

**Material Patriarchs: Elite Men, Consumption and Domestic Material Culture
1760-1830**

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Declaration of Authorship

I Charlotte Brown hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:  Date: 14/06/17

Abstract

The thesis examines material culture and domesticity for elite men between 1760-1830.

It is based on case studies of six families from England and Scotland. These are the families of Samuel Whitbread (1764-1816) and William Lee Antonie (1764-1816) who were Bedfordshire politicians and friends; two families of Scottish aristocrats, Henry Scott, Third Duke of Buccleuch (1746–1812) and the Campbell family, Earls of Breadalbane; the family of William Rathbone V (1757–1809) a Quaker Liverpool timber merchant, ship builder and ship owner and the Dundas family, Earls of Zetland.

The first three chapters consider how the men in the chosen six families expressed their domesticity through material culture. Chapter One examines the role of material culture in courtship and marriage, looking particularly at the evidence which emerges in the correspondence of Whitbread and Breadalbane. Chapter Two examines the role of the patriarch in relation to children and the wider family. Here a subsection is given to each family case study. Chapter Three analyses the use of domestic consumption to convey men's public identity. In particular the friendship between Whitbread and Lee Antonie contains a rich source of material for this discussion.

The final chapter explores the ways in which consumption was represented in contemporary novels in relation to masculinity and the home. It follows a similar life-cycle to these case studies using the fictional male characters invented by the novelist. The chapter provides a cultural context for the case studies to question the relationship between what was culturally imagined and expected of masculine behaviour and what occurred in practice.

The thesis as a whole aims to draw these threads together to consider the role of domesticity and material culture in elite men's relationships with others inside and outside their family units.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my special thanks to my supervisor Dr Jane Hamlett. I also owe my gratitude to Dr Stella Moss and Dr Zoe Laidlaw for their stimulating and thoughtful comments.

Thank you to the AHRC for their generous funding, which allowed me to embark on the project. I am also grateful to the archival staff at the Bedford Archives, the National Archives of Scotland, North Yorkshire County Record Office, and the University of Liverpool Archives for all their time and patience. Thank you to the Duke of Buccleuch for allowing me to access and use his family's material.

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Zoe Thomas, Tul Israngura Na Ayudhya and Yen Ya-Lei for all their academic support and company.

I would like to thank my husband Hammad, my mother Jane and my father Richard for everything they have done to inspire and encourage me to continue. I am also grateful to my maternal grandmother and grandfather and my late paternal grandparents for their warm love and support.

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Introduction

This study examines elite masculine domestic consumption in the period 1760 to 1830, through six case studies of elite families located in different geographical areas across England and Scotland. The case studies include the families of Samuel Whitbread (1764-1816) and William Lee Antonie (1764-1816) who were Bedfordshire politicians and friends; two families of Scottish aristocrats, Henry Scott, Third Duke of Buccleuch (1746–1812) and the Campbell family, Earls of Breadalbane; the family of William Rathbone V (1757–1809) a Quaker Liverpool timber merchant, ship builder and ship owner and the Dundas family, Earls of Zetland. These families were selected because of the wealth of correspondence as well as inventories and bills which were available in their family papers. The selected case studies also offer a range of socio-economic positions, with three aristocratic families and three families of wealthy merchants all of whom had differing attitudes to wealth and status and used material culture to express them. The final chapter uses novels to contextualise the men's behaviour and attitudes towards domestic material culture. The term 'elite' is preferred throughout because the men studied here are from a range of socio-economic positions and may not all properly be described as aristocrats. As the case studies were fruitful in certain areas, overall I have drawn on different aspects of each collection to extract richer comparisons. This will enable a comparison between perceptions of masculine domestic consumption and the practices that occurred within the selected households.

The structure and topics of the chapters emerged from key themes that arose from the family papers. The first chapter focuses on men's relationships with their wives during courtship and marriage. It considers how couples shared responsibilities for domestic management. The second chapter examines the patriarchal role of the family man. It focuses primarily on fathers' material relationships with their first-born

sons but also examines other familial relationships. The third chapter considers patriarchs in a public context. It concentrates on the role of material culture in men's relationships with their peers during youth and adulthood. The final chapter frames the previous chapters by establishing a contemporary cultural context, examining attitudes to elite patriarchal engagement with material culture.

The time frame discussed, 1760-1830, was primarily chosen due to the source evidence and the nature of the relationships, which emerged in the family correspondence. Covering the full reigns of kings George III and George IV, a number of interesting events took place within the period, which influenced the elite men's relationships with domestic consumption. The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars as well as American Independence and the development of the European ceramic industry affected British perceptions of foreign luxuries and local manufacture. Likewise the start of the Romantic era and decline of 'politeness' influenced societal perceptions of masculinity, and will be discussed.

This thesis critically examines elite men's acquisition and display of luxury commodities within the domestic interior. It considers how men imagined, described, used and displayed domestic objects to construct their identities and engage with family members, friends and peers. In particular the thesis uses the material to illuminate the role played by patriarchs within families, the extent of their control and engagement with family life, as well as their public identities. The following chapter details the origins and developments of the approaches that the thesis engages with and suggests how studying elite men's domestic consumption can contribute to our understanding of culture, society and gender in the long-eighteenth century. The introduction will define my use of several key terms and situate the thesis in relation to a number of developing

academic debates. These are set out in five sections which deal successively with material culture and consumption, the masculine consumer, domesticity and masculine consumption, sources and methodology, and biographical contexts.

1. Consumption and Identity

Since the 1980s, historians have viewed consumption, in the sense of the purchase of material goods, as an integral part of culture and society. The active role of consumption in the development of capitalism has been recognised. Social and economic historians credited the Industrial Revolution with a rise in consumption between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, because of the increased availability and affordability of goods.¹ This line of enquiry has examined the causes, consequences and impact of the Industrial Revolution specifically from the supply-side of the economic process. More recently historians have emphasised the importance of turning scholarly attention away from changes in production and towards changes in consumption.

A major and formative text in the trend to investigate material culture and consumption is *The Birth of a Consumer Society* by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb.² This collection of essays demonstrated that demand rather than production drove what they termed the ‘consumer revolution’. It argued that this revolution occurred in Britain between 1750 and 1775. Although the subsequent works of Lorna Weatherill and Carole Shammas have questioned the periodisation and even

¹ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

² McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.

existence of a consumer revolution, the studies of historical material culture remain indebted to the framework laid out and the questions raised by this collection, in a number of ways.³ The work focused on the causes, consequences and social impact of this revolution and the creation of a national market for culture and consumption. An important emphasis was placed on the broader cultural causes of the consumer revolution, taking agency away from the large actors in the industrial process. In his essay on Wedgewood's entrepreneurship, McKendrick examines the motivations behind consumption and the role of advertising in dictating the meaning of possessions.⁴ Such a cultural framework has now become a widely accepted method of analysis.⁵

³ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, (London: Routledge, 1988). Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). For a recent summary of historians' studies of material culture see Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁴ Neil McKendrick, "Josiah Wedgewood and the Commercialization of the Potteries," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 100-145.

⁵ Other works which explore the role of culture in the development of consumer capitalism include Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1983). Mukerji reinforced the idea that demand for goods both preceded and fuelled the rise of modern capitalism. Subsequent studies broadened the scope of investigation to examine the meanings of possessions, the consumption of objects and the consumption of literature and culture. John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993). Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1995). Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Likewise, anthropologists, such as Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, re-evaluate Marxist and classical producer-driven interpretations of political and economic anthropology. They promote a new consumer, and commodity, based analysis, which combines politics, economics and culture by looking at the ‘social life of things’.⁶ Appadurai argues that, like people, commodities have social lives and act as influential cultural symbols that effect how people define themselves and their world.⁷ The collection considers commodities in the context of temporal and power relations. Marcel Mauss and Natalie Zemon Davis draw on anthropological theory in the study of material culture recognising that consumption consists of numerous, culturally-specific forms of gifting, display and sociability.⁸ Such a broadened definition of consumption is helpful and a cross-disciplinary approach that includes these theories allows for a more thorough examination into the meanings goods held for individuals. By studying objects within the context in which they were received, exchanged, used or displayed, their specific significance can be understood in a far more meaningful way.

⁶ Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63.

⁷ Appadurai, “Introduction,” 3-5, 7, 13-15, 17, *passim*.

⁸ In *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen & West Ltd 1966), the anthropologist Marcel Mauss argued that gift giving built communities. Historians have examined the multifaceted meanings of gifts. See Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000). Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

However, the lasting influence of early studies by McKendrick *et al.* has continued to hide the form and extent of consumer motivation. *The Birth of a Consumer Society* offered the analysis that consumption was driven by social emulation. This theory was initially put forward in Thorsten Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) and has had a lasting influence on studies of consumption.⁹ Eric Jones argued that the upper classes had disproportionate power in their ability to shape and dictate fashions.¹⁰ However, this model has been challenged as a way of interpreting consumption. In a study of over 3000 inventories, Weatherill examined the different consumer patterns of multiple social groups, concluding that their consumption contradicted theories of social emulation. She argued that the consumption of individual goods could be seen as representative of different kinds of social expression.¹¹ By examining consumption in this way, we can learn more about what material culture meant to consumers. Following Weatherill, this thesis also argues that the use of goods for social display was complex. In particular, it argues that the contrasting ways in which different families deployed goods to demonstrate their particular social identities and status suggest that there was no single mode of consumption and display, even among elite social groups.

⁹ Thorsten Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899).

¹⁰ Eric Jones, "The Fashion Manipulators: Consumer Tastes and British Industries, 1600-1800," in *Business Enterprise and Economic Change: Essays in Honor of Harold F. Williamson* ed. Louis P. Cain and Paul J. Uselding, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1973), 198-226.

¹¹ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.

Colin Campbell argues that the appeal of fashion and novelty fuelled consumption rather than the desire to emulate social superiors.¹² He takes a cross-disciplinary approach to analyse the feelings and imaginative motivations of consumers. Among others, Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford also seek to explain consumer behaviour. They address ‘questions of novelty, imitation, value and taste’.¹³ In an analysis of tea equipage in middle-rank homes, Berg writes that such goods ‘were not the luxuries of ostentation and excess associated with oriental despots, but those of novelty, fashion, and ingenuity’.¹⁴ Berg and Clifford demonstrate that the middling-sorts used goods to construct and display their own distinctive identity, separate from their social superiors. Historians have now accepted material possessions as an important aspect of self-fashioning. Anne McCants, Weatherill and Berg argue that, even for modest families, the ownership of material objects, such as ceramics, contributed to the household’s sense of wealth, status, and taste.¹⁵ Material possessions have been linked to the display of power, wealth, taste and identity. ‘Luxury increased the dependency of the self on the opinion of others.’¹⁶ This conclusion has wide-

¹² Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic And The Spirit Of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

¹³ Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*, 4.

¹⁴ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 26.

¹⁵ Anne McCants, “Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World,” *Journal of World History* 18 no. 4 (2007): 433-462, 457. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 241. Lorna Weatherill, “A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660-1740,” *The Journal of British Studies* 25 no. 2 (1986), 131-156.

¹⁶ Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” in *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Berg et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 7-26, 21.

reaching implications for the way in which material culture has come to be studied. If goods are used as a way to represent the self, then through a study of possessions, much can be learnt about self-representation.

This has had particular importance in understanding how different social groups understood and engaged with communal identities. Gender identity has been examined in this way and will be discussed later. Another focus has been identities and social status. Berg and Clifford have focussed on the middling-sorts in studies of consumption, analysing how material culture was used to represent different aspects of social identity.¹⁷ Amanda Vickery also examines middling-sort consumption as well as that of other social groups.¹⁸ Recently, also, historians have begun to consider how consumption worked for the elite as a social group.¹⁹ In their study of the Georgian country house, Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery argue that for the elite, it was important to balance the acquisition of new things denoting wealth with the display of older goods that signalled family heritage (though their case study of the Leigh family does not

¹⁷ Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*.

¹⁸ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

¹⁹ Hannah Grieg, "Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's Beau Monde," in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (Yale, 2007), 293-313. Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Short Run Press, 2007). Henry French and Mark Rothery, "Hegemonic Masculinities? Assessing Change and Processes of Change in Elite Masculinity, 1700-1900," in *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

explore gendered aspects of such signalling).²⁰ Hannah Grieg's study of the Beau Monde also argues that during the eighteenth century the rise of commercial culture and consumerism and a new urban society challenged the status of the social elite.²¹ In response, a new emphasis was placed on the expression of fashionable status through public display via sociability, the display of material things and public performance.²² To achieve 'fashion' one needed more than just a title. Indeed Grieg argues that fashion 'functioned as an additional system of prestige', allowing the elite a new way of marking themselves out against the emerging middling-sort.²³ Trying to identify shared modes of consumption across particular social groups can pose difficulties. Attempts to define 'the middling-sorts' as a cohesive social group with a shared identity have been problematic,²⁴ potentially conflating variation within groups. Other factors such as life cycle, gender, religion and regional differences also affected the way individuals identified themselves as members of social groups.²⁵ This thesis will consider how

²⁰ Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, "Fashion, Heritage and the Family: New and Old in the Georgian Country House," *Cultural and Social History* 11 (2014): 385-406.

²¹ Hannah Grieg, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 231-232.

²² *Ibid.*, 233.

²³ *Ibid.*, 232.

²⁴ Henry French, "The Search for 'The Middle Sort of People' in England, 1600-1800", *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 277-93. See also Henry French and Jonathan Barry, *Identity and Agency in English Society 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 18-24. Penelope Corfield, "Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-century England," *History*, 72 (1987), 38-61.

²⁵ Recent publications have employed these factors as organisational tools in their work. See Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). John Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-

these different factors came into play when elite men used the material world to express their identities. In part, the study follows on from these works as it questions how social display worked amongst different families within the elite. However, the methodological approach of using case studies reveals as much about differences between members of the elite as it does about how they operated as a group.

Historians have investigated the role played by regional differences in consumer habits. Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory argued that the focus on a ‘national culture of consumption’ in *The Birth of a Consumer Society* obscured regional differences. They analysed cultural consumption in North-east England, to examine the extent of the presence of local or national trends.²⁶ Weatherill, Vickery, Eleanor Love and Hannah Barker, also take a regional focus for their studies.²⁷ There is recent historical interest in Scotland’s cultural identity and consumption. Vicky Coltman’s chapter recently published in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (2010), deals with cultural

century Britain,” *History Workshop Journal* 38 no. 1 (1994) 179-202, 184. John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007). Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*.

²⁶ Helen Berry and John Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 4.

²⁷ Hannah Barker, “Smoke Cities: Northern Industrial Towns in Late Georgian England,” *Urban History* 31 no. 2 (2004): 175-90. Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, “Living above the Shop: Home, Business, and Family in the English ‘Industrial Revolution,’” *Journal of Family History* 35 no. 4 (October 2010): 311-328. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998). Eleanor Love, “Material Culture in Early Modern England: The Role of Goods in the Creation of Social Identities in Three Yorkshire Communities, 1660-1780” (PhD diss., University of York, 2006).

exchange between Scottish properties and the London town house.²⁸ The presence of regional trends in consumption have now been established. The questions posed explore whether regional identities were more or less cohesive than socio-economic groups, for instance. However, the focus on understanding identities only as a part of a larger group can often lead to over simplifications and assumptions, disguising the fluidity and conflict within different categories. By using case studies, this thesis focuses on individual rather than group identities. While the way in which elite men consumed and used material goods had some shared characteristics, examining the different elements of these group identities which the individuals chose to subscribe to or reject, can give a more realistic picture of how people perceived and represented themselves. By considering families' engagement with regional identity on a local and national level, this thesis aims to illuminate the complex relationship between national, local and personal identities.

In an attempt to place consumption into its social context, and understand its implications, eighteenth-century historians have turned to examining aspects of sociability and entertainment in the public and private spheres. They have engaged with a current academic focus in the eighteenth-century on 'polite sociability'.²⁹ In the public

²⁸ Vicky Coltman, "Scottish Architects in Eighteenth-Century London: George Steuart, the Competition for Patronage and the Representation of Scotland," in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century: Patronage, Culture and Identity*, ed. Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 102-126.

²⁹ Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 2001). Lawrence Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45 no. 4 (2002): 869-898.

sphere, historians have considered the material culture involved with aspects of polite sociability, such as visiting pleasure gardens, promenading, and assembly rooms.³⁰ A number of historians have focused on the acquisition of goods and social processes of consumption. Berry, for instance, has examined shopping and polite consumption in the eighteenth century.³¹ Andrew Hann, Stobart and Victoria Morgan have also looked at eighteenth-century shopping, shops as sites of consumption, display and leisure.³² They examine the relationships between consumption, leisure, sociability and the physical spaces in which they took place. The understanding that consumption existed in a relational and spatial context is important. As Appadurai asserted, the meanings of goods were dependent on their context. To understand an object's significance it must be looked at within the spatial context in which it was used or displayed.³³ In social contexts, objects could be used to communicate specific meanings to others, making a focus on sociability important.

³⁰ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Peter McNeil and Giorgio Riello, "The Art and Science of Walking: Gender, Space and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 9 no. 2 (2005): 175-204.

³¹ Helen Berry, "Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002): 375-94.

³² Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann, "Sites of Consumption: The Display of Goods in Provincial Shops in Eighteenth-Century England," *Cultural and Social History*, 2 no. 2 (2005): 165-88. Jon Stobart, Andrew Hann and Victoria Morgan (eds.), *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c. 1680-1830* (London: Routledge, 2007).

³³ Appadurai, "Introduction."

By examining the representation of material culture, historians have been able to analyse and compare the different meanings invested in objects and their implications for wider social issues. David Porter links British hostility to Chinese products to political and economic anxieties. He argues that a contemporary hostility to Asian goods, in particular Chinese goods, arose from economic fears over a loss of national silver, trade deficit and a perceived threat to the British economy.³⁴ When contrasted with the prevalent taste for Asian objects such as china and silk in the period, his study highlights the contradictory and multifaceted nature of taste to different social groups. It also demonstrates the moral element linked to different types of consumption. Berg also explores cultural debates to determine contemporary views on foreign and nationally produced goods. She highlights Bernard Mandeville's theory of beneficial luxury to demonstrate the existence of contemporary 'luxury debates' over foreign trade.³⁵ This promoted the social and economic benefit of consuming nationally produced goods and taxed imported goods. Her research has revealed that contemporaries invested possessions with moral, political and economic implications, the interpretation of which potentially differed between social groups. Chapters One and Three will examine the meanings objects held for me in relation to their political and economic significance.

Scottish identity has been examined in relation to consumption. Stana Nenadic's *Lairds and Luxury* questions a stereotype, prevalent among contemporaries and historians, that excessive consumption by highland gentry damaged the Scottish

³⁴ David Porter, "A Peculiar but Uninteresting Nation: China and the Discourse of Commerce in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 no. 2 (2000): 181-199.

³⁵ Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 19.

economy. Instead she suggests that, ‘Beneficial luxury and the parallel concept of improvement were both associated with modernisation and improvement in Scotland, and they were closely linked to patriotism.’³⁶ Consumer choices had important social, political and economic consequences. The choice between endorsing locally or nationally manufactured goods or imported goods carried multiple meanings. Berry and Nenadic argue that for men consumption of manufactured goods tied in to their own wealth.³⁷ Manufacturers and those involved with the import of foreign goods promoted luxury consumption of objects associated with the creation of their own wealth. The work of Murray Pittock on the material culture of the Jacobite period demonstrates the extent to which décor, decoration and design (including glass and ceramics) in the Scottish context acquired a variety of political significance in relation to an emerging Scottish national identity.³⁸ In subsequent years for the Breadalbanes, one of the key families of this study, as Andrew Mackillop demonstrates in *‘More Fruitful than the Soil’: Army Empire and Scottish Highlands 1715-1815*, there were a complex set of obligations to the British state among which military recruitment figured large as a source of economic power.³⁹ Mackillop argues recruitment led to the fostering of a more unique sense of Scottish highland identity.⁴⁰ Matthew P. Dziennik discusses Scottish culture in the eighteenth century focussing particularly on the importance of

³⁶ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 12.

³⁷ Berry and Gregory, *Creating and Consuming Culture*. Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*.

³⁸ Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Place* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 32-58.

³⁹ Andrew Mackillop, *‘More Fruitful Than the Soil’: Army Empire and the Scottish Highlands 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

⁴⁰ Mackillop, *‘More Fruitful Than the Soil’*, 238.

highland dress to Scottish nationalism.⁴¹ He argues against prioritising ‘cultural or ethnic aspects of material culture, rather than their more critical social, political or gendered utilities’.⁴² He states that, ‘Anglo-Lowlanders were able to adopt Highlandism because it had been constructed by elites with whom they shared similar interests and purposes — namely, the political and cultural inclusion of Scotland into the British state’.⁴³ Such concerns inform a sense of Scottish difference which is apparent throughout this study though should not be understood as its primary focus since my main concern is on masculinity and domestic material culture.

Since the 1980s, the field of material culture has developed to incorporate a very broad definition of consumption. The study of consumption not only examines what people bought, but where and how they bought it, why and in what ways people used objects. It also explores why and how objects were discussed and viewed both by individuals and in the contemporary cultural imagination. A consumer-focused approach placed agency in the hands of the consumer and allowed an analysis of consumer motivations, and the affective meanings, uses and exchange of objects. This has had effects on different areas of historical enquiry providing an alternative way of examining what things meant to people. The approach has been employed in different areas of social and economic history to explore the cultural meanings behind phenomenon such as the Industrial Revolution or the globalisation of trade. Studies of material culture have developed in the past few decades as a new way of exploring society and culture. This thesis will examine the affective meanings of objects, and their

⁴¹ Matthew P. Dziennik, “Whig Tartan: Material Culture and its Use in the Scottish Highlands, 1746–1815,” *Past and Present* 217 no. 1 (2012): 117-147.

⁴² Dziennik, “Whig Tartan,” 146.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 119.

use in constructing and displaying individual and group identities. How individuals abstained from or engaged in consumption with specific gendered, political, economic or moral connotations can reveal conflicts and uniformity within identity groups. Additionally objects will be explored in their spatial, social and relational contexts.

2. The Masculine Consumer

Gender studies was established as a response to women's studies as an analytical framework, which aimed to write women back into history.⁴⁴ Women's history was pioneered by historians such as Eileen Power and Alice Clark, who had been influenced by the suffragette movement of the early twentieth century and questioned the exclusion of women in civil society and social history. Second-wave feminism in the seventies led a big push for a history of women. Influenced by E. P. Thompson who wrote social history from below, historians wanted to write the formally marginalised back into history.⁴⁵ In 1975, Natalie Zemon Davis argued that men and women must be viewed in relation to one another and no understanding of either could be achieved in isolation.⁴⁶ In the nineties feminist scholars imported linguistic and cultural theory into the social sciences to develop 'gender' as a means of enquiry. A number of historians were influential in the transition between women's history and gender history as methodological approaches. They challenged contemporary historiographical analysis

⁴⁴ Eileen Power, *Medieval People* (London: Methuen, 1924). Alice Clark, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁴⁵ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancs, 1963).

⁴⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: the European Case," *Feminist Studies* 3 no. 3 (1975): 83-103.

of the social organisation of sexual difference. For Joan Scott gender was closely linked to the cultural turn. Gender was the ‘knowledge that establishes meaning for sexual differences’.⁴⁷ Judith Walkowitz and Bonnie Smith, writing in the eighties and nineties, also examined discursive power structures in their analysis of gender history.⁴⁸

Since the development of gender studies, there has been a continued emphasis on the history of women in the field. Studies of gender often focus their analysis on female gender roles.⁴⁹ Although our understanding of gender has improved, many of the problems associated with women’s history remain. Disproportionate analysis of either male or female gender roles impacts negatively on our understanding of both. The history of masculinity has developed in recent years as an attempt to redress this balance. Like gender studies, the history of masculinity engages with questions of cultural representation and like women’s history, is concerned with men’s power.⁵⁰

In exploring masculine identity and men’s power, historians have drawn upon the work of sociologist R. W. Connell. Her theory of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ discusses the construction of a dominant code of masculinity, where, ‘Hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to women and subordinated masculinities.’⁵¹ The concept is

⁴⁷ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 2.

⁴⁸ See Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1998). Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992).

⁴⁹ See for instance, Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*.

⁵⁰ Karen Harvey, “The History of Masculinity, circa 1650–1800,” *The Journal of British Studies* 44 no. 2 (2005): 296–311.

⁵¹ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 61.

useful for an analysis of masculinity because it focuses not only on power relationships between men and women but also between different types of men or ideas of manhood. By examining masculinity in this way, historians are able to examine how men understood and engaged with their gender identities in a more comprehensive way. The theory has been employed to argue that the dominant codes of masculinity exist in tension with subordinate and marginalised codes, which included both types of behaviour and types of people. Tosh argues that ‘the fruitful enquiries of historians’ has changed the focus from the history of masculinity towards the history of masculinities.⁵² One enduring feature of Connell’s work is her analysis of the long-term developments of hegemonic masculinities since the sixteenth century.⁵³

Subsequent historians of eighteenth-century masculinity draw upon Connell’s periodisation. G. J Barker-Benfield argues that the eighteenth century saw the transformation of society with emergence of a culture of sensibility where middling-sort men cultivated a new type of honour and credit in public spaces.⁵⁴ Philip Carter, in *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* shows how manliness was linked to contemporary trends in politeness, a code of behaviour practiced in the public sphere.⁵⁵ The concept of politeness has been a key feature of studies of eighteenth-century masculinity. Carter defines politeness as a moral concept, which emerged in

⁵² John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 14-15.

⁵³ Connell, *Masculinities*.

⁵⁴ G. J Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

⁵⁵ Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 2001), 1.

the late-seventeenth century and involved specific types of behaviour.⁵⁶ Through a case study of polite gentlemen, Carter demonstrated the complications and anxiety experienced by men in their attempts at creating and upholding a polite identity.⁵⁷ He suggested that gentlemanly behaviour was about showcasing power and authority to peers whilst carefully avoiding being considered foppish. Michèle Cohen argued that ‘while the theory of hegemonic masculinity is underpinned by the notion that different forms of masculinity are always contested and in a tense and unstable relationship with each other, it seems to take for granted that the form that is hegemonic at any particular time is homogeneous’.⁵⁸ She argues that gentlemanly politeness was not homogeneous but was full of anxiety, in particular about effeminacy, ‘because tensions between masculinity and refinement made it difficult for a man to be at once polite and manly’.⁵⁹ Paul Langford has considered men’s actions, values, and interactions with members of different social groups and genders in terms of politeness.⁶⁰ Carter argued that gentlemanly masculinity was not just a ‘social but a sociable category in which gender identity was conferred, or denied, by men’s capacity for gentlemanly social performance’.⁶¹ Lawrence Klein argues that the concept of politeness has become

⁵⁶ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Michèle Cohen, “Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830,” *The Journal of British Studies* 44 no. 2 (2005): 312–329, 313.

⁵⁹ Cohen, “Manners Make the Man,” 313.

⁶⁰ Paul Langford, “The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 no. 12 (2002): 311–331.

⁶¹ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 209.

central and wide-reaching for studies of eighteenth-century Britain.⁶² He argues that it does not just apply to gentry, aristocracy and middling-sorts but was used widely, holding different meanings for different groups of people.⁶³ In his 2012 article Klein applies these ideas to the life and career of the Second Earl of Shelburne.⁶⁴ The Second Earl of Shelburne lived before the period covered by this study. Also the focus of this study is on the aristocracy, so that Klein's emphasis on the extent to which politeness becomes significant across the social classes need not necessarily concern us directly. However, politeness remains implicitly and explicitly significant in much of the material discussed here, especially in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. Even within elite social groups codes of sociability and politeness seem to have operated in diverse ways at different times and on different levels.

As Matthew McCormack shows in *The Independent Man*, outward displays of politeness, which were important for eighteenth-century masculinity, became less popular during the nineteenth century giving way to a more inward-looking concept of manly simplicity.⁶⁵ He argues that 'manly independence' and thereby the qualification to vote was the most important aspect of citizenship meaning 'politics and masculinity were inseparable'.⁶⁶ Political entitlement was connected with 'the stations of husband,

⁶² Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," 869-898, 870.

⁶³ Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," 873.

⁶⁴ Lawrence Klein, "Sociability, Politeness, and Aristocratic Self-Formation in the Life and Career of the Second Earl of Shelburne," *The Historical Journal* 55 no. 3 (2012): 653-677.

⁶⁵ McCormack, *The Independent Man*, 207.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

father and householder'.⁶⁷ He demonstrates that over the period 1760-1832 independence became defined in relation to an idealised 'inner' manly simplicity and gentility rather than through rank and status. Although the sources studied in this thesis are focused on small groups of men and may not directly support analysis of broad trends, both an interest in polite sociability and a rejection of it, in favour of an 'inner' manly simplicity, can be observed in the individuals I have examined in different ways.

A number of historians have criticised Connell's periodisation and the way in which it has been subsequently employed. They suggest that trends visible in the stages of development, such as the 'man of god' or 'polite gentleman', were not evolving, long-term codes of hegemonic masculinity but merely transient and changeable stereotypes.⁶⁸ Harvey argues that the emphasis on politeness in studies of eighteenth-century masculine sociability obscures continuity between periods. She suggested that, 'There might be a history of the public sphere in which politeness is a mere footnote.'⁶⁹ Peter Clark also demonstrates that traditional forms of male sociability were continually present in British clubs and societies, before and after eighteenth-century politeness developed and then disappeared.⁷⁰ Henry French and Mark Rothey have recently argued that 'the process of change was less well-defined and less teleological than is indicated by the familiar series of step-changes between different 'types' of men'.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁶⁸ Jeremy Gregory, "'Homo Religiosus': Masculinity and Religion in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hichcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 85-110.

⁶⁹ Harvey, "The History of Masculinity," 309.

⁷⁰ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1500-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 203.

⁷¹ Henry French and Mark Rothey, "Hegemonic Masculinities," 159.

John Tosh emphasises the importance of studying masculinity in relation to behaviour and experience rather than broad cultural trends. He contextualises men's stake in power in terms of men's relationships in mixed and same sex groups.⁷² Tosh suggests that psychoanalytical theory can be used to understand subjective masculine identity. The processes of constructing such identities, he argues, involved men rejecting their own feminine traits and, 'setting very rigid boundaries for the self', after which, 'the unacknowledged feminine within is disposed of by being projected onto other categories of men', such as homosexuals.⁷³ Harvey and Alexandra Shepard also argue for an analysis rooted in everyday experience. They state that masculine identity needs to be analysed in relation to a variety of differences such as age, ethnicity, marital status and religion.⁷⁴

Different stages of life also held different connotations for men. A bachelor's understanding of his masculinity was different from that of a householder or a father. Tosh analyses these issues by structuring *A Man's Place* around the life-cycle.⁷⁵ My thesis will draw on these theories to argue that different masculine identities existed in contemporary understanding of society and in individuals' understandings of themselves. These were often expressed through material culture. The different identities related to wider social groups which individuals identified with or rejected.

⁷² Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity?," 179-202.

⁷³ Ibid., 195.

⁷⁴ Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, "What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950," *Journal of British Studies* 44 no. 2 (2005): 274-80, 177.

⁷⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place*.

Debates about gender in the eighteenth-century have centred on the concept of separate spheres. Gender studies that examined the domestic sphere tended to put an emphasis on women's work and female agency in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 'It was in the private sphere that historians such as Carroll Smith Rosenberg discovered and celebrated a rich women's culture of sisterly cooperation and emotional intimacy.'⁷⁶ Shammass has recently argued that women's work became more oriented towards the domestic sphere and further away from the male-dominated public sphere in the eighteenth century.⁷⁷ She argues women were able to claim agency in the home through the consumption and use of domestic objects. Historians of women and gender have looked at women's roles in the domestic sphere both in terms of their marginalisation and their exclusion from the institutional and political public sphere, and in terms of their autonomy through the management of the domestic economy. They have argued at different times that women were excluded from power and production in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were able to create new roles or maintain power in their domestic situation as household managers.⁷⁸

This approach has been useful for learning more about women's role in the home. However, by taking the focus away from men's relationship with the home, not only our understanding of men has suffered but also our understanding of the home and women's relationship with it, as women's roles cannot be understood fully unless studied in relation to men's roles in the home. Recent studies by historians such as

⁷⁶ Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 383-414, 384.

⁷⁷ Carole Shammass, "The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America," *Journal of Social History* 14 (1980): 3-24.

⁷⁸ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*. Vickery, *The Gentlemen's Daughter*.

Harvey and Joanne Bailey have begun to address this imbalance.⁷⁹ The separate spheres argument has been criticised by a number of historians who argue that more attention must be paid to the complexities and contradictions of men and women in public and private spaces.⁸⁰ While many see Vickery's article as the final word on the separate spheres concept,⁸¹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall presented a complex and nuanced picture in *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, that did deal with men alongside women.⁸² In their revised introduction of 2002, they take account of the criticisms of the separate spheres argument and acknowledge the limits of the theory, whilst still asserting its relevance.⁸³

Klein argues that although the distinction between public and private was common in the eighteenth century, each term had multiple meanings. 'Thus, there is no one "public/private" distinction to which interpretation can confidently secure itself.'⁸⁴ McKeon analyses the processes by which distinctions of public and private become 'separated out from each other, a condition that both sustains the sense of traditional distinction and, axiomatically, reconstitutes the public and the private as categories that

⁷⁹ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸⁰ Vickery, "Golden Age." Lawrence Klein, "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (1995): 97-110.

⁸¹ Vickery, "Golden Age," 393.

⁸² Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁸³ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, xiii-l.

⁸⁴ Klein, "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction," 99.

are susceptible to separation', plotting the transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁵ Harvey has argued that although there were separate spheres, they were conflated within the domestic arena.⁸⁶ This merger between the public and private is enacted in much of the primary material discussed in this thesis. In Chapter Three I treat for example the inventories of Samuel Whitbread's Bedfordshire home which reveal traces of his public identity including his political interests and local affiliations. This thesis continues to use the concept of public and private spheres as a tool with which to analyse different aspects of men's lives and interests. However, it does not consider these spheres as 'separate' but instead, as Harvey argues conflated.⁸⁷ The evidence in this thesis suggests that the two spheres of interest merge heavily in the homes of the elite men.

Historians have begun to explore men's role in the domestic arena to analyse the relationships and tensions between the home and masculine authority, power and identity. Looking at the early modern period, Shepard examined patriarchy and the home in her study of manhood. She questioned how masculine identity was constructed and maintained by men, analysing factors such as age and status.⁸⁸ Margaret Hunt studied the relationship of middling-sort men and women to the home. She suggested that conflict within the home over resources, among other things, contributed to the

⁸⁵ Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), xix.

⁸⁶ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 536.

⁸⁷ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 536.

⁸⁸ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

creation of gendered identities.⁸⁹ In 2003, Bailey analysed the gendered tensions within the home in areas such as consumption, provision, household management, property ownership and adultery. She concluded that marital problems could occur when tensions between male and female authority within the home contradicted certain ideals of masculinity.⁹⁰ Over a longer period, Elizabeth Foyster argues through a study of attitudes towards domestic violence that Victorian ideals of masculine domesticity were present in the eighteenth century.⁹¹ These studies are helpful in understanding how gender roles within the home functioned and contributed to specific gender identities. However, for the most part these works do not explore material culture. Vickery's study of domestic material culture and Harvey's *The Little Republic* partly address this, by considering male consumption.⁹² With the exception of Harvey, Foyster and Vickery, the majority of these studies continue to focus on the early modern period. By employing a similar focus to studies of eighteenth-century masculinity and examining it in relation to material culture, more can be learned about the intimate functioning of gender within the private sphere.

Tosh explains the importance of not limiting studies of masculinity to the public sphere in the nineteenth century. He argues that manliness was a code of masculinity which historians also mistakenly emphasised as 'a guide to masculine performance in

⁸⁹ Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁹⁰ Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁹¹ Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁹² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*. Harvey, *The Little Republic*.

the public sphere', alone.⁹³ In addressing this, he looks at masculinity in three contexts, home, work and all-male associations. In 1991, Tosh and Roper looked at masculinity in a variety of aspects of social life including, 'labour, business, religion, education and national identity in Britain'.⁹⁴ Both emphasise the importance of looking at men in a variety of contexts including the domestic and argue that men have been absent from the home in the historiography of gender. In the preface of *A Man's Place*, the second edition published in 2007, Tosh asserts that men's relationship with the home has continued to be neglected in the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ Until recently, even less had been written in a similar vein about the eighteenth century.

Harvey concluded that the focus on masculine politeness and sociability in the public arena has created a lack of continuity between the ways men have been studied in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She argues that despite the recent attention to the domestic patriarch in the nineteenth century, by historians such as Tosh and Roper, and the presence of such a figure in seventeenth-century studies, the domestic patriarch is absent in studies of eighteenth-century masculinity. Harvey calls for a re-evaluation of this trend to further our understanding of continuity in the periodisation of the history of masculinity. Through a case study of the diaries of four 'relatively humble provincial men', Hannah Barker argues that there was continuity between early modern and modern masculinity.⁹⁶ She argues that 'masculinity does not appear transformed by the advent of modernity, nor was it a product of the social

⁹³ Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity?," 184.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 180. John Tosh and Michael Roper (eds.), *Manful Assertions. Masculinities in Britain Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991).

⁹⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, vii-xi.

⁹⁶ Hannah Barker, "Soul, Purse and Family: Middling and Lower-Class Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Manchester," *Social History* 33 (2008): 12-35, 12.

spheres of public interaction and leisured pursuits. Instead it was more constant in nature and rooted firmly in home, workplace and church.⁹⁷ In *The Little Republic* (2012), Harvey explores the concept of 'oeconomy' to examine men's position in the daily running of the home and as a domestic authority.⁹⁸ She finds that oeconomy, 'made 'housekeeping' central to manly status'.⁹⁹ Through a study of eighteenth-century advice literature she concludes that its slightly contradictory nature places men in a position where they in fact had 'intimate knowledge of (and strong opinions about) the minutiae of domestic life'.¹⁰⁰ She argues that 'there is ample evidence that men were fully engaged in this new material world of home.'¹⁰¹ Similarly, Finn has conducted a study of men's engagement in the consumer market. She suggests that men were engaged with the acquisition of a broad range of material items.¹⁰²

In her recent book on men and the house in eighteenth-century England, Harvey argues strongly the household and its material world were essential to the reproduction of patriarchal relationships. Describing patriarchy as a 'grid of relations', she argues that domestic patriarchy was a system of order within the households of the middling-sort in which different members of the household had access to different levels of power.¹⁰³ This system of power relations was often realised through material means,

⁹⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁹⁸ Harvey, *The Little Republic*. Harvey, "Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Gender & History* 21 no. 3 (2009): 520-540, 536.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 536.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 529.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 528.

¹⁰² Finn, "Men's Things."

¹⁰³ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 4.

including accounting practices, control over consumption, and the everyday rituals and practices of the home such as presiding over the family table and carving the meat.¹⁰⁴

Harvey's work is however, mainly concerned with families of the middling-sort although her cultural analysis arguably spans the whole of eighteenth century society. Following Harvey's argument, this thesis will explore the intersection of patriarchal family relations with the material culture of the elite, considering how far this system of patriarchy and oeconomy operated at the highest end of the social scale.

The study of fatherhood has formed an essential part of the new history of masculinity. Work on early-modern fatherhood is more established than that of the eighteenth century. Back in 1977, Lawrence Stone, wrote about the role of the early-modern father in his work on family. His study suggested that women were the primary carers of children whereas fathers were focused more on continuing their bloodline.¹⁰⁵ Davidoff and Hall challenged this perception of fathers as unattached suggesting that men took a greater role in mentoring and teaching older children than had previously been accounted for.¹⁰⁶ There has since been a lot of work on fatherhood in relation to

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 79, 97, 100, 128, 130.

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977). More recent work on the early modern period includes: Patricia Crawford, *Parents of Poor Children in England 1580-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, "Childless Men," in *The Family in Early Modern England* ed. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 329-43. Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 2001).

the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Many studies stress that fatherhood was an important part of masculinity and men were involved in various ways with their children. Tosh argues that fatherhood shaped male identity and was central to men's lives.¹⁰⁸ Recently there has been more interest in eighteenth-century fatherhood although this has tended to focus on the middling-sorts.¹⁰⁹ Art historian Kate Retford examines family portraits to suggest that elite men wanted to be portrayed as loving fathers.¹¹⁰ Her argument that fatherhood was important for an eighteenth-century elite man's public image will be furthered in this thesis.

Recent work by Harvey and Bailey has expanded our knowledge of fatherhood in the eighteenth century. Harvey allows us to see how fatherhood figured as part of a wider conception of patriarchy that was fundamental to concepts of masculinity in the period.¹¹¹ Bailey meanwhile has recently explored the subtleties involved in parenting in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her emphasis is on parenting as a shared enterprise rather than fatherhood. However, she shows men in this era closely

¹⁰⁷ See Tosh, *A Man's Place*. Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Most recently Julie-Marie Strange, *Fatherhood and the British Working Class, 1860-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁰⁸ John Tosh, "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England," *Gender & History* 8 (1996): 48-64. Tosh, *A Man's Place*.

¹⁰⁹ Barker, "Soul, Purse and Family." Tul Israngura Na Ayudhya, "Performing Masculinities: Meanings and Cultural Practices of Manhood in Eighteenth-Century England, with Special Reference to Domesticity and Familial Relationships" (PhD diss., University of London, 2014).

¹¹⁰ Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

¹¹¹ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 520-540.

engaged with new models of parenting inspired by Evangelical ideas and a turn towards domesticity.¹¹²

Man's Estate: Masculinity and the English Landed Elite, c. 1680-1900 was one of the first in-depth studies of masculinity to tackle the question of what was unique about the elite social group.¹¹³ French and Rothery use elite correspondence to examine the subjective experiences of different stages of education and family life. They consider change over time in their period 1660-1900 and argue that ‘among the landed gentry, the pace of change in material circumstances, cultural influence, political authority, and sources of wealth was much slower than for the suburban middle classes, or within industrializing communities’.¹¹⁴ The use of correspondence is also essential to the methodology of this thesis which focuses on the way men from the landed elite expressed their masculinity through the presentation of material objects in the home. Their work provides an essential point of reference both for the analysis of correspondence and for some of the questions of fatherhood I address in Chapter Two. This thesis examines whether fatherhood was experienced differently within this social group. It argues that for elite patriarchs domestic material culture was especially important because of the role of primogeniture. By exploring men’s relationship with material culture it is clear that an elite father’s relationship with his eldest son in

¹¹² Bailey, *Parenting in England*, 246-252.

¹¹³ Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Masculinity and the English Landed Elite, c. 1680-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). See also Henry French and Mark Rothery, “‘Upon your entry into the world’: masculine values and the threshold of adulthood among landed elites in England 1680-1800,” *Social History* 33 no. 4 (2008), 402-422.

¹¹⁴ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 235.

particular was focused around moral and economic management of the family reputation.

This thesis will also engage with Naomi Tadmor's work on the household and lineage family. Following Tadmor, the thesis considers how the household family functioned in elite homes. While Tadmor questions the usefulness of the term 'extended family' for middle-class families, elite families were economically dependent on extended kinship structures of blood and marriage in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Elite male patriarchs loosely fit into the term under the second of her two criteria for a 'household family' 'co-residence and submission to the authority of the head of the household'.¹¹⁵ The material boundaries of the elite families, and to a certain extent the household, stretched to extended family. Even the funerals for distant relatives might be paid for by the elite patriarch.

Tosh argues that the history of masculinity, although it has boomed in recent years has lost its focus as a discipline.¹¹⁶ In particular, he criticises the dominant trend in these studies to use cultural representation as the mode of analysis rather than examining behaviour or agency. He suggests that there has been an unhelpful move away from Connell's definition of gender as a 'configuration of practice' focussed on 'what people actually do, not what is expected or imagined'. He highlights the contradictions visible when comparing studies of masculinity focussed on popular culture and that which could be revealed when examining actual practice. He employs

¹¹⁵ Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 27.

¹¹⁶ John Tosh, "The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?," in *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17-33.

the example of Martin Francis's study on post-war British-masculine domesticity, which challenged men's enthusiasm to return to domestic life after the war through in popular culture, in particular film. Tosh suggests that the reality may be contradictory. He suggests we 'reconnect with that earlier curiosity about experience and subjectivity, while recognising that experience is mediated through cultural understandings'.¹¹⁷ He advocates a culturally inflected social history, which keeps its moorings in social history. Harvey and Shepard also call for more emphasis to be placed on social relations rather than cultural representations.¹¹⁸ Bailey's recent book argues that culture and experience are intertwined.¹¹⁹ My thesis attempts to combine the two considering both what people did and what was expected or imagined. To put each into context, and understand masculinity as a whole, we must try to understand in what ways and how cultural constructions of masculinity related to the actual practices of men.

3. Domesticity and Masculine Consumption

Jane Hamlett has argued that recent historical interest in the domestic interior has contributed to historical understanding of consumption and gender in a number of ways.¹²⁰ It is therefore an appropriate field to end this survey of the different discourses that contribute to my thesis. Hamlett suggests that the study of domesticity has combined material culture and gender studies by looking at the 'power dynamics

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 31.

¹¹⁸ Alexandra Shepard and Karen Harvey, "Special Feature on Masculinities," *The Journal of British Studies*, 44 no. 2 (April 2005).

¹¹⁹ Bailey, *Parenting in England*.

¹²⁰ Jane Hamlett, "The British Domestic Interior and Social and Cultural History," *Cultural and Social History*, 6 no. 1 (2009): 97-107, 97.

associated with the control over the selection of goods for the home as well as the role of objects in constructing gendered identities'.¹²¹ Moreover, it has furthered the discussion of gender and the organisation of space. Studies of the domestic interior have also explored the role of domestic rituals of hospitality and politeness, and the meanings of the objects involved in them, in relation to the construction of gendered identity and status.

In the 1970s an interest developed in the country house, partly as a reaction against the large-scale demolition of stately homes in Britain and due to a growing public interest, as stately homes increasingly became open to the public.¹²² An exhibition 'The Destruction of the Country House 1875-1975' was held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1974.¹²³ Publications began to be produced with the country home as their subjects. The material layout of the elite home was initially the interest of art and design historians who took direct interest in the stylistic changes of the architecture and the interior design of homes. Such studies have focused on the agency of the designers and architects rather than the consumers in the creation and development of aesthetic styles.¹²⁴ Further developments in the field led to an examination of life in the country house from the perspective of the occupants and

¹²¹ Ibid., 97.

¹²² Helen Clifford, "Domestic Subjects: the East India Company at Home, 1757-1857," (paper presented at the Institute of Historical Research, February 8, 2012).

¹²³ Roy Strong, John Harris and Marcus Binney, *The Destruction of the Country House 1875-1975* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

¹²⁴ Malcolm Airs, *The Making of the English Country House, 1500-1640* (London: Architectural Press, 1975). Heather Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982). Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920* (New York: Viking, 1984).

servants, most notably, Mark Girouard in his study, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*.¹²⁵ As the country house became accepted as a focus of analysis, historians such as Charles Saumarez Smith began to consider the cultural and affective meanings of these buildings and the objects within them, arguing that a new social elite used country houses to be ‘artistically commemorated at home’.¹²⁶ Giorgio Riello and Grieg have commented that the art-historical approaches, and focus on stately homes, have tended to privilege the elite, because of the nature of surviving collections in museums.¹²⁷ They argued that the focus on elite homes and designers caused a rift between such studies and the interests of social and cultural historians of the eighteenth century who ‘have explicitly sought to recover the consumption choices of the non-elite’.¹²⁸ However, important studies of the elite home, discussed in the following paragraphs, exist which examine the elite from a social and cultural perspective, bridging the gap between art-historical approaches to the study of the elite and social and cultural histories of the non-elite.

A recent study by Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley has examined elite men’s role in the building of the country house and how men’s ‘political authority was

¹²⁵ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978). See also Mark Bence-Jones, *Life in an Irish Country House* (London: Constable, 1996). David Durant, *Life in the Country House: A Historical Dictionary* (London: John Murray, 1996).

¹²⁶ Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993), 221.

¹²⁷ Giorgio Riello and Hannah Grieg, “Eighteenth-Century Interiors: Redesigning the Georgian,” *Journal of Design History* 20 no. 4 (2007): 273-289.

¹²⁸ Riello and Grieg, “Eighteenth-Century Interiors,” 279.

displayed in the houses they built.’¹²⁹ Rothery and Stobart examine ‘the importance of heritage and patina alongside fashion and taste in shaping both the material culture of the country house and elite status and identity’.¹³⁰ Coltman studies the significance which men invested in collecting in *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1970*.¹³¹ She uses correspondence as well as other sources to show the significance for men of the classical objects which they displayed in their country homes. Although her work has not focused exclusively on country homes and elite men’s relationships with objects, her chapter ‘“Placed with Propriety”: The Display and Viewing of Ancient Sculpture’ uses correspondence between the men to reveal the extent to which men were invested in the objects inside their homes as well as their display.¹³² This recent work, which deals with elite consumption, especially in the context of politics, status and identity is an important development in the field, particularly in relation to this thesis, which looks at the country homes of a number of elite men to examine how men used domestic material culture to create and communicate their identity and status.

Stobart and Rothery criticise the tendency to ‘study the conspicuous consumption of the wealthier aristocracy’, because of the assumption that the ‘status of

¹²⁹ Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), 354.

¹³⁰ Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, “Fashion, Heritage and Family: New and Old in the Georgian Country House,” *Cultural and Social History* 11 no. 3 (2014): 385-406, 385.

¹³¹ Vicky Coltman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹³² Coltman, *Classical Sculpture*, 191-232.

landed elites was partly defined by their extravagant spending habits and lavish homes'.¹³³ They demonstrate that moderate spending was in fact more important to preserve wealth and status for landed families, which was interspersed by surges of conspicuous consumption following inheritance events.¹³⁴ Likewise Stobart demonstrates that even for a spinster the importance of lineage and inheritance linked to notions of rank and dignity, creating 'a specifically aristocratic mode of consumption, built around signifiers of family, lineage and pedigree'.¹³⁵ He argues that,

the importance of the diachronic family went beyond specific forms of material culture to encompass the practices of acquiring goods and choosing suppliers. This releases the construction of lineage-family from the deliberate and self-aware practices of collecting, writing and heirlooming, and into the realm of everyday processes.¹³⁶

Historians have taken an interest in the gender roles involved in home decoration. Whilst early studies have assumed that domestic decoration and household management were the prerogative of the female, this has recently begun to be re-

¹³³ Mark Rothery and Jon Stobart, "Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: the Leigh family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738-1806," *Continuity and Change* 27 no. 3 (2012): 379-407, 379.

¹³⁴ Rothery and Stobart, "Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House," 381.

¹³⁵ Jon Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736-1806," *Social History* 40 (2015): 82-103, 102-103.

¹³⁶ Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite," 103.

examined. However, this assumption has recently begun to be re-examined. Vickery has argued that there was a gendered division of household management with men and women taking responsibility for different areas of consumption in the home. 'A sexual division of consumer responsibilities is a feature of household accounting among the provincial gentry, a partition mirrored in middling correspondence.'¹³⁷ Her work is a useful starting block for studies of masculine domesticity, however historians continue to emphasise women's roles in domestic consumption more strongly than men's. Deborah Cohen has also explored the use of domestic material culture in nineteenth-century middling-sort homes as an expression of the consumer's ideals and values.¹³⁸ For the nineteenth-century home, Cohen argues that 'the Victorian interior was neither chiefly the responsibility, nor even the prerogative of the woman'.¹³⁹ Most recently, Harvey has analysed the division of consumption between marital partners in the eighteenth-century home. She focuses explicitly on male domestic engagement. Her conclusion suggests that men were often closely involved in household matters.¹⁴⁰ She argues that home consumption was often undertaken jointly, but that men had overall responsibility for the household economy. Peter McNeil has researched the ways in which interior design and material objects were used by three men, 'Horace Walpole (at Strawberry Hill), William Beckford (at Fonthill), and the Swedish King Gustav III

¹³⁷ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 12.

¹³⁸ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

¹³⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, 89.

¹⁴⁰ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 98.

(at Haga)', to construct and display their own distinct masculine identities.¹⁴¹ Quentin Colville conducted an insightful study of the link between masculine identity, interior design and material culture by examining the material world of the all-male establishments of naval colleges and public schools.¹⁴² Similar studies could be conducted on the material worlds of other homosocial establishments such as clubs to better understand the masculine relationship to interior design and material objects. Drawing on these works and Tosh's emphasis on the importance of studying masculinity in relation to all-male associations, my thesis will add to this area of research by examining material culture and male relationships within the home. It will not analyse exclusive homosocial establishments but the homosocial engagement with domestic material objects in the public and private spheres.

Spatial definition in relation to gender, public, and private practices, as discussed in the previous section, also occurred within the home. Mark Girouard explored the relationship between the design and spatial organisation of the home and the way it was used by owners, visitors and servants. He examined the relationship between architectural and social change, analysing how interior decoration was necessary to support contemporary behaviour.¹⁴³ Historians have now taken an interest in the relationship between space and social practices and the role of the user in the way

¹⁴¹ Peter McNeil, "Crafting Queer Spaces: Privacy and Posturing," in *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity* ed. Alla Myzelev and John Potvin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 19-41, 19.

¹⁴² Quentin Colville, "The Role of the Interior in Constructing Notions of Class and Status; A Case Study of Dartmouth Naval College, 1930-1960," in *Interior Design and Identity* ed. Penny Sparke and Susie McKellar (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 499-519.

¹⁴³ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

space was ‘designed, represented and experienced’.¹⁴⁴ Through a study of the London town house, Frank E. Brown examined changes in domestic life in London and ‘the way in which differences in patterns of living inscribe themselves in the spatial organisation of the home’.¹⁴⁵ Amanda Flather has explored the structure and use of space in the home in the context of gender and social power for the early modern period.¹⁴⁶ While Moira Donald, looking at the nineteenth-century home, examines the relationship between domestic space and privacy, analysing the varying uses and meanings of the home for the servants, visitors and householders.¹⁴⁷ Vickery has recently analysed public and private spaces within the eighteenth-century home. Her essay ‘translates metaphysical abstractions like the public and the private into everyday rituals and physical objects, whilst revealing that these procedures were themselves freighted with conceptual meaning for the protagonists’.¹⁴⁸ By utilising theories of gendered space within the home I will be able to put the use and display of objects in different rooms into a spatial and gendered context.

¹⁴⁴ Hamlett, “The British Domestic Interior,” 98.

¹⁴⁵ Frank Brown, “Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (1986): 558-90, 559.

¹⁴⁶ Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

¹⁴⁷ Moira Donald, “Tranquil Havens? Critiquing the Idea of Home as the Middle-Class Sanctuary,” in *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth-Century Interior* ed. Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 103-120.

¹⁴⁸ Amanda Vickery, “An Englishman’s Home is His Castle? Thresholds, Boundaries and Privacies in the Eighteenth-Century London House,” *Past and Present* 199 (2008): 147-173, 148.

Historians have also argued that the use and experience of space is ever-changing and represents changes in power, hierarchies, status and modes of sociability. For instance, the mid-eighteenth century changes which saw expensive objects shift from their location in the bedroom to the dining room has been linked to masculine domestic practices, hospitality and display.¹⁴⁹ The ‘introduction of the large dining table and objects associated with male drinking, brought a change in the gender orientation of important possessions and spaces’.¹⁵⁰

One area with which my thesis proposes to engage (combining material culture, gender and domesticity) involves the display of identity through material objects associated with specific rooms in the home used for gendered rituals of hospitality. Theories discussing the way that objects are used and their connection to rituals comes from anthropological studies. Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood define consumption as ‘a system of reciprocal rituals’.¹⁵¹ The anthropologist Daniel Miller has discussed similar ideas in a number of his collaborative works.¹⁵² His thesis, which ‘highlights the symbolic and ritual role of the home and its impact on social relations, shows how the home functions as a theatre for the expression of identity’.¹⁵³ This area of interest has previously been dominated by historians exploring women’s domestic activities.

