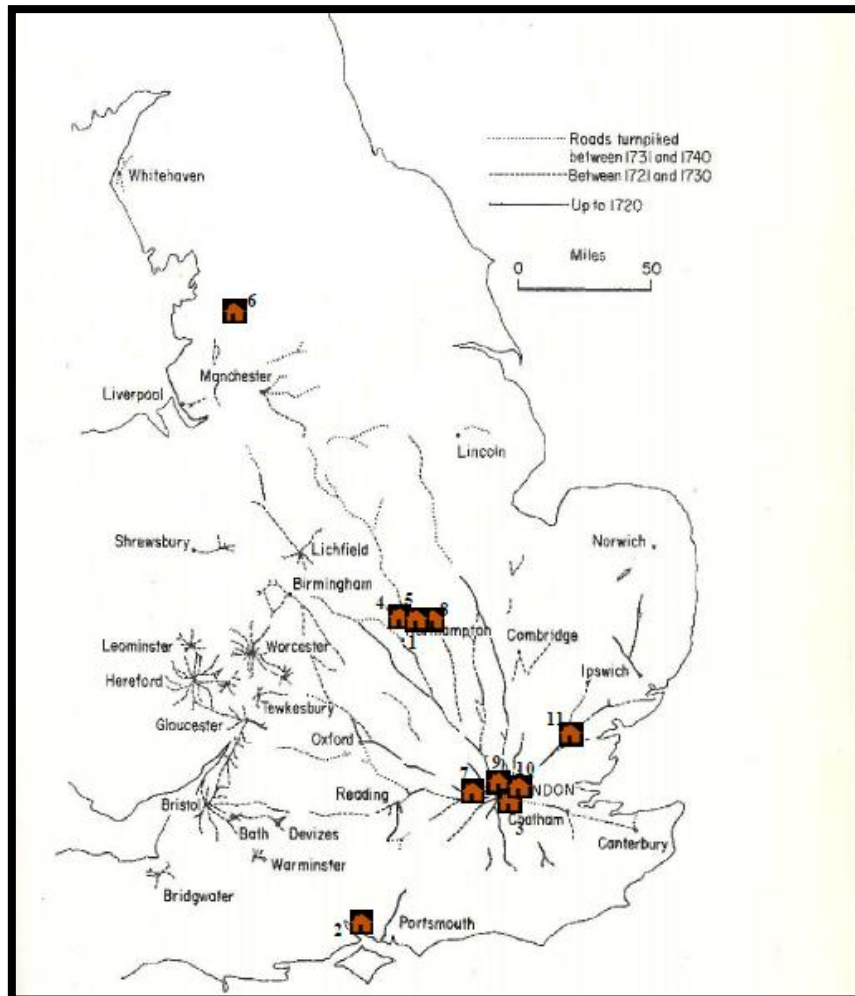
In Boughton's case, the archive is large and contains a great amount of material for the thesis. With this level of shared benefit and the amount of material and help both financially and professionally coming from the BLHT, the focus of this thesis is naturally primarily focussed upon the Buccleuch archives and the Montagu family, with the main case study of the Montagu family within the long eighteenth century.