¹⁴⁹ Stana Nenadic, “Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840,” *Past and Present* 145 (1994): 146.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁵¹ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1979), 22.

¹⁵² Daniel Miller, ed., *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2001) and *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

¹⁵³ Hamlett, “The British Domestic Interior,” 99.

Many have argued that women acquired and maintained agency through the use of material displays during rituals of domestic hospitality such as tea parties. Historians have argued that women's control of the domestic environment even drew them into political debates outside the home. The use of sugar at the tea table, for instance, allowed women to actively participate in political discussions about abolition. Kowaleski-Wallace argues that regardless of whether women abstained or continued to consume sugar they were drafted into a national political debate.¹⁵⁴

The use of material objects in such rituals has also been described by some historians as a performance. Kowaleski-Wallace argues that the ritual of the tea table disciplined the female body and defined it as a consuming subject. She draws on a Foucauldian model to argue that gestures were broken down and organised at the tea table, to discipline and standardise the female body in a class-specific way.¹⁵⁵ Mimi Hellman argues that specialised furniture appeared to facilitate ease, whilst actually requiring complex and culturally specific knowledge to operate, signalling a cultivated body.¹⁵⁶ The tea table demanded female participation in a formal dynamic, which contributed to the processes of civilisation and discipline of the female body. However, as Smith has recently shown in her study of the role of hands in female self-presentation and identity creation, material practices might sometimes fail or could be open to doubt and ambiguity.¹⁵⁷ The display practices of the men in this thesis were not always successful, as a witness account of Buccleuch's cluelessness in hosting his first dinner

¹⁵⁴ Kowaleski-Wallace, "Women, China, and Consumer Culture," 47.

¹⁵⁵ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 26.

¹⁵⁶ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 no. 4 (1999): 415-445, 416.

¹⁵⁷ Smith, "In Her Hands," 489.

party as a duke shows.¹⁵⁸ The sources show that the men suffered from doubt and anxiety about the potential success of their efforts.

However, there has not been the same level of interest in how similar rituals affected masculine identities. Historians have recognised that there was a shift in masculine entertainment towards the domestic sphere during the eighteenth century. In particular historians have recently emphasised the importance of dinner and punch parties for the male householder.¹⁵⁹ Harvey examines the domestic and homosocial ritual of punch drinking and its material culture, an area that has previously received very little historical attention.¹⁶⁰ Her recent book highlights the importance of dining rituals to men of the middling-sort.¹⁶¹ Nenadic also stresses the significance of dining and drinking to the male householder in the eighteenth-century.¹⁶² She emphasises the importance of the material objects involved in domestic homosociability to the display of the male householder's wealth and status. She argues that, 'the valuable possessions that were located in the dining-room allowed the host to demonstrate his wealth and credit status - important considerations in areas of business'.¹⁶³ To understand masculine domesticity in a similar depth to that of women, further studies could be conducted into the way rituals of domestic hospitality and the material culture

¹⁵⁸ Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, Containing Memorials of the Men and Events of His Time* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackson & Sons, 1861), 488.

¹⁵⁹ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers."

¹⁶⁰ Karen Harvey, "Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 21 (2008): 205-221.

¹⁶¹ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 128-130.

¹⁶² Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 147.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 147.

associated with them influenced the male host and householder. This thesis takes this forward by placing a special focus on the hosting and dining rituals of the men in the case studies. It examines both their discussion of the importance of hosting and dining as well as an in-depth look at many of the objects in their homes which were associated with hospitality. In particular it places an emphasis on dining ware and ceramics. These are especially revealing for a number of reasons. They were central to hospitality; they were usually objects of great value and therefore appear in detail in the inventories; and the decoration, style and provenance of ceramic pieces can tell a detailed story about the owner.

4. Sources and Methodology

The main substance of this thesis will consist of six case studies of families who owned homes around England and Scotland, examined over the subsequent chapters. Analysing England and Scotland allows not only regional, but national differences to be examined closely. There were a number of distinctly Scottish trends in consumption, cultures of masculinity, and national identity, which can be analysed to provide additional insight into the meaning of domestic goods for men in the period.¹⁶⁴ The types of evidence used to construct these case studies include inventories, bills, accounts and correspondence. Inventories are useful sources for studies of consumption as they detail objects that were owned at the time the inventory was taken. Historians such as Lorna Weatherill and Carole Shammas applied quantitative inventory analysis of domestic possessions to understand the ways in which the consumption of material

¹⁶⁴ See Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*. Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers." Nenadic, ed., *Scots in London*, 102-126.

objects changed over time.¹⁶⁵ Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, recently published a study of domestic material culture, which drew on 8000 probate inventories.¹⁶⁶ The impressive size of their survey meant they were able to draw some interesting conclusions about the general trends in consumption and production in Kent and Cornwall, where their study was based.

Quantitative inventory analysis can be problematic for a number of reasons. Although, it is helpful for general analyses, it must take biases into account when the sources are selected, and the size of the survey means it is only able to highlight general trends.¹⁶⁷ Another problem is accounting for anomalies in the sources when conducting a large scale, comparative survey. For instance, appraisers may not have selected to omit or include the same types of objects as one another, or used differing techniques to construct probate inventories, therefore making a comparison difficult.¹⁶⁸ The most effective way to account for such anomalies is through the internal logic of the document, which is more difficult in large-scale studies. However, quantitative inventory analysis is able to give a more representative picture of consumption, across the groups examined. Stobart examines a sequence of five inventories for one country house to track the process of change in both rooms and decorations between different owners.¹⁶⁹ His in-depth study reveals that inventories show that change was focused on

¹⁶⁵ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*. Shamma, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer*.

¹⁶⁶ Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁶⁷ Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁶⁸ Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁹ Jon Stobart, "Inventories and the Changing Furnishings of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, 1717-1819," *Regional Furniture* XXVII (2013): 1-43.

certain rooms more than others. Qualitative inventory studies on the other hand cannot claim to be representative in the same way. However, examining a small number of inventories has other advantages as it allows a closer focus on how individual objects were used and displayed and how they were incorporated into domestic cultures.¹⁷⁰

Giorgio Riello argues, however, that ‘inventories can be a lens through which to see more than just a list of goods. They provide a unique insight on how contemporaries thought about material things, addressed and assessed their value, and dealt with an increasingly complex material world.’¹⁷¹ A closer focus on fewer inventories allows a cultural historical approach to be employed in connection with the inventories, to contextualise their meaning and analyse subjects such as the value of objects and the significance of their placement. This study will employ a qualitative method. Bills and accounts will provide further information in this area as they can describe when and where goods were purchased, the cost of the items, as well as often detailing the purchaser. These are not ideal sources, as many historians have pointed out, as gendered consumption was often disguised under a masculine purchaser buying the goods via proxy.¹⁷² The inventories will be approached by engaging with Riello’s methodology, considering them as a subjective representation of the domestic

¹⁷⁰ Lesley Hoskins, “Stories of Work and Home in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Home Cultures* 8 no. 2 (July 2011): 151-169, 155. Margaret Ponsonby, “Ideals, Reality and Meaning: Homemaking in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Design History* 16 no. 3 (2003): 201-214. Barker and Hamlett, “Living above the shop.”

¹⁷¹ Giorgio Riello, “Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and their Representation of Domestic Interiors,” in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* ed. Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2013), 125-150, 144.

¹⁷² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 3.

influenced by many factors such as the purpose of their creation or the language that they used.¹⁷³ Girouard's approach of examining the gendered meanings of different rooms within country houses will also be used. A spatial reading of domestic consumption reveals information about the gendered and cultural meanings of objects and their uses.¹⁷⁴ Additionally inventories, such as those of the Buccleuch and Breadalbane families, often include a valuation of the goods, which can suggest additional insight into which rooms were considered to hold more valuable items.

These sources are limited when studied in isolation, as they do not put the goods or consumption into a social or cultural context. Correspondence will form the main evidence for this study. Thousands of letters were surveyed for this thesis and the majority of the letters which have ultimately been used are personal letters between family members and friends gathered from family and estate papers of the various family archives, which will be listed in further detail alongside the families' biographical information later in the introduction.

Letters give an insight into the cultural and social aspects of goods such as their use, the purpose of their purchase, and their affective or social meaning. Letters also reveal the relational aspect of consumption, for instance the exchange of goods between father and son, mother and son, or other members of the family. Clare Brant emphasises the importance of letters for everyday life in the eighteenth century across the social classes.¹⁷⁵ She argues that by studying the norms and nuances of letter writing we can understand 'what is representative of eighteenth-century culture in its broadest

¹⁷³ Riello, "Things Seen and Unseen," 138.

¹⁷⁴ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

¹⁷⁵ Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1.

sense...and in its more specialist sense - the ideas, beliefs and representations that preoccupied them'.¹⁷⁶ French and Rothery argue that letters are a revealing source and a helpful departure from the usual conduct literature which typify studies of the discussion of masculinity in the 'long' eighteenth century.¹⁷⁷ Sarah Pearsall demonstrates the huge amount of information and cultural understanding which can be gleaned from family letters. She urges historians not to think 'of familiar letters as somehow inferior, less political, or less significant texts. Letters did count'.¹⁷⁸ Pearsall uses correspondence specifically in relation to questions of familiarity and bonds, using case studies from elite families.¹⁷⁹ The correspondence in this thesis is also used to analyse elite family relationships. As Pearsall states, letters from male family members were more likely to be preserved in elite family archives as well as letters which reflected well on the family.¹⁸⁰ While this does cause problems with selection, the vast number of letters preserved in the families studied in this thesis allow ample opportunity to analyse different aspects of the family relationships. Among the letters surveyed here there were plenty of letters to and from women. There are also numerous individual letters and series of letters which deal with difficult family issues used in this thesis which had been preserved in the family papers. While letters do not always reveal as much about domestic material life as historians would wish French and Rothery offer a useful way forward. They focus on 'interpreting values that were 'routinized' within families, that is, those rendered unremarkable by everyday rehearsal and mentioned

¹⁷⁶ Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters*, 1.

¹⁷⁷ French and Rothery, "'Upon your entry into the world'," 404.

¹⁷⁸ Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18.

¹⁷⁹ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, 18.

¹⁸⁰ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, epilogue.

only in passing between correspondents'.¹⁸¹ The correspondence in this thesis is used gain an insight on how values were expressed between writer and recipient through 'everyday' communication.

Susan Whyman has discussed the craft of letter writing and the skills necessary for the practice, arguing that letter writers often copied the literary techniques in epistolary novels.¹⁸² An awareness of literary constructs assists an understanding of what society expected from a letter writer.¹⁸³ Whether the writer deviated or conformed to established epistolary formats offers further insight into how the writer wished to portray his identity to the reader. French and Rothery agree that slow and expensive postage meant the early-eighteenth-century letter was often a deliberate and self-conscious composition while better postage in the late-nineteenth century meant shorter letters became less of a literary creation.¹⁸⁴

In this thesis I examine both private correspondence and published narrative fiction although these forms of writing appear here as more distinct than in Whyman's work. The correspondence in this thesis will be read primarily as a practical dialogue, considering both the writer and the intended recipient. This will allow an insight into how the writer used letters to represent themselves and their identity to the intended reader. This also facilitates a relational understanding of the subject. Whether the letter was written between same or mixed gender associates, masculine identity can be

¹⁸¹ French and Rothery, "'Upon your entry into the world'," 404.

¹⁸² Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁸³ Whyman, *The Pen and the People*. Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

¹⁸⁴ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 22.

analysed in relational terms. Quotes from the primary material in the case studies will be transcribed in all cases with the emphasis and syntax as in the original.

The final type of evidence used in this thesis will be contemporary novels. These will be employed to research contemporary attitudes towards masculine consumption and the home. This will work alongside the survey of family and estate papers as it will provide a cultural context in which to view and understand goods in these families' possession. To access some of the complex meanings consumption held for contemporaries, historians have emphasised the importance of cultural representation as a methodological approach to studying consumption.¹⁸⁵ Berg and Clifford analyse contemporary observations to establish the cultural purposes and affective meanings of goods.¹⁸⁶ They argue that contemporary accounts provide detail and insight into taste, aesthetics, social rituals and the meanings of commodities. Ruth Perry uses novels in her extensive study on family relations 1748-1818.¹⁸⁷ She combines literary analysis, social history and anthropology to chart, what she argues, is the transformation of the family unit in the eighteenth century. McKeon uses novels among other sources to identify the linguistic developments, which signified the conceptual and material separation of public and private.¹⁸⁸ Margot Finn examines the separate spheres further

¹⁸⁵ Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts, *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1997).

¹⁸⁶ Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*.

¹⁸⁷ Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748–1818*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁸⁸ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

by analysing Romantic literature through a domestic optic.¹⁸⁹ She argues that women's Romantic writing in particular reveal a previously obscured history where public and private boundaries were blurred. 'The woman writer, resisting the strict demarcations of public and private domains, was at once a symbol and an agent of the Romantic home's constant engagement with the world that lay beyond its walls.'¹⁹⁰ My chapter continues this research focusing in particular on male domestic material culture in order to consider the extent to which the home played a public or private role in men's lives. Recently Kate Smith, "In Her Hands: Materializing Distinction in Georgian Britain," has discussed how novels and poetry can be analysed to understand the material world.¹⁹¹ Although representations of male consumers become the focus of a number of studies recently, many works have continued to focus on women as the main figure in domestic consumption. Exceptions to this include Finn who has analysed men's diaries to argue that men were important consumers in the eighteenth century.¹⁹² This is a helpful starting point for understanding how male consumption was represented. The final chapter explores the imagined emotional significance of objects and their roles in relationships of elite patriarchs. The aim is to reveal contemporary meanings ascribed to certain goods and cultures of consumption in the lives of elite men.

¹⁸⁹ Margot Finn, "Scenes of Literary Life: The Homes of England," In *The New Cambridge History of English Literature: The Romantic Period* edited by James Chandler, 293-313 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁹⁰ Finn, "The Homes of England," 293.

¹⁹¹ Kate Smith, "In Her Hands: Materializing Distinction in Georgian Britain," *Cultural and Social History*, 11 no. 4 (December 2014): 489-506.

¹⁹² Margot Finn, "Men's Things: Masculine Consumption in the Consumer Revolution," *Social History* 25 no. 2 (2000): 133-55.

The thesis will employ the models adopted by Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace to analyse the representation of male consumers in literature. Kowaleski-Wallace uses feminist literary theory to examine the ways in which female consumption was represented in fictional text.¹⁹³ She analyses ways in which women's relationship with the domestic environment and the objects within it were represented, to gain insight into wider cultural attitudes towards female consumption.¹⁹⁴ I will draw on this method using gender as my object of enquiry to additionally understand the relational aspects of cultural trends. My analysis will widen the range of source-materials by drawing on literary criticism including current studies in eighteenth-century 'it-narratives', by Mark Blackwell.¹⁹⁵ Blackwell explores the circulation of objects and their 'social life' to understand how objects were represented in fictional text and reveal contemporary meanings ascribed to them. This will enable the thesis to engage with the language and structure of the range of primary sources, providing interdisciplinary insight on the study of masculine consumption. I do not focus on individual objects as closely as Blackwell. Instead, I examine broader understandings of consumption in the context of the relationships between characters.

However, a recent boom in studies of cultural representation of gender has widened the gap between 'the social history of men' and 'the cultural history of

¹⁹³ Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, "Women, China, and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29 no. 2 (Winter 1995-96): 153-167. And *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1997), 22.

¹⁹⁴ Kowaleski-Wallace, "Women, China, and Consumer Culture." Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*.

¹⁹⁵ Mark Blackwell, *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007).

masculinity'.¹⁹⁶ This has led to studies emphasising the imagined or expected characteristics of gender rather than the lived experience.¹⁹⁷ I do not intend to root these men's actions to the prescriptive literature and cultural themes prevalent in contemporary society. Instead, the intention is to analyse the anomalies and differences between what was culturally imagined and expected of masculine behaviour and what occurred in practice. By placing the cultural representations of masculine domestic consumption found in the novels alongside my case studies the aim of this chapter is to enrich the analysis in much the same way as McKeon uses novels to inform his study of domesticity.¹⁹⁸ It is questionable whether works which have focussed solely on cultural representation are able to analyse accurately what masculinity meant to contemporaries without placing these constructs within their social moorings.

Contemporary novels are an informative source for studies of the period as they were widely circulated and catered for a broad audience. The selected eight novels feature male characters passing through the key stages of their lives. They were chosen to provide a broad and varied range of texts that primarily focussed on the elite classes. The literature considered was written by both men and women. Literature with female protagonists and written by female authors are analysed. Jane Austen's *Pride and*

¹⁹⁶ Joanne Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood in England c. 1760-1830," in *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 167-188.

¹⁹⁷ Tosh, "The History of Masculinity," 24.

¹⁹⁸ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

Prejudice (1813),¹⁹⁹ *Mansfield Park* (1814),²⁰⁰ and Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818)²⁰¹ give a female perspective on men's domestic life. Works with male protagonists will provide a comparison such as Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771),²⁰² William Godwin's *The New Man of Fleetwood* (1805),²⁰³ Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814)²⁰⁴ and *St Ronan's Well* (1824),²⁰⁵ and Benjamin Disraeli's *Vivien Grey* (1826)²⁰⁶ are all by male authors and have male protagonists.

The novels enable the thesis to achieve a much broader historical picture than the case studies provide on their own. 'Only by reading back and forth between literature and history can a critic get a feel for how a text symbolizes, transcends, or comments on its time'.²⁰⁷ The chapter is included at the end of the thesis to provide a context to the attitudes to men's roles in domestic consumption, rather than to provide

¹⁹⁹ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813; Project Gutenberg, 2008),
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1342/1342-h/1342-h.htm>.

²⁰⁰ Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (1814; Project Gutenberg, 2010),
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/141/141-h/141-h.htm>.

²⁰¹ Susan Edmondstone Ferrier, *Marriage* (1818; Project Gutenberg, 2004), 35-37,
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/12669/pg12669-images.htm>.

²⁰² Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* (1771; Project Gutenberg, 2004),
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5083/5083-h/5083-h.htm>.

²⁰³ William Godwin, *The New Man of Fleetwood* (1805; Open Library, 2001),
<https://archive.org/details/fleetwoodornewm02godwgoog>.

²⁰⁴ Walter Scott, *Waverley* (1814; Project Gutenberg, 2006),
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5998/5998-h/5998-h.html>.

²⁰⁵ Walter Scott, *St Ronan's Well* (1824; Project Gutenberg, 2007),
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20749/20749-h/20749-h.htm>.

²⁰⁶ Benjamin Disraeli, *Vivien Grey* (1826; Project Gutenberg, 2003),
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/9840/9840-h/9840-h.htm>.

²⁰⁷ Perry, *Novel Relations*, 289

a comparison of the extent to which consumption in the novels was representative of what the men in the case studies actually consumed. Examining novels can reveal how elite men's relationship with the material world was comprehended and articulated in eighteenth-century culture and allows us to analyse the imagined emotional significance of consumption to elite patriarchs.

5. Biographical Contexts

The thesis will focus on elite families as there is a distinct story to be told about men in this social group. The sources for elites are often especially detailed and informative. Distinctions of social status were blurred, problematic and did not necessarily remain static during the period. The aim here is not to offer a theoretical definition of social class but to attempt to create a workable and flexible formulation with which to meaningfully discuss and compare the families' wealth and social position. Although all the men are wealthy, for the purpose of comparison the selection includes men from a variety of social and economic backgrounds. In general terms, in the way I refer to men as elite or aristocratic, a distinction is made between men whose wealth had been created through commercial ventures in their recent family history, and those whose was predominantly inherited wealth accumulated over multiple generations, through land holdings. Additionally, I employ an artificial construction of aristocracy. My six case studies include men who were in possession of hereditary titles, men who owned substantial estates but did not have titles, including men from commercial backgrounds. As there is inevitable crossover between the groups, the distinctions rely on a preponderance of qualifying factors. These distinctions will be employed loosely to compare how social status affected the men's consumption. However, in some ways, the thesis reformulates the definition of social status by focussing on men's

consumption rather than the origin of their wealth, and by putting a further emphasis on the style of the men's self-presentation rather than finite categorisation of the level of their wealth.

Wealthy aristocratic families are interesting subjects as they had different kinds of political and social responsibilities from those of commercial and non-aristocratic families. The selected aristocratic families owned large amounts of land in a wide geographical area meaning they had both national and local political and social concerns. Therefore, their properties located in different areas of the country may raise questions about how differing economic and geographical concerns affected or were reflected in their consumption.

I have selected a family of Scottish aristocracy, the Buccleuch family, who owned homes in England and Scotland. The Buccleuch family were exceptionally wealthy, owning one of the largest estates in Britain at the time. Four Buccleuch males held the title of Duke from 1760 to 1830. The focus will be on Henry Scott, Third Duke of Buccleuch and Fifth Duke of Queensberry (1746–1812). Four-year old Henry Scott inherited the title under the guardianship of his stepfather Charles Townsend in 1750 after his grandfather Francis Scott died. Therefore, the Dukedom of Henry Scott, including his minority, spans most of the period under examination. The Duke was educated at Eton and completed his education with a Grand Tour (1764-1765) with the moral philosopher and economist Adam Smith acting as his tutor.²⁰⁸ He avoided a career in politics and focused on improving his estate. In 1767, the Duke married Lady

²⁰⁸ Alexander Murdoch, "Scott, Henry, Third Duke of Buccleuch and Fifth Duke of Queensberry (1746–1812)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 2009, accessed July 22, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24875>.

Elizabeth Montagu (1743–1827) and returned to the principal seat of the Buccleuch estate, Dalkeith House. The couple had seven children. His son Charles William Henry Montagu Scott (1772-1819) inherited the title after Buccleuch's death in 1812. The Buccleuchs owned multiple houses throughout England and Scotland. This study will focus on a number of these. Dalkeith House, outside Edinburgh, was the principal seat of the Buccleuch estate, lived in by the Third Duke from the end of his minority in 1767. The two principal urban homes owned by the Buccleuchs were Harwick House in London and East Park in Edinburgh. Bowhill House in Selkirkshire was a subsidiary home as was Langholm Lodge, which was frequently visited by the Duke from 1780. Drumlanrig Castle was inherited in 1810 along with the Dukedom of Queensbury.

The sources which will be used for this family are the family and estate papers held in the National Archives of Scotland. The Buccleuch Family and Estate Papers (NAS GD224) contain a number of detailed inventories that list the material goods of the Buccleuch's homes. These include inventories of Dalkeith Palace (1750-4, 1752, 1757, 1812 and 1819); Drumlanrig Castle (1811 and 1812); Harwick House (1750-4, 1757, 1765); and Langholm Lodge (1812); East Park (1750-4, 1752, 1757).²⁰⁹ Many inventories, like those of the Buccleuch family, are organised by room, revealing information about where these goods were located. This helps to place the display of the objects in a spatial context.

²⁰⁹ Buccleuch Family Papers, National Archives of Scotland, Dalkeith Palace: GD224/379/4/7 (1750-4), GD224/882/7/1 (1752), GD224/882/7/6 (1757), GD224/962/21/1 (1812), GD224/962/21/2 (1819). Drumlanrig Castle: GD224/962/20/1 (1811), GD224/962/20/2 (1812). Harwick House: GD224/379/4/1 (1750-4), GD224/882/7/3 (1757), GD224/903/22 (1765). Langholm Lodge: GD224/962/20/4 (1812). East Park: GD224/379/4/8 (1750-4), GD224/882/7/1 (1752), GD224/882/7/6 (1757).

The Buccleuch family papers include accounts from 1796-1812 of the personal spending of both the male and female members of the family, including furniture and luxury goods. As the Buccleuchs were an exceptionally wealthy family, it is likely that the female family members had more autonomy in their consumption than the typical household. As the collection includes both male and female accounts it is easier to distinguish between the consumption of individual male and female family members.²¹⁰ This will provide an interesting comparison of male and female consumption within the same home. The Dalkeith House Day Book, (1775-1797) lists details of dinner guests and guests at the house. It also includes personal correspondence with detailed aspects of masculine and female consumption and attitudes towards it.²¹¹ These additional sources will contextualise the consumption of the family as well as reveal family members' attitudes towards different kinds of consumption.

The second aristocratic family, the Campbell family, Earls of Breadalbane, was less wealthy and had a lower social status than the Buccleuch family. They owned a number of properties also located around England and Scotland. They, therefore, had different political and financial responsibilities to the Buccleuch family. The comparison will allow questions to be raised about social status and consumption. The family's status continued to rise after the period. This may also highlight areas in which masculine consumption was related to social ambition.

The Campbells of Breadalbane and Holland were a family of Scottish nobility with homes in London, Edinburgh and the Highlands of Scotland. Two Earls of Breadalbane held the title between 1760 and 1830. John Campbell, Third Earl of

²¹⁰ NAS, GD224/15/14 (1796-8), GD224/351/90 (1802), GD224/15/109/6-7 (1805), GD224/351/123 (1807), GD224/351/131 (1809), GD224/556/22 (1812), Accounts.

²¹¹ NAS, GD224/1085/1, Dalkeith House Day Book, (1775-1797).

Breadalbane (1696-1782), was born in London, and educated at Oxford University. He inherited the title in 1752 at the age of 56 after his father John Campbell, Second Earl of Breadalbane's (1662-1752) death.²¹² In 1717 he married Lady Amabel de Grey who left two children on her death in 1726. He later married Arbella Pershall in 1730 and had two further children including his heir John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Breadalbane (1762–1834). John Campbell inherited the title in 1782 at the age of 20 after his father's death. He was on his grand tour at the time of his father's death but returned home to assume his responsibilities. In 1761 he married Willielma Maxwell. The relationship between father and son is very revealing especially in Chapter Two. Both Earls had eventful political careers. They each held the office of Representative Peer for Scotland, along with a number of other important positions. The Third Earl was keeper of the privy seal of Scotland (1765–6) and was appointed vice-admiral of Scotland (1776).²¹³

The Breadalbane inventories (1760-1830) are also located in the National Archives of Scotland. They include the properties of Taymouth Castle, the Abbey in Edinburgh, Foley House and Park Lane in London. Taymouth Castle was the principal home for the family throughout the period.²¹⁴ Like many other eighteenth-century Scottish aristocrats, the Breadalbanes also owned homes in London and Edinburgh. Foley House was a second London home acquired fully furnished in 1794 from Andrew

²¹² T. F. Henderson, "Campbell, John Third Earl of Breadalbane and Holland (*bap.* 1696, *d.* 1782)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed July 15, 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101004515/John-Campbell>.

²¹³ Henderson, "Campbell, John".

²¹⁴ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 163.

Lord Foley.²¹⁵ The family papers also include correspondence which often refer to the consumption of both male and female members of the family.

Additionally the thesis will examine two gentry families. Neither held aristocratic titles but had much of their wealth invested in land. By examining the gentry who may have been more closely involved in local concerns than aristocratic families it will be possible to explore regional trends and examine the extent to which different men's wealth and consumption habits were rooted in the concerns, cultures and habits of the local community. It will allow an analysis of how different economic factors affected masculine consumption. I will examine two families living in Bedfordshire to conduct a closer study of different aspects of their identity such as religious and political concerns.

The first gentry family are the Whitbreads, who became Bedfordshire gentry by the mid-seventeenth century. Samuel Whitbread (1720-1796) became wealthy through the brewing trade in London, developing a successful porter brewery in Chiswell Street. He invested in landed property in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and six other counties. His success meant he was able to become involved in politics. His commercial ties add an element of interest to his social background. He was elected MP for Bedford (1768-1790).²¹⁶ He purchased their estate at Southill in 1795, which became the principal family home, however he died the following year with an estimated worth of over a

²¹⁵ Breadalbane Family and Estate Papers, National Archives of Scotland, GD112/20/7/9/1, Title Papers relating to Foley House, London, 1794-1795.

²¹⁶ "The Whitbread Family," Bedford Borough Council, March 19, 2008, accessed March 25, 2012, <http://www.bedfordshire.gov.uk/communityandliving/archivesandrecordoffice/communityarchives/southill/thewhitbreadfamily.aspx>.

million pounds. His son Samuel Whitbread II (1764-1815) will be the principal focus of the Whitbread case study. Samuel Whitbread II was the richest London brewer of his generation with assets of as much as £750,000.²¹⁷ Within five years of owning Southill Samuel Whitbread II had spent some £36,000 on the house. Southill's furnishings were further valued at £25,000.²¹⁸ Whitbread II was elected twice as an MP for Bedford (1768–74 and 1775–90). Whitbread II was a Whig whereas his father was a Tory. He also became an Anglican, after abandoning his family's dissenting tradition. He campaigned for the abolition of slavery and for a national system of education. In 1787 at the age of 23, Whitbread married 22-year-old Lady Elizabeth Grey (1765–1846). The couple had three sons. In 1815 Whitbread committed suicide by cutting his own throat with a razor.

There are a number of inventories of the family's home in Southill including one taken in 1779, published in *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714-1830*, before the family purchased the property in 1795.²¹⁹ This will provide useful information regarding the Whitbread's consumption as the house was remodelled after it came in to the Whitbread's possession. It will provide a useful comparison to those taken after the purchase such as that taken in 1818 which was not published by James Collett-White due to its great length. Other sources regarding the domestic consumption of the family include property summary accounts, which contain annual statements of expenditure (1801-1814).²²⁰ The family papers also include extensive correspondence.

²¹⁷ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 42.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ James Collett-White (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714-1830*, (Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1995).

²²⁰ Whitbread Family Papers, Bedfordshire and Luton Archives, W/4041-4, Estate accounts (income and expenditure).

These include courtship letters between Whitbread and his wife, letters between Whitbread and his aristocratic friends and political colleagues, and letters between Whitbread and a group of artists he patronised. Most revealing are the letters between Whitbread and the workers who designed his homes, Southill and Devonshire Street, and letters between Whitbread and the subject of the next section Lee Antonie.

The second family of Bedfordshire gentry are the Lee Antonies. William Lee Antonie (1764-1815), the focus of this study, was also a Whig MP and landowner in Bedford. He was less enmeshed within a family network than any other man in this study. On the death of his father William Lee was raised under the guardianship of his cousin William Lee of Hartwell and his brother-in-law John Fiott (1749-1797). Lee Antonie did not marry or have his own children. His nephew John Fiott Lee (1783-1866) was his heir. Lee Antonie's principal home was Colworth House, which he inherited from his uncle, Richard Antonie, in 1771.²²¹ The house was remodelled and refurnished a number of times during the period and there are extensive inventories listing its furniture. One inventory has been published in Collett-White's *Inventories*.²²² He had a close relationship with Whitbread II. The collection contains correspondence between Whitbread II and Lee Antonie regarding the decoration and refurbishment of the homes. This offers the opportunity to gain further insight into the tastes, preferences and values of both men.²²³

The thesis will also examine the role of domestic consumption in the lives the Rathbones, a commercial family from Liverpool. During this period William Rathbone

²²¹ Collett-White, *Inventories*, 46-8.

²²² *Ibid.*, 49-70.

²²³ Whitbread Family Papers, BLA, BS 2093-2138, correspondence, personal and estate accounts and related papers, 1768-1815.

IV and V were at the head of the family. Their properties included Greenbank, near Liverpool, the principal family home. William Rathbone IV (1757–1809) was a Liverpool timber merchant, ship builder and ship owner. He was the fourth generation of Rathbones engaging in trade. The family were important players in the commercial expansion of Liverpool as a port city. Their firm, William Rathbone & Sons, was founded in Liverpool in 1746. The family were heavily involved in international affairs including attempts to avoid war with France in 1792 and a campaign against the East India Company's trade monopoly.²²⁴ The Rathbones provide an interesting insight into how tastes and values as consumers were related to business and religious concerns. For many men the consumption of manufactured goods tied in to their own wealth.²²⁵ It is worth considering the extent to which those involved with British manufacture or the importation of foreign goods promoted luxury consumption of objects associated with the creation of their own wealth. For wealthy consumers the choice between endorsing local or national manufactured goods and imported goods carried multiple meanings. In 1786 William Rathbone married Hannah Mary Reynolds (1761-1832). On the birth of his son William Rathbone V (1787–1868) Rathbone bought their home Greenbank 3 miles outside town to provide fresh air for the delicate baby.²²⁶ Rathbone V inherited his father's commercial interests. They were Quakers, which will allow an exploration of the different consumption habits of men of different religions. James

²²⁴ Alexander Gordon, "Rathbone, William (1757–1809)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 12 April 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23160>.

²²⁵ Berry and Gregory, *Creating and Consuming Culture*. Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*.

²²⁶ Eleanor Rathbone, *William Rathbone: A Memoir* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), 11.

Walvin examines the Quaker institutional structure to understand the prevalence of wealthy members of the Quaker sect who emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²²⁷ He argues that a number of specific characteristics of the group added to their unique culture. These included a strong sense of honesty, individual self-abnegation as well as the well-connected community.²²⁸ These elements created a culture where Quakers were disciplined and focussed on business. The Rathbones will add an interesting element for this study as Quakers valued 'plainness' over luxury consumption and had a strong aversion to debt. The solid network of friends held members accountable for their actions.

A large collection of property records for the family is held at Liverpool University Archives. These include plans and details of the management of the estates.²²⁹ The records relate to the Rathbone family properties and land as well as the family's personal possessions.²³⁰ The collection also contains correspondence relating to the family and the Greenbank estate.²³¹ These concern various aspects of the history of Greenbank and its management, ownership and contents. There is also a section containing memoranda concerning 'articles of interest at Greenbank'.²³² Papers relating to William Rathbone IV (RP II) include correspondence, deeds, notes, news cuttings

²²⁷ James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (London: John Murray, 1997).

²²⁸ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 210.

²²⁹ Rathbone Papers, University of Liverpool Archives, RP XX, Rathbone Property Records.

²³⁰ Rathbone Papers, ULA, RP XX.1, Buildings and Land and RP XX.2, Personal Possessions.

²³¹ Rathbone Papers, ULA, RP XX.1.2-13, Correspondence and Papers Relating to the Greenbank Estate.

²³² Rathbone Papers, ULA, RP XX.1.8, Articles of Interest at Greenbank.

and printed material relating to Rathbone's public and private interests (1777-1809). The papers include General correspondence (RP II.1), Deeds (RP II.2), Quaker Material (RP II.3) and General Papers (RP II.4).²³³ The papers of William Rathbone V (RP V) include correspondence, deeds, notes, news cuttings and printed material concerning both public and private interests of William Rathbone V.²³⁴

The final family is the Dundas family. The principal male householders of the Dundas family, 1760-1830, include Sir Lawrence Dundas, First Baronet Zetland (c.1710-81). He married Margaret Bruce, and they had one son, Thomas Dundas, First Earl of Zetland (1741-1820). Lawrence was Commissary-General and contractor to the army, 1748-59. In 1762 he received his baronetcy and began making extensive purchase and decoration of properties. In 1763 he had acquired estates in the North Riding of Yorkshire including Marske Hall, Upleatham Hall, and Aske Hall. Aske Hall became the family's main seat and came with the pocket borough of Richmond. It was purchased for £25,000 and Dundas carried out extensive decorative work on it.²³⁵ Other houses that will be discussed further in the thesis include 19 Arlington Street, St James's, London which he purchased in 1763 for £15,000,²³⁶ Moor Park in Hertfordshire, which was acquired in 1763, and Kerse in Falkirk. Other estates included the Ballinbreich in Fife, and the Orkney and Shetland estates, property in Surrey,

²³³ Rathbone Papers, ULA, RP II, William Rathbone IV Personal Papers.

²³⁴ Rathbone Papers, ULA, RP V, Papers Relating to William Rathbone V.

²³⁵ Aske Hall Case Study: "Was Sir Lawrence Dundas a 'Nabob'?" UCL Blogs, accessed May 21, 2017, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/aske-hall-yorkshire/aske-hall-case-study-was-sir-lawrence-dundas-a-nabob/>.

²³⁶ Aske Hall Case Study: "Was Sir Lawrence Dundas a 'Nabob'?"

Ireland and the West Indies.²³⁷ Lawrence Dundas' 'relatively sudden acquisition of wealth, the way that he chose to display it via his properties, and his political manoeuvrings' meant he became known as the 'Nabob of the North'.²³⁸ He left his son Thomas £900,000 inheritance on his death in 1781. Thomas was a Whig MP for Richmond, he rose to the peerage in 1793. He married Lady Charlotte FitzWilliam (1746-1833) in 1764 at the age of 23. The relationship between Lawrence Dundas and his son Thomas is a particularly revealing relationship as Dundas attempted to pass his attitudes towards consumption and status on to his heir.

The Dundas family archive, held in North Yorkshire includes inventories, vouchers and personal correspondence. The estate papers include inventories and property details for their homes in Aske (1488-1908) and Cleveland (1515-1925) including the wills and settlements of the Lowther, Mawer and Pearson families from whom properties were acquired. This allows an insight into the possible changes that were made to the properties after they came into the possession of the Dundas family through a comparison with later inventories. Other property records and inventories include their estates at Marske (1628-1906) and Loftus (1581-1915), their Scottish (1760-1875) and Irish (1679-1910) estates and their estate in the West Indies (1777-1833).²³⁹ There are also personal papers of Sir Lawrence Dundas; Sir Thomas Dundas, First Lord Dundas; Lawrence, First Earl of Zetland (1794-1837); Sir Robert Dundas

²³⁷ "The Dundas Family," National Register of Archives, April, 8, 2009, accessed March 25, 2012, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/searches/subjectView.asp?ID=F8416&tabType=HISTORY>.

²³⁸ Aske Hall Case Study: "Was Sir Lawrence Dundas a 'Nabob'?"

²³⁹ Dundas Family Papers, North Yorkshire County Record Office, Ref ZNK, Property Records, 15th century-20th century.

(1801-1843) including correspondence and papers (1803-1844), diaries (1835-1843), vouchers and receipts (1799-1844) and account books (1835-1842).²⁴⁰ The large amount of correspondence between male family members will be revealing in an examination of how material culture featured in masculine family relationships.

The manuscript sources illuminate a number of shared themes between the case studies. Aspects of the men's lives and interests, which influenced their domestic consumption, will form an organisational structure for comparison between the different men. Such themes include family relationships, friendships, social status, and local, national and international concerns. The men's relationships between friends, family members and peers will be examined from a relational perspective to explore what role consumption played in social interactions. The selection of case studies provides a variety of backgrounds and social status, some had titles, some commercial backgrounds and some with large estates and high incomes. It will be considered whether the perceived status differences amongst the men and their peers may have led to a different habits and priorities in their engagement with consumption. Similarly the influence of local and national concerns on how the men consumed at home will be considered. Prescriptive literature often outlined the morality of spending and its effect on local and national economies. Bearing in mind these men had differing local, national and international financial and political interests this may form part of an interesting analysis.

Conclusion

²⁴⁰ Dundas Family Papers, NYCRO, ZNKa, 1622-1919.

The thesis builds on histories of elite masculinity in the domestic sphere by historians such as Tosh, Rothery, and Stobart. It uses the lens of material culture to examine the correspondence of six families of elite men to provide a focussed and in-depth study on the ways in which domestic material culture was employed by the men at different stages of their lives and within different familial and professional relationships.

The elite men's role was to manage the status and reputation of their family. Men's relationships with their eldest sons were especially important as their legacy passed to their heirs. The men's role was to teach their sons to follow their own sense of morality and economy, which as a pair were referred to in the period as 'oeconomy'. For an elite patriarch's heir to successfully manage his estate and reputation he needed to share his father's approach to morality and money management. Material culture helps us map the patriarchal role, as consumption was an important and tangible aspect of a man's outward appearance. Examining men's views and actions in regards to consumption can reveal how elite men tried to establish their masculine reputations. Examining material culture can show a range of aspects of men's lives. It can demonstrate what they bought, how they dressed, decorated their homes and exercised hospitality. It can show us how they expressed political ideas, religious views and national and local affiliations. In this sense men wore their beliefs on their sleeves. Most importantly it provides a means of exploring how they governed their families, negotiated with wives, brought up children and exercised control over a wide network of dependents.

Chapter One

Suitors and Husbands: Gendered Negotiations of Spaces and Objects

William Rathbone IV died in February 1809. After his death, his wife Hannah Mary Rathbone began to refurbish their principal family home, Greenbank, in Liverpool. It was intended that the home would be passed to their son William Rathbone V after the refurbishment, perhaps after Hannah Mary's death. Hannah Mary was uneasy about the refurbishment, feeling the need to honour her late husband's memory and taste she went against her son's requirements. In a letter to their son, Hannah Mary explained the trouble she was having with her conscience in the process of negotiation between redecorating on her son's behalf and being true to her late husband's plans for the house.

I would also confess some grievous inconsistencies of which I have been guilty – particularly in building this house, – That it should be rebuilt, and made a commodious good house I know he intended and

desired, shall I omit what he so tenderly added? that it should be done as I would like –... I have felt pain and remorse for having, even when it was inadvertently, spent money in ornament, for I know that my revered Husband, preferred simplicity upon a principle of comprehensive benevolence... it is this consciousness which has made the business of building, in which we are now engaged, so grievous and oppressive to me ²⁴¹

Her concerns problematise previous historical discussion, which places domestic furnishing in the female domain. Legally, within a marriage the ownership of the home belonged to men. Women had no legal rights to own property once they married.²⁴² Practically, however, things worked differently. Historians such as Vickery and Greig examine domestic material culture within marital partnerships giving an insight into the joint role of husband and wife.²⁴³ By studying correspondence this chapter will also examine the extent and nature of the input of couples into domestic material culture. While not wishing to detract from work like Vickery's that reveals the subtleties of the division of power between men and women and how women could sometime exert agency in surprising ways the case studies in this chapter underscore the importance of patriarchy and male dominance at least in these particular families. This letter demonstrates that men's reputation and identity were equally tied up in the material world of the home. Even after his death, Rathbone's wife worried that by changing the

²⁴¹ ULA, V.1.15, Hannah Mary Rathbone to William Rathbone V. (In all cases emphasis and syntax are given as in the original.)

²⁴² Flather, *Gender and Space*, 41-2.

²⁴³ Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 106–28, 184–207. Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 36–47.

physical nature of the house it would no longer accurately represent his beliefs. This suggests that the home was an important aspect of a man's public identity and a wife had a duty to maintain this.

The passage highlights a number of ways in which, as this chapter argues masculine identity, authority and patriarchal power were legitimised through domestic material culture within marital relationships. It suggests that acting as the head of the household meant controlling the physical environment of the home as well as the people within it. Tadmor's concept of 'lineage family' is relevant here as for elite men familial control extended further than those inside their 'household family'.²⁴⁴ Harvey argues that middling-sort men used their control over the organisation of the household expenses as a tool to demonstrate their masculine authority.²⁴⁵ This study of elite men can push this analysis further as their patriarchal role was more materially expansive, often including many estates. This chapter considers practices of controlling domestic consumption among elite men, both in the extent of men's control over family expenses and in the extent of men's roles in the process of decoration.

Historians have examined the changing relationship dynamics between husband and wife through the modern period. Anthony Fletcher argues that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'Men wanted their wives to be both subordinate and competent.'²⁴⁶ Stone examines the relationship between husband and wife between 1500-1800 in *Family, Sex and Marriage*. He argues that the compassionate family replaced the hierarchy and order of the patriarchal family, causing a shift in the balance

²⁴⁴ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 74.

²⁴⁵ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 15.

²⁴⁶ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 174.

of power between husband and wife.²⁴⁷ However, McCormack as well as French and Rothery have since argued that patriarchal power structures remained in place albeit in different forms.²⁴⁸ The letter above was written at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Hannah Mary contrasted her attempt at ornamentation with his, 'preferred simplicity upon a principle of comprehensive benevolence', suggesting that these broad trends were followed in their case. Her reference to 'comprehensive benevolence' and the wider meaning of the quote, which showed that she believed her husband's identity was tied up in the control over the decoration of the home even after his death, demonstrates that the nature of masculine attachment to the domestic material culture continued to be vital. French and Rothery argue that between 1660-1900 it is difficult to detect a 'growth in the importance of domestic ideology within the masculine identity of the landed elite'.²⁴⁹ This chapter demonstrates that although marriage was important to the men the different relationships the men had with their wives did not follow a linear pattern of change. The consumption patterns men shared with their wives in the case studies show changes in taste along with men responding to changes in styles over time, however, the case studies demonstrate that generational change and individual change could also be important.

French and Rothery question what their correspondence can tell us about role of family life and the culture of 'domesticity' in the formation of masculine identities. They argue that married life was an important component of self-image for elite men. The recurring phrases they note in the letters in relation to married life were 'settlement' and 'comfort' because 'marriage remained a real and symbolic moment at which a

²⁴⁷ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*.

²⁴⁸ McCormack, *The Independent Man*, 208. French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 232.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 232.

man's emotional and financial destiny was arranged and which created an independent household through which adult male identity could be established and projected'.²⁵⁰ This chapter argues that elite men used domestic material culture to establish and negotiate marital relationships and that this process was central to their self-image.

The chapter begins with courtship, exploring the way in which future homes and domestic objects figured in how suitors presented themselves to potential brides, focusing on love letters exchanged by Whitbread and Lady Elizabeth Grey. The chapter then moves to examine the attitudes towards and practical application of the gendered division of control over household expenses between men and their wives. To gain an understanding of how this dynamic functioned on a day-to-day basis this chapter investigates the discussion of household expenses at times of crisis, adjustment and change. Harvey asserts the importance of the patriarchal role in middling-sort households by examining the discourse around the concept of 'oeconomy', the combined moral and economic management of the household.²⁵¹ This chapter considers the role of the elite patriarch in moral and economic organisation of the household. By examining the communication between husband and wife, the chapter aims to reconstruct the expectations and practical limitations of gendered attitudes towards domestic material culture. This will be a relational study examining both the husbands' and wives' interaction with, and attitudes towards, the material world of the home. The chapter will draw on the letters, inventories and accounts of the families.

The discussion focuses on the division of the control of domestic decoration. It examines both the process of decorating and the meanings of the domestic objects

²⁵⁰ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 232.

²⁵¹ Harvey, *The Little Republic*.

themselves. The chapter engages with histories that have argued that domestic decoration was the prerogative of women. While the question of who chose the furniture has recently exercised historians, the evidence of these case studies suggests that amongst the elite furnishing the home was an important method with which men asserted their masculine identity and authority. For this social group, the refurbishment of a country seat was a major undertaking that involved a large number of skilled workmen. The management and organisation of these large projects was another means of demonstrating patriarchal power. The final section of the chapter turns to the question of how space was divided between husband and wife, and the extent to which the material culture of home was invested with specific masculine or feminine meanings. According to Girouard, by the early nineteenth century, ‘The dining room was now recognised as a masculine and the drawing room as a feminine room. The two reigned as king and queen over the other rooms.’²⁵² As Vickery has shown, particular styles of decoration and objects were starting to be associated with men and women in this period.²⁵³ Stobart takes a different approach looking at change over time rather than gender. He uses inventories to examine the material culture of a country house in his article on Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, 1717–1819.²⁵⁴ He uses the sequence of five inventories to examine the objects and spatial changed in the house and chart the ‘changing character of the house and how this related to the shifting priorities of its different owners’.²⁵⁵ He concludes that there was both an appearance of new and novel items in addition to the retention of inherited luxury goods showed that owners followed

²⁵² Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 233.

²⁵³ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 279-287.

²⁵⁴ Stobart, “Inventories and the Changing Furnishings of Canons Ashby,” 1-43.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

fashions of taste and comfort but also ‘placed value on the patina and permanence of inherited furniture’.²⁵⁶ In addition to letters, this chapter also uses inventories to consider the different value objects had to their owners within different rooms of the homes. This chapter explores the extent to which such meanings can be found in the homes of the case study families by examining inventories. In particular, it is argued that ceramic wares, often strongly associated with women and femininity, also held important meanings for men.²⁵⁷

1. Courtship

During courtship men had to adjust their behaviour as they changed their identity towards becoming a suitable marital partner.²⁵⁸ Bachelors were able to use material culture and consumption to demonstrate their suitability to their intended and her family. The desired result was to convince their prospective family that they spent money in an appropriate manner, to maintain family relationships and generously support dependents.

In 1786, Samuel Whitbread II (1764-1814) fell in love with his friend Charles Grey’s sister, Lady Elizabeth Grey. During their period of courtship Whitbread’s father sent him on a second Grand Tour around Europe. There is a series of letters from

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 20.

²⁵⁷ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 11-12. D.L. Porter, “Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste,” *Eighteenth Century Studies* 35 (2002): 391-411, 407-408.

²⁵⁸ The expectations placed on bachelors and single men are explored further in Chapter Three.

Whitbread to Lady Grey during this period until their marriage in 1788. The letters demonstrate how material culture was involved in the early years of Whitbread's relationship and the emotions he invested in objects within this dynamic. They also provide an insight into his efforts to prepare materially for their life as a married couple. The intimate nature of the letters provides insight into his values and beliefs about material culture, married life and the performance of the masculine roles. This section will focus on these letters in particular because they offer an unusually detailed discussion of what domestic material culture and gift exchange meant to a betrothed couple.

Rather than reading love-letters as a literal reflection of the writer's emotions, the encoded meanings in the correspondence will be analysed. Following Susan Whyman the letters will be read as a construct used by the writer as a means of representing himself to the reader.²⁵⁹ The way in which Whitbread discusses material culture can be examined as part of a performance in which he fashions himself as an ideal masculine suitor. Whitbread uses objects to express his suitability and constant affection towards Lady Grey. On June 19, 1787, in reference to a letter Lady Elizabeth sent him, he wrote, 'I opened, I read & I was delighted. I have treasured the little but important paper.'²⁶⁰ He describes his affective attachment to the letter as an object. As such, the letter becomes a gift and forms a reciprocal exchange between the lovers, investing the object with additional meaning. Zemon Davis argues the exchange of gifts was a powerful way of forging and reinforcing emotional bonds.²⁶¹ Whitbread's uses his praise of the letter as object, as a way of presenting his sincerity to his potential

²⁵⁹ Whyman, *The Pen and the People*. Goodman, *Becoming a Woman*.

²⁶⁰ BCRO, W1/6556, Bordeaux, 13th August 1787.

²⁶¹ Zemon Davis, *The Gift*.

suitor. However, Whitbread's act of transforming the letter into an object invested the letter itself with the power to strengthen their relational bond to one another.

From Bedwell Park, Whitbread wrote a small poem to Lady Grey, 'Tis your's these trifles to improve/ Their value flows from You;/ They're trifles if you did not love,/ They're treasures as you do'.²⁶² This forms part of a recurrent discourse where he employs material objects to symbolise his sincerity. Material culture was important to Whitbread, for the performance of his masculine role and self-representation as an appropriate suitor.

On 31st August 1787, Whitbread defended his interest in material culture in response to a comment made by Elizabeth on the subject. Her initial letter does not survive but his does:

You talk to me very often upon my Criticisms in dress, & seem to think that I bestow too much attention upon the most frivolous part of a Woman her dress. but you know it is said; "that the Apparel oft bespeaks the Man". I believe that true. how much truer is it of a Woman! If You believe this position you will no longer blame my nicety upon that head, when I am interested about the Person upon whom the criticism is exercised....I detest to see a woman at home dressed, or more than Clean, & if I thought it at any time a person whom I was going to see and whom I liked, dressed herself more on that account it would spoil half the

²⁶² BCRO, W1/6598, Bedwell Park, 13th August 1787.

pleasure of the Visit. As to whims about dress those every man will have,
& I have mine. Have you not Your's?- but to proceed.²⁶³

Whitbread suggested that she regularly commented on his bestowing too much attention on dress. His defence, which included a detailed description of the particulars he found important in dress, acts to confirm that he invested the topic with importance. He also stated that apparel 'oft bespeaks the Man'. Whitbread demonstrated his belief that dress reflected the identity of the wearer, male or female. Presumably, if letters can be read as self-representation of the writer as an ideal suitor they can also work both ways and give the reader clues as to how to represent themselves to appeal to the writer's genuine interests. He invited Elizabeth to join the discussion of his interest by asking 'have you not Your's?' thereby encouraging her to accept and agree with his views. We can assume that her initial comments prompting his response suggested that she did not share his interests to the same extent.

The couples' discussion of dress seems light-hearted in tone, but such wrangling also shows a serious process at work, in which Whitbread attempted to establish the power dynamic of their future relationship. His preference for undress in the home suggests that he valued informality within the home. He discussed his views on domestic dress as a way to prepare his future wife and make her aware of his tastes. His expression of his opinions on female dress suggested that he wished to control her domestic consumption and expected her to submit to him in that area. It is especially revealing that he employed material culture to express his domestic ideals to his future

²⁶³ BCRO, W1/6574, Frankfurt, 31st August 1787.

wife, demonstrating that it played a role in the gendered power dynamic within the domestic sphere.

Material culture was not only important to their courtship in the form of text. The couple exchanged love tokens. Historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have often seen love tokens as significant markers in the progress of a relationship, and gifts have also been interpreted as a means by which women tested their suitors.²⁶⁴ But less attention has been paid to what such gift exchange meant from the male point of view. These letters reveal the significance the gifts had for Whitbread. On numerous occasions throughout their courtship, Whitbread asked Elizabeth to ‘be employed for me’.²⁶⁵ In 1787, after already receiving a hand-worked purse from Elizabeth and asking for a waistcoat which he was upset to have not yet received, he wrote, ‘I will retract my assertion about the Waistcoat as you have been good eno’ to endeavour to get materials; but you must be employed for me. You have so marvellously well succeeded about the Purse that I am anxious to have something more of your doing. let it be a pocket book or any thing be it but something.’²⁶⁶ Female crafts have been analysed in relation to the middle-ranks of society.²⁶⁷ As the aristocratic positions of Whitbread and Lady Elizabeth show, the culture of exchanging handmade gifts was not limited to the ‘middling-sorts’. This suggests that the value and appeal of these gifts transcended class boundaries in fashion and desirability. Research on the

²⁶⁴ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 76-77. Sally Holloway, “Romantic Love in Words and Objects during Courtship and Adultery c. 1730 to 1830” (PhD diss., University of London, 2013).

²⁶⁵ BCRO, W1/6574, 13th August 1787.

²⁶⁶ BCRO, W1/6574, 13th August 1787.

²⁶⁷ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 231-256. Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 86-7.

meaning of domestic crafts has focussed on the female perspective, which as Vickery emphasises, has been under-valued. Historians have begun to view the social meaning of needlework as signifying women's autonomy in domestic expression.²⁶⁸ Feminist historians, on the other hand, viewed it as a symbol of female submission.²⁶⁹ Either way the needle-worked gifts signified Elizabeth's domestic skills and potential as a good wife. Although Vickery does not expand further on the meaning the objects held for the masculine receiver, she argues, 'Matrimonial success on exhibition, her ladyship's diligence only accentuated his lordship's masculinity'.²⁷⁰ Whitbread's ability to commission these objects from his future wife demonstrated his power as a patriarch in his ability to control her time. Therefore, between the couple, the private objects symbolised their relationship when on display in the public realm. His masculinity was presented to his peers through the domestic connotations of the items. This evidence suggests that the boundaries between public and private were blurred at the end of the eighteenth century.

Once Whitbread had received the waistcoat, he wore it in public to a ball accompanied by 'the Hatfield uniform'.²⁷¹ The combination of a military uniform and hand-produced waistcoat from his future wife, suggests his aim was to display both his public and domestic patriarchy through his dress. Historians have suggested that the seventeenth-century household was a critical unit of social control, and therefore central

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: Women's Press, 1984).

²⁷⁰ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 252.

²⁷¹ BCRO, W1/6564, Geneva, 17th July 1787.

to masculine status both in private and as a part of a man's public image.²⁷² The combination of items worn by Whitbread suggest that they conveyed masculine status during the later eighteenth century.²⁷³ Whitbread's display demonstrated to his peers that he was a successful patriarch both in public and in private. He relayed to Elizabeth that the outfit was 'much admired by all'.²⁷⁴ His comment suggests that for Whitbread the approval of others was a consideration. In this context, it appears that the waistcoat provided by Whitbread's fiancée was displayed on his person to represent his masculinity through his links to domestic success. This suggests that domesticity was still important for aristocratic men's public appearance and men used material culture to display this outwardly to their peers.

Objects were crucial to Whitbread's courtship. The material culture of their developing relationship was not divorced from their network of family and friends.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Harvey, "Men Making Home," 520-540. Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1993), 34-66. Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 55-102.

²⁷³ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 520-540.

²⁷⁴ BCRO, W1/6564, Geneva, 17th July 1787.

²⁷⁵ Steven King, "Chance Encounters?: Paths to Household Formation in Early Modern England," *International Review of Social History*, 44 (1999), 23-46, details the complicated relationship of negotiating the network of kin and friends. He discusses the reliance on them during the courtship and marriage process and the importance of their approval for that purpose. Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000). David Cressy, "Courtship and the Making of Marriage," in *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-*

Courtship was linked to family and unsuitable partners had to negotiate with parents to prove their suitability. The exchange and display of material things was also important in these broader marital negotiations. Whitbread I was initially sceptical about his son's marriage to Elizabeth, possibly because of her higher status.²⁷⁶ Lady Grey came from a wealthy aristocratic family. This difference in status may have caused tensions in their relationship and how it was viewed by their family members. On 27th November, 1787, Whitbread wrote to Elizabeth regarding a second purse.

Mary has bought Silk &c for the purse which I enclose You either tonight or tomorrow. she has chosen plain white. You will begin to work it, because I love to have You at all Moments employed for me, & when done You shall dispose of it as You please, either my Father or me, & I think I can pronounce that by that time, You will think he has behaved well eno' to merit such a present at your hands.²⁷⁷

It is telling both that his sister Mary chose and acquired the materials and that he suggested the present might be a gift for his father. He did not choose or procure the materials himself or construct the purse; however, he orchestrated the process. He 'employs' Elizabeth to create the purse to gain his father's approval. In December, Whitbread advised her, 'My father is absolutely beyond praise in his present conduct, & I think will after all deserve his purse'.²⁷⁸ Elizabeth was not explicitly privy to the

Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 233-263.

²⁷⁶ Samuel Charles Whitbread, *Plain Mr Whitbread: Seven Centuries of a Bedfordshire Family*, (Dunstable: The Book Castle, 2007), 29.

²⁷⁷ BCRO, W1/6588, London, 27th November 1787.

²⁷⁸ BCRO, W1/6593, London, 12th December 1787.

negotiation, suggesting that Whitbread, not Elizabeth, felt pressure to promote the union. The object of the hand-produced purse is therefore important for the father-son relationship as a means for Whitbread prove his choice in wife. If their different statuses made Whitbread's father doubt their suitability, there was added importance for Whitbread to display his dominance in the relationship and likewise for Elizabeth to show she was willing to be submissive by producing the items at his request.

Whitbread also offered to procure items for Elizabeth's family. 'I must beg You to send me in Your next letter, a small lock of your hair. it is to constitute part of a ring for your Mother, which do not mention... I have hair eno' by me, not a single hair of those locks I have shall I part with'.²⁷⁹ This demonstrates the web of relationships and polite exchange of material items during this period. 'If Your Mother or You have any commissions send them to me'.²⁸⁰ In the same way that Elizabeth's needlework demonstrated her potential as a good wife and daughter-in-law, Whitbread's provision of gifts signified his role as a generous and caring provider to his mother-in-law. It also allowed him to demonstrate his wealth, which may have been a concern because of his socio-economic background. The exchange of gifts during the time of courtship was important for building and maintaining connections with the family network. The evidence demonstrates that Whitbread used gifts as a means to construct and display his masculine identity to family members.

Whitbread used consumption in a number of ways throughout the courtship process and had significant links to the domestic. Textual references allowed him to express his masculinity, present himself as a suitable partner and express his ideas on

²⁷⁹ BCRO, W1/6599, London, 27th December 1787.

²⁸⁰ BCRO, W1/6593, London, 12th December 1787.

his future domesticity to his fiancée. Material exchange allowed him to celebrate and display his upcoming domesticity. It also provided a means for him to forge bonds between his family network in relation to the new union.

2. Setting Up Home

Setting up the marital home was ‘part of the regular business of advanced courtship’.²⁸¹ Men would purchase and furnish the marital home before the marriage took place.²⁸² This appears to have been the case for both the middling-sort and elite groups. However, the process of setting up the marital home has not been studied in relation to men’s roles in domestic consumption in the same way as it has for women. Instead, female agency has been emphasised. ‘Honourable men, ripe for domestication, were ready with the sample book and their credit, but ladies’ preference carried the day. If a suitor was in earnest he had to show a willingness to spruce up the furnishings, and, if worthy, studied female preferences and promoted female comfort.’²⁸³ To gain insight into female agency in the home Vickery asks ‘how far male acceptance of female government at home shaped the furnishing and decorating of the interior?’²⁸⁴ Vickery’s study brought the subject of agency in the decoration of the first marital home into focus, as well as illuminating many details and relational aspects of the process. By examining male agency, this area of research can be built upon and expanded to progress historical understanding of how both sexes engaged with interior decoration.

²⁸¹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 88.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

An interesting question may now be: how far did male and female preferences shape interior decoration?

Vickery's findings suggest that men anticipated their fiancée's preferences when choosing and decorating their marital home. In an analysis of correspondence, she discovers that men were attentive to female wishes and used the opportunity of discussing the home to glean information about their suitor's preferences.²⁸⁵ In correspondence from 1787, between Whitbread and Elizabeth, there is a different dynamic.

I have at length hired one in Wimpole Street for four Years. It has I think as few objections as any hired house can have & those as trivial. Its situation is good for me, & I hope not unpleasant for You. the Rooms are good, two on each floor. Good offices. Coach houses, & stabling for five horses. the whole unfurnished. the furniture is bespoke & will be all positively in by the last week in January. If my taste is not the same as your's You must put up with it.²⁸⁶

Whitbread listed offices, coach house and stables as positive aspects of his choice, which were all predominantly masculine rather than feminine concerns. The consideration he put into his choice centred on aspects which would benefit himself rather than deferring to Elizabeth's preferences. His statement that she must put up with his taste may not have been meant sincerely, however, by the point having already rented the home and ordered the furniture there was an element of truth in it. Instead of describing details of the home to glean Elizabeth's preferences and defer to her

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 100.

²⁸⁶ BCRO, W1/6597, London, 22nd December 1787.

judgement, Whitbread simply explained his choices, which were clearly designed to benefit himself rather than her. In his words the house would be ‘good’ for him, but only ‘not unpleasant’ for her.

Evidence suggests that, in some instances, Whitbread may have considered Elizabeth’s taste. ‘The Moreen is for Window Curtains to the dining Room which is painted White, of this also I do not ask your decision as I know you admire Yellow.’²⁸⁷ Yellow is considered to be both a feminine and exotic colour. It is possible that he chose yellow as an act of feminising the room for Elizabeth’s sake.²⁸⁸ Interiors that were either too feminine or too masculine were culturally understood to represent an unnatural dynamic of power within the relationship. The wrong balance could suggest a tyrannical or subordinate spouse or effeminate husband. ‘A sensible maid had her eyes open when the furnishing of the interior was canvassed, since far more was at stake than the make of her breakfast set or the hang of her drapes.’²⁸⁹ This is an important assertion as it demonstrates that interior decoration had cultural connotations for gender relations and was seen as an indication of the power dynamic within the marriage to come. The same implications must be at stake for the male householder. Without Elizabeth’s letters it is difficult to determine whether Whitbread decorated the dining room in a way which anticipated Elizabeth’s taste or if he simply expressed his own preferences in a way which made her feel as though her taste was considered.

However, the correspondence itself sheds further light on the question of Whitbread’s personal agency in the decorative choices. ‘The White paper I enclose

²⁸⁷ BCRO, W1/6597, London, 22nd December 1787.

²⁸⁸ Vickery, “Wallpaper and Taste,” in *Behind Closed Doors*, 166-183.

²⁸⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 102.

You, is designed by me for the drawing Room, & Room adjoining which I think is denominated your dressing Room'.²⁹⁰ Whitbread himself chose the paper for both the drawing room and Elizabeth's dressing room. Both these rooms are usually considered feminine spaces and patterned paper in itself considered feminine-style decoration.²⁹¹ Additionally he stated that 'I send only those as I have vanity eno' to imagine you cannot disapprove them'.²⁹² This line hints that there were more with which he wished to furnish the home but did not want to leave open the possibility for Elizabeth to dismiss them if they were not to her taste. This shows Whitbread personally invested his own taste and considered how the home was decorated.

Elizabeth was not excluded from all decisions. Whitbread occasionally asked for her opinion on certain matters. On 22nd December, 1787, he wrote to her seeking her opinion:

but for the Cottons with which the upstairs & drawing Room floors are to be furnished I must ask your opinion. the one that Mary has pitched upon for the drawing Room I have cut a scallop in, if you approve it it shall be made up. For another I am determined to rely upon You alone. & do not call me tiresome creature for putting You to this trouble.²⁹³

His enquiry in this case does not concern furnishings he chose himself rather those chosen by his sister Mary. It is interesting that his inclusion of Elizabeth in some decisions did not allow her to contradict his own choices. The evidence suggests that

²⁹⁰ BCRO, W1/6597, London, 22nd December 1787.

²⁹¹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 166-183.

²⁹² BCRO, W1/6597, London, 22nd December 1787.

²⁹³ BCRO, W1/6597, London, 22nd December 1787.

Whitbread valued the opportunity to furnish and decorate his home and that he had his own opinions on how he wished it to be done. If Whitbread was the main motivator and decision maker in the decoration of their first marital home it is possible to analyse his particular choices as a reflection of his personality. The way in which he chose to decorate his domestic interior and his taste can be linked to his own outward expression of identity and reveals specific meanings that these choices held for him. This will be analysed later in the chapter.

An examination of Whitbread's courtship letters to Elizabeth suggests that the gendered power dynamic over the control of the selection of domestic furnishings was not as straightforward in this instance as might be assumed. Elizabeth's preferences do not appear to have been a motivating concern in the selection of the home or style in which it was decorated. Instead, Whitbread demonstrated a personal interest and desire to control the interior decoration of their first home. Of course, these unusually detailed letters offer a case study of just one elite couple. Yet Whitbread's dominance in this relationship seems to accord closely with the role of the elite patriarch. As the next section of this chapter will show, once married, elite men continued to control domestic resources and dominate decorative decisions.

3. The Management of Household Expenses

One area in which the men legitimised their authority within their marital relationships was the management of household expenses.²⁹⁴ Evidence of the management of day-to-day domestic expenses can be difficult to trace, as they were often too mundane to

²⁹⁴ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 24-63.

record in diaries and letters. Likewise, account books can often disguise how gendered relationships functioned behind the scenes.²⁹⁵ However, circumstances such as periods of conflict or change, created an opportunity for expenses to be discussed and therefore recorded in correspondence, as conflicts needed resolution and change needed readjustment. In such circumstances, it is possible to reconstruct the expectations of both parties and the practicalities of the relational dynamic involved. Their stated or implied expectations of domestic life can be used to construct what they considered to be normal and acceptable within their relationship. Likewise this can help us consider wider cultural expectations of normal and acceptable domestic management by considering the social pressures felt by either party of the presumptions they made about domestic marital life based on their own culturally based preconceived notions.

Thomas Dundas married 18 year-old Charlotte in 1764 at the age of 23. In 1780, sixteen years into their marriage, Charlotte and Thomas had a turbulent period adjusting to the management of family household expenses when Thomas lived separately from his wife and children. He was staying with his father in London while she remained in their home Aske Hall in Yorkshire. A difficult exchange of letters provides a significant insight into how the couple divided the control of the family's expenses. Only letters written by Charlotte Dundas to her husband survive, however we can gain some insight into his reaction from her comments.

The couple's initial expectations of how the family expenses would be managed in Thomas's absence is evident in the early letters. Charlotte wrote to Thomas about specific payments which she believed to be his responsibility. 'I shall enclose Wrights bill, & Smith the taylors; I thought I had sent Wrights among those I

²⁹⁵ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 108.

gave Gardener, of which I have since sent you the Abstract, but I have since found my mistake'.²⁹⁶ It appears that Charlotte collected the bills and managed the payments acquired in Yorkshire, however she sent individual requests to her husband for payment. Therefore her husband acted as overseer of all payments despite living away from the family unit. This set-up follows the pattern that Harvey argues was the norm for eighteenth-century middling-sort men. They maintained overall control of family finances, while delegating some household matters to their wives.²⁹⁷ But what was different for this elite couple was that this negotiation took place over a distance, between the family's multiple households. The Dundas letters also reveal the limits of oeconomy in practice, showing that some men at least were reluctant to engage in it.

Charlotte's letters show that the couple found it difficult to adjust to the process of establishing how to manage the family expenses in Thomas's absence. After a period of repeatedly asking her husband about financial matters and enquiring, seemingly with no response, about how to pay debts, Charlotte became frustrated with her husband's style of financial management. She told her husband, 'I have not been able to pay the Wages of Christmas last having been obliged to pay Coals, Malt & House keeping bill – I wish you would send me more Money or let me know how to...'²⁹⁸ The oeconomic management of the family fell to Thomas even if he was absent. However, his absence necessitated a degree of cooperation and communication between the couple to work effectively. The dynamic of cooperation was in the process of being established throughout the series of letters. This makes this particular episode

²⁹⁶ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.89, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 15th February 1780.

²⁹⁷ Harvey, *The Little Republic*.

²⁹⁸ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.100, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, 14th March 1780.

revealing for an examination into the expectations and practicalities of household management between husband and wife.

Eventually, Charlotte felt that her level of debt and poverty at home with the children in Yorkshire was unacceptable. She believed that her husband was neither taking the situation seriously nor cutting down on his own superfluous spending with his father in London.

I am affraid you don't think much of your own affairs for you gave me no answer to any of my queries, nor do you take any notice of my poverty for the £100 I got from Mr Chaloner it was all oweing before I got it.²⁹⁹

Her concerns were embedded in a cultural assumption that his masculine role meant that despite his absence the family finances were his duty. For instance, referring to her poverty she wrote 'your own affairs', rather than 'our' joint affairs. On a number of occasions, she hinted about his failure as a husband and father in his inability to fulfil his masculine role. She continually referred to the children and family when she lamented his irresponsible attitude to their expenses.

As our expenses must encrease as the Children encrease, not only in size but number too, in my opinion there is no time to be lost in making some regulation not only without but within Doors too to lessen our expenses & tho' we must cut off some little gratiations we shall procure ourselves comforts in proportion, for it is impossible to have a light Heart & a

²⁹⁹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.89, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 15th February 1780.

light Purse & a load of debts all at the same time, and the light Heart is so desirable a thing, that vanishes of all kinds I would sacrifice without hesitation_ but I am writing a Sermon not a letter.³⁰⁰

Charlotte appealed to her husband's sense of masculine authority by reminding him of his oeconomic and patriarchal duties as husband, father and head of household.

At one stage, she threatened Thomas with separate accounts. Although she may never have intended to carry out this threat, her use of this as a tactic suggests that she believed it might have been a worrying enough proposal for him to reconsider his actions.

if he [Lawrence Dundas] insists on your being in London I will too or have a separate maintenance... when I say separate maintenance I don't actually mean what I say but I mean that you should pay me a certain sum for myself and the children that I may calculate my expenses to it, that I may not be pinched for a guinies because Sir L is making you spend a hundred.³⁰¹

From Charlotte's perspective, we learn more about methods of legitimising masculine power within the home. Her reference to 'separate maintenance' was an indirect threat to Thomas. Stone argues that in the case of a marriage breakdown in this period,

³⁰⁰ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.86, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 8th February 1780.

³⁰¹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.88, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 13th February 1780.

propertied women had a 'separate maintenance' settled on them.³⁰² If she were in receipt of a separate maintenance his place as overseer of expenses would be compromised and she would gain more control over how to provide for the family. As the role of organiser and manager of expenses legitimised his authority this would threaten his position as patriarch.

In another letter she wrote, 'I now see that half the People here must instantly be starving if we don't employ them, & if we do, we must starve ourself'.³⁰³ Charlotte hinted at her husband's failure as head of household again. This time in relation to the wider patriarchal duty of managing the household servants. The marriage was in crisis because of Thomas's perceived failure to manage their expenses in a way which Charlotte approved.

Regardless of Charlotte's feelings about Thomas's ability to fulfil his masculine role as head of household she had no authority to usurp him. The suggestion was a rhetorical device aimed at persuading him to act more satisfactorily. Charlotte had no recourse other than persuasion. This case can be considered in the context of Tadmor's scholarship on the household family.³⁰⁴ She argues that 'family' in eighteenth-century middling-sorts households was a flexible term which referred to a unit living within one household, regardless of blood relationships. However, in this case, the male householder was not living within the household unit and this would have been the case fairly frequently in elite families. Despite this, Thomas was still

³⁰² Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

³⁰³ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.89, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 15th February 1780.

³⁰⁴ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 27.

considered the head of that particular unit, and his wife continued to defer to his authority when dealing with ‘family’ expenses. Likewise, it is clear that his father continued to have his authority deferred to as a type of head of household, or patriarchal figure, despite not living within the household unit. This suggests that middling and elite families created different versions of the household family. The elite version was a household that was stretched over geographical distance rather than being concentrated into one particular dwelling. Elite families with multiple homes, who often lived separately, could not have viewed the family unit in the same terms that Tadmor identifies among middling-sorts.

The fact that Dundas ignored his wife’s pleas in favour of luxurious spending in London suggests that he felt his masculinity was not fully confirmed through the management of family expenses. In this case, falling into debt in the mundane day-to-day expenses with his family was less of a threat to his masculine identity than scaling back on his conspicuous consumption in town. To get his attention Charlotte focused her budgeting suggestions on the expenses which would affect him most. It is interesting therefore that the area which she targeted was their horses. She listed all of the expenses involved in owning horses.³⁰⁵ ‘I am sorry to say that I see no plan that can be follow’d with any good effect, but to give up Horses & different things in which we have hitherto had amusement, & form our minds to be content on smaller Scale’.³⁰⁶ To hit home, once she had established that he did not feel that successful oeconomy was important for the masculinity which he aspired to, Charlotte eventually attacked, or

³⁰⁵ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.98, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 7th March 1780.

³⁰⁶ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.86, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Upleatham, 8th February 1780.

threatened to attack the type of masculinity which he did hold dear - his conspicuous consumption.

Charlotte attempted to rouse a feeling of patriarchal responsibility in Thomas by referencing family and appealing to the expectation that he should practise oeconomy. This was an alternative method for legitimising his authority to the competitive expenditure he apparently preferred to engage in while being in London, amongst his peers. This suggests that while oeconomy was culturally considered to be an area in which men could legitimise their patriarchal authority and therefore confirm their masculine status, not all men felt the need to carry this out in practice. The episode also suggests that in practice there were multiple factors influencing masculinity and cultural expectations often conflicted with one another. In this case the demands of being a son were apparently in conflict with those of being a husband.

4. Domestic Furnishing: A Gendered Prerogative?

Masculine authority was not only confirmed or denied through the management of household expenses but through the management of the physical environment of the home as well. The case studies examined here demonstrate that masculine status was legitimised through the role of organiser of the estate, household and domestic interior. This included decisions about the objects and architecture involved with the home and the process of decoration. It can be seen in the way that men dealt with the professionals involved in decorating, or in the way they cooperated with their wives and even in the cases when women were in charge of the decoration. Both Harvey and Vickery argue that men held the overall control of domestic finances but there was some room for negotiation. Vickery also shows that accounting practices varied from

family to family, with some women taking a more circumscribed role than others.³⁰⁷ According to Cohen, it was only in the late nineteenth century that women wrested the control of the domestic interior from men.³⁰⁸ While recent studies emphasise the extent to which domestic decoration was a matter for marital negotiation, the evidence presented here suggests that although negotiation often did take place, the elite men were expected to take a lead. Of course there were exceptions and in some circumstances women had to take a more extensive role, as will be discussed later on in this section. This may have been in part because the refurbishment of a countryseat was a substantial enterprise that involved the large-scale management of many workers. All the men in the case studies were in close contact with the professionals involved in decorating or refurbishing their homes. They were interested in the details and progress of the works. Whitbread and Lee Antonie actively participated in the process of the decoration of their homes. The Duke of Buccleuch took a similar position as did the Earl of Breadalbane. Buccleuch worked closely with his architect William Stark in designing works happening at Bowhill.³⁰⁹ Stark drew up sketches of Buccleuch's designs and sent them to him for feedback and reconsideration. Equally, Rathbone took an active role with his workers, traveling to Liverpool to oversee them. Dundas also took an active role in instructing workers. In 1757, Lawrence Dundas and his close advisor, Andrew Longmoor discussed improvements at great length.³¹⁰ The men legitimised their authority through the organisation of household improvements. It was their ability to direct and control those involved in creating the home as well as

³⁰⁷ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 83. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 119.

³⁰⁸ Cohen, *Household Gods*, 90.

³⁰⁹ GD224/30/15/3, William Stark to Buccleuch, Edinburgh, 21st April 1812.

³¹⁰ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.2a, Andrew Longmoor to Sir Lawrence Dundas, Castlecary, 20th June 1757.

dictating the taste (and therefore the public identity) for those living in the home, which confirmed the patriarchal status of the head of household. As occurred with the management of the household expenses, the men legitimised their authority through the act of overseeing and controlling the details of the process rather than being involved on a macro level, for instance by funding the project.

Whitbread and Lee Antonie had an active role in instructing the works done at Southill and Dover Street, Whitbread's London home, and Colworth. For instance, the servant Robert Isherwood wrote to Whitbread that the 'mahogany pedestals come from town I want to know where they are to stand.'³¹¹ Isherwood also wrote 'Sir agreeable to the orders I received from you on Sunday the jobs you mentioned shall be attended to.'³¹² Another servant, John Hill explained that 'tomorrow I shall see W. Tathem who has informed me he has some ideas for me also'. He also assured him that 'after seeing him I shall write to you on the subject of their ideas before I put any of them in execution'.³¹³ Hill later sent the message that 'Sir agreeable to your advice I send the following report of the progress of the works at Dover Street', followed by a detailed list of the work which was being carried out there.³¹⁴ The evidence suggests that Whitbread was involved with small details of the improvements. He received updates on the work that was carried out and gave orders expressing his particular wishes. Whitbread appears to have assumed this active role in the improvements as part of the performance of his masculine role as household manager. This is one type of masculine performance that Harvey does not discuss in her article about oeconomy.

³¹¹ BCRO, W1/3541, Isherwood to Whitbread.

³¹² BCRO, W1/3524, Isherwood to Whitbread, Southill, 1st August 1814.

³¹³ BCRO, W1/3538, John Hill to Whitbread, 23rd July 1811.

³¹⁴ BCRO, W1/3539, John Hill to Whitbread, 1811.

He oversaw the improvements acting as the arbiter of taste. This can be seen as a way for him to exercise his knowledge and authority as household manager. The relationship that men had with their workers was an extension of their patriarchal relationships with their family dependents. This can be seen in the similarities of the relationships in terms of power dynamics.

Lee Antonie also seems to have had an active and engaged role managing the workers at Colworth. The correspondence shows Lee Antonie took more direction from the architects than Whitbread. Whitbread was more forceful in his choices and was more involved in the direction of the workers than Lee Antonie. Lee Antonie was still interested and involved, although he may have been less confident in his choices or less interested. Additionally it may have reflected the dynamic of their friendship that Whitbread took a more advisory role. The differences between the men highlight the personal and individual nature of the relationships. The engraver, Samuel Reynolds (1773-1835), who was involved with the refurbishment of Southill and Colworth wrote to Lee Antonie that he did ‘not like the Plan you sent, I think it much too formal, and not at all suited to the Place, and were it executed I am sure you would not approve it. From the recollection I have of the ground I think more might be done with it, and at less expense than the Plan gives me some idea of’.³¹⁵ He was not afraid to explain to Lee Antonie that he disagreed with his plans. He advised an option he believed to be more appropriate. Lee Antonie attempted to create a plan in the first place demonstrating his active role in the decorative process and the performance his masculine role as household manager. The flexibility of their relationship is highlighted in the exchange involved in coming to a final course of action.

³¹⁵ BCRO, UN364, Reynolds to Lee Antonie, 1808/1809.

Lee Antonie did not feel that directing the workers on specific details was necessary to his status. However, he remained closely involved in the process and aware of the details. This demonstrates that despite his lack of interest in the minutia of the decoration, was still necessary for his masculine authority to have the ultimate control over the process. In 1810, for instance, whilst working on Colworth, Reynolds had, ‘several complaints to make against the negligence and occasional interference of the workmen and of some of your servants who ought to know better’. However, he was unable to take any action without asking Lee Antonie’s permission. ‘His intention to remonstrate with them strictly if that has not had the desired effect he will lay a formal complaint before you’.³¹⁶ Likewise, Lee Antonie oversaw the financial details of the works. There are numerous examples, demonstrating Lee Antonie’s keen attention to costs involved in domestic improvements. ‘Sir, it is my intention to be in London on Thursday and on Friday will wait on you with a general statement of the accounts.’³¹⁷

The evidence indicates that the men valued their role as organiser of the domestic decoration process. Men used the organisation process and their position as organiser to assert the broader position of patriarch. The men’s communication with their workers echoed the patriarchal system of support. This included the position of economic and moral overseer of the works, and patron of the workers. This echoed the moral and economic role men played as paterfamilias especially for elite men who morally and economically provider for wife, children, household unit and larger family.

³¹⁶ BCRO, UN349, 26th July 1810.

³¹⁷ BCRO, UN388, William Lee Antonie, Albamantle Street, London 5th August 1813, Samuel Reynolds, Colworth, 17th August 1813.

There is no available evidence of the involvement in domestic improvements of Lee Antonie's mistress, Rosalie Du Thé. Although lack of evidence does not necessarily mean that she was not involved, the fact the Lee Antonie appears to have taken such an active role in the decoration and it formed such a central part of his personal friendships suggests that he was a key player.

It was not only the process of furnishing and refurbishing their homes, which the men closely oversaw. The homes, in particular the country home, required constant maintenance. Annual work on the homes and gardens was carried out at all of the homes seasonally.³¹⁸ During Thomas Dundas' time in London, Charlotte brought up her involvement in closing-up the home for the winter. Their correspondence during this period suggests that she was again hinting at his neglect of his masculine role.³¹⁹ Likewise, after her husband's death Hannah Mary Rathbone mentioned her involvement in this process to her son, the new head of the family.³²⁰

Whitbread's wife, Lady Elizabeth's involvement in certain aspects of the alterations at Southill was mentioned in some of the letters. In a list of jobs needing to be done at Southill, which stated, 'Bedrooms to prepare for the two boys, Lady Elizabeth will mention in hand. Masquerade things to move that room will be wanted for bedrooms, Lady Elizabeth will mention'.³²¹ Likewise, in a letter to Lee Antonie Whitbread wrote 'Reynolds went out of town this morning to attend to your affairs

³¹⁸ For a selection of examples see: BCRO, UN370, Mr Reynolds to Lee Antonie, 1810. GD224/209/4, Buccleuch, 1770. NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.2a, Longmoor to Dundas, 1757.

³¹⁹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.85, Charlotte to Thomas Dundas, 1780.

³²⁰ ULA, V.1.15, Hannah Mary Rathbone to William Rathbone V.

³²¹ BCRO, W1/3519, list of jobs to be done by Reynolds, Southill, 1812.

and arrange matters at Colworth. Much as I wanted his presence for two or three days more I would not interfere to stop him. But you would do me and Lady Elizabeth a signal favour if you would confirm to send him back to us before the closure of the work. We shall not detain him more than a very few days but Lady Elizabeth cannot get into her rooms until ... has arranged them for her and do not know his plans.'³²² He also wrote, 'I have been at work for Lady Elizabeth and have been making two pedestals for the book cases in the gallery by the order of Mr. Reynolds; I have likewise been altering and repairing her ladyships birdcages and getting out partitions for some drawers in the bedroom'.³²³ The infrequency with which she was mentioned, however, and the minor nature of the things with which she was involved suggests that under usual circumstances men took the lead in this area.

The process of managing the household was unique for elite couples, as they often owned multiple homes or spent periods traveling separately. Managing multiple properties required more cooperation between spouses. Whilst Lawrence Dundas was traveling away in Bremen he corresponded with his wife, Peggie on a very regular basis about the works which were taking place on two of their homes Moor Park in England and Kerse in Scotland. Home improvements were a staple topic in the letters between the couple. A large amount of their letters requested updates or gave instructions. He encouraged her to write more often about the improvements. 'It would be great pleasure to me to hear how things are going on which if you will be so good as to write me once a week I shall be greatly obliged to you'.³²⁴

³²² BCRO, UN463, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, 14th January 1812.

³²³ BCRO, 3524, R Isherwood to Whitbread, Southill, 1st August 1814.

³²⁴ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.10a Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Bremen, 4th October 1760.

I shall be very happy to hear from you as often as you can find time to writ me, and pray when you get to Kerse let me know everything about the Kerse and what you do about the house. I would wish to have the dinning room lined with timber in place of paper for I think a room for eating should be wainscoted in place of paper.³²⁵

The letters suggest that Peggie Dundas dealt closely with the workers during this period. She assisted the communication between Dundas and the workers involved in the improvements, delivering information both ways. Although she showed interest in the detail and prerogative in the design, if Dundas had been present, he may have dealt with the workers and with many more of the mundane details directly.

When does Moir propose to finish the dining room. I hope the wood is all prepared and well seasoned. I am glad Mr. Addison has undertaken to provide you with Clinkers... What Pictures you have to spare at Kerse you may order for your house at Edinburgh which I hope you have given orders to fit up in a Plain way so as we may lodge in when passing. I hope soon to receive Bowie's plan.³²⁶

He was also cooperating with another female householder, Mrs Crawford. She was a senior servant. She appears to have shared the responsibilities of managing and communicating the process with Peggie.

I hope you will give orders about everything concerning your house in Hill Street before you go to Scotland and about the Plate as I agreed upon before I left London...I gave Mrs Craufurd the section of the room

³²⁵ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.7a Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Rotterdam, 26th June 1760.

³²⁶ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.11, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Bremen, 11th October 1760.

she is to write about the Tapestry and to order a Turkey Carpet that will cover the whole room.³²⁷

He called Hill Street and Kerse Peggie's house on a couple of occasions, such as the two above quotes. This is possibly a way of encouraging her or showing her that he valued her input on the homes. He appreciated her opinion, often requesting her ideas as well as giving his own. Dundas wrote, 'I should be also glad to know how you like the alterations made on the house particularly the little room going to your own bedchamber, and the dinning room, and if the enlarging vestibule is approved of'.³²⁸ Dundas, wrote that he approved when his wife had altered an order he had made for chairs. This demonstrates that in practice this couple did cooperate. Peggie had agency and occasionally the final say in the details.

I approve very much of what you have done in ordering Nielson to alter my commission about the chairs my orders to him was providing you thought it proper, and I directed him to write and know what you thought best, so do as you please³²⁹

The couple's roles in the decoration process were not clearly divided along gender lines. Peggie assisted her husband in all areas of improvement including his offices. Dundas stated that he was satisfied with the plan of the new offices that she sent him. He went on to say that she might want to add a number of things to the plan and implied the two of them had already been deep in discussion about the progress of

³²⁷ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.7a, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Rotterdam, 26th June 1760.

³²⁸ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.11, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Bremen, 11th October, 1760.

³²⁹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2, 7th letter in bundle, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Nice, 21st January 1772.

works. The tone of their discussion suggests that Peggie had a contributory role in the design and logistics of the offices and took some of the initiative herself rather than only following her husband's instructions. This even included areas which may not have been considered feminine spaces.

so far in answer to yours of the 16th that of the 28 brought me the plan of the new offices. I am very well satisfied with the alterations, the only thing I think you want is a Kitchen or Place for the work people dressing their victuals... Contrive the best way you can... Perhaps you have some other place in view which let me know.³³⁰

Although Peggie was involved, Dundas was in charge. He constantly wrote 'I wish' in an instructive tone. This suggests that although Peggie was involved, Lawrence's desires were the main concern. Although she had some control, made clear in common remarks such as, 'let me know what you have done furnishing your house in Edinburgh', he also gave her very specific directions about the style, manner and cost in which he wished she should execute the task.³³¹ He also followed this by giving her detailed instructions about both the specifics and the generalities. Continuing with specifics, he wrote, 'I would have you do it in Plain Genteel Taste as neat as possible but not too expensive.'³³² Therefore although he flattered her by making her feel that her involvement was important, she did not have the same amount of input as he did.

³³⁰ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.11, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Bremen, 11th October, 1760.

³³¹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.13, Lawrence Dundas, to Peggie, Bremen, 8th November, 1760.

³³² NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.13, Lawrence Dundas, to Peggie, Bremen, 8th November, 1760.

Their relationship functioned in a similar way to the relationship between Whitbread and Reynolds. Peggie had input and a degree of control however she fitted into a patriarchal structure where Dundas had the authority in his role of organiser.

In order to understand how this dynamic functioned it is important to understand how it would have worked if Dundas had been present to conduct the improvements and communicate with the workers himself. There is another series of letters from this couple which may shed light on these circumstances. In this series, Lawrence was away from the family home, however he was on-site at Aske Hall where the improvements were taking place while his wife remained in Moor Park.

Even when Lawrence was present while work was in progress, he drew on his wife for assistance. In the same way as he did while in Bremen, he acted as manager and delegator of the improvements and enlisted Peggie's help. He took the role of arbiter of taste, organiser and moral leader in the process of refurbishment. However, he relied on his wife's assistance, opinions, cooperation as he delegated responsibilities to her.

Lawrence travelled to Aske Hall to oversee the building work which was in progress there. Peggie remained in their home, Moor Park. He wrote to her regularly requesting certain furniture and complaining of the discomfort he felt without the usual domestic material comforts and conveniences of Moor Park. He attributed this discomfort partly to Peggie's absence stating that 'it is impossible to think the difference one finds in coming from Moor Park where you have everything in such

order to a place where things are not'.³³³ He claimed that it was Peggie that had everything in order.

Dundas also enlisted his wife to assist in his efforts to change his uncomfortable circumstances at Aske Hall. He continued in the same letter, 'but we must do the best we can, I wish you could send me a good writing table with a drawer to pull out such as the one I had at Kerse and that I had at Appscourt for I have not the Smallest thing to keep papers or money'.³³⁴

He also used asked Peggie to pass on his messages to the domestic workers and servants, rather than communicating with them himself:

And tell Porter to order me such another Press for keeping papers as the one in Hill Street to be sent here when Ready by Harry Foot when ready, he will send it to Stockton we want allmost everything, a Baker must be sent down for I am ashamed of our Bread, Groceries and fine Sugar we want much but Mrs Brown says you have sent all these and that they will be here Wednesday I wish they were come³³⁵

He believed that the prerogative of organising and leading the efforts to materially improve his situation at Aske Hall fell to his wife. This is a responsibility Charlotte Dundas also appears to have practiced, with her husband Thomas. She wrote to Thomas in London, telling him that 'I am also sending up a good many heavy things

³³³ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.27, Lawrence Dundas to Lady Dundas, Aske Hall, 24th July 1763.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

as we have so good an opportunity and it is so expensive to send the loads we have all by the wagon. I hope they will arrive safe.³³⁶

The items which Lawrence requested Peggie to send to Aske Hall are interesting as they reveal the kinds of items which Lawrence felt were needed for his own domestic comfort. They have both male and female connotations.³³⁷ In one letter he requested Peggie to send a number of items, listed below, as well as asking for her to organise someone to sort out the books and furniture at two of their other houses, Moor Park and Arlington Street.

I beg you may bring down with you the Castors and things wanting for the Plate here, and buy some sort of pretty China either bow or Chelsea for a desert, send likeways some desert knives forks and spoons, for we have none they have been forgot...The writing Table and Bulky things may be sent by Stockton any thing not Bulky may be sent by the waggon...P:S: please to send us down a Dozen walking Sticks and a Couple of the Brass sort of rings such as we saw at the Dutchess of Portlands, to keep them in a Corner³³⁸

He used the adjective pretty to describe the china. He was not merely listing objects which he believed to be required for a house to operate efficiently, he was requesting items which he himself found visually appealing. He also specified the manufacturer both British. This shows more than just a passing interest on Lawrence's part of this

³³⁶ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.99, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas Dundas, London, 12th March 1780.

³³⁷ McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living," 433-462. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 241. Weatherill, "A Possession of One's Own."

³³⁸ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.29, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, 4th August 1763.

‘effeminate’ object. He also asked in another letter for her to ‘bring the silver writing stand’ when she came to Aske Hall.³³⁹ This object as it was requested alone and it is requested in a number of letters, appears to have been more personal to him, and more directly relevant to his comfort and necessity.

The relationship between Lawrence and Peggie Dundas differed from many of the other couples in the manner in which they shared responsibility for the domestic improvements. Peggie had a more active role than any of the other wives. She was involved in the logistics of organisation, she fulfilled requests given by her husband and her opinions about the works was requested and listened to. However, Lawrence retained the role of organiser of the domestic improvements. He managed the overall running of the operation, he delegated tasks to his wife, and he had the final authority over the decisions.

For the majority of the men, taking a lead role in the domestic refurbishment of their multiple types of homes was an important method of legitimising their authority. For most of the men in this study, from the moment of marriage and assumption of the role of householder or patriarch, the men dominated interior decoration. However, in certain circumstances gender roles needed to be readjusted and adapted to a new context. In the case of Peggie and Lawrence Dundas, for instance, Lawrence’s travels away from the home meant that Peggie was required to act as his intermediary when the male head of her household was absent. To establish the ways in which domestic decoration was important to masculinity it is important to consider how it was approached when the male householder was more permanently absent.

³³⁹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.30, Lawrence Dundas, to Peggie, Aske hall, 7th August 1763.

The importance of the husband's role is made very clear in the words of Hannah Mary Rathbone. According to the letter from Hannah Mary quoted at the start of the chapter, she struggled to manage the refurbishment without her husband's guidance and found it hard to live up to what she believed were her husband's intentions for the house.³⁴⁰ She struggled with the idea of omitting what her husband had 'so tenderly added',³⁴¹ suggesting that he had been in charge of the decisions about the previous improvements. She faced a moral dilemma as to whether she should alter his choices to make the house what she believed was more appropriate for her son, or leave it in the state her husband had consciously constructed it. She felt that this decision was a considerable moral burden. His job as patriarch was to oversee and control morality and the nature of his family's spending and that also put him in the position of being a moral judge of cultural objects and artefacts of all kinds. Mary confirms this later in the letter. She wrote,

that it should be done as I would like – “let her, said he, have her outward habitation to her mind”, looking at me with an expression of indescribable affection which clearly shewed he knew, how desolate, how widowed all would be within³⁴²

The patriarch knew the moral value of objects. It was his duty to understand and guide his family in their consumption. He was in the position to allow or deny his family's consumption based on his judgment. In this case Mary believed her husband had based his decision on his affection for her, despite his knowledge that this act of consumption was inappropriate. This example shows us the complexity that could be involved in

³⁴⁰ ULA, V.1.16, Hannah Mary Rathbone to William Rathbone V, 1812.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

decorative decisions. Rathbone was ultimately in charge of the process, but bore his wife's wishes in mind, his emotional attachment to her causing him to relent and allow a more showy display than he would otherwise think suitable. The fact that this family found these choices particularly fraught was probably in part related to their Quaker religion which encouraged modesty in outward display, something that could be hard to reconcile in an upwardly mobile elite family.

The role of patriarch was to control the household and all that encompassed including the money, the people and the house. If his family changed the home this impacted upon his legacy and success as a moral guide to his family. If they changed it in a manner which suggested he had not taught his son the same moral values he held, this would reflect negatively on his reputation. Mary continued to feel guilt for her consumption as a window, believing it damaged her husband's reputation, in particular, his patriarchal duty as a provider.

I have felt pain and remorse for having, even when it was inadvertently, spent money in ornament, for I know that my revered Husband, preferred simplicity upon a principle of comprehensive benevolence,³⁴³

The use of the word 'revered' shows that she was talking about her husband's public identity rather than her own private impression of him. The Quaker community had strong community networks and members needed to answer for their conduct to the local Quaker meeting.³⁴⁴ For a Quaker their reputation was not only scrutinised in civic society but also by their peers in the religious community, not following Quaker

³⁴³ ULA, V.1.16, Hannah Mary Rathbone to William Rathbone V, 1812.

³⁴⁴ Walvin, "Quakers, Business and Morality."

standards could bring discredit and shame to the whole community.³⁴⁵ For Hannah Mary who wished for herself and the family to stay in the community this raised the stakes. Hannah Mary directly linked her point to his role as patriarch by following with the sentence: ‘How great how inexplicably great has been the loss to you of such a Parent!’³⁴⁶ Rathbone IV valued his patriarchal duty over luxury consumption.

Even when a woman in these case studies was the main organiser of the interior decoration of the family home it was done with the understanding that it was closely linked to the masculine status of the male householder. Men asserted their masculinity by taking control of the household. It was manifested through the organisational role during construction, refurbishment and maintenance and the control over the style and decoration their houses, through which they outwardly displayed their identity. Women of the household took varying roles in the decoration, however they remained aware of the fact that the domestic environment represented the identity of the male householder. In the case of Hannah Mary Rathbone, acting as a widow, she felt her actions represented both the deceased male householder and his male heir.

5. Gendered Spaces and Objects in the Home

By looking within the marital home, and examining the gendered meanings of objects and spaces, more insight can be gained about gender and domestic consumption. Were the gender roles within the home rigid? Or by looking at material culture is it possible to see more fluidity in the gendered dynamics of power between husband and wife? Much of the discussion about gender and domestic objects has focused on the idea of

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ ULA, V.1.16, Hannah Mary Rathbone to William Rathbone V, 1812.

a gendered division of space within homes, for example the chapter ‘Subdividing Inside Spaces’, in McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*.³⁴⁷ Both public and private rooms have been assigned gendered meanings in accordance with the way they were used.³⁴⁸ This is a useful concept to employ in attempting to understand the significance of different objects around the home, both in public and in private arenas. By analysing the inventories for men’s homes it is possible to examine the influence of the men and their wives in this negotiation of the domestic space. As discussed in the introduction, these sources do have their limitations, but read carefully they can be used to explore the extent to which there was a clear demarcation of space between husband and wife, how far these divisions followed what were thought to have been the conventional separations of the sexes in this period, and to what extent certain objects that have been associated with masculinity and femininity were deployed to create these identities. Detailed inventories of Colworth and Southill were taken in 1816 after the deaths of Whitbread and Lee Antonie and substantial inventories also survive from the Scottish families. This allows analysis of gendered spaces in practice through interior decoration.

During this period, historians have argued that domestic space became more defined in terms of use, in particular gendered public and private uses. This change occurred in the country houses of gentry and aristocracy. They included ‘the introduction of small rooms for withdrawal and solitude’, room names began to reflect their purposes more specifically and the uses of public rooms such as drawing and dining rooms became more standardised.³⁴⁹ The purposes, names and locations of

³⁴⁷ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*, 212-268.

³⁴⁸ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 233. Flather, *Gender and Space*.

³⁴⁹ Vickery, “An Englishman’s Home is his Castle?,” 148.

rooms within the home continued to evolve throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the end of the eighteenth century, bedrooms were increasingly located on the first floor instead of the ground floor. This allowed for easier access to the garden from the public rooms. Bedrooms and the attached dressing rooms became more private. The dressing rooms were usually furnished as sitting rooms, however they tended to be private rooms and guests were not usually received in them. The family apartments did continue to receive guests although no longer in the dressing room, rather in a room attached to the female bedroom called the woman's 'room', 'sitting room' or 'boudoir'. The male householder received guests in his study, dressing room and bedroom, which were often adjacent parts of his apartment.³⁵⁰ The public rooms such as the dining room, drawing room, library and breakfast room also had gendered uses. The drawing and dining rooms were particularly contrasted as dinner remained a formal event in the home. After dinner, women would withdraw to the drawing room and men would continue to drink in the dining room, creating the gendered separation of the rooms according to their functions.³⁵¹ The library and breakfast rooms provided a sitting room environment by the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Breakfast parties were given here for mixed company and homosocial groups.³⁵² This section of the chapter will look at how far it is possible to identify gendered spaces from the available evidence for the case study families, and the extent to which this allows us to see masculine taste.

By examining gendered spaces and the items on display in these areas in the context of 'a sex in things' it is possible to examine both how gendered power relations

³⁵⁰ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 231.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 232-4.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 234, 239.

played out through the material culture of the home, and whether the gendered meanings of objects and spaces was more fluid in these cases than has been previously assumed by historians.³⁵³ Vickery argues that contemporaries took for granted that objects had particular gendered meanings in eighteenth-century households.³⁵⁴ As Vickery has recently pointed out, while certain kinds of furniture began to be labelled as male or female in sale catalogues in the eighteenth century, it took much longer for these associations to be used more widely in everyday life.³⁵⁵ She suggests that goods were understood as gendered more broadly. In particular there was a strong association between women and tea drinking paraphernalia and also ornamental china.³⁵⁶ While she acknowledges that men had an investment in china too (often showy, status china rather than mundane everyday purchases) this is not explored in detail.³⁵⁷ The final section of this chapter considers how far goods associated with men could be found in the elite homes in this study, and examines men's purchases of chinaware in detail. The decoration of rooms associated with people of different sexes appear from the Colworth inventory to have been remarkably similar in style. The supposedly feminine Boudoir contains very similar furnishings to the supposedly masculine library, having a number of objects in common, including two elegant and handsome china cupboards glazed in satin wood, and two beautiful stands (with handsome china dishes).³⁵⁸ The Boudoir and the New Dining room also contained similar Dutch paintings.³⁵⁹ The

³²² Vickery, "A sex in things?," in *Behind Closed Doors*, 257-290.

³²³ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 279-287.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 271-278.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 278-279.

³⁵⁸ PRO, C114/176, Colworth Inventory, 1816.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

Boudoir held objects one might associate with masculinity such as a gilt ornamental inkstand.³⁶⁰ The drawing room and library shared the same handsome blue and gilt chairs with cane seats.³⁶¹ The drawing room, much like the pink study and library, contained valuable timepieces.³⁶² This could suggest that in this case the general decoration of Colworth was not particularly gender driven. This is interesting in itself as it suggests that the influence of gender on interior decoration was flexible. Vickery suggests that ‘masculinity was allied with the discipline of formal grandeur, while rooms associated with femininity were allowed more informality in behaviour and thus more experiment in ornamentation.’³⁶³ However this does not seem to apply to either of the case studies examined here as the gendered spaces were relatively similar in style and ornamentation was present in spaces that were considered masculine domains.

There appears to be slightly more variation in Southill between the feminine and masculine public areas than at Colworth. The drawing room appears more decorative in style than the dining room. For instance, the drawing room contained a long list of china, including antique china, three rosewood pier tables with shelves for china on top decorated with brass moulding and two large Japan china jars on gilt plinths.³⁶⁴ The dining room lists a number of ‘oriental’ items, mahogany furniture and works of art but relatively few decorative objects. It could be argued that as the drawing room was more lavishly furnished than the dining room this reflected the

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 303.

³⁶⁴ BCRO.130, Southill Inventory, 1816.

feminine nature of the room and it was the more extravagant female taste that influenced its style. Overall, it does not appear that these two houses could be accurately described in terms of the gendered division of spaces and objects alone. The evidence suggests there was more fluidity in the way these men interpreted the 'sex of things' than historians have sometimes suggested. The contents of the majority of the rooms analysed with either feminine or masculine purposes, appear to have mixed objects and styles with specific gendered meanings. This may suggest that objects which have been considered in terms of their gendered meanings may have held alternative cultural meanings compatible with the identities of these men. The Southill inventory of 1816 is more explicit in naming the private rooms than that of Colworth conducted in the same year, which means that we can directly link the use of rooms to male and female household members. It lists Whitbread's sitting room, bedroom and dressing room and the same for Lady Whitbread. The decorative items on display in Whitbread's sitting room were an interesting mixture of styles. An analysis of a room that belonged to him explicitly, which held public connotations, shows his taste and his use of material objects for outward display. Along with a large number of writing accoutrements, there was 'An ancient earthen jug' and 'a small statue of Faunus in marble'. Coltman argues that classical objects such as these were 'conceptualized as part of the furniture of the educated mind'.³⁶⁵ Classical items appealed to the educated and elite man, who had been to Italy on the Grand Tour and had an education rooted in classical language and history. By the 1760s, the Grand Tour comprised an increasingly common itinerary, which emphasised an education in

³⁶⁵ Coltman, *Classical Sculpture*, 192.

antiquities and the cultivation of connoisseurship.³⁶⁶ The elite masculine ability to recognise and appreciate classic and antique objects acquired through a privileged education placed the commodification of antiquity within the territory of the ‘man of taste’.³⁶⁷ Producers such as Wedgwood and Matthew Boulton targeted masculine custom by aligning taste with connoisseurship, demonstrating that this was a significant factor in men’s attraction to such objects.³⁶⁸ The excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum created an interest among ceramic collectors to acquire genuine ancient wares.³⁶⁹ In 1767, Wedgwood designed a range in imitation of black basalt, linking with a contemporary interest in volcanoes and naturalism.³⁷⁰ The convention that classical designs epitomised the masculine consumer of sophisticated taste, whereas oriental patterns were considered feminine and unrefined, was contradicted in practice by elite patronage of both.³⁷¹

Between 1760 and 1830 there were plenty of European manufacturers producing classically inspired ornamental ceramics. However, the Buccleuch inventories do not list any furnishings of this style. The ornamental ceramics owned

³⁶⁶ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997), 206-8.

³⁶⁷ Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 204.

³⁶⁸ Jones, “The Fashion Manipulators,” 198-226.

³⁶⁹ Milo Keynes, “The Portland Vase: Sir William Hamilton, Josiah Wedgwood and the Darwins,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 52 (1998): 237-259. Michael Vickers, “Value and Simplicity: Eighteenth Century Taste and the Study of Greek Vases,” *Past and Present* 116 (August 1987): 98-137.

³⁷⁰ Uwe Quilitzsch, *Wedgwood, Klassizistische Keramik in den Gärten der Aufklärung* (Hamburg: L&H Verlag, 1997), 14.

³⁷¹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 20.

by Buccleuch were Chinese and Japanese in origin and appear to be antique. They included blue-and-white china, colourful jars and bottles, Japanese dishes and *blanc-de-chine* figures.³⁷² The duke's Grand Tour, starting in 1764, did not conform to the classic route established in the 1760s. The duke spent the first eighteen months in Toulouse with his tutor Adam Smith. In 1765, they then travelled to Geneva for two months before moving to Paris for the rest of their trip.³⁷³ Buccleuch did not travel to Rome or Pompeii and was not encouraged to become a connoisseur of classical antiques. Rosemary Sweet argues that by the early-nineteenth century the British attitude to Italy had changed. Modernity and improvement in British cities meant they began to be associated with progress in contrast to Italy's perception as old.³⁷⁴ Likewise, travel and British ceramics began to be more affordable reducing their appeal to aristocracy such as Buccleuch.³⁷⁵ Buccleuch's lack of interest in the fashionable, classically-inspired ceramics, can be viewed in the context of changing fashions.

The Dalkeith inventories suggest that Buccleuch's oriental-porcelain displays were not limited to smaller apartments and private spaces associated with women, as has often been suggested. The 1812 and 1819 inventories of Dalkeith House describe eighteen china jars on the mantelpiece and bookshelves in the library, a room heavily

³⁷² NAS, GD224, Buccleuch Family and Estate Papers, 1745-1830.

³⁷³ Brian Bonnyman, "Agricultural Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Third Duke of Buccleuch, William Keir and the Buccleuch Estates, 1751-1812" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2004), 74.

³⁷⁴ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 269.

³⁷⁵ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 270-272.

associated with masculine space.³⁷⁶ The anteroom off the library contained six china basins and a white china beaker.³⁷⁷

The china ornaments were displayed alongside ornaments of a maritime and scientific genre. In 1812, the gallery contained an instrument for taking levels in a mahogany case, a painting of 'Truth finding fortune at sea' by Luea Giordano, and numerous shells.³⁷⁸ The library contained two model ship ornaments and shells on display with the china jars and 'the duke's culer room' contained shells and 'some other ornaments'.³⁷⁹ A number of barometers and thermometers were also on display around Bowhill.³⁸⁰ Historians have argued that masculine taste in ornamentation was focused around scientific instruments and maritime symbols. 'Possession of these instruments reflected a man's fantasy of himself, perhaps as a creature of questing intelligence or buccaneering freedom.'³⁸¹ Such objects referred to enlightenment values, achievement, progress and national pride in Britain's naval supremacy. Buccleuch was a patriotic man who was actively involved in the military. He was also well educated and his book collection suggests a real interest in scientific and nautical themes. Titles include: *The History of Shipbuilding*, *The History of Inventions* and *Trade and Navigation in Great Britain*.³⁸² The evidence suggests that the ornamental displays around Dalkeith House corresponded with the duke's personal interests rather than popular fashion, marketing or status symbolism. The duke's ornamentation and

³⁷⁶ NAS, GD224/962/21, Inventories of Dalkeith, 1812-1819.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ NAS, GD224/962/21/1, Inventory of Dalkeith, 1812.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ NAS, GD224/962/22, Inventory of Bowhill, 1819.

³⁸¹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 264.

³⁸² NAS GD224/962/21/1, Inventory of Dalkeith, 1812.

the china jars integrated into the display represented Buccleuch's identity and his 'fantasy of himself'. The combination of maritime and scientific ornamentation and oriental porcelain in Dalkeith House suggests that masculine taste for exotic ceramics was integrated into these scientific and intellectual themes. They were incorporated into other tastes and styles of ornamentation, which historians accept, appealed to the masculine taste.

China was displayed throughout Dalkeith House in the halls, staircases and bedchambers. The 'gilt room', in 1819, contained nineteen china jars, four cases of eighty-eight china jars and ornaments; it also contained masculine items including three bookshelves, two writing desks and forty-six pictures.³⁸³ Thirty-one china vases were located in the gallery in 1819.³⁸⁴ These were described, in 1812, as blue-and-white china jars, coloured china beakers and bottles, white china figures and lion figures.³⁸⁵ The gallery also contained masculine objects, including a writing desk and two satinwood-inlaid bookstands.³⁸⁶ Historians' assertions that oriental china was displayed in feminine spaces and had connotations of effeminacy are contradicted by evidence from the Buccleuch estate. Exotic ceramics were on display in Dalkeith House in masculine, feminine, public and private spaces.