Appendix 2



Appendix 3

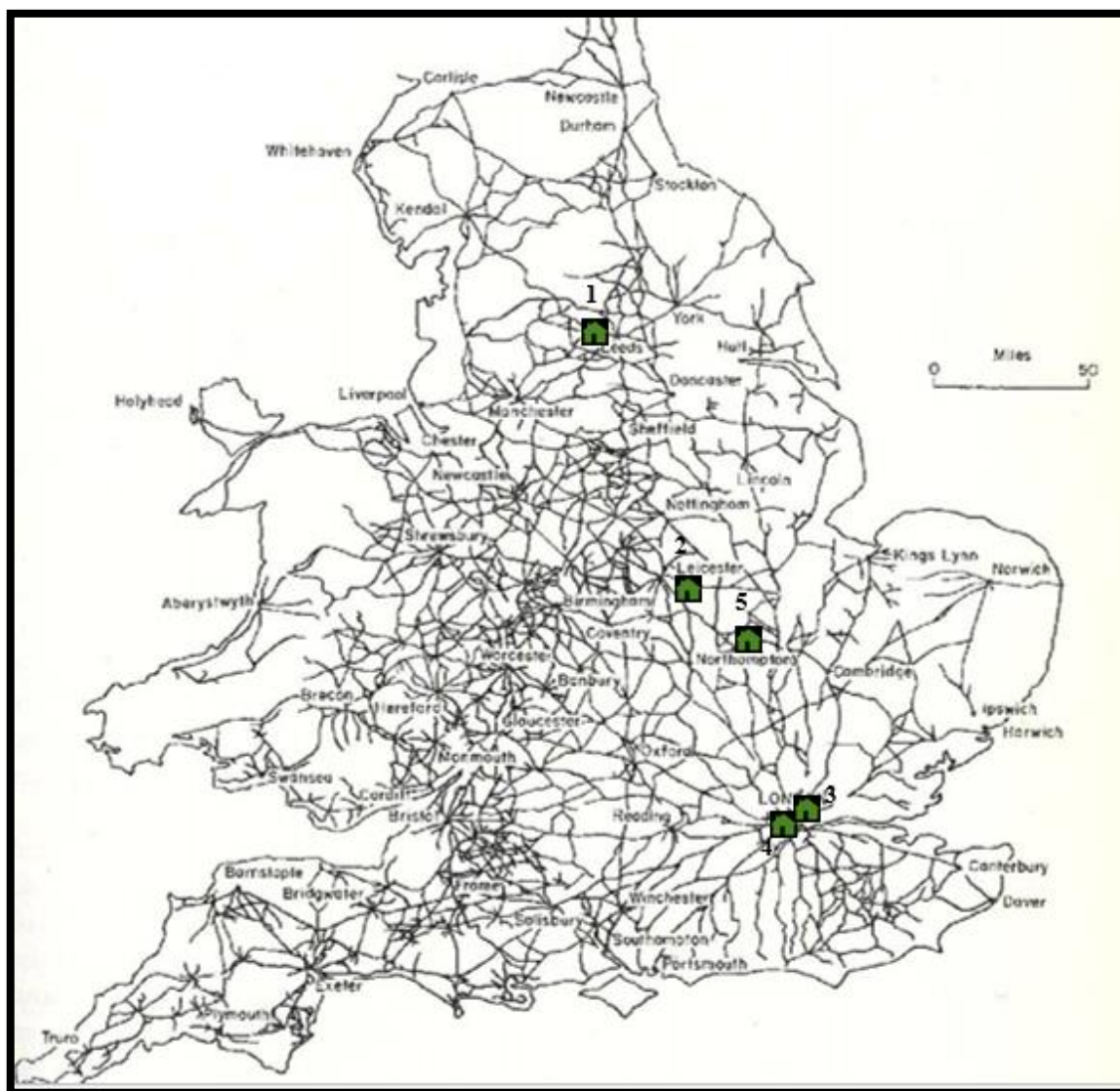
Map 1: Geographical Location of Montagu Properties, overlaid on a map showing Turnpike Roads in 1740.⁸



| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 – Barnwell, Northamptonshire | 7 – Ditton Park, Buckinghamshire |
| 2 – Beaulieu House, Hampshire | 8 – Hemington, Northamptonshire |
| 3 – Blackheath House, London | 9 – Montagu House, Bloomsbury |
| 4 – Boughton House, Northamptonshire | 10 – Montagu House, Whitehall |
| 5 – Brigstock, Northamptonshire | 11 – New Hall, Essex |
| 6 – Clitheroe Castle, Lancashire | |

⁸ Base turnpike map taken from E. Pawson, *Transport and Economy: The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain* (London: 1977) p. 139. See Fig. 26. The Turnpike Road Network in 1740.