Public spaces associated with masculine hospitality also contained large amounts of ornamental china. In 1812, the dining-room was described as having two blue-and-white china jars on display, and the small dining-room contained four blue-

³⁸³ NAS, GD224/962/21/2, Inventory of Dalkeith, 1819.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ NAS, GD224/962/21/1, Inventory of Dalkeith, 1812.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

and-white china jars and three white figure ornaments, possibly *blanc-de-chine*.³⁸⁷ As will be discussed in Chapter Three, the dining-room was the setting for important dinners at Dalkeith, for the social and business contacts of Buccleuch, including the literati of Enlightenment Scotland. It is interesting that Buccleuch chose to use stoneware dinner-services to entertain his guests and Chinese porcelain to display around the dining-room. Although Buccleuch's use of plain dinnerware was linked to a desire to distance himself from aristocratic cultures of status-enhancing luxury, this does not imply that his use of oriental display porcelain was a straightforward contradiction. The motivations behind the duke's taste are revealing when explored in more depth.

The eighteenth century was a time of radical change in the production of ceramics. The East India Company had a monopoly on the supply of Chinese porcelain to Britain until 1833. This meant that personal connection and patronage networks were vital in the trade. For men owning Chinese and Japanese porcelain in this period signalled a connection to this vibrant global trade network. Scottish men were heavily involved in the global-trade networks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They made up a disproportionately large amount of professions on board East India Company (EIC) vessels.³⁸⁸ As the route into companies like the EIC was through other careers such as the military, law or accounting it was considered a respectable and gentlemanly career, even as the respectability of other trading careers declined.³⁸⁹ Therefore, many of the younger sons of gentry entered into this profession. The wealth and policies of

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ David Sanctuary Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain: Volume 2* (Chippenham: Heirloom & Howard, 2003), 50.

³⁸⁹ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 86.

Highland gentry ‘were closely tied to the lives, career-histories, and values that were generated by the non-landed careers of a wide network of male kin’.³⁹⁰ The use of a china punch-bowl therefore had symbolic connotations of the personal ties and networks many men had to trade with the East.

The personal dimension of masculine china consumption is reinforced through the organisation of the trade. The majority of china was imported through the private trade of the ships’ crew. The EIC allowed the crew a percentage of the ship’s tonnage for private purchases.³⁹¹ This ensured they traded in high-value goods such as porcelain. Additionally the EIC stopped importing porcelain in the 1790s as taxes on it rose to 150 per cent.³⁹² This meant the majority of Chinese porcelain imported into late-eighteenth-century Britain was through private Scottish traders whose, ‘business was as much with their friends and acquaintances as with trade establishments’.³⁹³

Buccleuch shows that he had an informed view of china and international trade. The 1812 inventories of the duke’s books in Dalkeith and Langholm Lodge show a large collection of travel literature from places including China and South East Asia.³⁹⁴ Both properties contain four volumes of Chinese history as well as books about colonial policies such as *Plans for British India*. Whilst luxury objects from the ‘Orient’ were associated with excess and effeminacy, an Enlightened and educated

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 65.

³⁹¹ Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 50.

³⁹² Richard Kilburn, Chinese Porcelain, “The Study of Six Artefact Categories from the Wreck Site of the Earl of Abergavenny,”

<<http://www.weymouthdiving.co.uk/research.htm>> accessed June 16, 2010.

³⁹³ Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 50.

³⁹⁴ NAS, GD224/962/21/1 and GD224/962/20/4, Inventories of Dalkeith and Langholm Lodge, 1812.

perception of China was different. China was viewed in terms of ethics, harmony, and virtue. ‘China and Confucius inspired Leibniz, then Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, to perceive through the prism of Chinese objects their own aspirations to human elegance and refinement.’³⁹⁵ Chinese porcelain again corresponded to Buccleuch’s vision of his own identity as an Enlightened and educated man. His possession of Chinese porcelain did not contradict his use of plain-stone dinnerware as it may have appeared. Instead, it conformed to his aversion to excessive consumption representing harmony and virtue.

A genuine interest in oriental ceramics was demonstrated throughout the period in the inventories of the Breadalbane and Buccleuch families. Lord Breadalbane purchased goods from a Chinese Hong ‘Pantechnicon’ in 1838, well after the East India Company’s china monopoly had expired. His establishment in Belgrave Square sold

all kinds of oriental and other articles of foreign manufacture useful and ornamental. Also for genuine teas as imported direct from Canton. The nobility and gentry are most respectfully invited to inspect this unique establishment where may be obtained an infinity of articles combining usefulness, taste and virtue.³⁹⁶

The inventory shows that the marketing of Chinese goods emphasised their value in ‘taste’ and ‘virtue’ and their originality as coming ‘direct from China’. Other family members also purchased ceramics from merchants specifically describing themselves as ‘china men’. In 1839, the Marquis of Breadalbane also purchased goods from E.H.

³⁹⁵ Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 229.

³⁹⁶ NAS, GD112/35/33/21, Account due by Lord Breadalbane, 1838.

Baldock, 'china-man by appointment of her majesty', Hanway Street.³⁹⁷ In 1805 the Earl of Dalkeith made purchases from William Child, 'china-man' including dinnerware and coffee-cups.³⁹⁸

By the end of the eighteenth century British and European manufacturers had discovered how to produce porcelain leading to a new lively market. Good-quality stoneware with fashionable designs was becoming more affordable and increasingly common. To convey status, aristocrats attempted to distinguish their consumption from that of lesser gentry. Luxury ceramics needed to be more expensive and importantly more original. This made Asian porcelain an attractive alternative to the mass-produced stoneware.

In 1779, Lady Breadalbane stated in a letter that she wished the china that was sent from Perth were finer as it was intended for 'the best room'. She also wrote that, 'if china is not fine then I think plain stone is better as it looks like wishing to be what one can't'.³⁹⁹ Lady Breadalbane stated a preference for plain stoneware over newly-produced china, so as to avoid a pretentious display associated with the *nouveaux riche*. Oriental porcelain was important for impressive masculine domestic status-enhancing displays. However, the presence of plain stoneware in the inventories suggests this was not the only concern of masculine consumers.

³⁹⁷ NAS, GD224/35/33/18, Account due to E.H. Baldock, 1839.

³⁹⁸ NAS, GD224/15/109, Account due to William Child, 1805.

³⁹⁹ NAS, GD112/39/323/3, Letter from Mrs Campbell to Mrs Campbell Carwhin, 16th June 1779.

Eighteenth-century debates around luxury evolved to incorporate complex issues of individual and national virtue and economic improvement.⁴⁰⁰ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries British elites adopted ‘the theory of the utility of beneficial luxury’, based on theories initially championed by the social commentator, Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733).⁴⁰¹ This advocated the principle that individual demand for domestically manufactured goods and taxed foreign imports encouraged national economic progress. By the mid-eighteenth century, there was a sense of national pride and duty involved in consuming locally or nationally produced luxury goods.

Whitbread had decorative masculine accoutrements including a barometer by Naire in a mahogany case and a small thermometer.⁴⁰² However, a number of items typically assumed to be more ‘effeminate’ were also on display.⁴⁰³ These included, ‘A Dresden china candle cup with cover and stand, a china match tray’ and ‘A Wedgwood phosphorous box’.⁴⁰⁴ It also contained ‘a dog in needlework in a rich gilt frame’.⁴⁰⁵ A mixture of classical, scientific and decorative objects corresponded with intellectual themes and British manufacture, military and scientific strength, pride and progress. The mixture of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ objects in present suggests that these distinctions may have been more flexible than previously assumed.

⁴⁰⁰ Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall,” 7-27.

⁴⁰¹ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 12.

⁴⁰² BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, 1816.

⁴⁰³ McCants, “Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living,” 433-462. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, 241. Weatherill, “A Possession of One's Own.”

⁴⁰⁴ BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, 1816.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

In contrast to the slightly more public room in his apartment, Whitbread's bedroom was furnished mostly in French and 'oriental' styles.⁴⁰⁶ In many ways, historians examine contemporary attitudes towards European, especially French, and Chinese consumer goods in a similar manner. Commodities from both nations were considered exotic and were popularly associated with a dangerous and excessive consumption.⁴⁰⁷ Britain's relationship with France throughout the period was turbulent. This complicated the British relationship with French fashion, which had been relatively popular in earlier periods. French styles came to be considered by the British, in particular British men, as superfluous and effeminate. As Gerald Newman argues, by the 1740s rhetoric of otherness in relation to French culture was beginning to develop among the English elites. Newman uses a wide variety of sources to explore how a contrast developed between ideas of English virtue versus French vice.⁴⁰⁸ French consumer goods were considered exotic and were popularly associated with a dangerous and excessive consumption.⁴⁰⁹ 'In Britain dangers posed by French and

⁴⁰⁶ BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, 1816. This included: Chairs with chintz and calico covers, mahogany four poster bed with chintz and French castors, chintz curtains lined with green silk and fringed, a mahogany small French table, an octagon inlaid table of zebra wood, two small inlaid French shaped tables'.

⁴⁰⁷ Berg and Eger, "The Rise and Fall," 7-26.

⁴⁰⁸ Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

⁴⁰⁹ Maxine Berg, "Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution," in *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 228-245. Berg, "Asian Luxuries," 228. Berg and Eger, "The Rise and Fall," 14. Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1996). Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the*

Chinese manufactures were frequently deployed in mercantilist debates and protectionist legislation enacted during the mid-eighteenth century.⁴¹⁰ There was also insecurity among the aristocracy because of the French Revolution and a cultural backlash against excess. These concerns have been employed by historians to explain why male consumers rejected French styles. It has been argued that instead, masculine-British fashion came to advocate an aesthetic of simplicity and classical Italian motifs.⁴¹¹

Contemporary discourse criticised the oriental and French style for being tasteless, gaudy and feminine.⁴¹² Southill had strong French styles throughout. His dressing room was similarly styled with a number of exotic furnishings and a long list of portraits and prints. Whitbread's personal and 'private' taste therefore may have been more 'effeminate' than he chose to display outwardly. The bedroom and dressing room did not contain decorative items to the extent of his more public sitting room. This suggests that Whitbread used these decorative objects as a tool for public display rather than private consumption. From this we can assume the objects in the more public areas of the home were selected with public display in mind. Lady Elizabeth's dressing room and bedroom were similar to Whitbread's apartment, decorated in the French style with minimal decorative items.⁴¹³ Her sitting room, also in the French style, contained ornamental ceramics and a small number of paintings, however it was

Nation 1707-1837 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

Kowaleski-Wallace, "Women, China, and Consumer Culture."

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁴¹¹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 258-259.

⁴¹² Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics*, 178. Berg, "Asian Luxuries," 228.

⁴¹³ BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, 1816.

less decorative than Whitbread's sitting room. Perhaps decorative items were less important for Elizabeth and the company she received. It appears from other evidence that she did not find interior decoration as crucial to the display of her own identity as Whitbread appears to have done.

However, there were differences in how French and Chinese objects were viewed culturally. One example is shown in the Anti-Gallican Society. This highlights the subtle difference in attitude towards French and Chinese commodities. The society was founded in 1745 to promote British manufacture, discourage French imports and the invasive cultural influence of France. However, the society ordered at least five dinner services from China bearing their arms.⁴¹⁴ The consumption patterns of Whitbread, as well as the other men in this study, show that they did not consume French and Chinese ceramics indiscriminately. The assumption that men rejected exotic ceramics because their foreignness, colourful designs and implications to the national economy is oversimplified.

The decoration of the library was an area of special concern for both Lee Antonie and Whitbread. In a letter to Elizabeth, Whitbread wrote 'My library is arranged, & it is thought with some Taste'.⁴¹⁵ The possessive pronoun he used to his future wife hints at his interpretation of the ownership of the room. Whilst on a Grand Tour in 1811, Lee Antonie's nephew John Fiott Lee, received a letter from him requesting he send him something to 'adorn his library'.⁴¹⁶ Lee Antonie's discussion of decoration and request for furnishings from his nephew is another example of the

³⁶⁸ Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 50.

⁴¹⁵ BCRO, W1/6546, 6th May 1787, Whitbread to Elizabeth.

⁴¹⁶ BCRO, UN493, Lee Antonie to John Fiott, 26th June 1811.

way the decoration of the men's homes played a part in masculine relationships. It also suggests that objects sent from abroad were particularly desirable as it seems unlikely Lee Antonie would have issued a similar request if he had been writing to his nephew in England.

The library at Colworth, which adjoined the drawing room and the dining room, had very lavish, costly and exotic furnishings, for example 'a valuable and costly library table octagon shape with four draws covered with best Spanish leather carved and gilt in Spanish wood with large pillow and four claws richly gilt'.⁴¹⁷ This indicates that the room was intended to display the wealth and taste of the male owner. Interestingly the library also contained six satin wood glazed china cupboards.⁴¹⁸ Historians suggest that oriental ceramics were more dominant in female quarters or smaller apartments, such as bedchambers.⁴¹⁹ Others argue the 'prettiness' of the Japanese style, as opposed to the 'majestic beauty' of the Roman or antique style vases, 'could present an exotic and feminine charm'.⁴²⁰ This evidence contradicts typical assumptions that 'exotic' ornaments were feminine accoutrements.

In comparison, the library at Southill contained an interesting mix of ornamental items. Like his sitting room, Whitbread decorated his library with a mixture of national, local and international objects of display in a variety of styles. He

⁴¹⁷ PRO, C114/176, Colworth Inventory, 1816.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Anna Somers Cocks, "The Nonfunctional Use of Ceramics," *Studies in the History of Art*, 25 (1989): 195-215.

⁴²⁰ John Hardy, "Pretty Show Pots," in *Kensington Palace and the Porcelain of Queen Mary II: Essays in Association with the Exhibition China Mania, a Re-creation of Queen Mary II's Display of Oriental Porcelain at Kensington Palace in 1690's*, ed. Mark Hinton and Oliver Impey, (London: Christie's 1998), 79-83.

had foreign items such as an India mat and a 'French clock on a yew tree pedestal, richly decorated with bronze and ormolu ornaments'.⁴²¹ It also contained a number of decorative items in a classical style,⁴²² and portraits of his Wharf and employees at the Brewery. It also contained a barometer and thermometer, like his sitting room. Again, the mixture of effeminate and masculine objects suggests that the gendered categorisation which have been discussed by historians may have been less rigid in the period. One explanation for the apparent fluidity of gendered meanings could be that the 'effeminate' objects on display, such as the decorative French clock and India mat, held different cultural connotations more compatible with masculinity. These may include meanings related to politics, trade or empire.

Possessions were not simply means of displaying wealth and status, encouraged by fashion and marketing, but objects linked to the imagination of the consumer and their emotional attachments.⁴²³ Between 1775 and 1825, the concepts of romanticism and sentimentalism gained popularity.⁴²⁴ One effect of this on consumption can be seen in an increase in affective attachments to material objects. 'Houses became sites in which goods that were laden with emotional associations became located'.⁴²⁵ As an Enlightened figure, Buccleuch was an unlikely participant in romantic cultures of materialism. However, Buccleuch's careful displays throughout Dalkeith House

⁴²¹ BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, 1816.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Stana Nenadic, "Romanticism and the Urge to Consume in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, ed. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 208-228.

⁴²⁴ Nenadic, "Romanticism," 209.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 210.

suggest emotional attachment was a motivation. The china had been in the family at least since his grandfather's death in 1751. At this time, the china was displayed around a single room, the porcelain closet.⁴²⁶ If status were Buccleuch's main concern, this display would have been impressive. However, by his death in 1812, Henry Scott had spread the porcelain throughout Dalkeith creating a more intimate display. The act of repositioning the porcelain around the home involved careful choices about where and in what ways to display it. Buccleuch's personal interest in the porcelain is suggested in its appearance in his private spaces such as his library.

Between the duke's death, in 1812, and 1819, the year of his son's death (Charles, 4th Duke of Buccleuch), thirty-seven stone flower stands had been displayed in the nursery and passage. This shows the extent to which individual tastes and ideologies dictated the display of different types of ornamental ceramics.⁴²⁷

Conclusion

French and Rothery argue that 'marriage remained a real and symbolic moment at which a man's emotional and financial destiny was arranged and which created an independent household through which adult male identity could be established and projected'.⁴²⁸ This chapter demonstrates how elite men used domestic material culture to display their identity and legitimise their masculine authority within their marital relationships. The relational dynamic over the control of the physical environment of the home had a similar hierarchy in all of the married couples examined. The men took

⁴²⁶ NAS GD224/379/4/7, Inventory of China in the Great Closet, 1751.

⁴²⁷ NAS, GD224/962/22/2, Inventory of Dalkeith, 1819.

⁴²⁸ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 232.

the lead role in controlling the physical environment. They organised and managed the decoration, construction, refurbishment and maintenance of the material world of the home. Sometimes this process started during courtship, when men might use discussions over setting up home and gifts to establish a particular power dynamic in the relationship. Women were not excluded from involvement in the decoration and control of the home and their choices were also important. However, it may be that for elite families the scale of the refurbishment of estates, involving large numbers of workmen, leant itself particularly to male management. There were exceptions to this. Women might assist in the management of multiple households and individual temperament played a role. Not all men were keen oeconomists. Masculine identity and male power were involved in home decoration and women also took this into account when they acted in the process. The men used the home to legitimise their authority and to display their identity. The types of identity which were displayed by the men varied. Elite masculine status within marital relationships differed from middling or lower-sort masculine status. Tosh emphasised the emerging role of the breadwinner in the nineteenth century as a crucial factor for middling-sort men in legitimising their authority within marital relationships.⁴²⁹ The status of breadwinner was not a major concern for the elite men. These men were concerned with demonstrating a variety of facets of their identities through the objects they displayed around their homes. While the eighteenth century has been identified as the time in which certain domestic goods and decorative styles began to be associated with men and women, these references do not appear to have been strong in the elite homes studied here. What we do see however, are men using material culture to create interiors that expressed complex masculine identities, incorporating gender, social status and other affiliations to create a sense of

⁴²⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 26.

their own personality. The consumption of china appears to have been particularly complex. How these social identities fused with the expression of political, local and national views is explored further in Chapter Three.

Chapter Two

Fatherhood: Patriarchal Practices and Material Culture



Figure 1 *Sir Lawrence Dundas and His Grandson* (1769-70), by Johan Zoffany. The Zetland Collection.

In 1769 Sir Lawrence Dundas commissioned the renowned artist Johan Zoffany to paint his portrait with his grandson, Lawrence, in his home. The choice of setting and company shows the pride he took publicly in their home and family. Surrounded by carefully selected household objects Dundas portrays himself as a patriarch

highlighting two key elements - a status enhancing home and a line of male heirs. Retford uses family portraits to demonstrate that being a family man was important for an eighteenth-century elite man's public image.⁴³⁰ This carefully constructed family and home oriented image of Dundas, who was an image conscious man, backs up Retford's claims. Retford argues that the changing nature of portraiture between the 1740s and 1790s depicted the changing image of family men. Retford examines the role of elite patriarchs in eighteenth century portraiture showing that towards the end of the eighteenth century patriarchs were depicted as devoted and sentimental, however the importance of lineage and paternal authority remained present in the images.⁴³¹ The image of Dundas painted in the 1770s shows him with his grandson in an informal and intimate moment together within the domestic setting, portraying Dundas as a sentimental patriarch. This chapter aims to explore how elite men used the material world to exercise patriarchy in relation to their children and wider circles of dependents.

This chapter studies elite men's correspondence with their absent sons. Brant examines letters between parents and their children.⁴³² She argues that parents advised their children in individual ways, 'then, as now, some parents were tender, imaginative and enlightened, and others were not'.⁴³³ Although, she does argue that the advice needed a moral framework. This chapter examines parental advice from elite fathers focusing on the ways men continued to teach their sons moral and economic lessons after the boys left home to study. It focuses in particular on the fathers' attitudes to domesticity and material culture. This chapter explores how fathers used the

⁴³⁰ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, 74.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 187-214.

⁴³² Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters*, 60-92.

⁴³³ Ibid., 92.

management of their son's relationship with consumption and the home to mould their sons' masculine identities and through this process, their own. It focuses on the fathers' moral management of their sons' material and economic support during the period after the sons left home. It explores how important fatherhood was to male identity.

Historians of the eighteenth century have recently consented to the idea that fatherhood formed an integral part of male identity for all social ranks.⁴³⁴ Joanne Bailey argues that during this period the ideal father was represented as affectionate and understanding with an emphasis on material provision and physical affection.⁴³⁵ Although this chapter does not focus heavily on the affectionate nature of fathers, for the most part Bailey's findings concur with the image of fatherhood portrayed in the novels discussed in Chapter Four. The novels represented the ideal father as a moral guide. Fathers should be teachers, and adaptable to unusual situations rather than being guided by strict etiquette. This chapter explores how these ideas played out in the lives of the case study families.

French and Rothery demonstrate that duty was important for elite fathers, arguing that 'while fatherhood did not generate a new set of masculine values, it provided a focus for the expression of a number of existing ones'.⁴³⁶ One of the main focuses of the fathers in the case studies explored here was spending. Fathers were liable for their son's necessary debts until the sons came of age, therefore concerns about excessive spending at school and university can be read in this context. However

⁴³⁴ The scholarship on fatherhood has been discussed in the introduction.

⁴³⁵ Bailey, *Parenting in England*, 47, 70.

⁴³⁶ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 231.

there was a clear emphasis in the letters on the moral dimension of spending suggesting there was a deeper concern for the father's reputation than just the expense.

In their article on "Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House", Rothery and Stobart argue that for the landed elite moderate spending rather than conspicuous consumption was central to preserving a family's wealth and status down through generations. They argue that the Leigh family practiced 'skilful restraint' with their spending demonstrating bouts of conspicuous consumption only after inheritance events.⁴³⁷ The concept of skilful restraint is a helpful one for this chapter as the father's advice to their sons focused clearly on imparting this attitude to spending. Stobart also demonstrates in his case study of Mary Leigh, a wealthy unmarried woman, that the importance of lineage and inheritance was central to a 'specifically aristocratic mode of consumption, built around signifiers of family, lineage and pedigree', even for every day purchasing.⁴³⁸ The letters from fathers to their sons can be read in the context of inheritance and family preservation. The fathers found it necessary to coach their sons to spend regularly in particular ways to preserve the family's wealth and reputation for future generations. This chapter attempts to push this argument further by examining the active process by which estate management and elite consumption was passed down the generations.

The chapter also builds on work by Vickery and Tosh who examine men's relationships with the home and family members at different life stages. 'The position of the landed gentry as the 'natural rulers' of the country depended on the formation of a male gender identity that stressed personal autonomy, independent judgment and self-

⁴³⁷ Rothery and Stobart, "Inheritance Events," 379-407, 381.

⁴³⁸ Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle," 102-103.

command.⁴³⁹ For elite families it was important for sons to learn independence and self-sufficiency but also the moral values that would allow them to protect the family's interest. Families recognised the importance of leaving the family home for independent study and travel. They further recognised, however, that this process carried risks for the son's moral values, due to the influence of outside pressure on the boys. The fathers in the case study use their correspondence with their sons as well as their financial and material support to remain a moral influence in the men's lives.

Exploring elite men's role as fathers and patriarchs through their material worlds also allows us to further consider the nature of the elite family. While Tadmor questions the usefulness of the term 'extended family' for middling-sort families, elite families were economically dependent on the kinship structures of blood and marriage in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Elite male patriarchs loosely fit into the term under the second of her two criteria for a 'household family': 'co-residence and submission to the authority of the head of the household'.⁴⁴⁰ However, Tadmor's concept of the 'lineage-family' is more useful here. Especially for the gentry and aristocratic families, more than Tadmor's study of middling-sort men, historical legitimacy and paternal bloodline were important to establish reputation and masculinity.⁴⁴¹ An interesting body of work has been produced on the reciprocal support network provided by extended family in this period. There were also notable regional differences. Nenadic examines a distinctly Scottish culture of regular hospitality and visiting extended by Scottish Lairds to their distant relations.⁴⁴² Tadmor

⁴³⁹ French and Rothery, "'Upon your entry into the world'," 403.

⁴⁴⁰ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 27.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁴⁴² Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*.

also finds that the distribution of charitable donations and the provision of sociability to the local community often centred on the country home of the English lineage-family.⁴⁴³ Connecting with distant relations and local communities was a way to reinforce national, local and historical legitimacy of the lineage-family and status of the patriarchal head.

Letters between family members show the father's continued investment in moulding their sons' identities while their sons were transitioning from being members of the 'household family', as Tadmor puts it, to becoming the heads of their own household units. The six men examined here, Henry Scott, Duke of Buccleuch; John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane; William Rathbone the fourth; Lawrence Dundas, Earl of Zetland; William Lee Antonie and Samuel Whitbread, remained actively concerned about the ways their sons portrayed their identity through material culture and the home. Through their letters, we see the types of consumption the fathers considered appropriate and desirable for their sons to practice. The contrasting attitudes between the men suggest that their behavioural ideals were diverse and depended on multiple other factors of the men's identities such as religion, politics, wealth and status. Inheritance shaped the dynamic in elite father-son relationships by linking the father's reputation directly with the son's, straight down the family line. By focusing specifically on elite men and consumption within the home and family relationships we can see distinct shared consumption practices among the elite groups and the expression of individual masculine identities through material culture. First-born sons will be the primary focus here, however where evidence is available this will be contrasted to second-born sons and daughters.

⁴⁴³ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 85-6.

The patriarchal role worked differently for elite men than men from the middling-sort, encompassing the household family and beyond. The chapter therefore goes on to explore the role of material culture in other elite patriarchal relationships. It examines childless men who assumed patriarchal roles in the lives of other family members and dependents, such as guardianship Lee Antonie and his nephew, John Fiott Lee. The importance of consumption in these patriarchal relationships gives an insight into the nature of material culture and an elite man's relationship with his heirs more broadly.

1. Parents, Children and Gift Exchange

The letters show that the parents engaged in a regular exchange of gifts with their children. The gifts were given in a range of contexts however there were a number of common practices among the different case studies. For instance, many of the men gave gifts during courtship to the parents of their future spouse and to their young sons, who were studying away at school or university. Since Mauss published his study *The Gift* in 1925, historians and anthropologists have explored the social and cultural meanings behind gift exchange.⁴⁴⁴ As Zemon Davis suggests, the context of gifts affected the meaning and expectations of reciprocity for both giver and receiver.⁴⁴⁵ These letters suggest that exchange of gifts between father and son in particular had a more complex expectation of repayment than the expectation of receiving objects in return. The nature of the gifts and the contexts in which they were given suggest that the gifts were aimed at a specific type of bonding in the familial relationship, between father and son.

⁴⁴⁴ Mauss, *The Gift*, Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*.

⁴⁴⁵ Zemon Davis, *The Gift*.

Equally, the different types of gifts reflected the men's different ideas of the masculinity they attempted to perform. Factors such as location, rank and religion all had an effect on the men's sense of self. This is evident in their domestic material relationship with their sons.

William Rathbone the fourth was a Quaker timber merchant, ship builder and ship owner from Liverpool. He had strong opinions about consumption inspired by his Quaker beliefs. Quakers continued to value 'plainness' despite the increase luxury consumption of eighteenth-century British society. Walvin argues that warnings against the temptations of worldliness continued to be issued regularly from the London Meetings at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴⁶ As Quakers, it might be expected that the Rathbone fathers abstained from material exchange with their children, preferring instead to promote plainness and simplicity as virtues to their children. However, despite verbally advocating such ideals to their sons there is reference to certain types of gifting within the Rathbone letters. In a letter to both William Rathbone V and Thomas Rathbone, (the first and second born sons of William Rathbone IV) Rathbone IV passes on word of gifts purchased for the young men by their grandfather. 'Your Grandfather has purchased 2 elegant gold seals for you; They are full sized & very handsome. The stones which are very brilliant are unengraved as he wishes this to be done under your direction, & ... to be completed at his expense'.⁴⁴⁷

Despite Rathbone's usual attitude of aversion towards consumption and the potential moral problems associated with luxury within their religion, valuable objects still changed hands between them. It is interesting that the older generations of

⁴⁴⁶ James Walvin, "Quakers, Business and Morality" (paper presented at Barnard's Inn Hall, Gresham College, London, 25 April 2005).

⁴⁴⁷ ULA, RPII.1.12, Rathbone IV to his sons, Bristol, 7th December 1806.

Rathbone men passed these luxury items to their sons. We can speculate as to why these luxurious items bypassed their moral rules about indulgence. The seals symbolised family lineage. Gifting the boys seals could have been meant to represent the boys' transition to adulthood. Looking at the middling-sort, Harvey asserts the importance of account taking, letter writing and household management as a symbol of manliness, mentioning the importance of associated objects such as the account book itself as a physical representation or proof of masculinity.⁴⁴⁸ For an elite man the family seal would have been an important symbol of masculinity. The extravagance of the seals may have been appropriate as a way to mark the significance of the sons growing into adults. By passing these objects on from one son to another, the fathers symbolically passed on paternal authority to their sons.

Hannah Mary Rathbone, the wife of Rathbone IV also sent her son gifts. The different type of gift suggests her motives differed from those of her husband and father-in-law. In May 1804, she wrote to seventeen-year old Rathbone V discussing the pleasant state of the garden at their country house, and principal home, in Greenbank Liverpool, and how therefore his absence was more acutely felt. Later in the letter Hannah Mary wrote, 'I omitted to tell thee that one of the violets I sent to thee was from Basil's grave – it was the only one it yielded'.⁴⁴⁹ Basil was the late son of Hannah Mary who had died earlier that year at the age of two. This exchange of gifts is especially significant for a number of reasons. One of the violets gifted by Hannah held a sentimental value to both mother and son having been selected from the grave of William V's brother. It is also interesting that she had previously forgotten to mention it, suggesting that it was not abnormal for her to send him flowers without an

⁴⁴⁸ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 86.

⁴⁴⁹ ULA, RPV.1.11 Hannah Mary Rathbone to her son, 3rd May 1804.

explanation. Although flowers may be considered an effeminate gift, the nature of the present may relate to Rathbone's religion. There are numerous examples of both parents and other members of the Rathbone family morally criticising luxury objects, fashion and excess.⁴⁵⁰ It is possible that this type of exchange was considered more acceptable than the exchange of luxury objects. It still contained a kind of sentimental value in being a gift and worked with the same conventions as other gift exchanges in terms of bonding and building relationships however it was not considered as excessive or morally problematic.

Additionally, the parents demonstrated their attachment to their son's letters as objects. Hannah Rathbone wrote, 'the sight of thy handwriting yesterday was truly acceptable to us, as lessening that anxiety which we could not help feeling about thee altho the acco.t. from our Richard & J.H. were as favorable as we could reasonably expect'.⁴⁵¹ Her description of the relief she felt at receiving the object of the letter is contrasted to the uncertainty, which remained when she received only word of her son's well being from his brothers. It is interesting that she used a reference to the physical letter to add legitimacy to her desire for him to keep in touch. By describing relief in relation to the physical letter rather than words, she encouraged her son to write more often. This suggests she felt power in the symbolism of sentimental attachment to objects, despite their religious belief otherwise, which her son would respond to. Pearsall argues that this period saw the development of the culture of sensibility in letter

⁴⁵⁰ For example: ULA, RPII.1.5, Rathbone IV to Richard Reynolds, 10th October 1785.

⁴⁵¹ ULA, RPV.1.5, Hannah Mary Rathbone to her son William Rathbone V, Bristol 1st December 1806.

writing which she defines as, ‘the ability to possess and to display a feeling heart’.⁴⁵² Pearsall demonstrates the both men and women in her case studies used sentimental language in their correspondence to navigate distance and situational difficulties. The letters between Hannah Mary Rathbone and her son suggest that she employed the language of sentimentality in her communications. However, this was not a universal phenomenon between all the family members or members of the other case study families. This suggests that personal differences were more significant than broader cultural trends in these intimate family communications.

Rathbone exchanged books and pamphlets with his son. The regular exchanges occurred throughout the family for both male and female members and Rathbone V often delivered them to other family members for his father. Rathbone IV wrote, ‘we sh.d have been glad to have received Jone’s paper with Roscoe’s speech in it. If one can now be procured I shall still be glad to have it. – Please to put Dr. Pinckard’s Book in the way of T.H.; as he may incline to read them. I think they should be returned to London soon after our return’.⁴⁵³ Perhaps this exchange of information rather than luxury goods was also considered morally acceptable.

For the other families, gift giving was less problematic in some respects. It was used more overtly as a means of bonding between parents and their sons. Presents were given as a symbol of respect, gratitude and emotional attachment.

Many objects changed hands between the parents and their sons in the Breadalbane family. While their sons were abroad on their grand tour, swords,

⁴⁵² Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, 84.

⁴⁵³ ULA, RPV.1.5, Hannah Mary Rathbone to her son William Rathbone V, Bristol 1st December 1806.

carriages, mathematical instruments, sports equipment and other things were sent from the Breadalbane parents to Europe. Young men often thought about personal things in terms of their significance to the family. There are many examples in the letters where the young men expressed their relationships and interests through material culture. One example of an object which was discussed in terms of its emotional significance as a gift from father to son was a watch Breadalbane sent his eldest son John in France. In March 1779 Breadalbane sent John in Saussane a watch from Edinburgh. By September John was robbed in Geneva because he had not locked his door.⁴⁵⁴ He lost his watch and his belt buckles. His father wrote to him about the robbery telling him he was glad he had lost his watch as it would teach him to be more careful in the future. 'I am glad of it, because it will teach you more attention, & may prevent the loss of things of more value hereafter, & perhaps of your life... if you had lock'd your door this would not have happen'd. All you can do now is to make your loss turn to advantage by being carefull hereafter, & getting a new Watch & Buckles, & thinking no more of the old ones'.⁴⁵⁵ He taught his son a life lesson through objects and gifts. He stayed interested and invested in the watch situation writing to John in 1780 to ask for more news about the watch.⁴⁵⁶

John received letters from multiple sources comforting him on the loss suggesting that he had been upset at the loss in particular because it had belonged to his father. John's mother, father, brother all consoled John about the loss, as did Captain Archibald Campbell, a family member who was in close contact with John while he

⁴⁵⁴ NAS, GD 112/39/322/3, Breadalbane to John, Taymouth, 2nd September 1779.

⁴⁵⁵ NAS, GD 112/39/322/3, Breadalbane to John, Taymouth 2nd September 1779.

⁴⁵⁶ NAS, GD 112/39/327/1, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 12th February 1780.

was abroad and at Cambridge. All those who wrote to John were close to him and may have noticed John's own disappointment about his misfortune. However, it is interesting that there was a strong shared expectation that the loss of the watch would be upsetting. 'I know you will be sorry for the Loss of your watch, as it was your fathers. But let that give you no Concern, it was but a bad one, and he has left you many pledges of Remembrance of him more valuable to you and his Friends'.⁴⁵⁷ He later reassures his mother that Breadalbane is 'glad I have lost my watch as it will make me more careful for the future and desires me not to trouble myself about it but to turn my loss into an advantage by getting a new one which I will do'.⁴⁵⁸

Parents often directly discussed consumption decisions and objects were exchanged. John and his mother spoke freely about shopping. While on the Grand Tour John wrote, 'I have spent already above a hundred guineas on clothes which are the prettiest I ever saw and I dare say they would cost the double at London or any other place'.⁴⁵⁹ John enjoyed shopping and bonded with his mother over it. The pair exchanged gifts and objects amongst themselves and others on many occasions.⁴⁶⁰

Objects went both ways with lavish and extensive description. Colin sent his mother a model of a watch he and his brother were buying her from Lausanne with a detailed description. The boys themselves had suggested that she buy one as they

⁴⁵⁷ NAS, GD112/39/323/4, Taymouth, Archibald Campbell to John Campbell, Taymouth, 16th October 1779.

⁴⁵⁸ NAS, GD112/39/319/9, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 6th October 1779.

⁴⁵⁹ NAS, GD112/39/329/2, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lyons, 28th May 1781.

⁴⁶⁰ NAS, GD112/39/325/5, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 18th December 1781.

believed them to be cheap in Lausanne compared to elsewhere. Here, the sons act as proxy consumers for the mother, and the family work together to ensure that their money will go further.

the case will be enameled in Blue surrounded with Pearls with a white enamel & with a Golden circle, the hand, the handle of the watch will be in diamonds, & the dial will be surrounded with a circle of diamonds all this for thirty Louis d'or which is very cheap, write if you are pleased with it & you must send back the model as soon as possible ⁴⁶¹

The boys also requested objects from home. While abroad the brothers asked their mother to send particular objects for them from Britain. John wrote to his mother to ask her to buy him a sword. He had clearly accounted for it in his own budget telling his mother she could spend as much as six guineas. Based on the objects the requested, a steel sword and cricket equipment, it was presumably the quality, design or fashion of these objects which they felt were superior from Britain.

I would be much obliged if you would get me a fashionable Steel Sword you may give as much as Six Guineas for a good handsome one. Colin I believe has wrote for some Bats and balls to play at Cricket with I wish you would send them and the Sword the first opportunity. As all these

⁴⁶¹ NAS, GD112/39/324/4, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 14th June 1780. See also NAS, GD112/39/324/3, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, 10th May 1780.

commissions will come rather dear upon you, will you draw upon Drummond ⁴⁶²

The Breadalbanes had a strong interest in consumption. Sending out expensive gifts to parents and requesting expensive things despite appearing to have an underlying constant worry about having a lack of money to afford for instance their mother's visit to see them in France (although in this instance even their mother suspected this was because they did not want her to join them). Their actions of consuming while worrying privately about money suggest that as elite consumers they were locked into these patterns of spending. The example of the boys suggesting that their mother should buy an extravagant watch while the opportunity arose because of its cheap cost suggests that they wanted the maximum show for minimum spend. The family cooperated in their consumption, purchasing status-enhancing objects and maintaining a budget were joint endeavours between mother and sons.

2. Handing Down the Elite Material World

Another type of gift was material support. The men provided for their sons' material requirements after they had left home. In the letters this support began after the sons left home and continued through courtship, early married life and adulthood. This took the form of objects exchanged, monetary support for the son's material requirements and advice on consumption and material culture. This last was a particularly prominent

⁴⁶² NAS, GD112/39/325/3, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 31st May 1780.

theme in the letters examined here - the process of handing down certain attitudes and practices through material culture seems to have been especially important to elite men.

As Harvey has recently outlined, masculinity, for male householders, depended on their management of family expenses. This was expressed through the concept of 'oeconomy'.⁴⁶³ Oeconomy was a concept through which lower-and middling-sort men's overall management of the home was understood and articulated by contemporaries. 'It made 'housekeeping' central to manly status. It also made men central to the home. Oeconomy shows the ways in which men made homes and homes made men.'⁴⁶⁴ This is again interesting that the evidence shown here of these men's household management was concerned with consumption and material culture. Men were indeed concerned in the mundane and day-to-day spending and consumption within the domestic arena, and this spending reflected on their ability to perform their masculine roles. But for elite men this role seems to have gone further - encompassing an entire family network.

It was important for Lee Antonie, Dundas, Rathbone, Buccleuch, Breadalbane and Whitbread's masculinity to manage, morally and economically, the spending of their family network. As fathers, the management of their son's expenses had a moral element and was used as a tool to advise the sons' behaviour and attitudes towards consumption, and more broadly the performance of masculinity. As French and Rothery find in their sample of case studies 'there was a constant tension between parental injunctions or family norms and peer pressures' at least until 1860.⁴⁶⁵ The imagined risk of school life was a perceived threat to their peers' ability to influence

⁴⁶³ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 520-540.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 536.

⁴⁶⁵ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 52.

attitudes and behaviour of the sons. French and Rothery show this led to a continued attempt by the fathers to maintain a 'normative' influence on their sons through their correspondence.⁴⁶⁶ This chapter will show that the fathers used a moral language in reference to material culture and consumption in their correspondence as well as physical objects to attempt to influence their sons. The form this 'normative' influence took, however, varied greatly between the men. Rathbone's advice to his son struggled to balance religious ideals with the need to display social status, whereas Dundas encouraged socialising, with Breadalbane and Buccleuch taking a more restrained approach to both. Individual personality and relationships played a role in these dynamics with some fathers intervening more actively than others, some sons living up to expectations while others disappointed their parents.

2a. The Rathbone Family

The Rathbones appear to have had to strike a careful balance between social display and religious restraint. Although Rathbone IV was a Quaker, he still provided his sons with extra money on occasion for things they may have wanted. In 1804, he wrote to William V and Thomas, 'my dear sons, ... I now inclose two bank notes of £5.- each which I hope will supply your present wants'.⁴⁶⁷ Rathbone, more than any of the other men, provided his sons with money in this manner. In this way Rathbone IV was able to allow his sons to participate with the competitive consumption perceived to have existed amongst young men in environments such as school, university and London society without needing to address the guilt or complications related to their religious

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ ULA, RP11.1.10-II, Rathbone IV to his sons, Songbank, 18th October 1803.

background.⁴⁶⁸ Although it was usual practice for Quakers to attend local Quaker schools, William V and his brother were sent to an Anglican school in London to receive their education. As a young child William V had behavioural difficulties ‘Apparently the discipline of home and a day-school was found insufficient to wean this youth from “the exercise of power” and its evil results’.⁴⁶⁹ Rathbone IV had large amounts of non-Quaker but likeminded friends so perhaps did not perceive the dangers of being educated outside of the Quaker sect too great. However, the situation still added extra complication and anxiety to their parent’s attempts at moral guidance demonstrated in the evidence to follow. Wealthy young men attending schools and universities such as Harrow and Oxford were drawn into a world of competitive consumption which was hard to resist.⁴⁷⁰ This would have contradicted the religious beliefs of the Quakers therefore making it necessary to conduct this monetary exchange with a certain degree of ambiguity. Perhaps the reason the other fathers did not send money in this way was so that they could be more directly involved with their son’s consumption.

Hannah Mary Rathbone, William’s mother, used a similar ambiguous method to her husband to discuss economic support with her sons. ‘I wished to send a little money for present use in this, but your father had not a bill suitable and he bid me say that you may depend upon rec-g a supply in good time for your journey etc’.⁴⁷¹ However, she also reveals the power dynamic between the couple in relation to

⁴⁶⁸ Graham Midgley, *University Life in Eighteenth-Century Oxford*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 1-15.

⁴⁶⁹ Rathbone, *William Rathbone*, 58.

⁴⁷⁰ Midgley, *University Life*, 1-15.

⁴⁷¹ ULA, RPV1.10, Hannah Mary Rathbone to her sons, Greenbank, 2nd December 1803.

economic responsibility. Although Hannah states that it was her wish to send a little money, their father was responsible for providing it in this case. Ultimately he decided how much was suitable and when it would be given to the young men. This would confirm the idea that the male householder took the primary role in the oeconomy of the household, rather than his wife. It is interesting however, that Hannah often appears to have had an opinion on her son's purchase of clothes. In 1804, she wrote to her son:

with respect to clothes thy father wishes thee to get anything that will add to thy comfort – but pray do not suppose that coming to Liverpool makes it necessary for thee to forego the privilege of employing a London Taylor – do you think a Liverpool beau would suffer a Liverpool Taylor to clothe his precious limbs & far be such a vulgar thought from your minds – your measure is exactly taken, orders punctually obeyed, 'tis but to say I will to have a coat... of the newest fashion and lo! it is laid at your feet conveyed from the great City on the wings of the wind.⁴⁷²

William's mother was much more specific than his father about her son's consumption. At the age of 17 William V was removed from school to attend an apprenticeship in Liverpool.⁴⁷³ He was unhappy with the prospect of leaving school so early, while his brother Sam was still there. Hannah's tone suggests that she perceived him to be apprehensive about the move. To reassure her son she informed him that he would be able to procure London tailoring from Liverpool. Previous communication suggests that money William had previously requested had been intended for stocking up on London tailoring before departing. Her sarcasm could suggest a number of things. She

⁴⁷² ULA, RPV.1.12, Hannah Mary Rathbone to Rathbone V, Greenbank, 25th November 1804.

⁴⁷³ Rathbone, *William Rathbone*, 60-63.

may not have agreed with his wish to stock up on these clothes and therefore used sarcasm to suggest how inappropriate his desire for London tailoring was. Equally, she may have been offended at the suggestion that Liverpool was unfashionable. Alternatively she may have understood that her son desired fashionable clothing but been unable to express this because of their religious belief. She may have, therefore, had to cloak her interest in consumption and that of her son in sarcasm and imaginative, critical language. Additionally it may have been easier for Hannah rather than William IV to discuss material objects with their son. His father was responsible for upholding the household's moral oeconomy, and the moral side of their household's oeconomy was tied to their religious belief. This suggests these concerns were even more important for the male householder than his wife.

Rathbone IV discussed morality more seriously with his son than his wife did. Rathbone and his son corresponded regularly while William was at school and on his Grand Tour. In his letters to his son, Rathbone stated that the moral education of his son was the closest thing to his heart.

Rathbone's letters were usually concerned with moral and economic advice to his son. Rathbone was supporting William financially and kept a close eye on the money he sent and what it was spent on. As William attended an Anglican school rather than a Quaker school he did not have the same community guidance available to him at a Quaker school. The risks from outside temptations and influences were also greater away from the community. This increased the importance of Rathbone's influence over his son. Rathbone took interest in the types of company his son socialised with. He advised him against exposing himself to the dangerous temptations of bad company and amusements, such as visiting the theatre. William also kept in close contact with

his father and asked permission before accepting invitations, at least on some occasions.⁴⁷⁴

On one occasion, William V wrote to his father requesting permission to accept an invitation to accompany Miss Wakefield to the theatre. His father praises the request but warns his son about the dangers of such pleasures and amusements. He warns his son about,

all the inhibitions of the theatre; & it is the improper tendency of many of them, & the dangerous tho sometime seducing company that is met there which makes these scenes so much an object of dread to virtuous Parents when they think of their children being exposed to such temptations & especially at thy age. That part of thy Education which lies nearest my heart is to induce a fix'd unalterable sentiment in thy mind that virtuous conduct is essential to happiness⁴⁷⁵

Rathbone equated virtue with abstinence from the type of fashionable and excessive company he believed existed outside the circle of his religious group and family, or household. He extended these beliefs to material consumption as well as entertainment.

In 1803, Rathbone sent William a bank draft for ten pounds to pay for some items of clothing he had requested. Like many other examples in their letters, Rathbone's provision of economic support was accompanied by moral guidance. Rathbone wrote:

with respect to articles of Dress thou knowest we cannot judge for thee here,
I believe thee disposed to avoid foppery & unnecessary expence, & would

⁴⁷⁴ ULA, RPV.1.1, Rathbone IV to Rathbone V, 23rd March 1803.

⁴⁷⁵ ULA, RPV.1.1, Rathbone IV to Rathbone V, 23rd March 1803.

have thee get the articles thou mentions, or any thing else which thou art in want of, whenever they will be most useful to thee. I send the annexed a draft for Tenpounds, which do not present for a few days that our Bankers may advise of it; & be sure always pay for clothes and other bills early; the money may be important to those who are to receive it.⁴⁷⁶

He discussed dress, like his wife in the letter quoted earlier, however he stressed the moral tone more firmly. His suggestion that he believed his son to be disposed to avoid foppery, may be meant as an indirect warning to his son rather than a compliment on his present conduct. Additionally the mention of money is accompanied by moral advice discussing the importance of paying bills early for the benefit of those receiving the money. This may have had a secondary meaning, however, related to reputation, as this was central to masculinity, credit. The ability to manage credit well and stay out of debt was an essential component of masculine identity in this period. Debt was even more of an issue within the Quaker faith which condemned any debts or failure to pay debts punctually. 'Worrying that professional and commercial failure by Friends might bring shame on the Society they appointed experienced Quakers to intervene with advice, and sometimes with money, when they heard rumours of impending trouble.'⁴⁷⁷ Members who became indebted were often excluded. This letter can be seen as a fatherly lesson in controlling his expenses and protecting his masculine reputation as well as his position within Quaker society. After Rathbone's death, William's mother, Hannah wrote to William, 'I am tempted to remark an expression which I have heard thee use, more than once, lately – "my Father taught me to fear, God, and being in

⁴⁷⁶ ULA, RPV.1.1, Rathbone IV to Rathbone V, 23rd March 1803.

⁴⁷⁷ Walvin, "Quakers, Business and Morality."

debt””.⁴⁷⁸ Reportedly, one of William’s lasting impressions of his father was his teachings on morality and the management of money.

In June 1808, Rathbone wrote to his son regarding his upcoming twenty-first birthday and therefore the completion of his minority. He enclosed £52.10.-, a bequest from his late aunt, which he was to inherit on reaching his majority. He used this opportunity again to pass on some fatherly advice about spending and consumption:

not doubting that in what ever way thou mayst dispose of it, thy aunts bequest will sometimes be associated with the impression of her virtues: among which, I believe, it may truly be said that piety to the Supreme Being, & an upright desire to perform those duties which constitute the best homage of his rational offspring were the predominant habits of her mind.⁴⁷⁹

Even this relatively small amount of money was given with a reminder that, however he chooses to spend it, William V should consider the morality of their religion and virtue. In his correspondence to his son, Rathbone IV rarely, if at all, discussed consumption without a reference to piety and virtue. He used consumption as a means to address morality and oeconomy with his son, and took it upon himself to educate his son in this manner.

Rathbone V’s majority was an opportunity for his father to offer insight on management of expenses at the same time as alerting his son to the availability of £5000 set aside for him to begin his own business, whenever he chose to apply for it:

⁴⁷⁸ ULA, RPV.1.22, Hannah Mary Rathbone to Rathbone V, 18th September 1827.

⁴⁷⁹ ULA, RPV.1.6, William Rathbone IV Rathbone V, 10th June 1808.

On this occasion I wish briefly to remark that the possession of property requires the performance of two important duties: viz

1st The right appreciation of it, while living, as becomes stewards to the great Dispenser of all good.

2nd The equitable disposal of it by Will (unless those cases where it is certainly known that the law will strictly fulfill the wishes of the possessor) made in time of health, strength, & sound judgment.⁴⁸⁰

He equated the importance of household management with the provision of support to others. He demonstrated that this was an important concern for a business owner, breadwinner or, more importantly, a man in their majority. He stated that ‘thy powers of being useful to others will be considerably increased’.⁴⁸¹ This concept appears to be central to masculinity and linked to the idea of oeconomy and providing for the household family and extended out into public society to establish respect as a man who can control his finances. It is the father’s prerogative to advise his son of these lessons in masculinity. Unlike other letters about oeconomy, this letter was not addressed to both of Rathbone IV’s sons but Rathbone V alone. This suggests that although in many ways the brothers were treated equally, the ultimate management of the lineage-family’s estate was the responsibility of Rathbone V and his father. For Rathbone, manhood was tied up with his ability to frugally manage his estate in a generous and supportive manner which put him in a particular social standing in the eyes of his religious peers. Failure to raise his son with a similar philosophy towards consumption and family could threaten the status of the family name.

⁴⁸⁰ ULA, RP.V.1.6, William Rathbone IV to Rathbone V, 10th June 1808.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

2b. The Whitbread Family

The evidence suggests that other fathers were more directly involved in the individual purchases of the sons. This was particularly the case in the Whitbread family. Whitbread guided his son, Whitbread II, in domestic purchases after his son had left the family home. In 1787 at the age of 23, Whitbread II married 22-year-old Lady Elizabeth Grey. During their courtship, Whitbread II wrote to his future wife Elizabeth regarding his father's involvement in the purchase of their first marital home. He made it clear that it was his father who was the driving force behind not only many of the decisions about which house would be the most suitable for them but also the necessity to choose one at this stage in their lives. These letters give an insight into the dynamic between father, son and future wife about the details of choosing a home. 'I wrote by my father's desire on Friday to treat about the House I mentioned to you in Bedfordshire, & which if we can procure it would be a most eligible situation'.⁴⁸² Although purchase of a house is much larger than clothes, the evidence suggests that Whitbread I was actively involved and interested in, at least the large purchases made by his son. His involvement functioned as a support system for his son, and as a means of financially and morally controlling his son's spending. The following extract from another letter from Whitbread II to Elizabeth suggests he was not only concerned with the cost, but the other implications of the choice, such as the location.

'I am sorry to say that the House in Bedfordshire on which I had set my heart, & which would have been very highly eligible for Us, is gone. My

⁴⁸² BCRO, W1/6589, Whitbread to Elizabeth Grey, Bedwell Park, 2nd December 1787.

Father has been so good as to offer Us either a House that he has in Bedfordshire, or one within two Miles (of) Bedwell also belonging to him. I have thanked him for, & declined both his Offers. for the one is much too near home, & the other is much too small. I do not despair of finding one that will suit Us vastly well without incurring any obligations of this kind; indeed I have one in view but that will be objected to on his part, as too remote'.⁴⁸³

Whitbread I's concern may have related to his son's convenience, fashionability, isolation or a number of other factors, however it is interesting that it was rejected by Whitbread I rather than his son. Perhaps being too close to home for Whitbread II meant he would be unable to escape his father's control and be as independent as he hoped as a new husband and head of a household. His father also appears to have been strongly encouraging him to settle on a house quickly. Whitbread II wrote to Elizabeth, 'Father is vastly anxious that I should fix on a House which I have not yet done'.⁴⁸⁴ This suggests that Whitbread I saw it as his duty to take an active role in the management of his son's domestic affairs, not only in terms of cost but other concerns as well. In this case Whitbread I seems to have been particularly dominant. Doubtless this self-made man was anxious that the family fortunes should not be squandered because of poor management on the part of his son, but his intervention was also motivated by individual character traits and the dynamic of his relationship with Whitbread II. Whitbread's controlling approach to fatherhood could also have been related to the fact he did not have guidance on how to be an elite patriarch from his own father. This may

⁴⁸³ BCRO, W1/6609 Whitbread to Elizabeth, London, 17th January 1788.

⁴⁸⁴ BCRO, W1/65, Whitbread to Elizabeth.

have caused him more anxiety than the other men who had been mentored in a similar way by their fathers.

2c. Lee Antonie

Lee Antonie boarded at Westminster School from 1774 where he became friends with Francis Russell, the future Fifth Duke of Bedford. He matriculated at Jesus College Cambridge in 1783. He was admitted as a fellow commoner, a privileged position held by a student.⁴⁸⁵ William Lally, Lee Antonie's guardian, showed his concern that Lee Antonie's spending was indulgent and that his student, life-style was too costly. He wrote to Lee Antonie, 'I trust that the large expense of the last and present year will have its advantage, if it keeps the young Gentlemen from the Clubs in London and the turf at Newmarket and lower dissipation'.⁴⁸⁶ The letter suggests he considered that this type of entertainment an unadvisable part of bachelor life and a potential temptation for Lee Antonie. Public sociability was important for elite men, for whom it was advisable to forge social connections and networks. Additionally public sociability was crucial for polishing oneself within the parameters of politeness as has been seen above.⁴⁸⁷ Brewer details the range of pleasurable activities to which the young men may be exposed in London, within the codes of politeness and sociability, which included activities such as balls and assemblies.⁴⁸⁸ Here we see the boundaries of Lee Antonie's activities in Cambridge more narrowly defined. Lally here wants Lee Antonie to spend

⁴⁸⁵ Michael Jones, *Colworth in Context: a History of Colworth Estate Bedfordshire from 1720 to 1947* (Bedford: Newnorth Print Limited, 1997), 73.

⁴⁸⁶ Hertford Record Office, 69306, Letter from Lally to Lee Antonie.

⁴⁸⁷ Above, 24-7.

⁴⁸⁸ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*.

money on polite sociability, aimed at raising his esteem among more respectable members of society. The clubs in London, gambling and ‘lower dissipation’ were clearly in tension with the type of sociability Lee Antonie’s guardian wished him to present. These activities may have been associated with excess. The ‘large expense’ spent on avoidance suggests that this is a more complex issue and may have related instead to cultural anxieties around self-control.

2d. The Dundas Family

The provision of material support for their sons whilst away from home was not just an economic concern but a moral one as well. Sir Lawrence Dundas demonstrated that the support was extended with certain expectations of reciprocal duty on the son’s part. Although the son is not necessarily expected to return the gift with physical objects in the short term, he was expected to return the obligation with a certain type of behaviour, more specifically he is expected to act according to the father’s view of what was financially appropriate. In 1760, Dundas wrote to his wife from Bremen complaining about the amount of money Thommy was spending and how little Dundas heard from him,

He wrote:

You desire to know when I heard of Thomy which is very seldom, his last letter was dated the first of august... it was a sort of answer to what I wrote him in June from Rotterdam when I sent him an accot of near £1300 he had spent in about a twelvemonth. I desired him to give over the foolish expensive way he had been in, but in place of that Mr Crawford writes me last week that since June he had drawn about five hundred pounds, so that

in about fifteen months he has spent about 1800 an Expense that my Circumstances cannot afford, besides the little attention he gives to my letters as to Expense, I understand he has gone an Expedition to Turin without ever acquainting me. I assure you I am not at all pleased.⁴⁸⁹

Thomas Dundas had not lived up to his part in the contract. In contrast to Rathbone, Dundas gave his son a considerable amount of economic freedom, supplying him with large amounts of money to be spent over a long period. However, Thomas had not spent the money in a way considered appropriate by his father.

Most importantly, his father lamented the fact that his advice had not been listened to. Dundas considered the act of instructing his son about consumption an important part of his fatherly role. The fact that Thomas had visited Turin without telling his father had upset him. Without proper correspondence and knowledge of his son's actions Dundas was unable to guide his son. French and Rothery argue that 'the behaviour of the children undoubtedly affected the ways the parents were perceived among their peers'.⁴⁹⁰ This helps explain why Dundas was not pleased.

After Thomas had returned from the Grand Tour, Dundas had sent him a letter instructing him on how to behave and dress appropriately. However, he had also felt the need to send the same instructions to his wife. Dundas was frustrated about the poor correspondence with his son. However, he still felt it was his duty to advise his son and had to find another way to pass on the moral lessons.

In 1763 he wrote,

⁴⁸⁹ NYCRO, ZNK. X.1.2.11, L. Dundas to Peggie, Bremen, 11th October 1760.

NYCRO, ZNK. X.1.2.13, L. Dundas to Peggie, Bremen, 8th November 1760.

⁴⁹⁰ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 231.

I am very happy to know by your two letters from Hill Street that you are arrived in London, I am also pleased that you stay some days & see your, and my friends, all which I hope will be over so as you may set out on Wednesday after you have been at Court, if you do this we may expect you here Friday evening which I could wish for I find you must go to York races on the Sunday for a couple of days, you must be fine at the balls so bring down some Cloths.⁴⁹¹

His perspective on desirable behaviour differed from Rathbone's. Dundas encouraged his son to socialise while in London and to visit York races and attend balls once he arrived home. Rathbone would have considered these activities a dangerous temptation leading to excessive consumption and extravagance. For Dundas, socialising was a desirable activity for his son. Reputation was the concern for both men. Rathbone's Quaker beliefs meant that his son's reputation depended on avoiding such activities, where as Dundas had to engage. Additionally he encouraged his son to bring clothes to be fine for the balls. It was not only attending but also displaying his consumption, which was essential for his reputation. It was his father's duty to ensure his son's masculinity by advising him on dress and how to impress the appropriate company. There are other occasions where Dundas demonstrated his interest in Thomas's sociability and dress. The previous week he had written to his wife that he would not,

have you leave London befor Thomie is properly presented at Court and that he has seen Lord Bute, Lord Northumberland, if possible the Duke of Bedford, and my friend Mr Rigby, tell Tomy this and he will manage it, tell

⁴⁹¹ NYCRO, ZNK. X.1.2.32, L. Dundas to Thomas Dundas, Askehall, 14th August, 1763.

Thomie that I wish my friends to be his and these are the people I desire him be known to, carry him to Moor Park and if he has time go with him to see Lord Hyde order him to have his teeth put in and let him dress as an English man ⁴⁹²

His perspective of how an English man dresses was based on his perceptions of the judgments of the men in the social group discussed. The instruction to dress as an 'English man' added an element of patriotic pride as well as patriarchal pride in being what he considered a man. Dundas did have insecurities regarding his Scottish estates mentioning to his son on a few occasions the higher value of English estates to those in Scotland.⁴⁹³ His emphasis on looking English could have been aimed at distancing himself further from the family's Scottish connections.

Throughout the letters written to his wife and others, Dundas discussed and valued material objects more often than many of the other men in this study. In the same letter he requests a 'new Blew Frock' and 'the Silver writing Stand' from his wife.⁴⁹⁴ This suggests that he wished to impart his own values about consumption and the use of objects to express wealth and reputation to his son. Although Rathbone, Whitbread and Dundas all held different views on consumption and how dress and objects should be used, all three use the discussion of material objects to coach their sons about appropriate masculine behaviour.

⁴⁹² NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.30, L. Dundas to Peggie, Askehall, 7th August, 1763.

⁴⁹³ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.307, L. Dundas to Thomas Dundas. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁹⁴ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.30, L. Dundas to Peggie, Askehall, 7th August, 1763.

2e. The Breadalbane Family

Breadalbane was somewhere between the extremes of Dundas and Rathbone. He approved of the importance of making a good impression on society. In his letters to his eldest son he emphasised excusing yourself from the vices of drinking and gambling politely so as not to offend others.⁴⁹⁵ He also made a point to mention that he would not want his son's frugality to go too far.

I would not have you covetous but do not throw away money to no purpose. Economy is honorable & of great use. The Estate which will come to you is small as the world is now, very many private Gentlemen have much greater Estates than mine, & without regular Economy I could not have lived as I have done.⁴⁹⁶

Breadalbane believed honour and economy were tied together. To be honourable as a man one must not be in debt. He points out to his eldest son that his estate is not as large as many of the peers perhaps to highlight that he should not get carried away in competitive spending based on the amount his friends spend around him.

At the beginning of the advice Breadalbane wrote, 'An old man's letter may perhaps be disagreeable to a young one but at the Intention proceeds from friendship I must go a little farther & give you one advice more'.⁴⁹⁷ He understood that young men

⁴⁹⁵ NAS, GD112/39/331/2, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 15th June 1781. See also: NAS, GD112/39/331/1, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 26th April 1781.

⁴⁹⁶ NAS, GD112/39/327/4, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 6th November 1780.

⁴⁹⁷ NAS, GD112/39/327/4, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 6th November 1780.

and old men had different attitudes to money, honour, debt and socialising. However he tried his best to communicate his advice in a way he believed his young son can understand.

Breadalbane's understanding of the differences between young men and older men was their need for amusement. Lack of amusement would affect their mood but also their morality later in life. By not learning to balance their fun and work at this stage in life they would risk becoming extravagant later on.

Young people must have amusements, otherwise their Temper grows sullen & morose; or else when they become their own masters they fall into Extravagancies & vices too fashionable. A just medium between study & diversions is the right way with youth⁴⁹⁸

He regularly mentioned what he thought a man should be and what man he hoped his son would become, spelling out what an old man thinks versus what a young man thinks and what a younger brother should be versus what an older brother should be. He was interested in the different types of manhood and recognised a distinction between them in his lessons to his sons. He used the words honour and economy regularly.

However he also believed that the 'The Character a young man sets out with sticks by him'.⁴⁹⁹

I began indeed to suspect you had let you attention be carried away from your best friends by the follies too common in youth, who prefer Idleness

⁴⁹⁸ NAS, GD112/39/321/1, Breadalbane to Mrs Campbell, Edinburgh, 5th February 1779.

⁴⁹⁹ NAS, GD112/39/327/3, Breadalbane to John and Colin, Taymouth, 17th September 1780.

& pleasure to Things of greater moment. I am very glad to find this was a mistaken, & hope you will maintain the character I sincerely wish you of a man of business fit to appear in an upper scene of life, whilst younger brothers shine in a different form.⁵⁰⁰

Despite being worried about money the Breadlabanes clearly viewed consumption as important to social status.

Breadalbane also seemed concerned to have his boys able to consume on the same level as their peers even at school. He disagreed initially that a horse was appropriate for a schoolboy as it would distract him from his studies. 'The more diligently a Boy applies to his book, the sooner he becomes fit to leave school, & to enter into the world as a man.'⁵⁰¹ He asked, 'I shall be glad to know what Westminster Schoolboys keep horse. Does the Duke of Bedford keep one? I am sure that formerly horses were not allow'd'.⁵⁰² In his opinion it was unnecessary, however, if his sons' peers keep one then he was willing to consider it. He understood the importance of his son fitting in with his peers. Captain Archibald Campbell, a family member who wrote to the boys often while they were at Cambridge did buy him a horse although his father had previously said no.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰⁰ NAS, GD112/39/327/4, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 6th November 1780.

⁵⁰¹ NAS, GD112/39/316/3, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Taymouth, 14th September 1775.

⁵⁰² NAS, GD112/39/316/3 (14/09/1775), Taymouth, Breadalbane to John Campbell.

⁵⁰³ GD112/39/316/9, Captain Archibald Campbell, Ardmady, to John Campbell, student at Westminster, 6th July 1776.

The Breadalbane men considered their position in society important. Their ability to fit in with good company was a common theme in letters between the sons, their father and Archibald. They spoke about a man's need to keep good company. That is one way in which they framed masculinity. Archibald gave the boys advice on how 'to make a good figure in the world' which included good grammar and speaking French, 'which is now so universally spoken that no man can go into good company in any part of Europe without speaking it'.⁵⁰⁴ Breadalbane also wrote to John about appropriate masculine behaviour. In his opinion, dance 'gives a man a genteel air, which with other accomplishments acquired by attention & ambition to please, distinguishes the Gentleman from the vulgar'. He also stressed 'I hope you will meet with good Company at Bristol hot well, & that you will be acquainted with the best that are there. A young man's character is judged by the world from the Company he keeps, & the judgment seldom fails to be right.'⁵⁰⁵

John evidently shared his father's perspective to an extent as he received his father's praise for mixing with the right company. Breadalbane's compliments suggest he considered his son to have grown from a boy to a man in his dealings with others while in London.

'John, No longer Jack since you had a Tail at the back of your head... I suppose you will be desirous of stepping fourth from behind the Curtain of a School about Easter, & communicating to the world the Stores you laid

⁵⁰⁴ NAS, GD112/39/316/5 (14/11/1775), Taymouth, Breadalbane to John Campbell.

⁵⁰⁵ NAS, GD112/39/316/10, Taymouth, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Yarmouth, 28th July 1776.

up in your Retirement; I hope they will prove to your advantage in every Stage of life.⁵⁰⁶

His father suggested that it is nearly time for his son to join the public stage in contrast to what he considers 'hiding' at school. He addressed his son as John, saying he has not been 'Jack', a common diminutive for John, since he had a 'tail at the back of his head'. He used John's physical appearance, his hairstyle, to symbolise his youth. A man's physical appearance was an important method of self-expression. By John's 'retirement' Breadalbane was referring to the time John had recently spent at school. At school John was 'in retirement' out of the public eye however the lessons he learnt there could now be used communicating with the 'world' as he emerged in to society. Mrs Campbell also encouraged her sons to socialise with the right company. Colin and John wrote to their mother describing the balls and events they attend often with details of the homes and the host and hostesses.⁵⁰⁷ Letters between the boys and their mother show a little insight into the boys' relationship with one another and their attitude to socialising.

You quarrelled me in your letter to Colin for not going to a Ball that was given in this Town but the real case was that I had an Inflammation in my eyes and my brother choosed to write to you that I did not go because I could not dance. But since he begins to tell tales of me I will do the same

⁵⁰⁶ NAS/GD112/39/318/1, Breadalbane, to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 13th January 1778.

⁵⁰⁷ NAS/GD112/39/335/1, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Vienna, 2nd January 1782. See also: NAS/GD122/39/329/7, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Brunswick, 13th August 1781. 'We went at the hour appointed and was presented to the Dutchess in her own Drawing Room I never saw a Person of any rank so affable'

towards him. There was a dance a few days ago seven miles from this Mr de Saussure & I went but Colin staid at home... the Gentlemen that gave this dance is a Mr de Morzier... he has resided long in London and is quite an Englishman⁵⁰⁸

The brothers' quarrels about who had missed more balls suggests that the boys viewed the events as more of an obligation than an enjoyable experience. Their accusing one another of making excuses not to go and telling tales to their mother suggest that their mother wanted them to go more than they did themselves. At the end of the passage John showed that he valued the connections he was making and the importance of civility. His father's advice was focused mainly on schoolwork, socialising and money management.

In what Breadalbane considered to be his last letter to his sons, and what ultimately was his last letter before his death, he sought to advise his eldest son who he considered was 'now going into the world' how to approach this new stage of his life.⁵⁰⁹ The letters written in this final stage of Breadalbane's life offer insight into the process of transition between father and son in the family and how the family dealt with this. He gave the common advice to avoid drinking and gambling although he gave the more unusual caveat to 'always excuse yourself in a polite manner without giving offence to the company.' He advised John to manage the estate well without exceeding his means and by paying debts regularly. In contrast to the advice of the other fathers Breadalbane emphasised the role of trusted friends and advisors. He named a few in his final letter

⁵⁰⁸ NAS/GD112/39/318/7/5, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell.

⁵⁰⁹ NAS/GD112/39/331/1, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 26th April 1781.

as he knew he would soon die. Most other fathers encouraged their sons to support their dependents responsibly, whereas Breadalbane encouraged the boys to rely on the support of others. This is an interesting difference to advice of the other fathers. ‘make use of what you have been hitherto learning, which I don’t doubt you will do to your own honour & to the Satisfaction of your friends. Above all be a good man, recommend yourself regularly to Him who alone can protect you thro all the dangers & difficulties of this life, & conduct you to be better’.⁵¹⁰ In an earlier letter Breadalbane advised against debt and wrote, ‘Be not extravagant, be at no unnecessary expense. I would not have you covetous but do not throw away money to no purpose.’⁵¹¹ He wrote that he was pleased to find that he had not been distracted by idleness and pleasures which young men’s friends often encourage. ‘For many a young man begins with low play innocently and by degrees grows to deeper till he is despised by those who win his money I don’t mean low play with ladies merely as a diversion but never with men alone’.

The parents’ impressions of their children were not always right. It was possible for children to have greater levels of honesty with different family members. ‘I had a letter to day from Lord Breadalbane He tells me he hears that I go regularly to Church & praises me very much for it but between you and I cant conceive who

⁵¹⁰ NAS/GD112/39/331/1, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 26th April 1781.

⁵¹¹ NAS/GD112/39/327/4, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 6th November 1780.

has done me that good office as I am (for my own loss) not so regularly pious as he thinks'.⁵¹²

However, a line written by Colin after their father's death suggests the boys, especially John valued his father's advice. 'It would been very fortunate for him if he had lived some years longer to have given him proper informations about the estate & his affairs'.⁵¹³

Likewise it appears John and Colin valued their father's advice about recruiting support from trusted friends. John wrote to his mother about the subject of his father's possible death.

I think it certainly necessary that some trusty friend of ours should examine things if Lord B should happen to die which I hope wont happen yet... But I think some Gentleman True Friend to my Family and to me should be employed too as there will be many things to arrange that you wont understand perhaps. I should wish that everything was put and kept in the greatest order and whatever orders Lord B will leave should be faithfully complied with.⁵¹⁴

As with the Rathbone family, Breadalbane concentrated on advising John, his eldest son and heir. He always wrote separate advice to his youngest (as did the other men in this study) at the bottom of letters addressed primarily to the eldest. Advice to younger

⁵¹² NAS/GD112/39/325/2, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell of Carwhin, Lausanne, 1st March 1780.

⁵¹³ NAS/GD112/39/335/3, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, 27th February 1782.

⁵¹⁴ NAS/GD112/39/329/4 (11/06/1781) Lyons John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, 22nd June 1781.

sons mainly regarded immediate situations along with a comment that the broader advice to the eldest also applied to them. However, it is interesting that the main body of advice was directed explicitly to the eldest and the younger sons were only addressed afterwards. In his final letter to his eldest before his death Breadalbane wrote:

You are now going in to the world, to make use of what you have been hitherto learning, which I don't doubt you will do to your own honour & to the satisfaction of your friends. above all be a good man, Recommend yourself regularly to Him who alone can protect you thro all the dangers & difficulties of this life, & conduct you to a better... Be not extravagant in any Expense, & always remember that a Scotch estate is very, much inferior to those of England, & if you get into debt you will never be happy afterwards. I insist upon you never buying anything without your friend Mons de Saussure's advice & approbation. Paying regularly, & never exceeding my Income, but suiting my Expenses to it was my constant Rule, & I hope will be yours, 'tis the only way to live happily.⁵¹⁵

However, Breadalbane did not advise John as much on the specifics of managing the estate as Rathbone did in his advisory letters to his eldest. In fact after Breadalbane's death Colin noted the usefulness of having more in depth fatherly advice help for his brother. The 'Death of Lord Breadalbane which is a great loss to us & particularly to my brother, it would been very fortunate for him if he had lived some years longer to have given him proper informations'.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ NAS, GD112/39/331/1, Breadalbane to John, Edinburgh, 26th April 1781.

⁵¹⁶ NAS, GD112/39/335/3, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, 27th February 1782.

The evidence from the Breadalbane family allows us to see a successful transition taking place between father and son. This seems to be down to the father's guidance of his sons, and the effectiveness of the wider family. When Breadalbane died in 1781 John was launched 'into the wide world' and it was time to see what was hoped, whether his character would 'answer the expectation of all you friends'.⁵¹⁷ As a lord, consumption was one of the concerns on John's mind. Colin wrote to his mother on his brother's behalf outlining some of John's thoughts on various subjects.

he has wrote you how he will have his carriage ... he will have It lined with Green & B on each door with the coronet. The colour of the carriage on the outside, must be as you have propose it of a dark colour, he thinks a dash green is the best... My Brother says if they think at Taymouth there are too many deer in the Park they can make presents of them to his Trustees but by no means if it is not proved there are too many.⁵¹⁸

The boys had a responsible attitude despite being young and took control of the situation calmly and maturely when their father died. They wrote instructing their mother on their opinions about the best ways to proceed.

While Breadalbane was ill John made it clear that he wanted to retain the same staff and family relationships that his father had.

⁵¹⁷ NAS/GD112/39/331/2, Archibald Campbell to John Campbell, Edinburgh, 15th June 1781.

⁵¹⁸ NAS/GD112/39/335/5, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell of Carwhin, Munich, 14th April 1782.

I should wish Charles Lee & indeed all the rest of my Lords Servants to be retained in the Service of the family, as they have always served his Lordship well, and as good Servants are at present so difficult to be had, I think it would be wrong not to keep them. But in all those things consult Lady Glenorchy, who I wish should be always on the same footing with me as she was with Lord B.⁵¹⁹

The brothers decided that to perform his new role as well as possible John should get married and set up a family home. This was suggested as a means for him to protect himself from the dangerous temptations of bachelor life.

We all agree that the best thing my brother can do is to marry, & settle in the country it would keep him out of bad company, which he may easily get into when he has no Profession, & in these days that all the young men in England and Scotland had such a wild life to be sure it is rather too soon but I dont see what he can do better.⁵²⁰

Tosh argues that the home, ‘was central to masculinity’ and it was through marriage and independence that men ‘attained full adult status as householder’.⁵²¹ Although John argues that ideally he would not get married so early, and therefore have longer to be able to establish his independence, the risks involved with being a bachelor were too

⁵¹⁹ NAS/GD112/39/334/2, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Vienna, 16th February 1781.

⁵²⁰ NAS/GD/112/39/335/2, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Vienna, 16th January 1782.

⁵²¹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 2.

great. Marriage being the end of the journey to manhood, an early marriage would get Colin there if not ideally then at least safely.

Even before he reaches his majority or his father's death, John is interested in his mother's financial and living arrangements and advises her on these matters. 'I received your letter with an account of your having bought Lord Breadalbane's House last Saturday I am very glad you have got it as it is an excellent house & in a very genteel part of the Town.'⁵²² He was invested in his mother's financial situation. Towards the end of his time as a student he often worried about his mother's ability to afford the things he asked her to send him. John and Colin asked their mother not their father to send them the things they needed while on the Grand Tour. John realised that the money provided to her by his father for her maintenance was not sufficient to cover any extras for him. Requests for items sent from England were accompanied by ways for her to pay for them or for her to be refunded for her expense. 'I received yesterday the box you sent us I am much obliged for the trouble you have taken... pray will you write me the price of Bach's music that you sent me'.⁵²³ He instructed his mother to take some money for the sword she sent him in Lausanne and some mathematical equipment from the allowance he received from Breadalbane.⁵²⁴

John worried about his mother's financial situation to the point that before he reached his majority or his father's death he promised to increase his mother's annuity as soon as it is within his power to do so. 'If it is in my power before I am of age I settle

⁵²² NAS/GD/112/39/325/3, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 31st May 1789.

⁵²³ NAS/GD112/39/319/5, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Morges, 26th May 1779.

⁵²⁴ NAS/GD112/39/325/3, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 31st May 1789.

£1000 a year upon you to be counted from the Death of Lord B'.⁵²⁵ John offers his mother a huge increase to her £200 a year she was receiving from her husband. The transition of power from father to son in this family appears to have been straightforward. Unlike the spendthrift Thomas Dundas, John Campbell could be frugal and engaged in the management of the family finances even before his father's death. In the longer term, the successful maintenance of elite families was in part dependent on the character and skills of the next generation.

2f. The Buccleuch Family

By shaping their sons' behaviour and attitudes towards consumption and the home elite men attempted to fashion their sons' identities in their own image. What is distinct about the father-son relationships of elite men in this period was the importance of transferring estates and family status via primogeniture. Fathers performed their masculine role by producing sons who would continue to manage the estate in the same way as they had. In these circumstances Tadmor's 'lineage family' became of greater importance and the material world had a vital role in the creation and maintenance of this. The way men managed their estate reflected on their identity as a man. Words like honour were used by the men to express the importance of managing money, staying out of debt, and supporting networks of family and workers dependent on the estate. Eldest sons would have the responsibility to continue to manage the estate. Stobart argues the importance of lineage and inheritance linked to notions of rank and dignity, creating 'a specifically aristocratic mode of consumption, built around signifiers of

⁵²⁵ NAS, GD112/39/329/4, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lyons, 22nd June 1781.

family, lineage and pedigree'.⁵²⁶ He says that the importance of managing the estate across the generations of the lineage-family brought the consumption practices of elite men into the realm of every day spending.⁵²⁷ The evidence of this chapter shows that fathers were concerned with the daily spending habits of their sons in relation to preserving the family estate in the next generation. A father's ability to raise a son with similar approaches to consumption and oeconomy was essential to continue the reputation of the family.

However, there were marked differences between families in the extent to which young men were encouraged to participate in fashionable cultures of consumption. Unlike the Breadalbanes, who were encouraged by their parents to cultivate refined manners and learn fashionable cultures of sociability, Buccleuch was deliberately discouraged from participating in that way of life. There is little discussion of consumption in Buccleuch's letters as a young man.

Charles Townshend, Buccleuch's guardian, was concerned to keep the duke away from London and Paris during his education and Grand Tour. He wanted to limit the duke's exposure to 'the habits and companions of London, before his mind has been more formed and better guarded by education and experience'.⁵²⁸ The duke's tutor,

⁵²⁶ Jon Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736-1806," *Social History* 40 (2015): 82-103, 102-103.

⁵²⁷ Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle," 103.

⁵²⁸ "Townshend to Smith, 25 October 1763," in *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. Ernest Campbell Mossner and Ian Simpson Ross, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 95.

Smith himself was described as, ‘ingenious, without being [over re]fin’d’.⁵²⁹ This gives an account of the type of education Buccleuch received, focused on intellectual and practical skills whilst discouraging participation in fashionable cultures of sociability and consumption.

Evidence suggests that Smith and Townshend succeeded in their aim to some extent. At the first dinner party held at Dalkeith in 1767, Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, a guest at the dinner party, observed the duke’s surprising inexperience in entertaining. Buccleuch had only just reached his majority and was entertaining for the first time. He ‘had been more than two years in France, and four months in London since he came home, but he was backward at that time to set himself forward’.⁵³⁰ Buccleuch’s entertainment was organised by ‘means of established custom of their predecessors, they had two public days in the week, when everybody who pleased came to dine with them’.⁵³¹ Carlyle’s frustration in wishing them to abolish the system and instead select a ‘company of a score tolerably agreeable’, suggests that the system was outmoded or at least out of touch with fashionable Edinburgh society.⁵³² As I suggested in the introduction,⁵³³ codes of sociability functioned differently at different levels of elite society and here we see pressure on Buccleuch to maintain some independence from them.

⁵²⁹ “Charles Townshend to the Duke of Buccleuch, 10 June 1765,” in Bonnyman, “Agricultural Improvement,” 69.

⁵³⁰ Carlyle, *Autobiography*, 488.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 489.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 489.

⁵³³ Above, 17, 24.

That Buccleuch's education gave primacy to practical skills and intellect over status-enhancing consumption, is supported by the fact the list of visitors in the Dalkeith House Day Book listed more intellectual men of the Scottish Enlightenment than aristocrats as regular dinner guests.⁵³⁴ Buccleuch wished to express his social status and moral sentiment differently from other men in this study. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Smith, who was Buccleuch's personal tutor, argued that a male host's superior standing might be expressed through their aversion to cultures of status-enhancing display rather than their indulgence in it.⁵³⁵

If raising a son with the same attitude to estate management was important for elite men, how did men who did not become fathers conform to this model of masculinity, or reconcile their masculinity in the light of not conforming? As Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster suggest, examining childless men, 'provides a gauge for judging more precisely the *extent* to which fatherhood was a constituent element of masculinity and patriarchal authority'.⁵³⁶ The example of Lee Antonie suggests that it was important for men to mould the tastes and attitudes of their heirs to control the status of the family in the next generation.

3. Childless Men

Berry and Foyster establish that men's sexual performance may have been under threat from social criticism and judgment, were they unable to conceive after marriage. They

⁵³⁴ NAS, GD224/1085/1, Dalkeith House Day Book, (1775-1797).

⁵³⁵ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: Penguin, 2009), 228, 363.

⁵³⁶ Berry and Foyster, "Childless Men," 160.

argue, ‘Children were demonstrable proof of a man’s sexual success *and* fertility.’⁵³⁷ They suggest that, ‘Without children, a married man’s honour, reputation and credit were open to question.’⁵³⁸ Without a way of practising fatherhood, his position as a patriarch and household manager was also in question. To counteract this, Berry and Foyster postulate that men adopted a number of methods. ‘In public life as philanthropists, or as godparents, guardians and adopted parents within their family circles, men could become father-figures without having their own biological children.’⁵³⁹ The fact that men evidently attempted to reassert that patriarchalism suggests that fatherhood was indeed an important part of their masculinity. As we will see, in the case of Lee Antonie, command and deployment of the material world allowed him to express and publicly state a patriarchal role, even in the absence of children.

William Lee Antonie was a married man who never had children. Lee Antonie’s reaction to his position as a childless husband highlights his priorities when it came to asserting his masculinity, or compensating for any perceived threat. This offers an interesting comparison to Berry and Foyster’s findings. It is hard to tell how he felt about his sexuality without any specific reference to this in the evidence. However, his actions give insight into his beliefs about different methods of asserting his manliness.

According to contemporary critique certain types of behaviour were often considered threatening to manliness and masculinity. Lee Antonie did not make special effort to avoid such criticisms. For instance, he was a big lover of French fashion, which

⁵³⁷ Berry and Foyster, “Childless Men,” 182.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 183.

was repeatedly linked to effeminacy in cultural discourse.⁵⁴⁰ He also spent money extravagantly and enjoyed foreign goods, which in terms of concepts of moral spending were considered a threat to the national good, and therefore his position as a good citizen, putting his position as a patriarch even more into question. Lee Antonie's habits of domestic consumption suggest that he was not more concerned to establish his masculinity through this type of expression than any of the other men in this study. This implies that he did not perceive his manliness to be more unstable in the public eye than any of the other men.

However, one area of Lee Antonie's situation does corroborate Berry and Foyster's study. Lee Antonie adopted the role of provider to his nephew John Fiott Lee. This suggests that he did feel the need to practice some form of patriarchy, as a replacement for fatherhood. In 1812, just after Fiott's father had passed away, Lee Antonie advised his twenty-nine-year-old nephew Fiott about spending and luxury display. Contrary to his own actions he takes on the role of moral advisor and discourages his nephew from excessive spending. Clearly, his management of his nephew's expenses and the advisory role he adopted were more important to his position of patriarch than his own personal habits of domestic consumption. Lee Antonie wrote to his nephew, describing his reaction to Fiott's Cambridge accounts of expenditure. He explained that he 'was very unpleasantly surprised to see the large amount of them... I found most of the other bills very high and particularly that of wine'.⁵⁴¹ This suggests that he was particularly concerned with his nephew's excess in sociability and 'vice', such as drinking. Despite Lee Antonie's similar habits as a

⁵⁴⁰ Lee Antonie's interest in France and French fashion will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁴¹ BCRO, UN494, Lee Antonie to John Fiott, 1812.

bachelor, he remarked, ‘your time must be much taken up with matters materially more essential and I have very lately been told & indeed know from my former fellow Collegians (who, were in your situation) that what with their constant attending to lectures & their private studies there was seldom any opportunity of seeing them except at dinner time’.⁵⁴² He however accepted the necessity of some of the expenses. It is telling that he specifically mentioned ‘the bill for furniture (which I suppose was absolutely necessary for inhabiting your rooms)’.⁵⁴³

Lee Antonie’s advice to his nephew about reducing his spending is interesting. ‘It is not that you should consider whether your expenses are higher than those of others but it must be your ... resolution to make them much less and how the old adage is perfectly applicable which is that “we must cut our Coat according our Cloth”’.⁵⁴⁴ His words show an awareness that Fiott’s excessive spending may have been inspired by competitiveness with his male peers at university. Although his views on spending had altered since his own bachelor days, consumption still featured prominently in his life and was central to his masculine status. Lee Antonie even used material objects as a metaphor to express his concerns. The letters suggest Lee Antonie related to Fiott in a similar way to the way many of the other men related to their sons. He considered it to be his duty to advise and coach his young nephew on the morality, economic viability and social meaning of spending and consuming.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

Despite his moral advice against excessive spending, Lee Antonie bonded with Fiott through domestic decoration and consumption. Whilst on a Grand Tour in 1811, Lee Antonie's nephew, Fiott, received a letter from Lee Antonie.

In regards to private Concerns, I must inform you that much alteration has taken place at Colworth and what was talk'd of as improvements when you was last there have since, been put into execution, and anything that you can add (a Bonne Marché) to adorn a Library and Conservatory with Books, Prints, orange trees & plants will afford much to its beauty.⁵⁴⁵

Lee Antonie's discussion of decoration and request for furnishings from his nephew is another example of the way the decoration of the men's homes played a part in masculine relationships. Additionally Fiott wrote to Lee Antonie expressing his interest in Colworth and its decoration. A letter from 'Le petit jack' (Fiott) to Lee Antonie refers to Colworth in French terms, 'I hope Sir Henry Halford will be satisfied with the improvement you have made during your séjour at Colworth, and that he will agree with me in thinking it the Montpellier of England'.⁵⁴⁶ This suggests they bonded over Lee Antonie's evident love and interest in his home and its design.

Lee Antonie's motivation to act as a surrogate father for his nephew could be based on a number of factors. As Berry and Foyster suggested it could have been based on a desire to negate gossip about his sexual performance. However, neither this nor accusations of effeminacy appeared to be a concern for him. He even bonded with his surrogate son and heir over luxury consumption at the same time as advising him

⁵⁴⁵ BCRO, UN493, Lee Antonie to John Fiott, Albermarle Street, 26th June 1811.

⁵⁴⁶ BCRO, UN570, Le petit Jack to Lee Antonie, Drayton House, 1st May 1815.

against excess. It seems likely that his concerns related to passing on his inheritance and therefore coaching his young heir to share similar beliefs about consumption as he did to ensure his legacy continued in his desired fashion. It also provided a means to practice oeconomy and patriarchy. Lee Antonie wanted to demonstrate his role as household manager, which legitimized his citizenship and masculinity. In contrast, sexual performance or effeminate consumption did not seem to have worried him. Children were central to fashioning masculinity and how this dynamic functioned in relation to domestic material culture. The evidence from the letters between parents and their sons suggest that masculinity was based on a sense of oeconomy and managing family roles. Reputation appears to have been a key concern, which the fathers in particular were keen to impart to their sons. One of the most important concerns in this area was avoiding debt.

For Dundas on the other hand respectability and reputation were equally tied up in what to wear, spend on material objects and sociability but the key was not abstinence but rather looking and acting like others in society to fit in and gain respect through fashionability and appearance. Dundas and Rathbone believed their responsibility as fathers was tied up with advising their sons on how to fit the model of respectability they valued, of which consumption and material culture was a key part. Even men without children were aware how important the role of householder and oeconomy was to their masculine status. Lee Antonie sought to recreate this role despite his lack of offspring. Lee Antonie performed his masculine role as patriarch by acting as surrogate father to his nephew. The performance of this role was based upon material support and advice regarding his young nephew's taste and attitude towards consumption.

Legal guardianship could be a similar form of mentoring that led to longer-term relationships. Walter Scott, the future duke of Buccleuch, had been legally dependent

on Lord Montagu during his minority however after Walter reached majority and became duke they became good friends.⁵⁴⁷ As friends they continued to speak about land and improvements, commenting on the good workmanship of bridges.

Montagu spoke fondly of home to Walter. He discussed it in terms of a safe and secure place writing, ‘as the weather is now rather wintery in feel I am glad they are all at home’.⁵⁴⁸ He wrote that the comfort of home was important to him and that he was too old to ‘take root’ in a different house. For Montagu home was a place to be rooted. He also demonstrated an interest in material things with in the home. After a flood at Laton he wrote to Buccleuch:

what a sad catastrophe at Laton! it reminded me of my own similar disaster at Wilton, but Ld Bute is older than I was then & has not I should think the same inducement I had then to re-establish myself in the same place – I hope it is true the Pictures have been saved, there were some very fine ones there⁵⁴⁹

4. The Patriarch and the Extended Family

As Tadmor points out, the idea of ‘household family’ raises questions about the way historians have considered extended family, such as aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces, in the past. ‘One phrase that recurs in the context of such changes is ‘*to be taken into a family*’’.⁵⁵⁰ Relations could and often did move in and out of the household-

⁵⁴⁷ NAS, GD224/131/64, Montagu to Buccleuch, Bowhill, 3rd November 1827.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ NAS, GD224/131/28, Montagu to Buccleuch, Dalkeith, 19th November 1843.

⁵⁵⁰ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 23.

family unit. Large families in this period often meant that there were unmarried, childless or otherwise unattached family members who would adapt and fit into a familial role.⁵⁵¹ In the case of the elite families it may make sense to think about the household family as an extended financial and material unit that encompassed a number of different physical households. Although there is no evidence in the letters about when or if any members of the men's 'extended family' moved in or out of their household during the period. In this sense it is difficult to examine whether the relatives' involvement with the domestic material culture of the men was related in any way to their living within the same household. It is unlikely however, that they will have been living in the same home as the patriarch under examination when the letters were written. What this correspondence does show us is that the patriarchal role of the head of the family went beyond the elite household. Elite men often intervened in or provided guidance on material provision for their extended family who did not reside with them.

There was an expectation that the household budgets of the larger family would be managed by the patriarch. In the Dundas correspondence there is evidence that when the larger family groups felt like they were struggling economically the patriarch was held responsible. Charlotte Dundas, Sir Lawrence's daughter-in-law, considered the support her household received from her husband's father insufficient. In 1780 Thomas Dundas spent the winter with his father in London, leaving his wife in Yorkshire with their children. Charlotte began to express her frustration at the situation. It is clear in her complaints to her husband, Thomas, and mother-in-law, Peggie that she blamed Sir

⁵⁵¹ Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relation, 1780-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Lawrence for her insufficient upkeep.⁵⁵² She wrote to Thomas complaining about how she felt about his father,

as had I been your House maid , he could not have treated me with more slight & contempt than he has done on numberless occasions, which I think myself a great Fool having submitted to ⁵⁵³

Her angry tone suggests the degree to which she found Sir Lawrence's behaviour unacceptable. This suggests that, at least in her opinion, the ability to manage household expenses was very important and the responsibility of the patriarch.

Thomas's letters to Charlotte were not available but a reply from Charlotte shows that Thomas had disagreed with her analysis of their economic situation and the blame she put on his father.

I am hurt to a degree I can't express at your saying you dread my letters for they lash S^R L. so severely over your Back that it is quite raw. I never meant to lash more than one, & you are not that one I do assure you. I can only in excuse bid you remember the stripes I suffer not only in Body but in Mind too, & then you can't wonder that I should be sever against the one who occasions so many of those stripes. ⁵⁵⁴

After resolving to finally write to Sir Lawrence and express her dissatisfaction she consulted her husband on the contents. This led to further disagreement between the couple.

⁵⁵² NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.99, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas, 12th March 1780.

⁵⁵³ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.95, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas, Upleatham, 29th February 1780.

⁵⁵⁴ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.98, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas, 7th March 1780.

I am sorry you did not mention last Post your objections to part of my letter as I think I can't have altered it much for the better, by saying you was when in London unavoidably led into expences, while the Children & I were the really distressed for the Money, that you both would & could have saved had you remained in the Country with us according to the Plan before mentioned.⁵⁵⁵

This gives the impression that she also partially blames her husband for living extravagantly in London with his father and forgetting to provide for his family in the country. However, although Thomas Dundas was himself the head of a household and a husband, responsibility for the financial support of his household family fell to his father, the extended elite patriarch.

The guidance Whitbread provided for his nephew, William, was similar to that offered by many of the men to their sons. Whitbread wrote 'My nephew William went from hence to York Races, returned here and went this week to Doncaster, I am very sorry to see that he has so great a love for the Turf, but there is no talking a young Gentleman out of his fancies - tho by doing this I fear there will be no chance of his studying the Law or any other thing'.⁵⁵⁶ Whitbread's position as patriarch and householder put the management of family expenses, including that of extended family, at the forefront of his manly status. His masculinity depended on how well they were able to control their families' oeconomy. However, he is less concerned with his nephew's oeconomic habits than if he were his son. His assertion that, 'there is no talking a young Gentleman out of his fancies', suggests that instead of engaging his

⁵⁵⁵ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.97, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas, Upleatham, 6th March 1780.

⁵⁵⁶ BCRO, UN570, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, 3rd May 1793.

nephew in a moral discussion about responsibility, he simply lamented his nephew's lack of it.

Rathbone V also had a close relationship with his niece and exchanged books with her, as he and his father both did with many other close family members and friends.⁵⁵⁷ This seems like quite a common method used by the Rathbone men to bond. However, interestingly one of the most decorative items recorded in the Rathbone letters is a gift from Rathbone V to his niece Hannah Mary Rathbone Jr.

What a beautiful material this Hart's horn is the carving is so fine the subject so affectionate & the design in such good taste that we all & myself in particular admire the brooch as unusually pretty from its simple elegance... I never possessed anything I liked so much.⁵⁵⁸

His role as patriarchal provider for the household extended to his wider network of relations. His ability to provide material objects went hand in hand with his obligation to provide other material support for a wide group of people. This act confirmed his manly status. Interestingly, the frequency of correspondence during the period suggests that she was not a member of his household family at this point. Equally, with sons of his own, there was no special reason, such as continuing the family lineage, that Rathbone would have adopted her as a surrogate daughter. This suggests that a man's interest in the material culture of his family was not limited to his immediate or household-family members.

Other economic duties for extended family included paying for funeral expenses. In 1760, Lee Antonie took care of the funeral expenses of his uncle, the late

⁵⁵⁷ ULA, RPV.1.32, Hannah Mary Rathbone Jr. to Rathbone V, Woodcote.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

John Antonie. He paid for everything including, 'sixteen yards of ribbon, a set of feathers for the horse and horses for 9 days, the church bill at Sharnbrook, Omitted 7 cloaks for the tenants at Sharnbrook, 5-6 Kidd gloves and 15 Common silk hatbands'.⁵⁵⁹ As the patriarch, Lee Antonie was expected to provide the funeral outfits for those involved in the funeral and close relatives. This was part of his extended duty as provider and a way in which material culture played a role in the performance of his masculinity. It was from this uncle that Lee Antonie inherited Colworth and took the name Antonie, as his father's name was Lee. The act of organising and paying for his funeral was a symbolic act as he accepted his role and responsibilities as householder.

This was also an issue for more distant relatives. As Lady Castlecaille's sole beneficiary, Sir Lawrence Dundas was obliged to pay for her funeral.⁵⁶⁰ This meant a lot of trouble was taken by Dundas's assistant Andrew Longmoor to pay the servants, distribute or auction the furniture and decide how to best utilise the house. Not all the furniture was sold. Longmoor wrote, 'all the Bed and Table Linen and Blankets at Castlecaille were brought to Kerse and the Silver plate & China and some things that are offered for in particular an eight day Clock, a Chest of Drawers, a writing Desk &

⁵⁵⁹ BCRO, BS.2061.1, Bill, Anthonie Esq., 24th May 1760.

⁵⁶⁰ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.272, Andrew Longmoor to L. Dundas, Kerse, 14th July 1777. NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.291, Andrew Longmoor to L. Dundas, Kerse, 17th September 1777, 'leaving to Helen Wauch her Housekeeper her Body Cloths & the most of the Furniture of her own Room 2 Table Cloths 24 Table Napkins, two pair of Sheets & £10.10 ... & bequeathing her Gold Watch & Ring to Lady Dundas'

some other small Things – a very good Feather Bed was also not exposed',⁵⁶¹ as well as a gold watch and ring which were bequeathed directly to Lady Dundas.⁵⁶²

Discussion was had as to whether to refurbish Lady Castlecairne's house to sell or rent to a gentleman and how much work this would require. This gives a little insight into what was considered acceptable or desirable for the residence of a gentleman.

Sir Lawrence must consider if he would incline to keep the house up & fit it for a Gentleman. It is my Opinion the house would take a good deal of Money to put it in proper Order for a Gentleman – a Country Man offers £30 for the Lady's possession who puts a Value on the house but would want a house to dwell in and Office houses put in Repair. The Barn Stable and Byre stand in Need of Reparations.⁵⁶³

Longmoor also mentioned to Dundas that the inventory had not changed since Lady Castlecairne's husband's death other than a couple of items, which had been accounted for.⁵⁶⁴ The attention to the material worlds of even quite distant members of the family indicates how far reaching the patriarch's role was expected to be and how important it was for the status of the family as a whole that even those on the periphery of the group should be living in the appropriate fashion.

The patriarch might also play a role in cementing relationships with incoming family members, and here material culture could also be important. Discussion of the material world featured in the correspondence between William Rathbone IV and his

⁵⁶¹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.311 Andrew Longmoor to L. Dundas, Kerse, 2nd December 1777.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

future father-in-law Richard Reynolds during his courtship with Reynolds' daughter, Hannah Mary Reynolds. Rathbone used the discussion of his opinions towards dress as a platform to promote his virtues and suitability as a potential son-in-law. His written condemnation of excess and fashion was intended to demonstrate his moral attitude towards consumption. If he married Reynolds's daughter, his role as householder would involve managing the morality of his family's expenses and would be his responsibility. This made his attitude towards oeconomy a key concern for the father of his future wife, in his judgment of him as a suitable or unsuitable man for his daughter.

Excessiveness of dress or an imitation of the fashions of the age I have long considered in the opposite extreme & seriously disapprove. In my own conduct I am conscious of little to blame myself for in this respect, altho if I live I shall probably manifest a more scrupulous attention therein.⁵⁶⁵

As we have seen previously, the particular type of morality (disapproval of excess) was specific to the mode of masculinity he wished to promote. According to the sources so far this appears to have been affected by religion, rank, economic background and region. As both Reynolds and Rathbone were Quakers, Rathbone presumably wished to assure his potential father-in-law of their common religious values towards consumption, therefore assuring him of his wider suitability and obedience to their faith more generally.

Conclusion

⁵⁶⁵ ULA, RPII1.15, Rathbone IV to Richard Reynolds, 10th October 1785.

This chapter explored the role of the patriarchal father figure within elite families through their material provision for older and younger sons, heirs and extended family. Gift giving played an important role in elite family relationships: parents used gifts to make complex emotional statements, but children also took part in gift exchange and could be closely involved in the acquisition of objects designed to display family status. Men expressed their masculinity through the household and the moral and economic management of the families' domestic consumption. The father's position as the head of the family was particularly important for their status and the performance of their masculine role. This is evident both in the way the men conducted their role as head of the family and the way the men attempted to create this role for themselves when it was not naturally available to them, for instance in the case of childless men.

It was particularly important for these men to provide guidance to their direct heirs. As the home 'was central to masculinity', the son's ability to manage the home well in their future adult life was a key concern for their fathers.⁵⁶⁶ As Tosh argues, young men were not considered to have 'attained full adult status as householder' until marriage and independence.⁵⁶⁷ However, the fathers were concerned about the paths the young men took prior to their achieving adulthood. Fathers used the discussion of consumption as the platform with which to morally educate their sons, either as a means to promote or disparage different types of consumption. As Stobart has shown, the importance of lineage and inheritance for wealthy families produced a specifically aristocratic mode of consumption, built around signifiers of family, lineage and pedigree.⁵⁶⁸ He argues that the importance of managing the estate across the

⁵⁶⁶ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁶⁸ Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle," 102-103.

generations made the realm of every day spending essential for elite men's ability to continue the reputation of the family.⁵⁶⁹ The evidence of this chapter shows that fathers were concerned with the daily spending habits of their sons to preserve the family estate in the next generation. This chapter takes the argument further by showing the active process by which estate management and elite consumption was passed down the generations. The way elite men consumed was central to the preservation of their rank and dignity and therefore their identity.

Pearsall argues that letters between fathers and sons reveal the fathers' efforts to form their sons' characters and avoid their sons failing in business.⁵⁷⁰ For the elite fathers in this thesis the importance of ensuring conformity with the moral values and behaviour of the family went further than simply being successful but being successful in the specific manner desired and practiced by the father. Here, there were significant differences between the case study families - as religious affiliation, degree of wealth and national identity were important to the fathers in different ways. The individual characters and relationships involved were also important. Their concerns were not only founded in the cost of supporting the young men, but also in the type of spending the men engaged in. Rathbone and Dundas were quite extreme in their tastes for particular types of behaviour. French and Rothery argue that in their samples of correspondence the language of moral advice in letters between fathers and sons was, 'bland, ambiguous, and elusive' allowing space for interpretation about the values the parents wished to impart.⁵⁷¹ In the case studies of this thesis the advice imparted by the fathers was much more specific and related to the religious, moral and economic values

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 103.

⁵⁷⁰ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, 115.

⁵⁷¹ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 134.

specifically held by each family. By looking at the material world it is possible to go further than French and Rothery do and actually start to build a more concrete picture of how parents wanted their sons to act. The contrast between Rathbone IV's advice, who warned against socialising and consumption, and that of Dundas who embraced it, is evident in this chapter.

French and Rothery argue that this necessity of conformity outweighed the interest in broader societal change and, that although some parents were able to tolerate some fashions, moral values tended to be conservative so that change occurred slower in elite society than elsewhere.⁵⁷² However, there is evidence in the letters that some elite fathers embraced cultural changes in fatherhood identified by historians such as Bailey and Retford.⁵⁷³ Bailey shows that in this period ideal fatherhood emphasised tenderness and affection, as well as an interest in discipline.⁵⁷⁴ The image of Dundas at the start of the chapter suggests an attempt to appear affectionate with his grandchild rather than formal. The correspondence also reinforces this idea with some fathers writing affectionately to their sons. Whilst the range of this study does not offer a broad insight on these changes over time, the conservative character of their advice, aimed at promoting conformity from one generation to the next is confirmed. While on the other hand, the failure of some sons to heed their father's advice led to generational differences.

Men used material culture to assert their position as the head of the household and therefore the patriarch of the family. They did this in a number of ways, including gifting and providing material and economic support. Interestingly they also felt the

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood." Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, 187-214.

⁵⁷⁴ Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood."

responsibility to act as moral arbitrator of the family in relation to consumption and put much emphasis on issuing guidance to their dependents about the amount and type of domestic consumption in which the dependents should engage. The different methods in which they engaged in these three activities (gifting, providing support and issuing guidance) demonstrates the complex and multifaceted nature of men's interest in the material world of the home.

Chapter Three

Public Men: Consumption, Sociability and Affiliations

This chapter considers how elite men used domestic material culture to convey their status in public. As the previous chapters have shown, household management was central to the men's sense of manhood. Men's status in the public sphere depended on their management of their own homes and private spheres. 'If 'public' and 'private' were conflated during the eighteenth century, then oeconomy was surely one instrument of this conflation.'⁵⁷⁵ This chapter shows that for the elite men in this study, the process of using consumption to build and display a new identity began early, at school and university. As the men became adults and householders they continued to use domestic consumption to communicate with their peers. They used the design and decoration of their homes to display their beliefs, values and status to friends and colleagues. Through the home they promoted causes which they believed in, such as religious values, social responsibilities, business interests and cultural interests. This chapter will consider men's relationships with their peers in a number of contexts: as young men acquiring social status, in their friendships and social life, politics and entertaining, displaying political affiliations and local and national identities.

⁵⁷⁵ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 536.

This chapter examines the male associations between the men and their business partners, political allies, religious associates and friends. Tadmor examines the concept of friendship and its meanings in the life of Thomas Turner as well as in the eighteenth-century cultural imagination as seen through literary texts.⁵⁷⁶ She argues friendship covers a broad spectrum of relationships which included family members and that the common factors in friendships, particularly Turner's friendships was 'sentimentality and instrumentality'.⁵⁷⁷ Tadmor also argues that friendships 'were very often linked to occupational ties', and that friendship, 'was understood as a moral and reciprocal relationship'.⁵⁷⁸ In this chapter the men's friendships include men with shared business, political and religious interests.

Much of the analysis will focus on the men's friendships and male networks, and their political, economic and social concerns. Building and furnishing country houses involved co-operation with large networks of men. In addition to her work on male networks of antique collecting, Coltman explores how even portraiture required a 'series of sociable transactions' to be created.⁵⁷⁹ This chapter will examine the extent to which men engaged with one another in the context of domestic decoration.

The chapter discusses sociability which was important aspect of life for elite men, for whom it was advisable to forge social connections and networks. Carter argues

⁵⁷⁶ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 167-271.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁵⁷⁹ Vicky Coltman, "The "Peculiar colouring of the mind": Character and Painted Portraiture in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Susan Manning and Thomas Ahnert (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 163-186, 166.

that politeness was a sociable category of behaviour with the purpose of showcasing power and status to peers.⁵⁸⁰ Brewer's influential study *The Pleasures of the Imagination* details the range of activities acceptable within the codes of politeness and sociability.⁵⁸¹ As discussed in Chapter Two the boundaries of acceptable behaviour were narrowly defined in the letters between fathers and their sons. This chapter demonstrates the importance of public sociability for men to perform their masculine identity. By examining the father and son relationship through the lens of material culture the correspondence shows how polite sociability was realised materially and how it worked for elite men in different contexts.

All of these social relationships involved material culture. 'Nowhere was conspicuous consumption taken further to extremes than in the building and furnishing of the country house'.⁵⁸² Wilson and Mackley identify the country house as, 'the centre-piece of a formidable statement being made about wealth, authority and status'.⁵⁸³ This chapter identifies the country house as a focus of masculine relationships with their peers. Men used the home and material objects to demonstrate their interests, loyalties, successes and power to men in various types of social connections. Country houses were not confined to the private sphere simply as family homes, they were also the public centre of hospitality for friends, relatives, colleagues, visitors and local communities.

This chapter deals with the intersection between the public and private worlds. It builds on the arguments of Flather and McKeon that state that although the

⁵⁸⁰ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 209.

⁵⁸¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*.

⁵⁸² Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 357.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the formation of the concept of separate public and private spheres, the domestic arena saw their conflation.⁵⁸⁴ More specifically, it draws on Nenadic's argument that male hospitality in the eighteenth century, particularly focussed in newly specialised dining-rooms, was essential men's public identity through the display of valuable status enhancing objects.⁵⁸⁵ The detailed nature of the case-study correspondence allows a closer analysis at the kind of identity the men attempted to portray. While I concur with the argument that the home and its decoration were crucial to social display and the construction of public identities for these men, I will demonstrate that the values the men chose to display varied considerably between different men. Their homes reflected their political, economic, religious interests and values. As the men strove to display their masculine identities through their home their values were often in contrast to each other's.

1. Young Men Acquiring Social Status

Youth was perceived to be an important time in a man's lifecycle. As the contemporary literature chapter demonstrated, young men were thought to develop the character and status which would form their reputation for the rest of their lives. Consumption was used to develop, maintain and display the identity of the elite young men studied here.

Social status was a common concern for the young men with regards to their material consumption. The letters suggest that during their time as students the boys learned to define their social standing amongst their peers, often using consumption and

⁵⁸⁴ Flather, *Gender and Space*, 43-44. McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*, xix.

⁵⁸⁵ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 146-50.

material culture as a means to do this. Men's time at university seems to have been particularly important in establishing their consumption patterns. Each man felt different levels of anxiety over how they appeared to their school friends. Although, Buccleuch was exceptionally wealthy he still received advice on how to consume appropriately, in particular from his tutor Adam Smith. Whether men engaged in competitive spending to impress, or abstained from spending, these young men were using consumption to fashion a new status for themselves.

Whitbread had a privileged education. He went to Eton College in 1775 with a private tutor where he became friends with Charles Grey and William Lambton. He then went to Christ Church College Oxford, although in 1782 his father removed him and sent him to St John's College Cambridge as a fellow commoner. Whilst at university Whitbread revealed the anxiety he felt at the fact that his manufacturing background set him apart from his aristocratic friends and this continued to concern him in later life. In 1806, in a letter responding to his long-term friend Charles Grey, he expressed his frustration at the way in which his situation affected his public identity. 'I cannot be easily under the sneers of some, the Condolences of others and the Conversation of all... having no family to boast of I ought to be and am more diffident as to my situation with the Public than if I were nobly born.'⁵⁸⁶ The letter suggests Whitbread felt his lack of noble family heritage, and therefore his domestic situation, acutely affected his status and public perception.

Still at university, Grey advised Whitbread to distance himself from his commercial background to further his political career. In a letter responding to Grey's

⁵⁸⁶ Durham University Special Collections, GRE/B59/2/18, Samuel Whitbread to Charles Grey, 9th February 1806.

advice Whitbread complained that Grey believed his trading background, ‘disqualified me for every high situation’.⁵⁸⁷ Whitbread’s own perception of his situation is revealing, as it suggests that the negotiation between his public and private identities was important in the portrayal of his masculinity. Whitbread received warnings from his father about avoiding the excesses of sociability. At Cambridge Whitbread became close friends with the son of a Norfolk curate Thomas Adkin, who was an extravagant and outgoing character who threw frequent social events.⁵⁸⁸ Whitbread’s father did not approve of the friendship. He wrote to his son, ‘He is a man of loose character, not fit for your acquaintance’.⁵⁸⁹ Whitbread I’s disapproval suggests that he was concerned with how his son socialised. Parental advice about how to interact with other men socially and against excessive consumption suggests that the men’s public identities were the concern of their male family members or guardians. Although there are no available sources that directly reference domestic consumption these letters provide clues about the masculine relationship with public consumption during these men’s bachelorhood. They suggest that excess in the public sphere, including ‘lower dissipation’, had negative connotations in the eyes of their guardians.