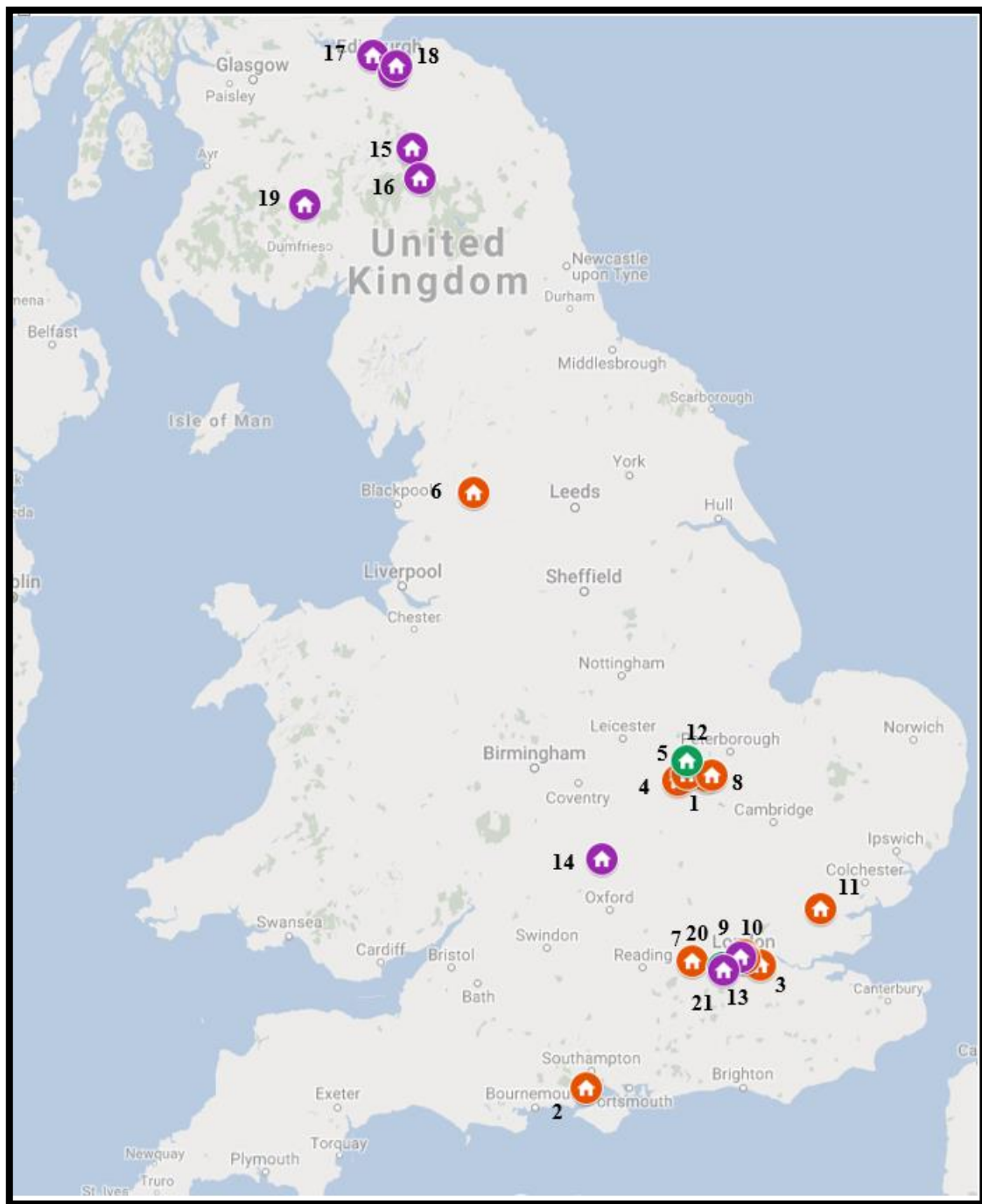
Map 2: Geographical Location of Cardigan Properties, overlaid on a map showing turnpike roads in 1770.⁹



| |
|--|
| 1 – Bramley, Leeds |
| 2 – Stonton Wyville, Leicestershire |
| 3 - Dover Street, London |
| 4 - Richmond, London |
| 5 - Deene Park, Northamptonshire |

⁹ Base turnpike map taken from E. Pawson, *Transport and Economy: The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain* (London: 1977) p. 151. See Fig. 29. The Turnpike Road Network in 1770.

Map 3: Map Showing the Geographical Location of Montagu, Cardigan and Buccleuch Properties, c.1709-1827.¹⁰



¹⁰ Due to the difficulty of finding a clear map of turnpike roads in Scotland c.1800, the properties for generation three have been plotted on a plain, modern base map to show the geographical location of properties owned by all three generations. Each generation has been colour coded to allow for easy comparison of the changes of the property network between each generations. Map created by E. Purcell.

| | |
|--|--|
| Montagu Estates and Properties (Red) | |
| 1 – Barnwell, Northamptonshire | 7 – Ditton Park, Buckinghamshire |
| 2 – Beaulieu House, Hampshire | 8 – Hemington, Northamptonshire |
| 3 – Blackheath House, London | 9 – Montagu House, Bloomsbury |
| 4 – Boughton House, Northamptonshire | 10 – Montagu House, Whitehall |
| 5 – Brigstock, Northamptonshire | 11 – New Hall, Essex |
| 6 – Clitheroe Castle, Lancashire | |
| | |
| Cardigan Properties (Green) | |
| 12 – Deene Park, Northamptonshire | 13 – Richmond |
| | |
| Buccleuch and Queensberry Estates and Properties (Purple) | |
| 14 – Adderbury, Oxfordshire | 18 – Dalkeith Palace, near Edinburgh |
| 15 – Bowhill House, Selkirk | 19 – Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfries and Galloway |
| 16 – Branxholm Castle, Hawick | 20 – Grosvenor Square, London |
| 17 – Caroline Park, Edinburgh | 21 – Sudbrook Park, Petersham |

This is not an exhaustive list of all of the properties and estates that each generation owned. All the properties named within the thesis have been included, plus a small number of other properties owned, in order to show the geographical distribution of the different properties and how this changed from generation to generation.

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(a) Private Collections

Note: Due to the nature of the archives when research commenced, as discussed in the introduction, material held in the Buccleuch archives does not have reference numbers. In order to make the bibliography as clear as possible, I have arranged the sources I have consulted in date order of the creation of the document.

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