Whitbread in particular was aware of and concerned about the way he appeared outwardly, and he continued to be troubled by anxiety over his family background in later life. He also understood the importance of appearance to his social,

⁵⁸⁷ DU, GRE/B59/2, GRE/B59/2/18, Samuel Whitbread to Charles Grey, 9th February 1806.

⁵⁸⁸ Roger Fulford, *Samuel Whitbread, 1764-1815: A Study in Opposition* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1967), 13.

⁵⁸⁹ Waldegrave papers. Somerset Archives and Local Studies, DD\SH/40, quoted in Whitbread, *Plain Mr Whitbread*, 27.

political and economic interests. Throughout his life and political career, he dealt with criticism of his mercantile background. A book published in 1807 described Whitbread's performance during the impeachment trial of Lord Melville. 'Mr Whitbread ran about, foaming like one of his own butts of porter, in high fermentation, and he continued poor gentleman, in froth and spleen, effervescence and vanity, during the trial'.⁵⁹⁰ The discussion of him as vain and inelegant alongside a reference to his financial background hints at the social stigma, which was attached to his wealth. This was an impression that Whitbread was concerned to escape. One example of this is his discussion of a portrait commissioned by Grey to hang at Howick Hall. He wrote, 'I hope to Goodness you will not hang up that bloated vulgar beer drinking effigy of me'.⁵⁹¹ His language here is telling. His use of the word vulgar suggests that he wished to be viewed as elegant and tasteful but felt that links to his brewing background hindered him in these aims. His home can therefore be seen as a way for him to construct and outwardly express an identity with which he wanted to be associated.

William Rathbone V also conversed with his father about social status and how he fitted in amongst his peers. His father's response suggests that Rathbone V expressed concerns about feeling pressure to fit in with his aristocratic peers, particularly in terms of consumption. Although Rathbone IV wrote that imitating peers was a valuable way to 'attain to real respectability in the eyes of others', he expressed concern that there was no-one worthy of that position in his son's social group.

⁵⁹⁰ Anonymous, *A Letter to His Majesty. The Bandogs: or Remarks on the Managers against W. Hastings Esq. And Lord Melville* (London: William Horseman, 1808), 10.

⁵⁹¹ DU, GRE/B59/2, Whitbread to Grey, 12th August 1810.

You look around in the circle of your young friends, & virtuously lament that these are so few whom your parents or yourselves can point out as models for imitations or as persons with whom it would be or desireable for you to be connected in the bonds of intimate friendship.⁵⁹²

However Rathbone IV wrote ‘it may be some encouragement to you to remember that the greatest instances which history records are of men who had not the external helps which you & I so much covet, but who seem, from the very circumstance of having to combat with difficulties & privations, to have had their energies roused & improved almost as far as human abilities admit that’. Without such advantages he may have been better placed to work diligently and cultivate those recourses for himself.⁵⁹³

Like Whitbread, the Rathbones had recently created their wealth through timber industry rather than through multigenerational land owning like many of the other young aristocratic men at school. Both young men who were from backgrounds of newly created wealth felt insecure about their social status. Rathbone IV encouraged his son to focus more on where he will end up in life based on his achievements rather than how much respect he would earn from his friends based on his appearance. His father may himself have been concerned about his son’s engagement in competitive spending and was attempting to warn him off this path indirectly without having to

⁵⁹² ULA, RPIL.1.12, William Rathbone IV to his sons William Rathbone V and Thomas Rathbone, 7th December 1806.

⁵⁹³ ULA, RPIL.1.12, William Rathbone IV to his sons William Rathbone V and Thomas Rathbone, 7th December 1806.

explicitly address the problem, hinting to his son in a letter discussed in Chapter Two to avoid ‘foppery and unnecessary expense’.⁵⁹⁴

Letters from Rathbone V’s parents suggest he also engaged in entertainment and sociability which his parents did not believe suited their life-style at home. They warn him on a couple of occasions to be careful of the types of people he might come across whilst engaging in the types of sociability he divulges to them. At one stage Rathbone V wrote to ask his permission to accompany his friends to the theatre which his parents refused warning of the risk of the seduction of bad company.⁵⁹⁵

Rathbone IV warns his son that the friends he has made at university would not be appropriate guests to their home, unless forewarned about the family’s values before their visit. It is interesting that Rathbone felt some degree of separation between certain aspects of society and their domestic sphere. This is an interesting issue in relation to the public and private sphere debates. Rathbone did not feel comfortable with his home being publicly accessible to non-Quakers. Although their religious friends understood their domestic life other elements of society may not have. Rathbone felt it necessary to retain a private element to his home as far as non-Quakers were concerned. A meeting of these two different elements of society could have caused Rathbone IV some degree of social shame or embarrassment.

you will remember the nature of your short stay at home, that you will be a good deal engrossed by the friends you are coming to see, and that the sort of amusements &c which some others like are not in our way – if therefore you invite him to come with you – you should simply & fairly state these

⁵⁹⁴ ULA, RPV.1.1, Rathbone IV to his son Rathbone V, 23rd March 1803.

⁵⁹⁵ ULA, RPV.1.1, Rathbone IV to Rathbone V, 23rd March 1803.

things, to prevent disappointment or misunderstanding, and if after this he consents to come, you may cordially assure him of a hearty welcome.⁵⁹⁶

At school Thomas Dundas consumed to a degree which others considered excessive. When staying in private lodgings while at Harrow he spent a significant sum on improvements there. His father paid to have his lodgings refitted and decorated before his arrival in July 1775.⁵⁹⁷ The itemised bill for the work gives a very specific idea about his taste as a young man. The amount of changes which were made and work which was done on the lodgings was very extensive. One of the main concerns appears to have been matching the furniture with the bed and the paper and paint work. The bill even listed ‘a mans time putting plinths around the rooms repairing the woodwork do and all the floors etc’, not only did they refit and paint all the fittings and fixtures but also added decorative woodwork fixtures to the room. The extent of this consumption suggests the aim was to impress fellow male peers at school. School was an important time for young men to make important social contacts giving them the possibility of a small degree of social movement. As mentioned earlier, Whitbread was aware of the social opportunities which had been opened up to him through his friendship with Charles Grey for instance.

One item of interest is ‘5 pieces of sportsman stucco paper’.⁵⁹⁸ The description of the paper sounds as though it was marketed towards a masculine, if not a young male, consumer. The bill also lists a number of domestic objects which have typically been associated with conventional feminine sociability such as ‘a cupboard lock and a small

⁵⁹⁶ ULA, RPV.1.10, William Rathbone IV to William Rathbone V, Greenbank, 2nd December 1803.

⁵⁹⁷ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.9.129, Bill for Master Dundas’ lodgings at Harrow, July 1775.

⁵⁹⁸ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.9.129, Bill for Master Dundas’ lodgings at Harrow, July 1775.

padlock for a sugar chest, a mahog tea board, a do waiter, 2 do bottle boards, a mahog tea chest with 2 canisters'.⁵⁹⁹ These items suggest that he would have been entertaining at school. The bill also listed, 'mans time packing up sundries at Arlington street and the goods in Compton street to go to harrow'.⁶⁰⁰ This suggests that not all items were purchased new but some items of special importance or significance were packed up from home and brought. This could either have been to save expense or because Dundas was particularly attached to the objects. The document lists the bed as Master Dundas' bed suggesting perhaps this was one of the items previously owned by Thomas and brought down. It also seems to have been one of the main focuses in redecorating the room, to ensure that the paper, paint and furniture matched the bed. Beds were often seen as very high status objects and were expensive. An expensive bed may have conveyed the family status of Dundas most effectively in comparison to other objects. Despite the expense of moving the bed and redecorating the room to match it, that may have been the most affordable and efficient way of displaying status in such a lodging rather than buying a new bed.

On his Grand Tour, his parents became concerned about the amount of money he was spending, and worried that he was gambling. Their concern can be read in the context that a father was responsible for his sons' necessary debts until they came of age. However, on further investigation it does not appear to be the money that was the issue rather than the morality of the way it was being spent. A letter from R. Smith, who was in Lausanne with Thomas, to Duncan Forbes was forwarded by Forbes to Lawrence Dundas. The letter discussed Thomas's spending and the company he met.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

Smith argued that he could understand why Thomas's parents may have thought he was gambling because of his excessive spending but in fact it was Thomas's extravagance in multiple areas which was costing so much money.

In the first place, he keeps two or three servants; he has to the best of my knowledge four horses in his stable, & a chaise; he is very extravagant in Cloths, Ruffles, Entertainments &c; when gaming is going on he always plays more or less out and he is neither skilful nor attentive, it is to be supposed generally without success: when all these things I say are considered, and to these are added that he is giddy, careless, inattentive to all money affairs beyond expression, cheated of consequence by servants, &c &c &c, it will not be surprising that his expenses should amount to a considerable sum.⁶⁰¹

Although clearly Thomas was spending a lot of money on gambling his father was relieved to discover that he also spent a significant amount of the expenses on clothes, horses and servants. Lawrence was not worried about the extravagant spending his son participated in suggesting for him it was expected as a part of a young man's development. 'I remember when I had the same turn for all that expense and nothing but a little experience will get the better of it'.⁶⁰² For Dundas, consumption was not negative in itself as long as it progressed towards the development of the right type of character for an elite man. Servants, clothes and horses and even gambling were acceptable spending for a young elite man.

⁶⁰¹ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.8, R. Smith to Duncan Forbes (passed to Dundas to look), Lausanne, 12th July 1760.

⁶⁰² NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.9, Lawrence Dundas Peggie, Bremen, 19th August 1760.

Letters from Dundas show that Thomas's spending was consistently high throughout university as well as the Grand Tour. Although his father asks him often to cut back Thomas continues to spend in excess of what his father can afford to give him.

I desired him to give over the foolish expensive way he had been in, but in place of that Mr Craufurd writes me last week that since June he had drawn about five hundred pounds so that in about fifteen months he has spent about £1800, an Expense that my Circumstances cannot afford, besides the little attention he gives to my letters as to Expense I understand he has gone an Expedition to Turin without ever acquainting me. I assure you I am not at all pleased.⁶⁰³

It is interesting that out of the six case studies Lee Antonie and Dundas had similar forms of consumption as young men. Both men spent large amounts to impress peers and attracted comments about their 'excessive spending'. Lee Antonie, as seen in the previous chapter was reprimanded by his guardian for visiting clubs, gambling and 'lower dissipation'.⁶⁰⁴ Lee Antonie did not hold a title, whereas the Dundas men were actively interested in raising their social status with Thomas Dundas eventually rising to peerage in 1793. Both were less secure in their social status than the other men such as Buccleuch who held many titles. The evidence in this study suggests Lee Antonie and the Dundas men were more disposed to engaging with status enhancing display. Dundas used material culture to coach his son about polite consumption such as sociability and luxury display, although as the letters show this did not always have the desired effect as Thomas often spent his time gambling and drinking instead. As Carter

⁶⁰³ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.11, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie, Bremen, 11th October 1760.

⁶⁰⁴ Hertford Record Office, 69306, Letter from Lally to Lee Antonie.

argues politeness was a ‘sociable category in which gender identity was conferred, or denied, by men’s capacity for gentlemanly social performance’.⁶⁰⁵ Politeness was a code of behaviour that allowed men to communicate with one another to the point of enabling a level of social mobility.⁶⁰⁶ Such displays of material wealth allowed these men to communicate status and identity. It is understandable that the men who felt less secure in their situation would feel more need to rely on social codes of behaviour to interact socially.

There were also similarities in the way the young men of the Scottish families consumed. Breadalbane was from an aristocratic family but not exceptionally wealthy like Buccleuch. This difference manifests itself in an interesting way in relation to their luxury consumption as bachelors. During the eighteenth century a cultural change occurred in the way Scottish Lairds were educated. It became fashionable for young Scottish men to be educated in England. Rather than being based permanently in their country estates, Scottish Lairds increasingly lived in cities like London and Edinburgh, making regular visits to their estates.⁶⁰⁷ This affected the material culture of the Lairds as they became involved and educated in cultures of fashionable and ‘polite’ entertainment during their English education. All three Earls of Breadalbane were educated in England and in 1708, the third earl was sent to Edinburgh for the purpose of learning urban manners and gentlemanly behaviour by visiting coffee houses, assemblies and attending Edinburgh University.⁶⁰⁸ However, Lairds continued to keep

⁶⁰⁵ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 209.

⁶⁰⁶ Klein, “Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century,” 873.

⁶⁰⁷ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 134.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 188.

ties with Highland traditions and acknowledged the importance of staying connected to the local gentry on their Highland estates.⁶⁰⁹

As we saw in Lord Breadalbane's final letter to his sons he advised John to 'always remember that a Scotch estate is very, much inferior to those of England'.⁶¹⁰ The letters show that the young John Campbell and his father distanced themselves from Scotland culturally. John and his father mentioned trying to conceal John's Scottish education to appear more English. In critique of a letter John Campbell wrote to his father, Lord Breadalbane wrote,

There is only one sentence which shews the Scotch Education...I was in hopes such Scoticism would be forgot by hearing pure English spoken. Attention to grammar will soon cure those errors, which shew a want of Learning in those who fall into them.⁶¹¹

The young John even considered himself a patriotic Englishman. While on his Grand Tour in Europe he continued to write to his mother enquiring about the English news rather than the Scottish.⁶¹² They discussed American and French politics more often than discussing Scottish affairs.⁶¹³ In a letter to his mother in 1779 he wrote 'these are questions which interest all Englishmen and true lovers of their country and I flatter myself I may be numbered among the greatest of them'.⁶¹⁴ Scottish identity was tied to

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 134.

⁶¹⁰ NAS, GD112/39/331/1, Breadalbane to John, Edinburgh, 26th April 1781.

⁶¹¹ NAS, GD112/39/316/3, Breadalbane to John Campbell, Taymouth, 14th September 1775.

⁶¹² NAS, GD112/39/318/7/5, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, 1778.

⁶¹³ NAS, GD112/39/319/8, John Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Morges, 15th July 1779.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

British identity through Scotland's military contribution to the British army.⁶¹⁵ The formation of a wider British identity has been associated with conflicts with a Catholic other. Although Mackillop argues that a sense of wider British identity was not the primary reason for military recruitment in Scotland the association between the military and national identity is clearly present in these letters between John and his father.⁶¹⁶

It is clear that the boys and their father considered their primary loyalty to be to England. Colin, the younger brother, was set to join the army in September of 1782. He was proud to have earned his own place instead of having his father buy him a position.⁶¹⁷ He focused his interest and excitement about joining his regiment on the uniform and its meaning. 'it is not much honour at present to serve as all our officers behave so ill; I am almost ashamed to wear the English uniform'.⁶¹⁸

He wrote about the uniform on multiple occasions to his mother, father and advisors enough for them to mention it in letters to each other.⁶¹⁹

Mr Gray has given me the drawing of my full uniform but I am not certain yet whether there are buttons on the sleeves or only two borders of: Lace: I will be obliged to you if you will ask Mr Bare the Taylor or any body that

⁶¹⁵ Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil,'* 204.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 232

⁶¹⁷ NAS, GD112/330/1, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 10th February 1781.

⁶¹⁸ NAS, GD112/39/335/4, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Vienna, 13th March 1782.

⁶¹⁹ NAS, GD112/39/329/1, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 9th May 1781. See also: NAS, GD112/39/324/7.

can inform you about it...Ask it as soon as possible about because I would not make up a uniform if I was to return to England...⁶²⁰

The attention to details expressed by Colin confirms the importance he placed on the uniform. He was obsessed with the smaller details of the outfit writing again later: 'I forgot in my last letter to you to tell you to enquire of the epaulette of the frock uniform is the same as to the full uniform or what manner it is done. I will be obliged to you to write me an answer as soon as possible'.⁶²¹ The details of the uniform were tied up with Colin's sense of identity and nationality. He invested his sense of self significantly in the physical object.

If we consider the consumption practices of young men, particularly in relation to their peer groups at university and beyond young men bought and displayed things to build a new identity and social status, and there was often a lot of anxiety over excess. This is demonstrated in the novels which will be discussed in the final chapter. However, this manifested itself differently in the families investigated here. Both Whitbread and Rathbone seem to have been under more pressure to exercise restraint, whereas it seems the more aristocratic Dundas and Lee Antonie were expected to show a certain degree of extravagance (although their spending still occasioned some anxiety from their relatives). For the young Colin Campbell, however, displaying Englishness appears to have been the most important facet of the identity he communicated through material goods.

⁶²⁰ NAS, GD112/39/330/4, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 2nd May 1781.

⁶²¹ NAS, GD112/39/324/7, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne.

2. Friendships and Social Life

Interaction with peers continued to be important to men as they moved beyond their youth. It is difficult to discuss friendship separately from politics, business and religion as many of the men's friendships were based on these shared interests. This section deals with social life broadly conveyed. It considers the idea of 'society' as it was understood by the elite. Grieg has recently argued that consumption and display were an important mode by which the elite signalled membership of their exclusive social group, 'society' or the 'beau monde' as it was known.⁶²² She argues that what distinguished this group was not so much their wealth, but their particular sense of fashion and taste.⁶²³

As we will see, the material world and displays of hospitality were very important to some elite men, who used them to cement their status within elite society. As Coltman argued in her examination of classical sculpture, men in this period had great interest in the collection and display of objects in their home and the homes of their friends.⁶²⁴ This will be explored in further depth in this chapter. The material world both expressed and reinforced men's relationships with other men, including individual friendships, elite social networks and those lower down the social scale who were the subject of patronage. Wilson and Mackley highlight the extent to which elite men were involved in the process of country house building. 'They shared a common understanding in architecture and immersed themselves in rapidly expanding specialist literature'. The relationship between architect and homeowner has been shown by

⁶²² Grieg, *The Beau Monde*, 32-62.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶²⁴ Coltman, *Classical Sculpture*, 191-232.

Wilson and Mackley to be similar to that of patron and servant,⁶²⁵ will also be explored in this chapter. The men in this study had perhaps greater input in the process than what may be expected of a patron. They did, however hold differing views on the appropriateness of different types of display. Looking at refurbishment also shows us how men interacted with each other and how friendships developed.

From his fully refurbished country house in Southill, Samuel Whitbread II wrote to his friend and close political ally William Lee Antonie, on December 14th, 1813, reflecting on the material improvement of his health.

I am so thoroughly impressed with the belief, that your health and comfort will be materially improved if you will loosen a certain part of your Dress, that I have ventured upon the great liberty of offering to your acceptance the materials contained in the Parcel which will accompany this. try them for one Week I entreat you. and you will never leave them off again my life upon it.⁶²⁶

The letter demonstrates that domestic material culture featured in the relationship between these men, not only as a topic of conversation but it helped to create cultures of gifting and exchange. Gifts operated differently to goods as their reciprocal nature and the additional meaning invested into them built relationships.⁶²⁷ The ‘health and comfort’ of Lee Antonie and Whitbread’s domestic lives were not solely the concern of their wives and children, but of each other. Loose fitting clothing, such as gowns, were worn in the home. Brandon Brame Fortune and Patricia Cunningham both discuss

⁶²⁵ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 354.

⁶²⁶ BCRO, UN473, Letter from Whitbread to Lee Antonie, 14th December 1813.

⁶²⁷ Mauss, *The Gift*.

the health benefits of loose fitting clothing during this period, concluding that health and intellectual freedom were considered to be improved through a lack of sartorial restraint.⁶²⁸ Health tips for friends included references to home for other men as well. Lord Breadalbane wrote ‘I have not seen Mr Campbell of the bank near three weeks he has had a severe fit of the gravel but is now well again and I prefer an easy chair by a good fire to going out in this cold weather’.⁶²⁹

Correspondence between Whitbread and Lee Antonie offers insights in to the ways in which the men’s roles were integrated in the improvements of their homes. Their discussions show how important refurbishment was to them as individuals and as part of their relationship with each other. In Coltman’s examination of how men displayed classical sculptures at home her evidence reveals the men’s relationships and interest as they shared advice and ideas.⁶³⁰ The correspondence between Whitbread and Lee Antonie offers a deeper insight into these relationships.

Whitbread took more of a leading role in his relationship with Lee Antonie with regards to interior decoration. He was instrumental in recommending decorators, painters, surveyors and other workers to Lee Antonie and advised Lee Antonie in numerous aspects of the process. Whitbread’s help was actively sought in relation to Colworth. The engraver, Samuel Reynolds (1773-1835), who was involved with the refurbishment of both homes advised Lee Antonie that he had ‘taken the liberty of

⁶²⁸ Brandon Brame Fortune, “Studious Men are Always Painted in Gowns,” *Dress* 29 (2002): 27-40. Patricia A. Cunningham, “Eighteenth Century Nightgowns: The Gentleman's Robe in Art and Fashion,” *Dress* 10 (1984): 2-11.

⁶²⁹ NAS, GD112/39/316/6, Breadalbane to Mrs Campbell, Edinburgh, 9th January 1776.

⁶³⁰ Coltman, *Classical Sculpture*, 191-232.

consulting my good friend Mr Whitbread on this subject'.⁶³¹ In 1810, Lee Antonie admitted to Whitbread the extent of his influence, crediting the latter with his decision to settle at Colworth and undertake alterations.

It is, I give you my word, from Your first visit to Colworth and the delight You was pleas'd to express of the intention and capability that immediately struck you of improving it- that made me most anxious (if it was possible) to obtain your assistance in ordering.⁶³²

Whitbread often took the role of mentor to Lee Antonie in both his political career and personal matters. The guidance provided by Whitbread, which the quote suggests Lee Antonie happily participated with, extended to advice about the home. In fact, discussion of the domestic improvements featured prominently in their relationship. Whitbread regularly discussed details about his particular thoughts on Colworth with Lee Antonie. In 1814, Whitbread wrote:

I think the back part of the House is quite delightful, I could not have thought it possible to have made so much out of nothing or more than nothing; which the back of the House certainly was. Your conservatory is of sufficient space not to cramp the plants, which about all I have seen do. I shall be quite out of love with our little *mesquinerie* of a conservatory at Southill... I hope you will come and see Southill in the summer...⁶³³

⁶³¹ BCRO, UN370, Reynolds to Lee Antonie, 13th August 1810.

⁶³² BCRO, UN508, Lee Antonie to Reynolds, 18th August 1810.

⁶³³ BCRO, UN457, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, Colworth, 18th April 1814.

The frequency of Whitbread's discussions of Southill and Colworth implies a genuine interest in the developments at the two properties and likewise assumes an interest on the side of the recipient. Therefore, the letters suggest that the interest extended past their business relationship into their friendship.

Whitbread regularly expressed the wish to visit Colworth and admire the improvements. 'We undertake an excursion to Colworth one day if you will give us cause to see the improvements going on under the services of our friend Reynolds, who I hope works to your satisfaction.'⁶³⁴ He shows interest and concern for the way the work is progressing and Lee Antonie's satisfaction in the workers he recommended to him. 'We took the liberty you allowed to us yesterday and passed a very pleasant day at Colworth, which I think will be very much improved indeed ...We have commissioned Mr Reynolds to let us know when we may repeat our visit we have to thank all your people for their civility to us'.⁶³⁵

As friends Montagu and Buccleuch also discussed their homes and gardens as a matter of interest and enjoyment. Montagu wrote to Buccleuch in 1829 moaning that as they had both had a hard day they should discuss the garden at Bowhill. He was very interested in the flower garden. He mentioned that he must tell Charlotte about the fir tree and its history. He wrote, 'for if she did not know its history and by whom planted she might well wonder how it was cultured to remain so much out of its place'.⁶³⁶ The garden held a special emotional significance to Montagu which he hoped to be able to convey to Charlotte. 'By the time you get this will have told her most to the real history of that favourite place to all who remember the happiness it once afforded to those

⁶³⁴ BCRO, UN443, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, Dover Street, 14th July 1810.

⁶³⁵ BCRO, UN444, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, Southill, 20th July 1810.

⁶³⁶ NAS/GD224/131/54, Montagu to Buccleuch, Bowhill, 1829.

whose memory have endeared it to me... But independent of such associations it has ... in ... many natural attractions - the narrow walk on the bright frosty day is to me almost more interesting... than in summer'.⁶³⁷

The way in which men acquired goods was also shaped by social networks. Coltman's chapter on the export of marbles from Rome to Britain throws much new light on the role of such networks, and her chapter on a group portrait by Richard Cosway (c. 1771-5) discusses the depiction of a network of connoisseurs.⁶³⁸ There was an exchange of luxury goods traveling through networks of friends and acquaintances backwards and forwards from Europe. In 1828 the Duke of Hamilton carried a beautiful snuff box back to England for Walter.⁶³⁹ John Scott sent the Duke of Buccleuch a 'sword of curious workmanship' from India through a friend of his M. Brown.⁶⁴⁰ Acquaintances in Europe brokered deals with Europeans selling art offering their services to facilitate the sale to the men in Britain. The language of such letters often appealed to the men's sense of competitive consumption among their friends.

I enclose you a catalogue of all the pictures so you can make enquiries of your learned friends who perhaps may know something about them. Lord Francis Gower has bought pictures of him and he showed me a very flattering letter he wrote to him also several from other English gentlemen.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁷ NAS/GD224/131/54, Montagu to Buccleuch, Bowhill, 1829.

⁶³⁸ Coltman, *Classical Sculpture*, 117-158, 159-190.

⁶³⁹ NAS, GD224/131/122/2, Walter, 1828.

⁶⁴⁰ NAS, GD224/651/1/1, M. Brown to Buccleuch, 1809.

⁶⁴¹ NAS, GD224/131/122/3, Buccleuch, Venice, 20th October 1827.

Material culture also formed an essential part of the process of building wider friendships, cementing social contacts through hospitality, and entering and creating elite social worlds. Many of the men were concerned with sociability for entertainment purposes, and it was seen as important to entertain on a lavish scale. In 1772, Lawrence Dundas travelled to Nice for the winter to alleviate his gout. His experience of the social life in Nice was one of his main focuses in his letters to his wife. Although women were also present with the circles of elite sociability Lawrence engaged with in Nice, his insights into his social life while there are revealing. Lawrence wrote to his wife complaining of a lack of sociability and entertainment leading to his boredom. Politeness was a social code of behaviour practiced in the public sphere.⁶⁴² To showcase his identity Dundas needed public social activities. The lack of social events interfered with Dundas' ability to perform his masculinity. He judged others for not socialising or acting in a way we he considered boring.

this is the very worst place I ever was in for amusement, you may see the people of the country if you will go at Six o clock to their assembly which continues till 9, we have two assemblys of this sort, one at the Governors, the other at the Presidents, you never get within any of their houses but at that time, I dont much like going and I am endeavouring to make my Partys at home, we have very few English and those who are have except Mr Harveys family kept no Society, Sir Wm Stenhope sees no body, dines no where nor never plays at Cards, how we shall

⁶⁴² Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*.

make out the three months of winter yet to come I know not, but I often wish them over,⁶⁴³

He mentioned his disappointment with the public entertainment, stating that he would prefer to host his own entertainment at home. This suggests that he believed the home to be a more desirable environment for socialising. He wanted to take control of the entertainment, this meant bringing it into his own home, under his authority.

By January, he had organised a dinner for the governor and some of the principle nobles of his new locality. He had arranged there to be sixteen ladies and gentlemen ‘at table’ with many more invited to play cards in the evening. He planned to establish this as a regular assembly to be held every Thursday for ladies and gentlemen. A regular assembly like this could be seen as a feature of polite sociability. Dundas was attempting to create a channel for his sociable performance. He justified his regular complaints of boredom by arguing ‘so you see I am doing every thing I can to amuse but it does not all do you cannot conceive how low I am sometimes and how I long to be back in England, tho I am certain the Climate here does me Good’.⁶⁴⁴

His wife’s input into his social activities was clearly very important to him. When she did not respond to his first letter about his Thursday assembly he sent a second and a third detailing the same event and requesting her response. In the second letter he repeated almost word for word what he had said in his first, implying that his

⁶⁴³ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.155, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Nice, 30th December 1771.

⁶⁴⁴ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.156, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Nice, 14th January 1772.

wife had not responded and he was anxious for her approval. He added a few more details as well.

I told you that I was to entertain the Governor and some of the principal of the noblesse here at a Diner, which I assure you went of exceedingly well, we were Sixteen at Table, an excellent Dinner, and Williams made us very good Ices which they don't much know here every person was pleased and I had a full roast at night which I am to continue every Thursday I have two rooms open which holds three or four card tables each, and we have always a Cold Supper for those that stay about a dozen generally do so you see that I am doing everything I can to amuse, and the people here I assure you are extremely polite and remarkably Civil to me, but I find that it will not all do, I have often so low spirits...⁶⁴⁵

The subsequent letters to his wife, describing his entertainment at home and time as host, reveal his priorities in this area by indicating which parts of the evening he felt were a success and failure, and what he thought he wife would be most impressed by. The food is one element he mentioned often. He also mentioned the people, emphasising their ranks and social positions. The next letter he sent to his wife was similar in content with added details of his necessity to change the day from Thursday to Tuesday for the Governor's ability to attend every week instead of giving dinners at his own home. In this letter he gave a fuller description of the notable people he expected to attend.

⁶⁴⁵ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.157, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Nice, 21st January 1772.

So to night I expect much Company after to morrow I give another dinner to the Premier President, his wife and Several of principle people of the Robe, at which is to be Mr and Mrs Rider, a Miss Jennings who is with them and Several English, I shall stop when this is over, and have only my assembly once a week, and at the end of the Carnival I propose giving a bale to those who have been so Obliging as to come to my assembly ⁶⁴⁶

His subsequent updates informed his wife that he was not entertaining twice a week, rather once on a Tuesday for the local society and once on a Thursday for the English visitors who were also passing the winter in the area. In the letter, he detailed the importance of the company he was now entertaining at home. He lists the ranks of those he expected that evening.

to day you must excuse me for I have to dine with me The Governor, The Comtesse, Ld Andre and her husband the Comtesse Chateaufneuf & her husband..... and the Comtesse de Carol... we dine when I have to company of this place allways at two o clock ... we drink tea and coffee and sit down to cards, so much for Nice.⁶⁴⁷

For Dundas, home was the most important place for his polite sociability because he was able to control the entertainment. Entertaining in his own home meant his polite performance was under his more direct control. Whilst visiting the homes of others he

⁶⁴⁶ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.158, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Nice, 28th January 1772.

⁶⁴⁷ NYCRO, ZNK.X.1.2.160, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Nice, 11th February 1772.

was unable to enjoy himself. He even worried that he would not be able to remain in Nice for the winter. It was not until he began entertaining in his own home that he felt the winter might pass. In reference to his own hospitality he begins to admit a number of times that, ‘in this manner if the gout keep of I shall spin out The winter’.⁶⁴⁸ The home was therefore the place where men had authority. It was their ‘little republic’ in the sense that their own customs ruled.⁶⁴⁹ Even though his home was a French home in Nice and his guests were local politicians and aristocrats, in his home they adapted to his culture of sociability. The aspect of his trip which he enjoyed the least was the necessity to visit the homes of others and adapt to their cultures which he did not enjoy. Dundas put in a huge effort to create this social space for himself while in France. The importance of this space to him could have related to his need to represent and uphold the family status while abroad. By engaging in such hospitality he was able to forge new connections with those in his vicinity and maintain the reputation of his family from overseas.

For some men religion was an important part of their desire for status and this could temper the extent to which they engaged in lavish material displays. Some religious men aspired to have a devout reputation amongst their peer groups, especially if their peers were also religious, in addition to behaving in a way appropriate to their beliefs. This made religion an important concern in the construction and maintenance of their masculine identity.

Rathbone IV was a Quaker, and took religion into serious consideration in the outward display of his identity. He had an extensive Quaker peer group and extended

⁶⁴⁸ NYCRO, X.1.2.158, Lawrence Dundas to Peggie Dundas, Nice, 28th January 1772.

⁶⁴⁹ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 1.

family. In contrast to Dundas' complaints about sociability in the above section, Rathbone discussed his views about secular entertainment with his son. In a letter in 1806 to his son Rathbone shared his observations on and disapproval of contemporary cultures of entertainment.

The more I see of life & especially of the manners & aspect of the present day, the more fully I am convinced that it is only by our diligent improvement in virtue & talents that we can attain to real respectability in the eyes of others⁶⁵⁰

He believed that the goal of sociability was considered to be respectability in the eyes of others. As he went on to discuss the external helps which his friends had received we can assume that he was discussing the young men of higher social rank or long-standing lineage families. He directly contrasted social rank with moral virtue. He believed that virtue came from humbleness and abstinence from engaging in this kind of networking. Therefore the status which he aspired to was based in his faith. He desired the approval of his religious peers who valued the same moral lessons taught by his religion. He directly opposed this to the status which he believed others aspired to, social rank.

Although all the men had religious affiliations they mostly did not discuss them to a great extent. They only made the occasional mentions of piety and God in private letters to family members which suggests that they did not believe they could gain great ground in their external friendships through religious means.

⁶⁵⁰ ULA, II.1.12, Rathbone IV to his sons William Rathbone V and Thomas Rathbone, Bristol, 7th December 1806.

As the evidence in previous chapters has suggested, men legitimised masculine status through the patriarchal position of provider. This was not limited to the provision of financial support but moral support and support with their careers, such as introductions and recommendations. It was also not restricted to providing for wives, children and other family members but also extended to non-related dependents and the wider community. As we saw in Chapter One, when men improved or redecorated their houses and estates, they often engaged very closely with the workmen who were responsible for this. The men asserted their masculine identity as a patriarch through patronising artists, such as painters, sculptors and architects.

One of the ways Whitbread practised these beliefs was by patronising contemporary British artists. Much of this patronage was expressed through Southill. Whitbread's personal relationship with the artists he patronised is reflected in his commission of busts of artist, Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807), and architect, Henry Holland (1745-1806). He also displayed portraits of the wife of painter, John Opie (1761-1806) and the daughters of Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788).⁶⁵¹

In 1811, Whitbread wrote to Lee Antonie about George Garrard (1760-1826) one of the artists he patronised and displayed the works of around Southill.

Garrard is a very ingenious little fellow who has been patronised by me and my Father for more than five and twenty years, and in some branches of art, such as the modelling of cattle, he is super excellent. besides being a capital Painter and Sculptor I think his Eagle & Bull in the Green

⁶⁵¹ Stephen Deuchar, *Paintings, Politics and Porter: Samuel Whitbread and British Art* (London: Whitbread and co., 1984), 23.

House at Woburn Abbey may challenge competition with any works of any age.⁶⁵²

His argument that modern artists could compete with great masters shows that he wanted to promote current artists and dismiss the idea that antiquity held inherent value. Whitbread and Lee Antonie both displayed modern British artists' work throughout their homes.

Whitbread used domestic material culture in this way to legitimise his masculine authority as patron. His role as provider for a larger group mirrored his role as father and husband. This role legitimised his masculine authority. He promoted those he supported in their careers by recommending them to his friends.⁶⁵³

Whitbread's large art collection painted by local artists shows that he used material culture in his home as a forum to advertise the work of the artists he patronised, and as a means of demonstrating his patriarchal authority. By supporting a large group of artists Whitbread was not only able to demonstrate his wealth but also his God-like benevolence. His status and masculinity were both enhanced by his ability, and willingness to support others financially and socially. Natalie Zemon Davis discusses the importance of charity to men in seventeenth-century France. She identifies four main ideals of giving and receiving. These included 'noble liberality': this type of charity was also based on the secular value of liberality. Zemon Davis argues that this was based on a mixture of 'mediaeval ideals of feudal hospitality and

⁶⁵² BCRO, UN460, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, Colworth, 2nd October 1811.

⁶⁵³ For example: BCRO, UN3061, Letter of recommendation from Whitbread to George Garrard November 8th 1810.

largesse with classical notions of benefits and generosity'.⁶⁵⁴ This type of charity was especially pursued by the educated nobility. Zemon Davis links this idea with patriarchy among the elites stating that 'it was also a virtue to be sought by the head of any great household in the sixteenth century and in slightly reduced form the women of the family too.'⁶⁵⁵ For Whitbread supporting artists legitimised his patriarchal authority by demonstrating both benevolence and financial means. Although his purchase of artwork cannot count as charity as it was a financial transaction his supported local artists both economically and morally. In this situation, the reciprocal factor was gratitude. This makes it an especially interesting aspect of legitimising masculine authority as gratitude can be expressed as loyalty, respect and subservience.

The close cooperation between the men and their workers in the refurbishment, decoration and maintenance of their homes suggests that these men took the lead role in this area. Their use of the home to assert their masculine status reaffirms this theory. The men had strong opinions about the decoration and conferred with one another about ideas, results and works in progress.

3. Politics and Entertaining

Domesticity played an important role in the world of politics. As Kathryn Gleadle's recent study of nineteenth-century politics in relation to women in the home has demonstrated this continued in the period that followed.⁶⁵⁶ The home is an area which

⁶⁵⁴ Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, 28.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 28.

⁶⁵⁶ Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain 1815-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

is less often considered in political histories in relation to men and masculinity. However home was an important part of men's lives and elite politicians' homes were a focal point of their political campaigns.

Domestic hospitality played a huge part in political campaigns. Elaine Chalus has discussed domestic hospitality from the perspective of women in politics.⁶⁵⁷ These rituals of dining at the homes of others and entertaining others in your home to forge political connections were clearly very important for men as well. In 1768 Lord Breadalbane had already noticed and complained about the 'Rage of Electioneering' five months before the general election.⁶⁵⁸ Often the task of dining with others was considered to be unpleasant and exhausting however it was important enough that it needed to be endured.

Lady Dalkeith protested dining with the squire and his wife which she felt was always stressful and left her feeling ill. She complained it was a 'Tax imposed upon us all in the Country... their excess of civility, and the number of Dish's, every one of which, prevents the desire of eating, and yet eat, you must...' ⁶⁵⁹

A royal visit would have occasioned an especially impressive feast, although, according to an Earl Howe, Princess Victoria expressed a wish to avoid a large formal dinner when visiting Buccleuch in 1832, complaining that 'she really cannot make up

⁶⁵⁷ Elaine Chalus, "'That Epidemical Madness': Women and Electoral Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Routledge, 2014), 157.

⁶⁵⁸ Chalus, "'That Epidemical Madness'," 151.

⁶⁵⁹ GP PRO 30/29/4/1/52, f. 99, Lady Caroline Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart, Adderbury, 1764, in Chalus, "'That Epidemical Madness'," 157.

her mind to meet new scoundrels'.⁶⁶⁰ This seems to have still been customary later on in the period. In 1844 Albert wrote to Buccleuch about dining at Lord Glenlyon's stating that they looked forward to dining there mentioning that the meeting opened 'pleasant prospects for them'. However he wrote that they do not want him to go to 'any additional refinement or splendour to what the house may at present afford'.⁶⁶¹ Their need to make such a request suggests that it was typical to spend a lot on impressing important dinner guests with food, drink and accoutrements.

New specialised dining-rooms developed during the eighteenth century. They 'appear to have been predominantly used by men to give highly ritualised forms of domestic hospitality', focused on dinner parties and punch-drinking.⁶⁶² The 'introduction of the large dining table and objects associated with male drinking brought a change in the gender orientation of important possessions and spaces'.⁶⁶³ The material objects involved in domestic homosociability were used in the display of the male householder's wealth and status.⁶⁶⁴ The 'valuable possessions that were located in the dining-room allowed the host to demonstrate his wealth and credit status which were important considerations in areas of business'.⁶⁶⁵ As McKeon argues, although the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the formation of the concept of separate public and private spheres, the domestic arena saw their conflation.⁶⁶⁶ Flather also

⁶⁶⁰ NAS, GD224/131/85, Earl Howe to Buccleuch, 4th October 1832.

⁶⁶¹ NAS, GD224/131/118, Albert to Buccleuch, 1844.

⁶⁶² Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 146.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., 150.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 147.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

argues that the domestic sphere was not private in the seventeenth century.⁶⁶⁷ The correspondence in this chapter concurs with these arguments demonstrating the importance the domestic sphere had for men's public lives. The men's homes operated as a physical representation of their public interests.

A letter from Whitbread to Lee Antonie discussing his political campaign demonstrates how crucially these men viewed the role of domestic hospitality in their careers.

It is very material to have a full attendance on Saturday. I have directed a Breakfast to be given at Carding to a few Freeholders in our Quarter and to proceed from there to Bedford. It is the best and only way of collecting them [voters] that I know of. Walker will give some a Breakfast at Stone and come from hence. If you gentlemen in this work would give a Breakfast at some central Place and proceed in a Body from thence it would be very serviceable at the same time it might be given them to understand that the law prohibits any extortion meant by the candidate who are therefore sorry they cannot offer them any refreshment in Bedford.⁶⁶⁸

Although they were not allowed to entertain at their own homes that had been the first choice. The fact that it was banned suggests that it was believed it gave an unfair advantage to those entertaining domestically. This suggests the power domestic entertainment was considered to hold as a means of showcasing a man's attributes.

⁶⁶⁷ Flather, *Gender and Space*, 43-44.

⁶⁶⁸ BCRO, UN425, Whitbread to Lee Antonie, 7th May 1807.

Other men also opted for domestic entertainment to express their political strengths to their political colleagues and superiors. In October 1772, Thomas Dundas Esquire wrote to his brother, Lawrence Dundas about his entertainment of the French Ambassador.

I have wrote him again this day, to let him know how much pleased the French Ambassador is with the canal, I gave him a very good breakfast entertainment here, carried him to the bridge at Camdon to the Fin Lock at Kerse made a Vessel pass a lock, gave him some punch & a glass of wine in the little parlor, all the other rooms ... then he sett off about 2 o clo: for Hopelon House and to dine to morrow with the Magistrate. at Eston⁶⁶⁹

Gil Haldane was hired by Lawrence Dundas to assist in his son Thomas's political campaign. He wrote to Lawrence regularly updating him on his son's travels through Scotland to secure votes. He spent a long time and a lot of money providing entertainment to voters across the country.⁶⁷⁰ James Edgar wrote on similar matters providing a little more detail about his son's advancements. He wrote about their most recent trip to Queensferry, where they had

a very jolly dinner; they are gentlemanly good sort of people and I dare say will stick by their old friends. I left them about 7, but not till I was drunk. Dundas and his Company went to the Castle at night, dined there

⁶⁶⁹ NYCRO, X.1.2.180, Thomas Dundas to Lawrence Dundas, Carron Hall, 15th October 1772.

⁶⁷⁰ NYCRO, X.1.2.203, Gill Haldane to Lawrence Dundas, Edinburgh, 1st February 1774.

next day, and came to Edinburgh in the evening. Yesterday we dined at Skeen's; there were Scott & Madame & Mademoiselle her sister, Miss Moneriff, Dundas, Kelly & c & c We had an excellent dinner and a great deal of good wine... I expect Dundas here in half an hour; he comes to taste wine at Kannie's cellar and to dine with him.⁶⁷¹

Thomas Dundas himself then wrote to his father emphasising the important role the hospitality was having in his political advancement. 'I think they are all well pleased, and our Party is, I am certain, much stronger and on a better Footing, than I could possibly have expected when I came down here, We are now looked up to'.⁶⁷² He believed that the investment in providing hospitality to his peers was paying off. Building on Nenadic's argument that entertainment was essential for men to display their public status and identity it is clear that Dundas felt his efforts at hospitality had increased his status in the eyes of the public.⁶⁷³

Thomas Dundas went on to tell his father the consequences of bad entertainment. He attributed his advancement in the election, and the dwindling of the support for the duke running against him, to the standard of hospitality provided. This letter to his father suggests that the standard of hospitality provided by the duke was central to his success or failure, not just their presence at the homes of other hosts.

⁶⁷¹ NYCRO, X.1.2.204, J. Edgar to Lawrence Dundas, Leith, 1st February 1774.

⁶⁷² NYCRO, X.1.2.308, Thomas Dundas to Lawrence Dundas, Edinburgh, 15th November 1777.

⁶⁷³ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 146.

I am quite satisfied as yet myself, that the other party are dwindling down; it is said the dukes entertainments have fallen off lately ⁶⁷⁴

The visiting carried out by Thomas Dundas and his campaign party was not always carried out in their own homes meaning that they could not use their own domestic material culture to appeal to the voters in all cases. However, this type of hospitality was still important. There was a long established tradition in Scotland of hospitality and luxury consumption used to form and secure bonds with extended kinship and regional networks.⁶⁷⁵ This took the form of elaborate hospitality for important guests focusing on conspicuous consumption mainly of food and drink. Breadalbane's accounts, from 1787, list a number of items he took on a trip to the Western Isles including a punch-bowl and a ladle, tea utensils, a teakettle, seven stone tea basins, two tea bowls and three-enamelled quart cans.⁶⁷⁶ Breadalbane's trip to the Western Isles included social events and hospitality extended by the earl as a means of bonding with local gentry and tenants in the area. This equipage may have had a social purpose. In this case, Breadalbane's decision to bring specific wares with him shows that the ceramics associated with homosociability held special significance to the male host. However, even if the equipage was intended for private, personal consumption its presence here demonstrates that Breadalbane had a personal attachment to the tea ware he used.

Dinner parties were held at all of the Breadalbane homes. In London and Edinburgh, dinner was an essential ritual of polite entertainment used to forge

⁶⁷⁴ NYCRO, X.1.2.308, Thomas Dundas to Lawrence Dundas, Edinburgh, 15th November 1777.

⁶⁷⁵ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 137-138.

⁶⁷⁶ NAS, GD112/15/461/15, Account due to John Stevenson, 1787.

fashionable and elite links of friendship, patronage and to promote business and political connections.⁶⁷⁷ There is an account due by the third earl for groceries ‘for a dinner at the Abbey’ in Edinburgh in July 1752.⁶⁷⁸ The list includes exotic goods such as almonds, cinnamon and Jamaica pepper, as well as ‘Claret for mixing in the punch’. The same month, shortly after succeeding his father, the third earl was elected Representative Peer for Scotland.⁶⁷⁹ The timing shows that this dinner was held at a crucial point in his political career. Therefore, this form of domestic hospitality appears to have played an important role in Breadalbane’s life. Although there is no list of the china in the Abbey this early, Breadalbane purchased the food and alcohol associated with the dinner himself. This suggests that men personally played a leading role in the associated consumption of masculine rituals domestic hospitality.

It has been suggested that in this period aristocratic ‘fashion in dining shifted to... table services whose magnificence and ostentation reflected the lofty status and sophisticated taste of the host’.⁶⁸⁰ As dining was an important ritual for men to advance their career and status, the display of wealth in this environment was important for the male host. Dinner-services were relatively new in England; the Dutch and English East India Companies had begun importing matching services with a complete setting for each person from China in the early-eighteenth century.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁷ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 186.

⁶⁷⁸ NAS, GD112/74/638, Account due by Breadalbane to Thomas Trotter, 1752.

⁶⁷⁹ Henderson, “Campbell, John Third Earl of Breadalbane and Holland.”

⁶⁸⁰ Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 172.

⁶⁸¹ Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art*, 170.

Therefore, high-value Chinese and Japanese services symbolised the host's ability to participate in new cultures of polite dining and the luxury associated with it. In 1790, the fourth earl purchased a dinner-service of 'Nankin china'.⁶⁸² The 1804 inventory of Breadalbane's London residence, Park Lane, lists a dinner-service of Chantilly blue-and-white.⁶⁸³ Although Chantilly was a French manufacturer, it was the project of a keen aristocratic Japanese porcelain collector.⁶⁸⁴ The majority of their wares were Chinese and Japanese imitations. European manufacturers had not yet developed the technology to produce porcelain so European wares tended to imitate Oriental styles. The Breadalbanes' ownership of exotic dinner-services demonstrates their desire to participate in cultures of status-enhancing display through urban and masculine forms of polite entertainment, such as dinner parties.

The inventories show that although political obligations meant the Breadalbanes spent significant time in London and Edinburgh, they also spent time in Taymouth. The earls' calendar may have been similar to the Duke of Argyll who also lived in London, but annually visited Inverary, his estate, to host social events.⁶⁸⁵ These included 'family members and friends from beyond Argyll as well as... lesser kin and gentlemen from the locality.'⁶⁸⁶ It was in the Breadalbanes' interest to keep close ties with local lesser gentry as well as to impress guests of equal or higher status through hosting. Nenadic writes, 'Correspondence from Taymouth Castle to the

⁶⁸² NAS, GD112/74/645, Account due to James Ranken, 1790.

⁶⁸³ NAS, GD112/22/33, Inventory of Park Lane, 1804.

⁶⁸⁴ Berg, "Asian Luxuries," 241.

⁶⁸⁵ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 189.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.

Campbell Lairds from the 1720s onwards hints at the character of improved sociability' at Taymouth.⁶⁸⁷

Ceramics listed in the inventories of Taymouth suggest that large and extravagant dinner parties continued to be held at the Breadalbanes' country estate until 1830. An account due in 1810 by the fourth earl to John Mortlock, London manufacturer and 'importer and dealer in superb foreign porcelain', shows that he purchased an expensive dinner-service described as 'rich Japan pattern'.⁶⁸⁸ The service included sixty plates and serving dishes in multiple shapes and sizes, suggesting it was intended for elaborate parties to create an extravagant display. The same dinner-service appears in the 1830 inventory of Taymouth Castle under the heading 'best dinner service'.⁶⁸⁹ By 1830, the number of plates had increased to ninety whereas the soup plates had reduced in number by six. This suggests that the service was used frequently and augmented for larger parties. Although the audience for this form of display was different in the Highlands than in the cities, the message and the method used to convey it were the same. The expensive and elaborate service was used to reinforce bonds of friendship, politics and business to higher and lesser status gentry by asserting the male host's wealth and refined taste.

4. Displaying Political Affiliations

Domestic material culture could be used to display an elite man's local, political and national concerns, which were a crucial part of these men's public roles. The interior

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 189.

⁶⁸⁸ NAS, GD112/35/30, Account due to John Mortlock, 1810.

⁶⁸⁹ NAS, GD112/22/24, List of Glass and China, 1830.

decoration of the home was a way men could communicate their political interests as well as their personalities.

As the home was such a central part of political relationships it is no wonder that the interiors of the home were used as a means to display men's political interests to those who visited. Whitbread and Lee Antonie both supported the Whig party and their allegiances can be seen in the decorative styles of their homes. The architect, Holland, who redesigned Southill and Colworth, was a member of the Prince Regent's Carlton House set, and was patronised by the Duke of Bedford, a political ally of Whitbread and Lee Antonie.⁶⁹⁰ He had worked on Carlton House, Woburn Abbey, home of the Duke of Bedford, and Brooke's Club, a Whig meeting place.⁶⁹¹ Whitbread and Lee Antonie also used the art in their homes to represent and display their political concerns. Both had portraits and busts of political figures who they admired. Whitbread had a bust by sculptor Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) of Charles James Fox, (1749-1806), the Whig party leader, with an inscription by Whitbread, on display in the drawing room and a mezzotint of the latter in the 'Young Gentleman's Dining Room' at Southill.⁶⁹² Whitbread also removed a portrait of Pitt that his father had displayed at Colworth when he moved in.⁶⁹³ This highlights the care Whitbread took in displaying his political interests at home and designing his home itself to reflect them. He invested importance in displaying his political interests through domestic material culture.

⁶⁹⁰ Gervase Jackson-Stops, "Southill Park, Bedfordshire," *Country Life* (April 26, 1994): 62-67, 62.

⁶⁹¹ Deuchar, *Paintings*, 15.

⁶⁹² BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, Southill, 1860.

⁶⁹³ Deuchar, *Paintings*, 24.

Domestic decoration could also express political views in an international context. As discussed earlier, the political situation with France led to negative feeling towards French goods.⁶⁹⁴ Regardless of this both Whitbread and Lee Antonie remained in support of France and continued to express their political and cultural interest through their consumption of material goods. Whitbread and Lee Antonie were both Whig politicians. The Whigs remained less hostile to France than others during this period. L. G. Mitchell argues that in, '1789 and again in 1830, the Whigs greeted a revolution in France with applause, both because revolution in each case brought their friends to power, and because each upheaval was believed to have been provoked by a king's abuse of power'.⁶⁹⁵ Tangye Lean argues that the Whigs supported Napoleon and the Republic of France and actively campaigned for an end to the war.⁶⁹⁶ Whitbread and Lee Antonie continued to enjoy French styles and objects. Politically they did not hold any negative feeling towards France and culturally they admired it.

Lee Antonie had spent his Grand Tour in Paris and had settled down with a French woman. His affinity to French culture and aesthetics is clear throughout his letters. A letter from 'Le petit jack' in 1815 (Lee Antonie's nephew John Fiott Lee) to Lee Antonie refers to Colworth in French terms, 'I hope Sir Henry Halford will be satisfied with the improvement you have made during your séjour at Colworth, and that he will agree with me in thinking it the Montpellier of England'.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁴ Above, 132. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism*.

⁶⁹⁵ L. G. Mitchell, "Foxite Politics and the Great Reform Bill," *English Historical Review* CVIII (427) (1993): 338-364, 348.

⁶⁹⁶ E. Tangye Lean, *The Napoleonists* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

⁶⁹⁷ BCRO, UN570, Le petit Jack to Lee Antonie, 1st May 1815.

The enthusiasm of both men for France was clearly visible on the walls of their homes. Two particular items of interest, which were on display in the library at Southill, were a clock and a barometer. Evidence suggests that these two pieces were designed for the French crown and had been displayed at Versailles before the Revolution.⁶⁹⁸ Although the majority of Whitbread's furniture was produced locally and replicated the French style, these two items were imported, not only from France, but from Versailles. Carlton House, which was also designed by Holland, also contained furniture of this type acquired from Versailles after the Revolution. Therefore, the display of the clock and barometer in the library at Southill made a statement about Whitbread's political concerns. They reflected more about his support the Whig party and campaign to end the war with France than his effeminacy or weakness for excessive luxury.

Most of the furniture and decoration at Southill and Colworth was produced in Britain to the French style.⁶⁹⁹ Holland did not imitate the French style but rather assimilated it into British fashions of the time. He also employed local firms such as Tatham and Marsh to produce the furniture for both Southill and Colworth.⁷⁰⁰ This is an interesting mixture that was fitting for the social and political concerns of both Whitbread and Lee Antonie. Both supported an end to the war with France and enjoyed French culture whilst at the same time strongly supporting local concerns and manufacture. They expressed both these elements of their identity in the architecture and decoration of their homes. As discussed in Chapter One, the use of French styles of decoration has often been associated with ideas of femininity. Here, however, both

⁶⁹⁸ F. J. B. Watson, "The Furniture and Decoration," in *Southill: a Regency House*, ed. Albert E. Richardson (London: Faber & Faber, 1951), 37.

⁶⁹⁹ Watson, "The Furniture and Decoration," 21.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

men's interest in French decoration indicated their international political views as much as gendered identity. Certainly they seem to have seen no conflict between their masculinity and the French style, which suggests that in this context at least, we should read the connections between taste, nation and gender differently.

The men were not immune from criticism for their affinity to the French style at a time when the political situation between France and Britain was tense. Whitbread in particular was often publicly criticised for his pro-French tastes. In 1794, Whitbread featured in Isaac Cruikshank's *A Peace Offering to the Genius of Liberty and Equality*.⁷⁰¹



⁷⁰¹ Isaac Cruikshank, "A peace offering to the genius of liberty and equality, 1794," (British Museum).

<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=160526001&objectid=1645894> , accessed May 15, 2014.

Figure 2 *A Peace Offering to the Genius of Liberty and Equality* (1794), by Isaac Cruikshank. The British Museum.

Alongside other Whig party members, Whitbread is depicted here as offering a gift of beer to an unpleasant figure of Republicanism who is seated on barrels of gin. The beer is symbolic of virtue (in the context of William Hogarth's prints *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*, which in 1751 had contrasted beer, as an image of national virtue, with gin as a symbol of vice). The scene depicted here suggests that Whitbread is exchanging British virtue for French vice.⁷⁰² As Newman's use of such images has shown, distaste for French culture became pervasive in English society.⁷⁰³ This image shows Whitbread being criticised publicly for this aspect of his taste.

The aesthetic tastes of elite men were politically important. The luxury debates placed consumption in a moral discourse concerning the well being of the country.⁷⁰⁴ Consuming objects from France drew criticism about Whitbread's own moral character and loyalty to Britain. As an important British manufacturer Whitbread's material tastes and consumption habits were considered important for the financial and political security of the country and were therefore hugely important to his public image.

5. Consumption: Local and National Identities

In several of the families, it is clear that consumption was used to express specific local and national affiliations. As we have seen, Whitbread had an ambiguous relationship

⁷⁰² Deuchar, *Paintings*, 59.

⁷⁰³ Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism*, 20, 86.

⁷⁰⁴ Berg and Eger, "The Rise and Fall."

with his links with trade, and felt considerable anxiety over the expression of his identity. However, he was comfortable expressing his trade connections through the material culture of the home. The Colworth inventory provides an interesting comparison to the inventory at Southill due to the elaborate descriptions of the furniture that regularly included phrases such as ‘with the best materials and workmanship’ or ‘fine wood in the very best preservation’.⁷⁰⁵

During Whitbread’s courtship, he wrote to Elizabeth:

I have however agreed with You thus far on one point that We will never have any furniture that we are afraid of using, or cannot afford to renew. Upon this plan I have proceeded thinking it a most wise one, & a little degree of taste is I think always more than an equivalent for the absence of finery.⁷⁰⁶

Nenadic argues that men from a commercial background used their belongings to represent their financial interests.⁷⁰⁷ In this case, the contrast between Lee Antonie’s taste for finery and Whitbread’s taste in the absence of it could be linked to the difference in their socio-economic backgrounds. By the mid-eighteenth century, producers such as Wedgwood drew inspiration from global novelties and adapted them for mass production and affordable consumption in Britain. Aristocratic families began to distinguish their taste from the common consumption of British mass produced goods, by valuing traditional goods imported from abroad, which were more valuable and more original. Fashion for connoisseurship, therefore, evolved amongst the elite.

⁷⁰⁵ PRO, C114/176, Colworth Inventory, 1816.

⁷⁰⁶ BCRO, W1/6597, London, 22nd December 1787.

⁷⁰⁷ Nenadic, “Middle-Rank Consumers.”

This produced a tension in cultural representation between endorsing local production and the fashion of older global luxuries. This conflict has been dealt with as a part of the ‘Luxury Debates’ discussed above.⁷⁰⁸ In this case, Whitbread’s preference for newly produced furniture would make more of a statement about his own social position than Elizabeth’s status as she was not from a commercial background. Whitbread’s taste in luxuries suggests that he valued industriousness over connoisseurship. He also owned a large amount of Wedgwood pottery, suggesting that he wanted to portray his connection to British manufacture to the men he was entertaining. Many homosocial events held in his home would have included men who were connected to him in terms of business or politics. Lee Antonie in contrast came from an aristocratic background and his abundance of older furnishings suggests he had different priorities in his material displays. This represented his connoisseurship and taste for finery, as well as his wealth. The age of the objects was also symbolic of his long family heritage, despite the fact many of them may not have been family heirlooms.

Whitbread and Lee Antonie recognised the importance of displaying their social and political concerns through their home, through the consumption of local products. Whitbread ‘believed in national consequences of local actions’.⁷⁰⁹ He felt the responsibility to support local business, industry and agriculture not just for his own reputation but also for the national interest. He believed that supporting local labouring classes would improve industry, loyalty, public order and national security.⁷¹⁰ One of

⁷⁰⁸ Above, 19, 250. Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall.”

⁷⁰⁹ Deuchar, *Paintings*, 16.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

the ways Whitbread practiced these beliefs was by patronising contemporary British artists. Much of this patronage was expressed through Southill.

Whitbread and Lee Antonie both displayed modern British artists work throughout their homes. Paintings by such artists and of similar subject matter also appear in Lady Elizabeth's room. It is unclear whether she shared the same interests as Whitbread or whether she was encouraged by her husband to display the art. Whitbread took a great interest and an active role in hiring, promoting and encouraging local artists and designers artistically. This suggests that he may have encouraged not only Elizabeth's displays but also those of Lee Antonie at Colworth.

Whitbread's large art collection painted by local artists shows that he used material culture in his home to demonstrate that he practiced what he preached. Displaying art in the public rooms was also a way of promoting the artists he supported. By supporting a large group of artists Whitbread was also able to demonstrate his own wealth. His status and masculinity were both enhanced by his ability to financially and socially support others. This display of masculinity is similar to Harvey's concept of oecconomy extended further into the public sphere.⁷¹¹ Harvey argues that a man's management of his household and family expenses was central to his masculinity. In this case, Whitbread's management of the expenses of an extended network of artists functions in a similar way, his actions as a patron operating as a part of his wider role as a patriarch. In this case his patriarchal role extended beyond the family and into the locality of the family estate.

⁷¹¹ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 520-540.

Whitbread and Lee Antonie were also concerned with endorsing local business. Whitbread had portraits around his home of the rural poor and local businesses. He represented his roots in the local community through his domestic material culture. He refaced Southill with local pale yellow stone so that its outward appearance identified with the local buildings.⁷¹² Whitbread outwardly displayed pride for his brewery. On display in the library at Southill, Whitbread had portraits of his own personal local concerns. These included a view of Mr Whitbread's Wharf by Garrard in a very rich carved gilt frame, and 'nine portraits of the gentlemen of the firm of Whitbread, in very rich gilt frames by Gainsborough',⁷¹³ This shows the conflicting image he was trying to portray. On one hand he distanced himself from the background that caused him criticism and on the other he displayed pride for his roots in British industry and local production. Southill and Colworth were designed and decorated to reflect and often promote their male owners' interests.

Supporting local manufacture and trade also seems to have been important to the Scottish families. Buccleuch made massive improvements on his land during his time as Duke.⁷¹⁴ Breadalbane also bore local issues in mind when improving his lands. In 1758 he built houses on his land in the west highlands from local stone as part of a scheme to encourage the production of flax and spinning which he believed could be done inside the homes.⁷¹⁵ The Breadalbane inventories also demonstrate that the family owned a large amount of stoneware. There is a long list of 'common Staffordshire' in

⁷¹² Deuchar, *Paintings*, 15.

⁷¹³ BCRO, 130, Southill Inventory, Southill, 1816.

⁷¹⁴ Bonnyman, "Agricultural Improvement."

⁷¹⁵ NAS, GD112/39/308/1, John Campbell to Breadalbane, Achmore, 22nd December 1758.

Park Lane 1804.⁷¹⁶ Breadalbane even bought ceramics in Tobermory whilst visiting in 1787.⁷¹⁷ The Breadalbanes were a wealthy family with the option of choosing more or less expensive wares. The Breadalbanes' choice of consuming lower-value stoneware, in addition to expensive, decorative china, suggests that concerns like supporting Scottish manufacture were important for them.

The concept of 'improvement' occurred in parallel to the theory of beneficial luxury. It included the improvement of homes and personal behaviour in addition to areas like manufacturing. These improvements were associated with progress, modernisation and patriotism.⁷¹⁸ The cultures of polite entertainment and the associated apparatus of display were closely linked to this national process of 'improvement' and 'civilisation'. Therefore, the consumption of exotic ceramics demonstrated the male owners pride in and a support for national progress in many ways, even when it was not specifically connected to national manufacture.

The punch-bowl was another focal point for masculine entertainment and display. By the mid-eighteenth century, punch-drinking was an important and exclusively masculine form of domestic hospitality. The 'materials from which the objects in the dining-room were made, their methods of manufacture and the uses to which they were put, were intimately tied to the business and political interests of men'.⁷¹⁹ The mahogany in the dining table and the rum in the punch were symbolically the most valuable commodities in Scotland's Atlantic trade and the 'heart of new

⁷¹⁶ Inventory of Park Lane, 1804. NAS, GD112/22/33.

⁷¹⁷ NAS, GD112/15/461/18, Account due for a Pot and Other Articles Bought at Tobermory, 1787.

⁷¹⁸ Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, 12.

⁷¹⁹ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 151.

business wealth'.⁷²⁰ The use of such commodities signalled the head of the household's support of this economic progress and expanding trade to his guests.

On Breadalbane's 1787 trip to the Western Isles for hospitality mentioned earlier in the chapter, he brought with him a punch-bowl and a ladle.⁷²¹ In a second copy of the same account the bowl is described as blue-and-white china. By this time, the local gentry could have afforded fashionable new European ceramics, however they were less likely to own antique or armorial china. Breadalbane's decision to take the bowl with him is a strong indication of the importance of exotic ceramics to homosociability. His efforts to travel with the bowl suggest the china punch-bowl had special significance, possibly as a symbol of Breadalbane's superior status or a connection to global-trade networks. Although Andrew Thompson argues it was not until later that manliness became associated with the Empire and even then it was more so for the middling-sort that the aristocracy,⁷²² clearly national identity was important to these elite men's sense of their own masculinity and international politics were an important part of how they chose to display themselves. Likewise, their political beliefs were important for how they were perceived.

The stoneware services also provide an insight into Buccleuch's relationship with national manufacture and commerce. In 1808, Buccleuch purchased plain-stone

⁷²⁰ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 147.

⁷²¹ NAS, GD112/15/461/15, Account due to John Stevenson for Things to Take Onboard the 'Robert and Mary' for the Earl of Breadalbane's Trip to the Western Isles, 1787.

⁷²² Andrew S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).

dinnerware and ‘brown-ware’ table equipage from George Gordon.⁷²³ He also bought services locally, mainly in Edinburgh, unlike Breadalbane who ordered most services from London. In 1802, the duke purchased ceramics from Charles Henry Core, a China and Staffordshire warehouse man based in Edinburgh.⁷²⁴ Buccleuch also purchased a blue printed table service, four-dozen china plates and twelve cups and saucers from Core.⁷²⁵ In 1809, the duke bought large amounts of plain white and blue edged dinnerware.⁷²⁶ In 1769, the duke bought china from William Littler ‘China-maker at West Pans, near Musselburgh’.⁷²⁷ Littler was originally a Staffordshire porcelain producer who moved to Scotland and set up a factory in West Pans in 1760.⁷²⁸ Buccleuch had an interest in political economics encouraged by Townshend and Smith. The duke held an annual subscription to the Society of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, for at least four years 1800-1804, and from the tone of a letter sent to Buccleuch from the society it appears the relationship was long-term.⁷²⁹ This suggests that, like Breadalbane, the duke may have wished to communicate his support for national manufacture and local commerce to his guests through his choice of dinner-services.

⁷²³ NAS, GD224/351/123, Account due to George Gordon, 1808.

⁷²⁴ NAS, GD224/351/90, Account due to Charles Henry Core, 1802.

⁷²⁵ NAS, GD224/351/123, Account due to Charles Henry Core, 1807.

⁷²⁶ NAS, GD224/351/131, Account due to William Child, 1809.

⁷²⁷ NAS, GD224/209/5, Account due to William Littler, 1771.

⁷²⁸ “Digging for Early Porcelain,” Stoke-on-Trent Museum Service, accessed July 21, 2010.

http://www.stokemuseums.org.uk/collections/browse_collections/ceramics//diggingearlyporcelaine.

⁷²⁹ NAS, GD224/351/90, Letter from the Society of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, 1802.

The relationship between consumption and the promotion of national identity was complex. Outwardly, Buccleuch seems to have wanted to promote British ceramic production. He subscribed annually to the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce Society and used plain-stone dinnerware. However, the ornamental porcelain he chose to display around his home was oriental. Evidence suggests that the duke did not fully support British manufacturing. In 1809 correspondence between Buccleuch and a tenant, George Maxwell of Broomholm, reveals Buccleuch did not support Maxwell's plans to erect a manufactory upon his estate.⁷³⁰ The duke believed that the manufactories established in Langholm had rendered his residence there very disagreeable. Buccleuch's secretary wrote, 'with regard to manufactories in general, he is likewise of the opinion that they have been pushed too far in Great Britain'.⁷³¹ He argued that the increase in manufactories had used capital that would have been better invested in agricultural improvements and would eventually cause civil unrest. Smith also believed that agricultural production was of greater value to the wealth of the country than manufacturing and commerce, and that the latter was a slower and less stable path to national economic prosperity.⁷³² Therefore, Buccleuch's relationship with British ceramics was more complex than it initially appeared. This reveals that even for individuals ceramic consumption was not straightforward. Multiple and often contradictory motivations influenced the way men interacted with different kinds of ceramics.

An interesting contrast in the ceramic ownership of the Breadalbane and Buccleuch families occurs in connection with European ceramics. The Breadalbanes

⁷³⁰ Bonnyman, "Agricultural Improvement," 248.

⁷³¹ NAS, GD224/522/3/90, Letter to George Maxwell, 1809.

⁷³² Bonnyman, "Agricultural Improvement," 227.

owned a large amount of functional continental wares including Chantilly and Dresden.⁷³³ The small amount of ornamental ceramics listed in the Breadalbane homes is limited, almost exclusively, to two large Sèvres vases in the drawing room at Taymouth.⁷³⁴ However, no ceramics were described as European in the inventories of Dalkeith House, Langholm Lodge, Bowhill House, Harwick House or East Park.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered how men used domestic material culture to convey their status in public. This process began early. For young men, at university and even school, consumption allowed them to build a new identity for themselves. Once the men became householders they continued to use domestic consumption to communicate with their peers. They used the design and decoration of their homes to display their beliefs, values and status to friends and colleagues. Through the home they promoted their values and affiliations, such as religion, social responsibilities, business interests and cultural interests. While all of the men examined here were, to a greater or lesser extent using consumption to build high-status masculine identities, there were important differences in how they went about this. Amongst the young men, a greater degree of extravagance and show seems to have been acceptable amongst the aristocracy. For mature men, religious belief could temper competitive display and there were also very clear differences in political identity and attitudes towards international affairs that were made visible in decorative choices. Through these channels men were also able to demonstrate their power and authority through their

⁷³³ NAS, GD112/22/33 Inventory of Park Lane, 1804.

⁷³⁴ NAS, GD112/22/54/1 Inventory of Taymouth, 1863.

patriarchal position as a household manager. For instance, by promoting their cultural interests at home, displaying the art of artists they patronised, men were also able to demonstrate their authoritative position as a benevolent patriarch who supported others. Here, the model of the domestic patriarch who acquired status through governance of the family was extended further, to local tradesmen in the vicinity of the estate and sometimes to the nation itself. Ultimately, men were able to secure support and respect from their peers through the way they managed their home and the objects they chose to display within the physical environment.

Chapter Four

Elite Men, Consumption and Domestic Material Culture in Contemporary

Novels

... they were shown into a very pretty sitting-room, lately fitted up with greater elegance and lightness than the apartments below; and were informed that it was but just done to give pleasure to Miss Darcy, who had taken a liking to the room when last at Pemberley.

"He is certainly a good brother," said Elizabeth, as she walked towards one of the windows.

Mrs. Reynolds anticipated Miss Darcy's delight, when she should enter the room. "And this is always the way with him," she added. "Whatever can give his sister any pleasure is sure to be done in a moment. There is nothing he would not do for her."

...

As a brother, a landlord, a master, she considered how many people's happiness were in his guardianship.⁷³⁵

Jane Austen's description of Darcy's home, Pemberley, is more elaborate than those of the other homes mentioned in *Pride and Prejudice*. The importance of managing an impressive household is stressed to such an extent that the novel's heroine Elizabeth's previous dislike and rejection of Darcy begin to change once she visits Pemberley.

⁷³⁵ Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 162.

Upon hearing and seeing how he provides for his sister, domestically and materially, and realising how well he must treat his housekeeper to receive such praise from her, Elizabeth is pleasantly surprised. Through visiting Pemberley Elizabeth learns that Darcy is a responsible and benevolent head of the household. Darcy's impressive household management improves his attractiveness as a potential suitor in Elizabeth's eyes. The scene confirms the importance of household management to questions of courtship and marriage which we saw in the correspondence in Chapter One of this thesis, particularly that of Whitbread and Dundas. It is an importance which extends beyond the material and aesthetic to the ethical and to questions of Darcy's masculinity and the responsibilities associated with it.

The correspondence used as the primary evidence in the thesis thus far has brought a range of cultural assumptions about domesticity and the consumption of elite men under review. Many of these cultural assumptions were also articulated through the medium of prose fiction and it is the purpose of this chapter to attempt to trace some of the key themes considered in the previous chapters as they appear in a selection of novels. Where possible the focus will be on the most significant passages in the novels where the description of domestic interiors is used as a narrative device to further the development of character and negotiate issues of gender and domesticity.

The rise of the novel is one of the most significant discursive developments of the period under discussion, as classic literary historical studies such as Ian Watt's *Rise of the Novel* make clear.⁷³⁶ The importance of the aesthetic dimensions of experience might be thought especially likely to be a key aspect of novelistic representations of

⁷³⁶ Ian Watt, *Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (London: Pimlico, 1957).

life. Introducing them in dialogue with the case studies is designed to enrich the historical picture that the case studies could provide on their own. Placing this chapter at the end of the study serves to provide a context of contemporary attitudes to men's roles in domestic consumption, as they were perceived in this important area of contemporary public discourse. Studying novels can reveal how elite men's relationship with the material world was more widely understood and articulated and allows us to examine the imagined emotional significance of objects to elite patriarchs, as they were perceived.

Historians of the period have, of course, frequently drawn on such material. Michael McKeon's study of domestic novels in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, amply demonstrates how methods of literary analysis can inform and enrich historical inquiry.⁷³⁷ Ruth Perry examines novels to comment on the social history of the English family between 1748 and 1818. She argues that: 'Only by reading back and forth between literature and history can a critic get a feel for how a text symbolizes, transcends, or comments on its time'.⁷³⁸ In what follows I have specially selected eight novels in which male characters, passing through the key stages of their lives hitherto identified, reveal the moral and sentimental importance of objects and material culture for the performance of their masculine roles.

The key stages in men's lives, established thus far, are youth and education, courtship, marriage, fatherhood and adult men's public lives. Here they are treated chronologically rather than thematically. As the case-study men grew older their

⁷³⁷ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

⁷³⁸ Perry, *Novel Relations*, 289.

attitudes to consumption changed, their anxieties and insecurities about reputation and status differed from one stage to the next.

It would obviously be less than satisfactory to examine representations of the self in the contemporary culture through a single text. The use of a broad range of texts will help in obtaining more representative conclusions. Dror Wahrman argues for this approach in his study *The Making of the Modern Self*. He states that is not in the individual stories told but the process of looking at multiple stories side by side, that we can reveal common features and unifying historical patterns.⁷³⁹ A comprehensive survey of all potentially relevant publications between 1760 and 1830, however, is not practicable here.

The novels were selected for a number of reasons, primarily, of course, because they deal with wealthy elites and discuss men's relationship with the home and material culture. They were written by both men and women. The period of literature between 1760-1830 saw an upsurge of women's writing as well as literature that questioned the place of men and women in the home. Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Mansfield Park* (1814) and Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818) are works by female authors which depict domestic family life. Though treating male as well as female characters they may be said to open a female perspective on men's domestic life. Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771), William Godwin's *The New Man of Fleetwood* (1805), Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814) and *St Ronan's Well* (1824) and Benjamin Disraeli's *Vivien Grey* (1826) are by male authors and offer insights to

⁷³⁹ Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 6.

domestic life through male perspectives. Gender differences should not be reductively imposed but may have shaped the ways in which authors portray different expectations for their male and female characters and the chapter observes differences between how male and female characters are introduced and contextualised by male and female authors.

Many of the novels include accounts of travel abroad and around England. This allows some further perspective on the meanings of 'home' as experienced both at home and away from it. It also provides an opportunity to consider perceptions of local, regional and national cultural differences between London and elsewhere as well as between places around Britain and Europe. *Marriage*, *Waverley* and *St Ronan's Well* deal with Scotland and England.

The novels focus on wealthy elites. Growing numbers of consumers of fiction were among the middling-sorts so it is interesting to consider the influence of their perspectives on the wealthier ranks even where their authors are known to have moved in elite circles such as Susan Ferrier did. Whilst it may seem somewhat rudimentary as literary criticism, the main focus here is on central male protagonists. These include Fitzwilliam Darcy (*Pride and Prejudice*), William and Ambrose Fleetwood (*The New Man of Fleetwood*), Vivien Grey (*Vivien Grey*), Harley (*The Man of Feeling*), Edward Waverley (*Waverley*), Valentine Bulmer and Francis Tyrrel (*St Ronan's Well*). The female protagonists of novels considered along with the influential male characters in their lives, are Lady Juliana, her husband Henry Douglas and daughter Mary Douglas (*Marriage*) and Fanny Price and Edmund Bertram (*Mansfield Park*).

Much contemporary prose depicts domestic life and consumption in a moral or prescriptive tone. Social satires were popular, many of which were set amongst the elite

classes studied in this thesis. However, during the period important changes in literary fashions and tastes took place. The earliest novel examined here is sentimental novel, *The Man of Feeling* (1771). The Romantic movement, influential in the later novels, developed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The extent and membership of the Romantic movement as a literary phenomenon is the subject of debate.⁷⁴⁰ Maurice Cranston dates its beginning in Europe to 1761, with the publication of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*,⁷⁴¹ although it is embraced more fully by the later novels in this study than the earliest ones. Recent work by Bailey suggests that the ideals of Romanticism and sensibility, modes of thought that 'cultivated the inner self, stressing interior feelings', were deeply embedded in cultural understanding and parenting behaviour in this period.⁷⁴² Finn examines Romantic literature through a domestic optic.⁷⁴³ She emphasises the importance of the natural world in Romantic representations of the home arguing that 'only by rejecting neat binary distinctions between the public and private spheres could the home effectively foster Romantic sensibilities.'⁷⁴⁴ This chapter aims to analyse the novels in their chronological and stylistic contexts. Although the novels expressed these changing aesthetic ideals of the way men were expected to behave in their home lives, the men's relationship with the home and material culture was represented across the range of novels with consistency.

⁷⁴⁰ Duncan Wu, "Introduction," in *Romanticism: An Anthology* ed. Duncan Wu, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), xxv-xxix.

⁷⁴¹ Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 1.

⁷⁴² Bailey, *Parenting in England*, 9.

⁷⁴³ Finn, "The Homes of England," 293-313.

⁷⁴⁴ Finn, "The Homes of England," 293.

Historians and literary critics have examined how literature can help us understand constructions of femininity and women's roles in this period.⁷⁴⁵ More recently these sources have been exploited in analysing masculinity and the role of men though there is still scope for further work in this area. Bailey considers that the recent boom in studies of cultural representation of gender has widened the gap between 'the social history of men' and 'the cultural history of masculinity',⁷⁴⁶ further study highlighting what Tosh calls the imagined or expected characteristics of gender alongside the lived experience of it.⁷⁴⁷ Whilst this chapter does not aim to root men's actions entirely in the prescriptive literature and cultural themes prevalent in contemporary society, it attempts to provide a cultural context for the case studies, demonstrating the extent to which cultural representations of masculinity can themselves be better understood when placed alongside the material they provide. The key stages of men's lives identified through the correspondence in the previous chapters are also useful for considering the novels. Anxieties about reputation and status voiced in the case-study men's letters are echoed in concerns of the novels' protagonists. This chapter deals with these life stages chronologically beginning with youth and education before moving on to courtship, marriage and co-partnery, fatherhood, and public life.

1. Youth and Education

⁷⁴⁵ Vivien Jones (ed.), *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity* (London: Routledge, 1990). Kowaleski-Wallace, "Women, China, and Consumer Culture." Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*. Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres," 413-4.

⁷⁴⁶ Joanne Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood," 167-188.

⁷⁴⁷ Tosh "The History of Masculinity," 24.

This section examines how the childhood home was portrayed as central to men's identities in the novels and how points of transition between home, school, and other environments provided challenges to the boys' senses of themselves. The novels also demonstrate the importance of the domestic environment in the upbringing of young men. The following examples highlight the potentially troubled transition between home and school with the intention of offering a sense of chronological change between the novels. In the correspondence we have repeatedly seen parents attempting to retain their influence over their offspring in relation to questions of domestic consumption, over which the sons were beginning to exercise a certain amount of independent control. As many of the male protagonists in the novels were themselves heirs to estates the level of anxiety about them being led astray in the texts was greater than for those further down the social scale because of the importance of their future roles. This reinforces the value of looking at these novels as a means of understanding elite masculinity and the material world.

The Man of Feeling (1771) is the earliest novel analysed in this chapter. It is a sentimental novel, structured around a series of moral vignettes which see the naïve protagonist Harley develop into a sentimental man. *The Man of Feeling* portrays what young men were taught during their younger years. Mackenzie criticises the education received during a Grand Tour believing it was focussed on self-improvement but of a negative kind. At one point, Harley encounters a gentleman at a dinner party. In a discussion about education the gentleman argues that, 'a raw, unprincipled boy is turned loose upon the world to travel; without any ideas but those of improving his dress at Paris, or starting into taste by gazing on some paintings at Rome'.⁷⁴⁸ Consumption is

⁷⁴⁸ Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, 24.

the key concern here. Too much emphasis on learning about dress and paintings in this type of education would mould a young man into the wrong type of adult. *The Man of Feeling* promotes a sentimental type of masculinity, in which the expression of inner feelings is important. The novel often contrasts this type of masculinity with another type more focused on fashionable consumption, then commonly termed ‘vanity’.

Harley returned to the abode of his fathers: and we cannot but think, that his enjoyment was as great as if he had arrived from the tour of Europe with... half a dozen snuff-boxes, with invisible hinges, in his pocket. But we take our ideas from sounds which folly has invented; Fashion, Bon ton, and Vertù, are the names of certain idols, to which we sacrifice the genuine pleasures of the soul ⁷⁴⁹

The negative influences to which Harley could be exposed during the Grand Tour are contrasted to those of his father’s home. Cultural anxiety about the dangers to a young men’s identity in public life are evident in the strength of such terms as “folly” and “idols”. The moral education imparted by the father during the men’s early years was at constant risk of being eroded by the external influences they encountered while coming out into society. The passage contrasts genuine happiness with learning how to perform in a fashionable way in society, through consumption. We can see a clear contrast between alternative ideals of masculine identity. Harley has learned the type of identity promoted in this passage in the home of his father. The outside world and the education it offers threatened this identity.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 61.

Mackenzie comments on the conflicting guidance and influences which young men received:

There are certain interests which the world supposes every man to have... connected with power, wealth, or grandeur... Philosophers and poets have often protested against this decision; but their arguments have been despised as declamatory, or ridiculed as romantic.⁷⁵⁰

He suggests that men were pressured into valuing certain ideals by their peers. 'There are never wanting to a young man some grave and prudent friends to set him right in this particular.'⁷⁵¹ Harley hates the fact that he is frequently encouraged to admire men of means and emulate or envy their wealth and connections.⁷⁵² He is portrayed as a very moral character and his morality is expressed in his dislike for luxury, grandeur and wealth and his love of simple and natural things. Although the novel predates others compared in this chapter, many of its arguments surrounding the development of young men's manliness recur in them. The contrast between home and the dangerous influence of peers and society remains a constant theme.

The childhood home was an important setting in several of the novels. It was used to establish a man's character. Often it was used as a device to provide a historical context to justify an adult's personality traits or explain his actions and motives. A man's public identity as well as his private emotions and beliefs, and even his 'soul', were explained in the novels as having developed at his childhood home under his father's moral guidance. The home was contrasted with other settings experienced in

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁵² Ibid., 6.

childhood such as school. When children left home and were confronted with a new environment there was a clash of morals creating a period of anxiety and adjustment for the young man. A negotiation between these new and old identities had to take place. As French and Rothery put it ‘there was a constant tension between parental injunctions or family norms and peer pressures’.⁷⁵³ The threat of peer influence on sons meant that the fathers in the case studies made continuous attempts to provide a stable influence and lessen the risks of peer pressure through the use and discussion of material culture and consumption. In the novels the childhood home is particularly linked to the father’s moral guidance whereas the school space is tied up with new pressures of differing masculine ideals imposed by peers. To the young male protagonist and others who cared about his development, being a young man in education was a dangerous and risky position. There was a dichotomy between the father’s home as a centre of the development of morality and a responsible attitude towards family life and the dangers of fashionable consumption and indulgence when living with peers. The dangerous influence of peers could damage the identity the boy had previously developed. According to Davidoff and Hall a new emphasis on fathers as moral figures developed from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.⁷⁵⁴ Although there may be a stronger stress on the father’s moral power in the later novels such as *Vivien Grey* (1826) the contrast between the father’s moral guidance in the home and the risks of negative influences away from it were already emphasised in the earliest novel, *The Man of Feeling* (1777), as seen above.

⁷⁵³ French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 52.

⁷⁵⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 335.

Male protagonists and secondary characters were often introduced through a description of their childhood homes and education early on in *Fleetwood*, *Vivien Grey*, *St Ronan's Well* and *The Man of Feeling*.⁷⁵⁵ Fathers played a formative role as they determined the style of home and education. This description of early years, including the father's moral influence, was used to establish the man's adult disposition, and to justify his future choices and actions. . More typically for female protagonists, potential marriage prospects were the main context provided to establish moral character in key early passages in *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park* and *Marriage*.⁷⁵⁶

Discussion of the childhood home is embedded in the language of morality and is often dominated by descriptions of the father's personality, experience, morals and philosophy. For example, Fleetwood is depicted spending his early years at home with his father in Merionethshire as a result of the death of his mother. The description of his childhood home is characterised by emotional language describing his father's view of the world. His father's wife, described as an 'amiable and affectionate partner', is absent and his father is his sole carer. The tone suggests that the father's actions of taking up the burden of raising the child alone without a partner reflect well on him. In the light of his loss the father has

resolved to withdraw for ever from those scenes, where every object he saw was associated with the ideas of her kindness, her accomplishments, and her virtues: and, being habitually a lover of the sublime and romantic

⁷⁵⁵ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 3-17. Disraeli, *Vivien Grey*, 3-17. Scott, *St Ronan's Well*, 14-17. Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, 5-8.

⁷⁵⁶ Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 21. Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 1-11. Ferrier, *Marriage*, 35-37.

features of nature, he fixed upon a spot in Merionethshire, near the foot of Cader Idris, for the habitation of his declining life.⁷⁵⁷

The depiction of the childhood home as a simple and isolated retreat in nature is used as a means to establish Fleetwood's character as a naïve, unworldly but moral young man. The tone shows a change from the 'sentimental' novel *The Man of Feeling* described above. According to Finn the idealised home in Romantic literature combined natural settings and the public face of family life,⁷⁵⁸ though the natural setting establishes Fleetwood as a moral character, its isolation seems to have left him somewhat naïve. He has trouble adapting to the society of others at school. Fleetwood states that, although his father loves him, he has not taught him how to interact with others.

Even when [his father] went into company, or received visitors in his own house, he judged too truly of the temper and propensities of boyish years, to put much restraint upon me, or to require that I should either render myself subservient to the habits of my elders, or, by a ridiculous exhibition of artificial talents, endeavour to extract from their politeness nourishment for his paternal vanity or pride.⁷⁵⁹

Readers are expected to understand that his father's attitudes to domestic life have strong and lasting effects on Fleetwood, explaining character traits which are revealed later in the story. Fleetwood's father here advises him to cultivate something beyond artificial codes of 'politeness'.

⁷⁵⁷ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 3.

⁷⁵⁸ Finn, "The Homes of England," 195.

⁷⁵⁹ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 3.

The physical environment is emphasised as well as the father's character as a formative influence on Fleetwood's sense of self. When he moves to Oxford, Fleetwood struggles to adjust to the change of living arrangements.

My father's house had been built in a style of antique magnificence. The apartments were spacious, the galleries long and wide, and the hall in which I was accustomed to walk in unfavourable weather, was of ample dimensions. The rooms appropriated to my use at Oxford appeared comparatively narrow, squalid and unwholesome. My very soul was cabined in them.⁷⁶⁰

His complaints suggest that the identity and character he established living in nature and isolation in his father's home have left him unfit to adapt to the new living space at school.

I could pursue no train of thought; the cherished visions of my former years were broken and scattered in a thousand fragments. I know that there are men who could pursue an undivided occupation of thought amidst all the confusion of Babel; but my habits had not fitted me for this.⁷⁶¹

The adjustment to a new place of residence was depicted as both liberating and upsetting. In learning to live in a new space, the boys had to balance their old identity as a son and their new identity as a peer. In the case studies too we saw the effects of the transition between old identities tied up with their past home and new identities being formed in a new space.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 16.

The negotiation between the past self formed in the father's home and the adjustment to independent living was extreme in some cases. Godwin follows his account of Fleetwood's feelings about the residences at Oxford with a similar but more severe tale of a young man named Whithers who has, like Fleetwood, 'hitherto been brought up in solitude under the sole direction of his father'.⁷⁶² Whithers does not survive the transition. He has written a tragedy and brought the script with him from home. The script symbolises the style of artistic and creative education he has received at his father's home. It therefore represents his connection to his home, father, upbringing and, fundamentally, his identity but it becomes an object of ridicule among his peers. It is incompatible with the type of education the other boys have received and the identities they believe appropriate for peers in their new setting. The transformation of this symbol of home, from an object of pride to one of shame causes Whithers to commit suicide. He is unable to reconcile the standards of masculinity being imposed on him at school with those he learnt under his father's roof. Godwin's message in this cautionary tale shows how important these formative years could be.

Vivian Grey (1826) published twenty-one years after *Fleetwood* (1805) was written in another different style. It concerns progress of a young dandy's life and was read partly as a *roman à clef* about fashionable society. However, Disraeli's core treatment of the development of young men's identities at school follows that of *Fleetwood* in several respects, whilst Disraeli further suggests that women did not understand the importance of this transition for a young man. Grey's mother does not want him to go to Eton: 'Mr. Grey was for Eton, but his lady was one of those women whom nothing in the world can persuade that a public school is anything else but a

⁷⁶² Ibid., 19.

place where boys are roasted alive; and so with tears, and taunts, and supplications, the point of private education was conceded.⁷⁶³ Grey is, therefore, home schooled before going to Oxford. This may be emblematic of a new emphasis on public school as the crucible of masculinity that developed from the early nineteenth century.⁷⁶⁴ Fabrice Neddam argues that bullying was ‘particularly understood not only as an institutionalised form of rebellion but also as a gendered practice which consisted in rejecting what was considered effeminate’.⁷⁶⁵ When he first arrives at Oxford his peers tease Grey for being a Dandy.⁷⁶⁶ Having only lived in his family home, he has missed out of a vital stage in the process of becoming a man. Learning to exist in the physical space of school and to deal with the tensions of living with young male peers was apparently felt to be necessary to this development.

School was already seen as a place where a negotiation took place between honouring the wishes and identity encouraged by the father and adapting to new standards imposed by peers in *Fleetwood*: ‘They were such youths as Frewen, Morrison and the rest, whose applauses I sought, whose ridicule awed me, and whose judgment I looked to for the standard of my actions.’⁷⁶⁷ Fleetwood often refers to pressure from peers to modify his behaviour and the impact this has on his character: ‘At the university

⁷⁶³ Disraeli, *Grey*, 2.

⁷⁶⁴ Fabrice Neddam, “Constructing Masculinities Under Thomas Arnold of Rugby (1828-1842): Gender, Educational Policy and School Life in an Early-Victorian Public School,” *Gender and Education* 16, 3 (2004): 303-326.

⁷⁶⁵ Disraeli, *Grey*, 303.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁶⁷ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 30.

I had been driven from a sort of necessity to live upon the applauses of others; and, the habit being once formed, I carried it along with me in my excursion to the continent.⁷⁶⁸

This period of negotiation between the influence of a father's moral character and the identity imposed by peers is portrayed as temporary. Later in the novel Fleetwood learns a lesson about where value in character really lies. Having tried to fit into society, he meets his uncle-in-law who reintroduces him to a more modest, domestic life. He feels guilty for having pursued a 'public' life in society.⁷⁶⁹

Youth could be a dangerous time for all elite young men as they would participate in society life and be pulled away from the values of their homes. There was an anxiety that they would not return to domestic life and would spend their lives as unmarried bachelors led astray by temptations such as drinking and gambling. As Tosh argues, attaining adulthood required gaining status as a householder through marriage and independence.⁷⁷⁰ This was a persistent theme in many of the novels. Domestic life was often portrayed as an ideal that was under threat from the bad choices that constantly tempted young men. The ideal path was portrayed as an eventual return to domestic life after a period of being socialised by external influences in public.

Such men had to survive youth and bachelorhood by avoiding the possible pitfalls of joining 'society'. Common concerns for onlookers were gambling, drinking and an excessive interest in luxury and leisure. Bachelorhood was a necessary precursor to domestic life, however, there was a risk that the young men could stray. In *Marriage*, written in 1810 (published in 1818) as a sarcastic but sentimental commentary on

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 37, 34, 126.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 53.

⁷⁷⁰ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 2.

Scottish life, Ferrier demonstrates such concerns for her young male characters. Mrs. Downe Wright, the mother of the bachelor Mr. Downe Wright, the heir to a large fortune, argues that the army and the navy are ‘professions that spoil a man for domestic life; they lead to such expensive, dissipated habits, as quite ruin them for family men. I never knew a military man but what must have his bottle of port every day. With sailors, indeed, it's still worse; grog and tobacco soon destroy them.’⁷⁷¹ Her anxiety was that he would become so embedded in reckless and dissipated bachelor society that he would forego marriage and family life and continue in leisure and ‘vice’.

A more sympathetic protagonist might be portrayed as uninterested in the dangerous temptations society had to offer and as one who understood the benefit of family values. Fleetwood, who is depicted throughout as a morally upright character, already imagines family life in positive terms when he is a young man: ‘I was engaged in imaginary scenes, constructed visionary plans, and found all nature subservient to my command. I had a wife or children, was the occupier of palaces, or the ruler of nations.’⁷⁷² Godwin draws parallels between ruling nations and managing a family, both being positions of authority and respect for a man. Disraeli takes a similar approach with Grey. Vivian reveals his good nature when Lady Madeleine Trevor, a friend of his father, worries that he is spending too much time gambling and socialising with other men at New House. He reassures her (and the reader) explaining that he feels obliged to attend such social events against his preference: ‘I found it impossible to keep away without subjecting myself to painful observations. My depression of yesterday was occasioned by the receipt of letters from England.’⁷⁷³ He does not want

⁷⁷¹ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 348.

⁷⁷² Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 5.

⁷⁷³ Disraeli, *Grey*, 186.

to socialise and his preferred activity is to read letters from his family. Despite the differences between them, both novels contrast home and family with social activities to highlight the positive values of family over those of society for youths.

In *Vivian Grey* the contrast between home and society is still further highlighted when Vivien returns to his childhood home after killing his past patron, Cleveland, in a duel.⁷⁷⁴ He manages to escape public shame by returning to his parents' home: 'Here was he once more in his own quiet room, watched over by his beloved parents; and had there then ever existed such beings as the Marquess, and Mrs. Lorraine, and Cleveland, or were they only the actors in a vision?'⁷⁷⁵ Here the home serves as a protection from such external dangers as public disgrace. By returning to the domestic setting he can start fresh. Although his public reputation has been destroyed, his character remains. There is an interesting suggestion here that the public reputations of young men were considered temporary. Even the very bad decisions of youth which were constantly warned against could be forgotten in the domestic setting. After some time in his parent's home Grey moves away and starts again with a fresh reputation. There is an implication here that domestic identity held more weight in the cultural imagination than public identity, which was more superficial and could, at least potentially, be re-made.

Despite the different styles and dates of the selected novels, common themes in the representation of the childhood home and school are present. The sentimental masculinity depicted in *The Man of Feeling* shares similar concerns about the transition between home and school to the romantic ideals in later novels as well as those showing

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., 134.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., 134.

the beginnings of the more robust nineteenth century idea of masculinity such as *Vivien Grey*.

The childhood home is used to indicate the experience and philosophy of the male protagonist in relation to parental influence. Living space plays an important role in the characters' developments. The description of living environments at school and university allows the writers to explore the tension between the young men's old and new selves. Youth and education are clearly portrayed as a transitional period for the boys' sense of self and this is often described with the home as a symbol of the old and the school and university as a symbol of the new. The novels also allude to the prevailing anxiety about the risks posed to young men. Temptations such as over consumption, drinking and gambling were dangers to which young men could fall victim. Developing these habits whilst young could create difficulties for their ability to perform later in life as responsible patriarchs, homeowners and consumers. However, these problems were, to some extent, reputational and, as such, could be temporary. It was possible for a man to escape a bad reputation started in youth and start afresh upon returning to the childhood home. The childhood home is portrayed as a safe haven away from the public world. This is a complex portrayal. As in many ways, as Finn demonstrates, the home in Romantic literature is a place of blurred public and private boundaries.⁷⁷⁶ However, during youth the boundaries are emphasised and the home is used as a symbol of shelter against public influences.

In the previous chapters, the discussion of consumption in family letters clearly showed that identity was a key concern for young men. As has been seen in the novels, this stage in a man's life was considered transformative and character-building. Young

⁷⁷⁶ Finn, "The Homes of England," 293-313.

men bought and displayed objects to build a new identity and social status. In the novels anxieties about excess were often revealed, showing that too much consumption at this life stage could have negative effects on men in adulthood. The correspondence also indicates the presence of this anxiety, however for each father-son relationship the anxiety took a different form. Buccleuch, one of the wealthiest aristocrats in Britain, exercised a great deal of restraint, barely mentioning consumption or material objects in his letters. Both the industrialists, Whitbread and Rathbone, expressed the feeling of being under pressure to exercise restraint, whereas Dundas, Lee Antonie and Breadalbane articulated the need to show a certain degree of extravagance, even though their spending still occasioned some anxiety from their relatives. As in the novels, there is in the correspondence a changing sense of masculinity with different men favouring polite sociability and others a more inward-looking sense of manly simplicity. However, again like in the novels, these differences in style were less significant than the continuity in the men's underlying concerns about the performance of masculinity itself.

2. Courtship

Courtship was a key stage in which a man negotiated marriage and the change in his material and cultural position in society. As we saw at the start of the chapter, novels depict how a man's domestic material culture affected his marriage prospects, not least because domestic security was central to a suitor's perceived worthiness for marriage. The key qualities for an ideal partner included wealth, status, generosity, career, and 'achievements of the mind'. For elite men, however, wealth, status and generosity were the essential three, although, as will be shown here, different authors esteemed these qualities in different ways, and the way they were brought together was often complex.

The novels were written at different times and styles but there remains significant consistency in the way masculinity and courtship are addressed in relation to domestic material culture.

The home was a central aspect of a man's identity and is a recurrent theme in the literature. A man's interest in the home, as well as domestic objects, home renovation and family were strong elements in his attractiveness to women during courtship. His ability to provide a suitable domestic situation for his future wife and his present and future family were crucially important. There was, however, a concurrent critique. Too much emphasis on wealth, status and luxury by either party was criticised. A man could prove his position as a good suitor by demonstrating his potential to be a good domestic manager and an equal partner in the running of the home. He showed he was a good provider for his family, by establishing that he could afford to support others and could be generous.

Men often used home as a way to impress and to prove their suitability to a potential bride. Male characters are introduced in *Mansfield Park* with a description of their estates as a means of establishing their suitability as potential husbands for the female characters. Mr. Rushworth is introduced with the line, 'a young man who had recently succeeded to one of the largest estates and finest places in the country'.⁷⁷⁷

Being now in her twenty-first year, Maria Bertram was beginning to think matrimony a duty; and as a marriage with Mr. Rushworth would give her the enjoyment of a larger income than her father's, as well as ensure her the house in town, which was now a prime object, it became, by the same rule

⁷⁷⁷ Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 26.

of moral obligation, her evident duty to marry Mr. Rushworth if she could.⁷⁷⁸

Ironically, Rushworth is suitable because of his estate but, in prizing him because of it, Maria Bertram is shown as a shallow and flawed character. Men are shown to be aware of the home as a bargaining tool in marriage and do their best to engage with the negotiation. After visiting a friend who has been renovating his home,

Mr. Rushworth was returned with his head full of the subject, and very eager to be improving his own place in the same way; and though not saying much to the purpose, could talk of nothing else. The subject had been already handled in the drawing-room; it was revived in the dining-parlour.

Miss Bertram's attention and opinion was evidently his chief aim⁷⁷⁹

Again, Austen subtly draws attention to the potential failure of the relationship between these two characters by emphasising that it is the costly improvements to his already grand home that drew them together, rather than anything else. There was an expectation amongst elite families that a male suitor would provide an elaborate home, and that this was a key criterion in the selection of a partner, although Austen does not necessarily approve of this practice.

Men who did not own a home still demonstrated the importance of domestic offerings in a potential match. In *Vivien Grey*, Grey flirts with a woman who has caught his attention at a ball. He plays at house with her by pretending they will purchase a

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 35.

home in Russell Square together, conjuring up first a castle, then a palace and culminating in the implication that she will become his wife.

"Pray, Mr. Grey, is it true that all the houses in Russell Square are tenantless?"

"Quite true; the Marquess of Tavistock has given up the county in consequence. A perfect shame, is it not? Let us write it up."

"An admirable plan! but we will take the houses first, at a pepper-corn rent."

"What a pity, Miss Manvers, the fashion has gone out of selling oneself to the devil."

"Good gracious, Mr. Grey!"

I wish we had a short-hand writer here to take down the Incantation Scene.

We would send it to Arnold. Commençons: Spirit! I will have a fair castle."

The lady bowed.

"I will have a palace in town."

The lady bowed.

"I will have a fair wife. Why, Miss Manvers, you forget to bow!"⁷⁸⁰

A man's ability to prove himself as a suitable prospect through the home was the ideal. He was however also able to use objects to hint at his potential to be a benevolent domestic patriarch when he did not have the means to demonstrate his home. In *Marriage* gifts are bestowed on future brides during courtships. Lady Juliana is initially 'charmed with the daily presents showered upon her by her noble suitor.'⁷⁸¹ There is a

⁷⁸⁰ Disraeli, *Grey*, 42-43.

⁷⁸¹ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 37.

constant negotiation throughout *Marriage* between the importance of gifts during courtship and their usefulness in judging the outcome of a marriage based on them. Lady Juliana reasons that ‘the Duke has a most exquisite taste in trinkets; don't you think so? And, do you know, I don't think him so very—very ugly’⁷⁸². The Duke’s status, wealth, and generosity are however, not enough to convince the foolish Juliana to marry him instead of the poor but ‘captivating Scotsman’ she has her eye on.⁷⁸³ Having gone through with the marriage to the poorer suitor Lady Juliana admits that she misunderstood what to expect from her future domestic circumstances: “‘Oh! I had fancied it a beautiful place, full of roses and myrtles, and smooth green turf, and murmuring rivulets, and, though very retired, not absolutely out of the world; where one could occasionally see one's friends, and give *dejeunés et fêtes champêtres*.’”⁷⁸⁴ The passage critiques social advancement. The vain character who enjoys luxuries and company ironically falls in rank and situation through her carelessness and lack of understanding about what made a suitable marriage. The critique implies how important home was in choosing the right man, and suggests there was folly in not taking that aspect of a match seriously. In *Mansfield Park* there is an interesting reversal when Fanny refuses to marry the wealthy Henry Crawford by being sent to live with her parents.⁷⁸⁵ Although in the eighteenth century marrying for material gain was seen as

⁷⁸² Ibid., 37.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 47.

⁷⁸⁵ Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 206.

sensible the rise of romantic love in the nineteenth century meant there was a growing disapproval of such marriages.⁷⁸⁶

However, it is also clear that wealth alone was not enough. The central plot of *Marriage* focuses on the question of how to choose a spouse. Domesticity was the key factor in a man's eligibility. This was represented through his ability and desire to provide a stable home and appropriate life-style for a woman. Throughout the novel wealth and status are depicted in opposition to positive personality traits. Suitors are either depicted as having a desirable personality but being unable to provide any stability during married life or else are rich but unkind. A suitor's ability to provide the woman's desired lifestyle, however, was dependent on all of these traits combined. He needed financial stability, social status and a generous and willing personality. The novel ends when the central protagonist Mary becomes the first character to succeed in finding an appropriate balance in her match. Unlike Mary's vain but careless mother Juliana, Mary is not concerned with wealth, status or immature ideas of love. Her future husband Lennox wins her heart through his kindness to his own mother. The moral tone of *Marriage* implies that generosity of spirit and a desire to provide for and support a domestic companion were crucial for a marriage to succeed. Wealth and status are not the primary concerns for this successful pairing but a desire to provide an appropriate domestic situation.

Wealth and status, although not the primary concern, are important to the pair's future domestic happiness. Mary's family members view Lennox as less eligible on the basis of his prospects and future home. Lennox is in line to inherit his mother's home

⁷⁸⁶ Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

of Rose Hall. Although he is still a man of prospects and property ownership, other characters in the novel feel his position in life is not grand enough to deserve female interest. ““That's a poor trade,” said Mrs. Downe Wright, “and I doubt he'll not have much to mend it. Rose Hall's but a poor property.””⁷⁸⁷ The concern that he is a bad match for Mary actually benefits the perception of Mary's moral character. Her ability to compromise on a luxurious home and life and settle for a modest but stable life with a generous partner reflects well on her. The reader sees this as a selfless and praiseworthy compromise on Mary's part yet the author still supports Mary's good fortune with a large surprise inheritance for Lennox. On their wedding day, Lennox inherits a large Scottish estate from a high-status family friend. Even though the novel critiqued the idea of choosing a partner based on his ability to provide materially, the idea that status and means were essential to a successful married life is so embedded in contemporary thought that the author reintroduces these at the end of the book. This allows the reader to imagine the successful future of the marriage and showing that virtue reaps its own reward.

The novels are constantly concerned with how to clarify and express a man's worth as a suitor. They attempt to deal with these complicated concepts by picking apart the relationship between a man's self and his wealth, status and belongings in the context of his appeal as a suitor. The novels deal with the ideal trio of wealth, status and generosity in a complicated manner, which includes the way a man's 'self' is often referred to in relation to his belongings. References to women loving men for 'themselves' rather than men's status or wealth are abundant in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century novels. In *Fleetwood* the narrator reminisces about his own

⁷⁸⁷ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 350.

encounter with such a trope in contemporary literature: ‘The case is considerably parallel to that of a nobleman I have somewhere read of, who insisted that his mistress should not love him for his wealth nor his rank, the graces of his person nor the accomplishments of his mind, but for himself.’⁷⁸⁸ The author divides wealth, status, and physical beauty from ‘himself’. *Fleetwood* demonstrates, however, that the division is complicated. ‘I am inclined to blame the man who should thus subtly refine, and wantonly endeavour at a separation between him and all that is most truly his’.⁷⁸⁹ Personality and character are contrasted with wealth and status but are also conflated with them so that a man cannot be seen as entirely separate from his means.

The golden trio of wealth, status and generosity appear from another angle in the famous love story of Darcy and Elizabeth Bennett. In *Pride and Prejudice* Elizabeth warms to Darcy after she realises he is not only able but willing to provide for his domestic companions. Darcy is a wealthy man but at the start of the novel his unfriendliness and apparent pride mean that Elizabeth and her family do not regard him as eligible until, as seen at the beginning of this chapter, Elizabeth visits Pemberton and sees him as kind and generous patriarch.

Austen expresses the connection between a bachelor’s worth and domesticity symbolically through objects, specifically those displayed in the home. Elizabeth responds emotionally when she sees Darcy’s portrait hanging in his long gallery amongst those of his family: ‘There was certainly at this moment, in Elizabeth’s mind, a more gentle sensation towards the original than she had ever felt at the height of their

⁷⁸⁸ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 15.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

acquaintance.⁷⁹⁰ Symbolically seeing a representation of Darcy in his home among his family puts him in a positive position as a suitor. Retford demonstrates that in this period portraits began to depict men as devoted and sentimental patriarchs.⁷⁹¹ She argues that lineage and paternal authority remained an important aspect of the portraits. Darcy's portrait highlights his family lineage and role and reinforces the idea that he behaves as a generous and responsible patriarch. Interestingly, it is not Darcy's wealth and status but the way in which he deploys them (demonstrating generosity of character) that begins to give Elizabeth the idea that she has been mistaken about him.

In Miss Bingley's attempt to turn Darcy's affections away from Elizabeth she paints a hypothetical picture of his family portrait collection accommodating Elizabeth's bloodline.

“Have you anything else to propose for my domestic felicity?” “Oh! yes. Do let the portraits of your uncle and aunt Phillips be placed in the gallery at Pemberley. Put them next to your great-uncle the judge. They are in the same profession, you know, only in different lines. As for your Elizabeth's picture, you must not have it taken, for what painter could do justice to those beautiful eyes?”⁷⁹²

Miss Bingley's aim is to highlight how unsuitable the match is by ridiculing the possibility of inserting Elizabeth's family portraits into his home, emphasising the difference in their status. Miss Bingley's attempts, however, do not succeed in dissuading Darcy. He ultimately dismisses the problem of status raising his eligibility

⁷⁹⁰ Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 162.

⁷⁹¹ Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, 187-214.

⁷⁹² Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 37.

in the eyes of the reader. His dismissal demonstrates that his priorities are honourable. Elizabeth's strength of character and virtue trump status and wealth, and she is left to settle down happily with Darcy. Ultimately, though, the message is complex. Austen is not simply writing in praise of modesty or to critique those who aspired to wealth and social status. Conveniently both Darcy and Bingley turn out to be of good character and to possess substantial estates. It is surely no coincidence that the weaker suitors, the appalling Mr Collins and the reprehensible Wickham, are also both rather badly off.

In *Mansfield Park* the ideal partner for the protagonist, Fanny, is not the richest or the man with the most luxurious taste in domestic objects. Edmund is the second born son not destined to inherit the most wealth or the primary home. He is less stable in his material and financial situation than many of the other male suitors introduced in the novel. As the match between Fanny and Edmund is not as well furnished materially as that of other couples it might be assumed that consumption is less important in their courtship. However, material objects are very much integrated into their match. Edmund consistently provides for Fanny more than any other character (even though her other male relatives have more resources at their command). In Fanny's first encounter with Edmund he wins her trust by providing her with paper so that she could write to her brother. 'I will furnish you with paper and every other material'.⁷⁹³ He provides objects, which cater to her emotional satisfaction on numerous occasions including procuring her a horse at his own expense.⁷⁹⁴ Likewise, his moral character is established through his material situation. He provides for his family in many ways including having to give up half his living to make up for the negligence of his elder

⁷⁹³ Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 11.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

brother, Thomas, whose extravagance and society life have got him into debt.⁷⁹⁵

Edmund is portrayed as a good match for Fanny because their statuses are not too far apart, he has stability in his career and a home and he is a generous provider.

Edmund has a modest and stable income and home set-aside for his future, making him a stable proposition although not a grand one. The modest nature of his future domestic situation reflects the modest nature of Fanny. The characters' morality is represented in their sober attitude towards economy. The eldest brother, Thomas, has many positive attributes as a suitor:

She looked about her with due consideration, and found almost everything in his favour: a park, a real park, five miles round, a spacious modern-built house, so well placed and well screened as to deserve to be in any collection of engravings of gentlemen's seats in the kingdom, and wanting only to be completely new furnished.⁷⁹⁶

However, in spite of being the younger brother, Edmund is portrayed as the better match.

Tom Bertram had of late spent so little of his time at home that he could be only nominally missed; and Lady Bertram was soon astonished to find how very well they did even without his father, how well Edmund could supply his place in carving, talking to the steward, writing to the attorney, settling with the servants, and equally saving her from all possible fatigue or exertion in every particular but that of directing her letters.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid., 44.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., 32.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., 23.

Edmund's ability to step into his father's place and take care of the domestic duties of a patriarch are more admirable than inheriting the actual house itself.

Home and domestic objects played a vital role in a man's potential to obtain a suitable wife and start his own family. The novels offer insightful glimpses to the importance of owning a home for the male characters during their courtships. Home is portrayed as an attractive selling point for the male suitor as it places him in the favourable position of a patriarch who can provide for his future wife and family. In cases where men do not own a home it is still an important article in pre-marital negotiations and his future success is dependent on his potential to obtain one. Three key factors for a potential suitor are repeatedly discussed in the novels: wealth, status, and a generous spirit, often expressed as an indefinable quality of self. Complications in courtship occur when these three factors are not aligned. The personality and morality of the prospective partner are also important factors for many female characters, yet they (and sometimes the writers themselves) often seem to have had difficulty in distinguishing between this selfhood and the character's material means.

The family papers confirmed that material exchanges were viewed as an important part of courtship. The setting up and decoration of home before marriage were used to set the tone of the relationship for later life. However, in the case of the Whitbread family, the exchange was used to set up a dynamic of male power rather than to persuade a would-be bride of the wealth and appropriate character of her potential spouse. This dynamic was typical of the elite as the home was important as a status symbol for elite men. Objects were also exchanged. Men gave gifts to set the dynamic of the relationship. This was meant to show their potential bride and her family that they would be kind and generous providers. This is different to previous interpretations of marital gift-giving which have seen marital gifts used as a means of

control by women. In this instance the case-study material slightly contrasts with the representations in novels which emphasise the way in which men had to frame themselves to attract partners. The men studied in earlier chapters seem less worried about demonstrating these qualities than the novels would suggest.

3. Marriage and ‘Co-partnery’

Marriage was the third phase in a man’s life that required adjustments. As French and Rothery argue it was a significant moment for a man in which he achieved his destiny to set up an ‘independent household through which adult male identity could be established and projected’.⁷⁹⁸ Marriage is central to the plots of a number of the novels especially *Marriage*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Mansfield Park*. It also forms a crucial point in *Fleetwood* although it features less significantly in the other novels. The correspondence of previous chapters has demonstrated how men used the home to manage and display their male identity within the marital relationship. The novels also demonstrate the significance of marriage in men’s lives and how men should negotiate marital relationships. Often marriage could challenge many aspects of a man’s identity which had been fostered in previous life stages. The management of the domestic economy became a joint task that needed cooperation between husband and wife. Different attitudes to interior decoration, and conspicuous consumption among other things could cause tensions and anxieties. The novels emphasised understanding and mutual respect as a way of facing these challenges. Likewise the home itself needed to be carved up and shared. Those elements which had been important to men in the

⁷⁹⁸ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 232.

formations of their identities had to be revisited and reassessed. Marriage required both cooperation and mutual respect for boundaries in the arrangement of space within the home. This requirement could cause tension but also happiness when addressed correctly.

A common theme among the novels is the strong emphasis on partnership in marriage. Cooperation was considered key to a successful marriage. In *Marriage* the only successful marriage is between Mary and Lennox. Their success is credited to their relationship being based upon a shared approach to managing domestic expenses. ‘Colonel Lennox’s fortune was small; but such as it was, it seemed sufficient for all the purposes of rational enjoyment. Both were aware that wealth is a relative thing, and that the positively rich are not those who have the largest possessions but those who have the fewest vain or selfish desires to gratify.’⁷⁹⁹ Mary’s relationship is contrasted to marriages in which the couples misunderstand their partner’s abilities and desires regarding household management. The marriage of Mary’s parents has failed for this reason:

her ladyship hated cottages and curricles and good dinners as much as her husband despised fancy balls, opera boxes, and chariots. The fact was that the one knew very nearly as much of the real value of money as the other, and Henry’s *sober* scheme was just as practicable as his wife’s extravagant one.⁸⁰⁰

Although they have similarly unrealistic attitudes to managing their expenses, their inability to agree on the details makes the match unworkable. Likewise, an uneven

⁷⁹⁹ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 353.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

power balance was problematic. When women took too much control over the domestic details it reflected unfavourably on both members of the marriage. Mrs. Boston, an acquaintance, is criticised for taking too much control in the home. With her “tis always, *I* do this, or *I* do that, without the slightest reference to her husband; and she talks of *my* house, *my* gardens, *my* carriage, *my* children, as if there were no co-partnery in the case.”⁸⁰¹ The term ‘co-partnery’, which appears in *Marriage*, sums up the cooperation and partnership emphasised in marital relationships throughout this and other novels. The success and failure of marriages hinged on the couples’ ability to manage the house, children and other expenses as a partnership.

Vickery argues that cooperation was important in a marriage and an imbalance of domestic management was held in contempt in society.⁸⁰² Men who dominated the balance of domestic management could also be problematic: ‘In the thousand trifling occurrences of domestic life (for his Grace was interested in all the minutiae of his establishment), where good sense and good humour on either side would have gracefully yielded to the other, there was a perpetual contest for dominion, which invariably ended in Adelaide’s defeat.’⁸⁰³ Adelaide’s attempts to regain control of life at her new home in Altamont House have failed and her preferences for décor and entertainment has been denied: ‘She had the finest house, jewels, and equipages in London, but she was not happy.’⁸⁰⁴ Adelaide’s mother married for love despite the economic incompatibility of the match. In the context of this failure Adelaide has married for wealth and status but has not found the correct formula for a successful

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 311.

⁸⁰² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 127-8.

⁸⁰³ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 319.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 341.

relationship either. By contrasting these examples Ferrier sends a clear message that neither love nor money alone can sustain a happy marriage. Cooperation and understanding, as seen in Mary's marriage, make for a strong couple.

Fleetwood also emphasises co-partnery in a marriage. 'Man and wife, if they love, must love each other vehemently. Their interests are in almost all cases united.'⁸⁰⁵ Fleetwood argues that mutual dependence and pursuing common goals is the meaning of marriage. When he gets married he reflects on the transition from bachelorhood to being a married man: 'To me, who had been accustomed to live alone with dependents, with acquaintance, and with servants, how delicious were the attentions of a beautiful and accomplished woman, whose interests were for ever united with my own!'⁸⁰⁶ He sees a wife as a partner, not as a dependent. He discusses this in the passage as an emotional bond for mutual care about the others' welfare: 'My tenants loved me, because I had power; my acquaintance, because I could contribute to their entertainment; the poor who dwelt near my mansion, for my wealth; but my wife would love me in sickness or in health, in poverty, in calamity, in total desolation!'⁸⁰⁷ Marriage was a unique bond.

In practice, however, Fleetwood finds the new division of responsibilities and compromise hard to adjust to. Godwin appeals to the reader's understanding of the situation: 'The reader who has had experience of the married life, will easily feel how many vexations a man stored up for himself'.⁸⁰⁸ This direct address to the reader suggests that Godwin felt confident that complaints about this type of tension already

⁸⁰⁵ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 174.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

had enough of a presence in the cultural imagination that the reader would understand. He continues by discussing the difficulties of cohabiting with the opposite sex: ‘Domestic avocations and cares will often call away the mind; and my wife will be thinking of the family linen or plate, when I want her to be thinking of the caverns of Pandemonium, or the retreats of the blessed.’⁸⁰⁹ The differences between masculine and feminine domestic management are a shock to him, having lived without a mother: ‘Since I grew up to man's estate, the system of my domestic life had been with servants only, where every thing was done in uncontending obedience.’⁸¹⁰ However, it is not really the nature of his wife’s interests that upsets his balance but the fact that she has interests, a will of her own and ‘a right to have her feelings consulted’.⁸¹¹ Fleetwood has problems sharing the responsibility of the household because he likes autonomy when it comes to interior decoration, linen and plate, spaces within the home and other types of private domestic management, not because he feels that his life is better focused in the public sphere. His identity is tied up with the home not just with its grandeur as a means to impress his peers and demonstrate his status but for his own sense of self and wellbeing.

It was not only objects and expense management that needed careful negotiation in a marriage according to the novels. Domestic space needed to be carved up and shared, and could cause serious problems in a marriage. The novels suggest that space within the marital home was a negotiation. It required both partners to respect private boundaries and cooperate in shared space. This contradicts the common assumption that women were more emotionally invested in the home, and men were more focused

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., 185.

⁸¹⁰ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 185.

⁸¹¹ Ibid., 185.

on the 'public sphere'. When one spouse overstepped the boundaries of the defined or assumed private space it could be deeply upsetting. Grey witnesses one of his acquaintance's annoyance and embarrassment when his wife does not respect his private boundaries within their home. 'The Marquess looked a little annoyed, as if he wished her Ladyship in her own room again'.⁸¹² The Marquess is embarrassed that Grey has observed, what he terms, a 'frivolous intrusion'.

Serious consequences were also possible for this type of miscommunication. Marital problems begin for Fleetwood almost immediately after his new wife, Mary, is introduced to their marital home. After the wedding Mary moves in to Fleetwood's childhood home. From his perspective the home is still his private emotional space, ingrained in his identity. His attempts to reconceptualise it as a shared marital space are enough to end their marital happiness.

Mary requests to transform Fleetwood's old private apartment into her new personal space. With good intentions, he agrees. However, he feels so strongly attached to it himself that he is unable to reconcile its loss: 'This, in the days of my boyhood, had been my father's privacy; and, when by his death the use of the whole mansion devolved to me, I felt the closet which Mary had chosen as already mine, the scene of a thousand remembered pleasures, the object of my love.'⁸¹³ He becomes anxious: 'the want of that accommodation which I had so long enjoyed, daily and hourly recurred.'⁸¹⁴ Fleetwood struggles between his attempts to consider her needs and his need to have his own considered: 'I have more joy in considering the things I love as yours, than in

⁸¹² Disraeli, *Grey*, 27.

⁸¹³ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 175.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 175.

regarding them as my own.’⁸¹⁵ He oscillates between a desire to make her happy and his feeling of distress and anger that she has not reciprocated his thoughtfulness or considered his emotional investment in the home and the particular spaces and practices within it: ‘She should have considered, that a man, at my time of life, must have fallen upon many methods of proceeding from which he cannot easily be weaned.’⁸¹⁶

Dramatic and emotive language is used to describe his sense of betrayal at losing his autonomy inside the house: ‘How much had I already suffered from the youthful and heedless disposition of my wife! I had lost the use of my own house, in the way I liked’.⁸¹⁷ Her failure to consider him in her request for space makes him feel excluded from the domestic decisions. Feeling pushed aside in both the marriage and his home he cannot regain his inner peace and, unable to resolve the situation, his attitude towards his wife and the marriage deteriorates: ‘Here then I was, torn, not now from my closet and my private stair-case, but from my paternal mansion, and the haunts, where once my careless childhood strayed. Lately the most independent man alive, I was become a mere appendage to that tender and charming trifle, a pretty woman.’⁸¹⁸ His identity and sense of masculinity have been based on being an independent man who assumed his father’s domestic position as head of his childhood home. His unequal marriage, however, meant he had lost this status. Interestingly, the identity he feels he has lost is not a public identity relating to how others view him but a private sense of self related to his own emotions, history, and autonomy. As Finn has demonstrated, in Romantic

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 175.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 175.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., 189.

⁸¹⁸ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 202.

literature home was depicted with blurred boundaries between public and private.⁸¹⁹ The novels studied here, however, suggest that the childhood home was portrayed as a private safe haven from the dangerous public world. The childhood home had a distinct private meaning for young men which did not follow through to the public and private houses men occupied as married men, fathers and professionals. Fleetwood struggles with accepting the new, shared boundaries of his previously private childhood home when he must adapt it to suit his life as a married man.

His wife feels that her identity is equally at stake. She informs him before the marriage that she is ‘not idle and thoughtless enough, to promise to sink my being and individuality in yours. I shall have my distinct propensities and preferences’.⁸²⁰ She understands that there can be an expectation that she will lose her own identity in the marriage but informs him that this will not happen. However, the novel does not suggest that losing one’s identity was considered typical for a wife. She qualifies her statement saying: ‘In me you will have a wife, and not a passive machine.’⁸²¹ This suggests that she considers a wife to be an equally respected partner and believes maintaining an individual identity to be important.

Cooperation within the home was important and included respect for boundaries and personal space. Later when Fleetwood finds an incriminating letter in her apartment, he explains his presence there ‘that I happened to pass through my wife’s dressing-room’.⁸²² From this point on the trust barrier has been broken and relations between the couple deteriorate quickly. He secretly enters on a few occasions

⁸¹⁹ Finn, “The Homes of England,” 293-313.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁸²² *Ibid.*, 229.

afterwards and later destroys her apartment and possessions in a rage wrongly believing she is unfaithful: 'I dragged the clothes which Mary had worn, from off the figure that represented her, and rent them into long strips and shreds. I struck the figures vehemently with the chairs and other furniture of the room, till they were broken to pieces.'⁸²³

Crossing the boundaries of intimacy and privacy within the marital home did not always have such disastrous consequences. One of the most intimate and happy moments between Juliana and Harry during their marriage is when he offers to dress her in place of his sisters: '"Dear Harry, will you really dress me? Oh! That will be delightful! I shall die with laughing at your awkwardness;" and her beautiful eyes sparkled with childish delight at the idea.'⁸²⁴ Juliana's reaction to the occasion suggests that the boundary of domestic privacy between husband and wife would be crossed but that this would add to the intimacy of their relationship.

The term co-partnery, which appears in *Marriage* and is one of the central themes of the novel, effectively sums up the material relationships between husband and wife in the novels and case studies.⁸²⁵ Partnership and cooperation in home and family management were essential for a happy union. A successful marriage as represented by the novels necessitated a common approach to managing the home. Attitudes to the type of home lived in, the management of expenses, the type of entertainment hosted at home and participated in away from home needed to be realistic and shared. Cooperation also needed to exist in the couple's ability to share space. The

⁸²³ Ibid., 251.

⁸²⁴ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 48.

⁸²⁵ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 311.

boundaries of personal and shared space needed to be respected and understood within the home, although they could also be crossed as a sign of trust and intimacy. The home, which a man should ideally provide before marriage remained an important place for men within marriage. Introducing a new partner into their space needed compromise and cooperation and such adjustments could be a difficult thing for a man. In *Fleetwood* the new wife's arrival in the protagonist's paternal home is damaging to the man's sense of self.⁸²⁶

Turning back to the case-study families of the thesis, marital correspondence was dominated by everyday practices of co-partnery in the material sense. Some couples were able to cooperate and compromise in the running of the household and family more successfully than the others. In 1780, Charlotte and Thomas Dundas had a turbulent negotiation. The angry letters, which travelled between London and the Yorkshire countryside attest to the fact that both parties had trouble fulfilling the expectations of the other in their partnership of household and family management.⁸²⁷ Although the ideal was clearly hard to realise in everyday life, the correspondence of couples such as the Rathbones and Dundases suggest they were able to successfully cooperate within their marriage.

4. Fatherhood

Fatherhood was another formative stage in a man's life and required a man to adjust his previous masculine behaviours and attitudes as a young bachelor to this new period. He

⁸²⁶ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 175.

⁸²⁷ NYCRO, ZNK.X.2.1.95, Charlotte Dundas to Thomas, Upleatham, 29th February 1780.

now needed to act in the supporting and providing role of a patriarch. For elite men the patriarchal role was especially imperative. The importance of primogeniture within the elite groups required men's moral investment in their heirs. A man could perform this role either for his own children or for others to acquire a new type of masculinity appropriate for his life stage. The support he offered could be financial and moral, both of these being closely tied to the home. In the novels moral lessons given to the son are directed towards consumption and intended to put the son in a position where he would share his father's values about how a home should be run to prepare him suitably for his future control over the family estate. The father was a significant figure in the son's choice of homes once he was old enough to become a homeowner. The physical space of the home was symbolically and actually important for how lessons were taught, making the home significant for fathers.

Becoming a father was portrayed as essential for male characters to be fulfilled at a certain stage of their lives. Godwin portrays having a family as another break in the continuity of the character's emotional development. It requires further adjustments to their character and identity. Tension arises if circumstance distracted or inhibited the protagonist from having a family.⁸²⁸ Fleetwood reaches a stage in life where he is feeling dissatisfied. A friend, MacNeil advises him to 'Marry! beget yourself a family of children!'⁸²⁹ MacNeil believes the remedy is to move onto the next life stage, becoming a paterfamilias. Interestingly he believes that the problem is too urgent for Fleetwood to wait until his children are old enough to occupy his cares. In the meantime, he advises him to replicate a family by creating his own 'domestic groupe'⁸³⁰

⁸²⁸ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 149.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

of distant relatives. As we have seen in Chapter Two for elite men, presiding over a large family group was an important role for a patriarch and tied in to his sense of masculine authority.

In the novels, a father's identity is firmly linked to the family home. The memory or idea of the home and family is connected to the memory of the father. This shows that the father was a central character in the domestic circle and that his presence there was essential for its proper functioning. In *Marriage*, Juliana cannot help but think back to her own father's mansion in England when picturing herself settling into her father-in-law, the Laird of Glenfern's castle and imagining herself walking its corridors and admiring its portraits.⁸³¹ When the Laird dies, 'the family assembled round the lifeless form that had so long been the centre of their domestic circle'.⁸³² There is an emotional connection between the physical environment of the home and the father that even the most unfeeling characters can perceive:

To a heart not wholly devoid of feeling, and a mind capable of anything like reflection, the desolate appearance of this magnificent mansion would have excited emotions of a very different nature. The apartments of the late Earl, with their wide extended doors and windows, sheeted furniture, and air of dreary order, exhibited that waste and chilling aspect which marks the chambers of death.⁸³³

The novels show that one of the most important roles of the father was the responsibility to act as a moral guide. As we have seen in the discussion of young men, a man's

⁸³¹ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 39.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, 157.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, 145.

character was closely tied to his father's success at raising him and teaching him about character. In *Vivien Grey* Grey's father is a moral character. His duty throughout is to lead Grey on a moral path. In the beginning of the book, Grey is preoccupied with power and status. His approach to achieving these is portrayed in a negative light as he avoids education and pursues superficial connections with powerful men. Grey's character is blamed on his parents' early choices of schooling and their protection of him from bad influences.⁸³⁴ The influence of the parents and the school on a boy's character is referred to regularly: 'How far the character of the parent may influence the character of the child the metaphysician must decide.'⁸³⁵ His parents do not initially send him to school to avoid him acquiring a bad character, however after staying home he is deemed spoilt and school is considered the best remedy. Later in the novel after he is involved in an accident he returns home, blaming the outside world on his bad choices: "'O, my father! why did I leave thee?'"⁸³⁶ The influences of home and society are contrasted as opposites here and throughout the novel.

The father's moral guidance is consistently linked to the physical space of the father's home. As a young boy, Vivien finds himself amongst his father's visiting company. It is his father's responsibility to prevent this from affecting his son's morals adversely: 'The reputation of Mr. Grey had always made him an honoured guest among the powerful and the great. It was for this reason that he had always been anxious that his son should be at home as little as possible; for he feared for a youth the fascination

⁸³⁴ Disraeli, *Grey*, 1.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸³⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

of London society.’⁸³⁷ However, Vivien does not manage to avoid the negative impacts of this company. Disraeli attributes this to certain domestic spaces:

Most persons of his age would have passed through the ordeal with perfect safety; they would have entered certain rooms, at certain hours, with stiff cravats, and Nugee coats, and black velvet waistcoats; and after having annoyed all those who condescended to know of their existence, with their red hands and their white gloves, they would have retired to a corner of the room, and conversationised with any stray four-year-old not yet sent to bed.⁸³⁸

Domestic space proves instrumental for Grey’s educational development. Grey’s father understands the significance of space for his son’s education: ““Vivian, my dear,” said his father to him one day, “this will never do; you must adopt some system for your studies, and some locality for your reading. Have a room to yourself; set apart certain hours in the day for your books, and allow no consideration””.⁸³⁹ It is his father’s responsibility to supervise his son’s education and provide the domestic support needed for him to succeed. In managing his son’s studies and his domestic space Grey’s father is redeemed as a responsible and honourable man. Bailey argues that parenting behaviour in Romantic literature ‘cultivated the inner self, stressing interior feelings’.⁸⁴⁰ Grey’s father’s emphasis on having a room to himself and focusing on his studies rather than socialising certainly seems to support this cultural trend.

⁸³⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁸³⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁸⁴⁰ Bailey, *Parenting in England*, 9.

Moral lessons were rooted in the space and symbolism of the home. Misjudgement of space, obsession with or neglect of the physical environment of the home were the downfall of many parents in their attempts to teach their children. In *Waverley*, the library at Waverley-Honour, Edward's family home, is described as a 'mark of splendour' for the family, built more for show than for educational purposes.⁸⁴¹ Edward is described as having a love of literature. While those who are meant to educate him are not diligent in their attention to him, Edward is able to use the library to educate himself:

a large Gothic room, with double arches and a gallery, contained such a miscellaneous and extensive collection of volumes as had been assembled together, during the course of two hundred years, by a family which had been always wealthy, and inclined, of course, as a mark of splendour, to furnish their shelves with the current literature of the day, without much scrutiny or nicety of discrimination. Throughout this ample realm Edward was permitted to roam at large.⁸⁴²

The Gothic imagery, which became popular in late-eighteenth-century literature conveys a relationship with history, and adds emphasis to Edward's family lineage members of which had been collecting books undiscerningly for 200 years. The environment in which Edward is educated is less than ideal, however, in this circumstance the space itself allows him to learn, despite the lack of effort of his patron at both educating him and discriminating appropriately about the environment for

⁸⁴¹ Scott, *Waverley*, 47.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, 47.

study. This reflects badly on the patron's character, although well on Edward's character for being able to teach himself.

Space was important for a father-figure to understand and perform his role. Sir Everard becomes the patron of his nephew, Edward suddenly. Initially unsure of how to manage the responsibility, it is in the library, looking at an heirloom and gothic chivalrous decoration, that Sir Everard has an epiphany about how to deal with his nephew. He considers the lessons which he needs to teach him and the identity he has to help him form. He decides at this point to send Edward to the army. His advice focusses on lineage, and teaching the correct conduct for Edward to continue the family name appropriately as the 'probable heir of the house of Waverley'.⁸⁴³ In the case studies, Lee Antonie is also the guardian of his nephew Fiott Lee. He also uses domestic decoration to prepare his nephew for his future inheritance:

Edward, my dear boy, remember also that you are the last of that race, and the only hope of its revival depends upon you; therefore, as far as duty and honour will permit, avoid danger—I mean unnecessary danger—and keep no company with rakes, gamblers, and Whigs, of whom, it is to be feared, there are but too many in the service into which you are going.⁸⁴⁴

Sir Everard emphasises Edward's part in the family line and the family name, and states that he has made arrangements for his professional future. He references his father and God as authority figures Edward must obey. In the same speech, he adds his moral lesson to Edward about avoiding the dangerous temptations on offer to young men.

⁸⁴³ Ibid., 102.

⁸⁴⁴ Scott, *Waverley*, 102.

In *Marriage*, no men reside in Juliana's household, therefore the responsibility for moral education falls on her. Her attempts are criticised. The moral overtones of her failure as a suitable parent are tied up with the language of the physical domestic environment:

modern treatises on the subject of education were ordered from London, looked at, admired, and arranged on gilded shelves and sofa tables; and could their contents have exhaled with the odours of their Russia leather bindings, Lady Juliana's dressing-room would have been what Sir Joshua Reynolds says every seminary of learning *is*, "an atmosphere of floating knowledge."⁸⁴⁵

Here Juliana's interest in the material world is contrasted with religion when she neglects the Bible in her study. Juliana's failure in teaching her children morality is seen directly reflected in the poor moral character of her daughter, Adelaide, who 'was as heartless and ambitious as she was beautiful and accomplished; but the surface was covered with flowers, and who would have thought of analysing the soil?'⁸⁴⁶ The consequences of Juliana's neglect of her daughter's moral education are also written in the language of the domestic environment, using the garden as a metaphor for her character.

When Fleetwood first arrives at Ruffigny's home the reader does not realise that he will become a father figure to Fleetwood. However, the description of his home already determines Ruffigny's suitability for this role. The library is the room most fully described. It is 'the only spacious apartment in his house, and was fitted up with

⁸⁴⁵ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 168.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 168.

peculiar neatness and convenience'.⁸⁴⁷ The author goes to great lengths to detail the types of literature on the shelves. This positions Ruffigny as a man who values learning and convenience over luxury and as one who keeps his home in order. The importance of the house is related to Ruffigny's ability to teach Fleetwood appropriate moral lessons, about household management, consumption and emotional security:

My countrymen appear in the plainness of what in England you would call a quaker-like habit and manners, while the region that sustains them is clothed in all the dyes of heaven... Hence I learn to venerate and respect the intelligible rectitude of the species to which I belong...⁸⁴⁸

By sharing the physical environment with Ruffigny, Fleetwood begins to absorb the same attitude to simplicity, nature and solitude. The physical space itself is as important as the lessons given by the paternal figure within them. The particular details of the home are important for the patriarch as they have a large impact on the education of the son. This adds significance to the choices the patriarch makes about where to live and how to decorate the home. Like in *Vivien Grey* the broad parenting trends identified by Bailey emphasising the interior self and inner feelings seems to be evident in *Fleetwood*.⁸⁴⁹ Its presence in the later novels rather than the earlier ones suggest that this was a later development in the period.

Benefactors are quite common in the novels. The role of benefactor is similar to role of father in terms of providing financially and morally for the child. Inheritance

⁸⁴⁷ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 53.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁸⁴⁹ Bailey, *Parenting in England*, 9.

is equally important for benefactors, as their young ward would inherit their wealth and title. In *Marriage*, Henry, Juliana's husband is raised by a rich relative, the General:

Douglas had left his paternal home and native hills when only eight years of age. A rich relation of his mother's happening to visit them at that time, took a fancy to the boy; and, under promise of making him his heir, had prevailed on his parents to part with him.⁸⁵⁰

Henry leaves his paternal home suggesting that his father's responsibility to raise him morally has been passed to the benefactor. When Henry marries against the will of his benefactor he is disowned. The nature of the indiscretion, which leads Henry to lose his inheritance is related to setting up a family. Although the General considers forgiving Henry and his new wife, he changes his mind when they visit. Despite their pleas for financial help, Juliana proves that she will not manage money well when she begins to buy objects carelessly from a 'china man' in front of Henry and the benefactor at the breakfast table.⁸⁵¹ The benefactor concludes their relationship stating that, 'all my fortune would not suffice to furnish pug-dogs and deformed teapots for such a vitiated taste'.⁸⁵² The General's intentions for his name and fortune are incompatible with how money will be spent under Henry's roof. The ability to teach a son to continue the family legacy in terms of his own household management was essential for a father-figure's reputation.

After this incident, Henry's father is in charge of organising Henry's future domestic situation. He is the one who arranges Henry's home and future income. He

⁸⁵⁰ Ferrier, *Marriage*, 40.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*, 135.

organises him a farm in Scotland and is delighted with the task and the results he achieved.⁸⁵³ The father is especially interested and excited about the domestic arrangements and improvements to the land and house and is so absorbed in discussing them that he does not notice his son's lack of interest.⁸⁵⁴

The role of paterfamilias was important for men but was not exclusively performed for their own sons. When MacNeil explains to Fleetwood that his unhappiness may be the result of his failure to progress from the situation of bachelor to patriarch by this stage in his life, he is not only referring to raising children. He encourages him to think of adopting the role of patriarch in more general terms. He suggests helping young bachelors on the 'threshold of life.'

Call them round you; contribute to their means; contribute to their improvement; consult with them as to the most promising adventure in which they can launch themselves on the ocean of life.⁸⁵⁵

MacNeil advises Fleetwood that to fulfil the need to act as a father, Fleetwood must realise his duty to support others. He is no longer considered young and to separate himself from his youth he must now assume the role of a patron to younger men. MacNeil suggests that to assume the role and responsibility of a father did not require children and could be performed for others.

For men who did not have children it was still possible and important for them to perform this fatherly role. In the *Man of Feeling*, Harley charitably assists a family

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 80.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 85.

⁸⁵⁵ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 149.

who are struggling. The father is incapacitated and the eldest son is providing for the family. This honourable deed on the son's part also reflects on the father in a favourable light for having raised him responsibly.⁸⁵⁶ Harley's status benefits from assuming the role of patron to the family:

The attachment which I felt to them was that of a patron and a preserver; ...when I witnessed the effusions of their honest esteem and affection, my heart whispered me, This would not have existed, but for me! I prevailed on my father to bestow a farm upon the lovers; I engaged, out of my own little stock, to hire a labourer for the old man; they married, and I had the satisfaction to convert one virtuous establishment into two.⁸⁵⁷

Although Harley's father is the final stage in the hierarchy of support, as Harley is still a young man, helping the family in this manner improves his masculine status.

Fatherhood was a defining stage in a man's life when he could impart the moral and practical knowledge gained from his father to his children. Attaining fatherhood was considered essential for male character development, although these qualities could still be developed and exercised by childless men. The home was central to this relationship as it provided a setting and a means for a father to educate his child and mould him in his own likeness. The physical details of the home were especially important for both father and son.

Safeguarding inheritance by shaping their sons' consumption patterns was the most important aspect of elite fatherhood in the case studies. While the Quaker

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., 11.

Rathbone family urged restraint, other fathers worried that family credibility might be threatened if sons did not put on the appropriate material display. Dundas used material display extravagantly to show his status. Breadalbane had many similarities to Dundas. However, he expressed concern for restraint as well as display. Buccleuch, who was the wealthiest of all the men, was incredibly restrained and took care to limit any personal consumption. Personality played a part in how men consumed. Thomas Dundas was a spendthrift albeit encouraged by his father to a degree. Whitbread I was very dominating and exerted a lot of control over his son's home and consumption while there was much less conflict among the Breadalbanes.

The long discussions over the consumption of clothes and other material items in letters show how important these formative practices were. Bailey's recent work on fatherhood points out that there was an emphasis on tenderness and affection in cultural understandings of parenthood in this period, as well as an interest in discipline.⁸⁵⁸ The novels demonstrate continuity in many of these attitudes although they were written in different styles over the period of fifty-three years. Some of the fathers in the case studies were quite didactic about their sons' material decisions, for example, Whitbread I. However, the fathers here also seem to have striven to understand their sons, and could be accommodating. This was the case even when their sons disappointed them, as was the case in the Dundas family.

It was not only fathers who took on this responsibility and played the patriarchal role for young protagonists. When fathers were unable to guide their sons' benefactors assumed this role. Benefactors frequently play an important role in the novels confirming that they were culturally significant as well as being a useful plot device. In

⁸⁵⁸ Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood."

Fleetwood, Fleetwood's father's friend, Ruffigny, who later becomes a mentor to Fleetwood, uses the physical and material environment of his home to teach the protagonist about manhood and how to move away from a risky bachelor life-style.⁸⁵⁹ He uses the natural setting of his home to emphasise individual sensibility, employing a particular kind of Romantic fatherhood. Lee Antonie had no children of his own but he was invested in the way his chosen heir Jack consumed. The importance of primogeniture within elite groups meant that men needed to be invested in their heirs to prepare them for their future control over the family estate.

5. Public Life

The novels use the home to establish men's identities and set the tone for the professional relationships of public life. Novels with both male and female authors use the home as a means to display wealth and status through things such as family crests and portraits. However, the home is also used to demonstrate something deeper about a man's identity and signify the nature of men's relationships with other men. Authors use the home to establish the positive or negative nature of the relationship, the type of relationship, the formality and reliability of the man as well as his individual personality and philosophies. This suggests that culturally, the home and the objects within it were closely tied to men's public reputations.

As well as being a private and intimate space, the home was also important for men's public interactions. One way in which the 'public' and 'private' spheres were conflated was through hospitality. Social events such as balls, assemblies and visiting

⁸⁵⁹ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 53.

made elite homes a public space. Domestic hospitality was central to men's work life. Business and politics were conducted in the homes of the elite. Men provided hospitality such as dinners, breakfasts and sports to their colleagues and associates for business and political reasons. According to Disraeli in *Vivien Grey*, in 'the ancient kingdom of England it hath ever been the custom to dine previously to transacting business. This habit is one of those few which are not contingent upon the mutable fancies of fashion, and at this day we see Cabinet Dinners and Vestry Dinners alike proving the correctness of our assertion'.⁸⁶⁰ Although such sociable activities are often discussed within the framework of politeness, Disraeli suggests that dining for business purposes remained popular. As we have seen in Chapter Three domestic hospitality was considered a central part of men's public identity. Like Dundas and Breadalbane who used hospitality to improve their political careers, the Marquess of Carabas in *Vivien Grey* suggests opening the season early to relaunch his political career as 'a course of parliamentary dinners... gives a tone to a political party'.⁸⁶¹

There were social rules and expectations, which dictated the types and amount of consumption suitable for specific masculine business meetings. The kind of hospitality provided could signify the formality of the event and intention of the host.

There certainly was every appearance that "the great business," as the Marquess styled it, would not be very much advanced by the cabinet dinner at Château Desir. For, in the first place, the table was laden "with every delicacy of the season," and really, when a man is either going to talk sense,

⁸⁶⁰ Disraeli, *Grey*, 69.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

fight a duel, or make his will, nothing should be seen at dinner save cutlets and the lightest Bordeaux.⁸⁶²

Wealth and status were obvious markers that were signified through objects. Family crests are mentioned frequently in scenes where characters are visiting or being visited in the novels.⁸⁶³ The crests symbolised rank and family connections. This suggests that the display of status was considered by the authors to be a key factor in the visits. Power and status are alluded to through domestic objects during business meetings in the novels. In *Waverley*, for instance, when Captain Waverley meets the Baron, his status is shown through the description of family portraits hanging on the dining room walls.⁸⁶⁴

The description of men's homes in the novels symbolises more than wealth and power. Authors use the domestic setting and the objects within it as a metaphor for the male host's identity. The buildings are also used to establish the character and public situation of men who were related to the protagonist through business or politics as a means of establishing their rank and importance.

In Grey's early years, he attempts to build his political career by manipulating more powerful politicians. The two men he gets involved with are described through their homes. Cleveland, the more politically dormant of the two, lives at Kenrich Lodge in North Wales, enjoying 'all the luxuries of a cottage ornée in the most romantic part

⁸⁶² Ibid., 69.

⁸⁶³ Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, 67. Scott, *Waverley*, 84, 89, 103, 341, 355. Disraeli, *Grey*, 29, 31. Ferrier, *Marriage*, 131. Scott, *St Ronan's Well*, 211.

⁸⁶⁴ Scott, *Waverley*, 89.

of the Principality'.⁸⁶⁵ He is described as a family man who has been living in isolation from society and political life. The Marquess of Carabas on the other hand lives at Château Desir, which is described at great length. The dining-room 'was hung round with portraits of most of the successful revolutionary leaders, and over Mr. Premium was suspended a magnificent portrait of Bolivar. If you could but have seen the plate! By Jove! I have eaten off the silver of most of the first families in England, yet never in my life did it enter into my imagination that it was possible for the most ingenious artist that ever existed to repeat a crest half so often in a tablespoon as in that of Premium'.⁸⁶⁶ Descriptions of Carabas' house are littered with references to the family blood line, crediting 'the miraculous cost, and.. still more miraculous toil' that the first Lord Carabas invested in building the 'splendid pile'.⁸⁶⁷ Descriptions of Château Desir establish Carabas' power, wealth and connections showing that Grey has made a good link for his own career.

The tone of a business meeting between Grey and Carabas is set almost exclusively by describing the portraits hanging in the Marquess's home along with other status indicators on display in his library.⁸⁶⁸

"Is power a thing so easily to be despised, young man?" asked the Marquess. His eye rested on a vote of thanks from the "Merchants and Bankers of London to the Right Honourable Sydney Lorraine, President,

⁸⁶⁵ Disraeli, *Grey*, 75.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

&c., &c., &c.," which, splendidly emblazoned, and gilt, and framed, and glazed, was suspended opposite the President's portrait.⁸⁶⁹

The tone of the meeting is focused on making political connections for Grey. The meeting proves to be a significant step in Grey's life towards becoming a professional man. The nature of the relationship he has with the Marquess is also symbolised through these objects which signifies the power and connections of the male householders. This relationship ultimately fails, as it is too superficial and disingenuous, highlighted in the obsession with the objects of power and status in the home. Although the critique of grandeur may have become more pronounced during the nineteenth century, the critique of excessive consumption and superficial vanity is present throughout the novels.

The tone of a meeting, such as grandeur, secrecy or intimacy, is symbolically set by the description of the space in which it is held and the objects within that space. Disraeli sets the scene for a secret and intimate meeting. They are 'invited to dine with the Marquess alone, and in his library. There was abundance of dumb waiters and other inventions by which the ease of the guests might be consulted, without risking even their secret looks to the gaze of liveried menials.'⁸⁷⁰ The participants dine in the library rather than the dining room, a more intimate setting. Rather than emphasising grand portraits as in many other meetings to imply power, Disraeli emphasises the dumb waiters in his description of the room to hint at the secret nature of the meeting.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., 25. See also: 57. 'The family portraits also, in ostentatious frames, now adorned the dining-room of his London mansion; and it was amusing to hear the worthy M.P. dilate upon his likeness to his respected father.'

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., 69.

Men used domestic hospitality to achieve their aims in business and public affairs. In *Vivien Grey*, an interesting power play occurs between the host and guest. Grey accompanies a Prince he has befriended on a business trip to visit the home of a politician and rival named Beckendorff. They are both unaware of the reason Beckendorff has called them there. Both parties struggle to gain the upper hand in a negotiation for power. Beckendorff's home is described as confusing and mysterious as is Beckendorff himself and the situation in which the protagonist has found himself. Grey and the Prince do not know what they are negotiating for, only that they are at the losing end of the power battle, as guests in his home and with no information about the reason for their visit. Grey uses his host's home to learn about him in an attempt to regain some power. He studies the objects in his library, expecting them to reveal something about his host.⁸⁷¹ However, he is surprised to find nothing of use to gain insight into Beckendorff or his plan.

An explicit link between career and home is made in *Vivien Grey*. When the Prince becomes His Excellency the Grand Marshal, not only do offices change hands but the property and possessions are purchased without 'a moment to be lost':⁸⁷² 'Master Rodolph... has this morning purchased from his master's predecessor his palace, furniture, wines, and pictures; in short, his whole establishment'.⁸⁷³ The home needed to be relevant to the career, not only in terms of success and status but also the type of career the man had.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., 284.

⁸⁷² Ibid., 317.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., 317.

The same rules are applied to husbandmen as to MPs and higher-ranking officials. Disraeli uses descriptions of the homes to portray the character and public reputation of the man in question. After Grey's old friend, John Conyers, gets in trouble with debt, his character suffers a mental breakdown. The state of his home is used to symbolise the state of his person. 'Vivian entered the house; but who shall describe the scene of desolation'.⁸⁷⁴ To show that he has previously been a respectable and professional man, Disraeli draws upon a description of how his house was before the bad news... 'He remembered this little room, when he thought it the very model of the abode of an English husbandman. The neat row of plates, and the well-scoured utensils... all gone!'⁸⁷⁵ Grey assists the man in getting back on his feet and regaining his reputation by providing furniture and domestic objects. 'Mr. Grey says he is to send up a couple of beds, and some chairs here immediately, and some plates and dishes, and everything else'.⁸⁷⁶

For the adult male protagonists consumption is about public display, though men's concerns to express an internal identity remains an important driver in it. In Chapter Three we saw how the case-study men dealt with their public identities and relationships with their peers. The home and material culture remained a central part of men's lives outside the family circle. Much of the public display, which occurs in the novels, is focused on entertaining and hospitality within the home. The sorts of objects, which are stressed in the descriptions, are related to men's status and family reputation. Objects such as crests and family portraits make frequent appearances demonstrating the importance of material culture in creating the image of an elite man's status, both

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., 46.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid., 46.

between the characters in the novels and to the readers of them. The case-study inventories demonstrated the importance of similar items including crests and family portraits, emphasised in the novels as masculine objects. However, while it seems reductive to try to associate specific items and spaces with one sex or the other, what the letters showed was just how important the investment these men made in the material world was to them. The composite interior, decorated and filled with choice objects, was crucial to the expression of their identity. Here too the everyday practices of the case-study men are echoed in the novels, where the decoration of rooms was an essential part of the creation of men's public identities whilst also being seen as a fantasy of the self.

Conclusion

As a means of understanding how the home and the objects within it were viewed in relation to masculinity in a wider social and cultural frame, this chapter has turned to the examination of novels. Novels can express shared emotional meanings behind objects more fully and fluently than many other cultural sources including perhaps letters with their necessarily private focus. These novels have been used to express complex and changing relationships with home and domestic objects for men through the different stages of their lives.

While the novels express blurred boundaries between the public and private as argued by Finn,⁸⁷⁷ for young men, the family home represents a source of safety and

⁸⁷⁷ Finn, "The Homes of England," 293-313.

privacy contrasting the perceived public threats of peers and school. As McKeon argues there was an articulated division of the public and private sphere in the novels. Although these sphere were not usually separated, the contrast is highlighted in the portrayal of young men's childhood homes.⁸⁷⁸ The novels highlight a sense of anxiety for boys as they leave their father's home and move away for education. The home signifies their journey away from the shelter of the home and their father's instruction to public life and the accompanying risks of having to defend and adapt their masculinity to peer pressure. The father's home is symbolically linked to morality and contrasted to the dangerous 'public realm' associated with vanity and excessive consumption. There is a particular level of anxiety about this for elite protagonists who would shortly have responsibility for managing large estates themselves. Despite this early contrast the home is portrayed at later life-stages with indistinct public and private boundaries. This is especially evident when Fleetwood marries and must open up his childhood home to his new wife. He struggles enormously with the idea of adapting the private space he had grown up in to his new role as a married man.⁸⁷⁹ During courtship, men's relationship with home changes once again. Having a home, or the potential to own a home, represents a man's desirability as a suitor. It is not only his financial ability to own a home, which is under scrutiny, but also his attitude towards running a home. Specifically the type and amount of interest a man has in consumption is the subject that dictates whether or not he would be a good partner. These concerns are put into practice once a man marries. The strength and success of a marriage depends on his ability to share the physical space of the home and its management. The term co-partnery, which appears in *Marriage*, is a useful way to frame the concept of marital

⁸⁷⁸ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

⁸⁷⁹ Godwin, *Fleetwood*, 175-202.

cooperation emphasised in the novels. In sharing space and domestic responsibilities the attitudes a man has developed towards the home in his youth are challenged. As his identity has been so closely defined by these attitudes, the adjustment to the changes can cause tensions. A good marriage requires compromise and mutual respect for space. Once a man creates his own family his position in relation to the hierarchy of the home changes. He needs to assume the role of provider. Financial and moral support of the family is his responsibility. It is the father's job to teach his sons the correct attitude to home and consumption so that they can replicate it as adults and keep consistency in the family line. Home also remains significant for men within professional relationships, especially through the use of hospitality. Crests and family portraits are often mentioned in the novels, and are particularly resonant in signalling social status, family background and patriarchal power. The novels use the home to establish a man's character, his wealth, status and suitability for a professional relationship.

At each stage in a man's life the home is central to his development and changing identity. The physical home is important for the men's journey both in the way they learn, teach and express themselves as well as the metaphorical way in which the author constructs the characters. The novels span the years 1777-1830 and include works written in a number of different literary styles. They appear to demonstrate that the way in which ideas about masculinity were framed was in transition. There is an evident move in the styles of the novels from sentimentality to romanticism, to the beginnings of more moralistic versions of masculinity that took hold in the nineteenth century. There is also some indication of stronger moral value being placed on fatherhood as well as Bailey's inward-looking parenting style,⁸⁸⁰ and a slight shift

⁸⁸⁰ Bailey, *Parenting in England*, 9.

towards a more romantic view of marital partnerships. Beneath this, however, there does appear to be a continuous, shared set of ideas about what an elite man should be at different stages in the lifecycle. Descriptions of the home are used to display men's characters in the same way in novels as different as *Vivien Grey* and *Fleetwood*.

As Perry argues, 'reading back and forth between literature and history can [give] a feel for how a text symbolizes, transcends, or comments on its time'.⁸⁸¹ The case studies revealed similar core ideas about the performance of elite male domesticity through material culture at different stages in their lifecycle. During their education the correspondence shows the young men struggling with the anxieties also noted in the novels between creating an identity suitable for fitting in with their peers and one suitable for continuing their family name. The case study fathers grappled with the same concerns as those depicted in the novels, actively trying to prepare their sons for the future responsibility of running the estate. In courtship and marriage the emphasis for men was the provision of material support and marital cooperation or co-partnery, although it appears to have been less important for the case-study men than the men in the novels to try to attract a partner through their demonstration of these attributes. Finally the case-study men used the home to display and perform their public masculine identities much as the male characters in the novels have been shown to so.

⁸⁸¹ Perry, *Novel Relations*, 289.

Conclusion

In this examination of six elite families from England and Scotland, letters between family, friends, servants, peers and colleagues have provided much insight into the role played by material culture and the home in constructing male identities. The case studies have revealed different attitudes which men held towards consumption across the six chosen families, the Breadalbanes, the Buccleuchs, the Whitbreads, Lee Antonie, the Rathbones and the Dundas family. Among other differences, these families represent England and Scotland, a social range within the elite class, including both aristocratic and self-made men, and different religious affiliations. The evidence shows, however, there was an elite male culture of domestic material culture, in which men's

relationship with the home was central to their masculine identity throughout their lifecycle. From Chapter One the importance of the home for men's reputation is highlighted with the example of Hannah Mary Rathbone who expressed reluctance to redecorate her home after her husband's death for fear of the impact it may have posthumously on his public character.⁸⁸²

Throughout the thesis the differentiation between public and private spheres has provided a useful tool with which to analyse different areas of men's lives. McKeon shows how the concept of the separation of public and private spheres developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁸³ Harvey argues that the domestic arena was one in which public and private were conflated.⁸⁸⁴ The analysis here has shown the ways in which for elite men the two spheres frequently merged within the domestic space. In particular the argument has developed ideas put forward in Nenadic's analysis of dining-rooms in eighteenth-century Scotland. She argues that domestic hospitality was used as a status-enhancing display through the use of valuable domestic objects.⁸⁸⁵ Here, the case studies have shown that men used the home and its decoration to display their public identities through sociability and hosting in individual ways depending on their social status, religion, and economic and political interests. However, the thesis has also shown that men's reputation was tied to the home in more ways than just through sociability and hosting. The home legitimised men's patriarchal authority, playing a central role in their relationships during courtship, marriage and fatherhood, as well as men's relationships with peers, friends, colleagues and workers.

⁸⁸² ULA, V.1.15, Hannah Mary Rathbone to William Rathbone V.

⁸⁸³ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

⁸⁸⁴ Harvey, "Men Making Home," 536.

⁸⁸⁵ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 147.

Letters have provided a rich source of evidence, throughout, offering a varied and detailed insight into the men's lives. As a means to study relationships, the tone and content of the correspondence has furnished clues to the relationships themselves, from intimate anxieties expressed by husbands to wives and children to more public communications with peers. The collections of correspondence used in the study were extensive and included the business, estate, and political dealings of the men as well as their family, friendship and household correspondence. Researching the collections was a large undertaking. However, it provided an intimate insight into the men's lives and relationships. Where possible, such as in Chapter One, the letters were combined with evidence from the bills, accounts and inventories, which were often also available in the family and estate papers. These sources provided a clearer picture of the material world in which the men lived allowing for a closer analysis of the objects and spaces within men's homes. The combined sources demonstrated that each of the men had individual tastes which were heavily based on their status and interests. Whitbread who as a young man used material culture to distance himself from his background as a porter brewer went on to use French objects to express his Whig politics as an adult householder.⁸⁸⁶

The elite men's consumption was primarily built around the acquisition of social status, although the men's understanding of what that social status meant could vary. Certainly, some goods, for example family seals and portraits, were shared symbols of masculine status and power. There is no single style of elite consumption in the case studies, but the families followed similar patterns of consumption. Fathers attempted to instil their version of material culture in their sons so that it would be

⁸⁸⁶ Above, 210, 247-251.

continued by the next generation. Breadalbane, for instance, was anxious about his Scottish estate being seen as less valuable than an English estate. He emphasised Englishness in his consumption, discussing English military uniforms proudly with his son.⁸⁸⁷ Whitbread I was anxious about being seen as originating from a lower social class as a result of his manufacturing background. Whitbread was the most controlling of all the fathers. He was involved in the choice of home for his son and had a list of criteria which the home needed to satisfy.⁸⁸⁸ We have seen that he was concerned about his son's social status among his peers. Unlike the other men in the study Whitbread I did not have an elite father himself, as his wealth was largely self-made. His especially controlling involvement in his son's consumption may have been related to the fact that he was learning about elite fatherhood without guidance from his own father.

The term patriarch in this thesis does not only apply to married men and fathers, although that is the stage when it is most often applied. The term is used to refer to the elite men once they reach their majority. The boundaries of the elite family reached further than Tadmor's concept of the 'household family', which included those living under the same roof.⁸⁸⁹ Elite patriarchs were responsible for multiple households and various family and non-family dependents. Distant relatives came under the umbrella of support for elite patriarchs. Inheriting the father's title and responsibilities included becoming accountable for a network of dependents, not only children and spouses. Examining the home through the lens of material underlines the importance of this aspect of men's roles and identities. In a similar way to Harvey's middling-sort men,

⁸⁸⁷ Above 220. NAS, GD112/39/329/1, Colin Campbell to Mrs Campbell, Lausanne, 9th May 1781. See also: NAS, GD112/39/324/7.

⁸⁸⁸ Above, 163-4.

⁸⁸⁹ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 74.

elite men used the oeconomic control of the home to perform their patriarchal role. When fathers counselled their eldest sons about responsibility these large networks of dependents were often emphasised.

On the evidence of the material markers, the most important family relationships were the relationships between husband and wife and father and eldest son. French and Rothery argue that marriage, which forms the core of the analysis in Chapter One, was a 'real and symbolic moment at which a man's emotional and financial destiny was arranged and which created an independent household through which adult male identity could be established and projected'.⁸⁹⁰ In all the case-study families the patriarch took the lead role in the management of household expenses and control of decoration. The letters show that men could have difficulty in managing expenses across multiple households and that some men were not keen oeconomists. However, patriarchs usually controlled the decoration of the home. They were heavily invested in the process. They controlled the workers and had the final word in the plans. As elite homes required large and expensive improvements these were large-scale endeavours which involved the supervision of multiple male workers. This type of activity may have leant itself better to male management. The process of refurbishing and decorating the home sometimes started during courtship, when men might use discussions over setting up home and gifts to establish a particular power dynamic in the relationship. My conclusions do not suggest that women had no agency in the decoration of their homes, indeed their choices were important and many of the women were involved with the process. Likewise women assisted in the management of multiple households. While they did have some involvement they took into account the

⁸⁹⁰ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 232.

fact that masculine power and identity were tied up with domestic decoration. Overall the case study-letters place more emphasis on male dominance than the more optimistic and increasingly romantic depictions of the marital partnership in novels. Likewise, the letters also often show how the ideal of ‘co-partnery’ failed.

Chapter One demonstrated that many of the family members participated in broad trends of masculinity during the period. Dundas utilised material culture to perform polite sociability, whereas Buccleuch embraced a more ‘inward-looking concept of manly simplicity’ identified by McCormack’s.⁸⁹¹ However, the underlying consistency of the findings concurs with French and Rothery’s argument that there was a great deal of continuity in the elite patriarchal role.⁸⁹² The case studies have shown that consumption continued to be viewed as a central part of the patriarchal role throughout the period. The correspondence allowed each chapter to map out the consumption practices of individuals and demonstrate the extent to which personal, social and economic factors made a difference. Ideas of masculinity were brought together with other forms of identity. Men used material culture to create interiors that expressed complex masculine identities, incorporating gender, social status and other affiliations to create a sense of their own personality.

Chapter Two argued that fathers were concerned with the daily spending habits of their sons to preserve the family estate in the next generation. As Stobart has shown elite families had a specific mode of consumption driven by the importance of lineage and inheritance.⁸⁹³ He argued that managing everyday spending was essential for elite

⁸⁹¹ McCormack, *The Independent Man*, 207.

⁸⁹² French and Rothery, “Hegemonic Masculinities,” 159. French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 235.

⁸⁹³ Stobart, “Status, Gender and Life Cycle,” 102-103.

men to control the estate across the generations and continue the reputation and status of the family.⁸⁹⁴ The present chapter on ‘patriarchal practices’ explored such dynamics further, revealing the active processes by which estate management and elite consumption were passed down to the next generation. The way elite men consumed was central to the preservation of their rank and dignity and therefore to their identity. French and Rothery argue that moral advice between fathers and sons was ambiguous and left space for interpretation about the values the parents wished to impart.⁸⁹⁵ Here, in contrast, the advice imparted by the fathers was explicit and specifically related to the families’ religious, moral and economic values. Outward displays of material culture such as clothing, interior decoration and hospitality were all crucial to men’s reputation in ‘society’, or, more specifically, in the social circles in which they desired respect. For Rathbone this was his religious circle whereas for Dundas and Whitbread these were what they perceived as high-status social circles. When the son then inherited the title and family home from the father the name would ideally be continued with the same principles the father valued.

Although there is evidence in the letters that some elite fathers embraced the cultural changes in fatherhood identified by historians such as Bailey and Retford,⁸⁹⁶ the correspondence primarily reinforces French and Rothery’s argument that the necessity of conformity for elites outweighed the interest in broader societal change.⁸⁹⁷ The conservative nature of the men’s advice was aimed at promoting conformity from one generation to the next. Fathers worked hard to coach their sons to continue their

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., 103.

⁸⁹⁵ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 134.

⁸⁹⁶ Bailey, “Masculinity and Fatherhood.” Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, 187-214.

⁸⁹⁷ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 134.

style of economic management in the next generation. Personal differences, however, often led sons to ignore their father's advice leading to generational and individual variations. Whitbread II was often keen distance himself from his father's status as a porter brewer.⁸⁹⁸

Using the study of material culture as a tool to examine family relationships highlights just how far the bonds of patriarchal responsibility could stretch. Patriarchs, for example, had to be responsible for funeral expenses for relatively distant indigent members of the group. Inventories from the Lee Antonie's papers detail funeral expenses for such extended family members. One bill listed six mourning outfits showing that it was Lee Antonie's responsibility to provide them.⁸⁹⁹ Elsewhere the inventories and bills were helpful sources as they reveal details, such as the gendered rooms of the home and the objects within them.

Chapter Three on 'Public Men' dealt with the intersection between the public and private worlds. Building on McKeon and Harvey's arguments that the public and private spheres were conflated within the home, it pushes further to consider how men used domestic material culture to convey their status in public. During their education young men used domestic consumption to construct and display identity. This continued through adulthood. When the men became homeowners the design and decoration of their homes displayed their beliefs, values and status to their peers. As Nenadic argues in her study of Scottish men, the men in this study used high value domestic objects to promote their principles and affiliations, such as religion, social responsibilities, business interests and cultural interests.⁹⁰⁰ The evidence has shown that

⁸⁹⁸ Above, 210.

⁸⁹⁹ Above, 195. BCRO, BS.2061.1, Bill, Anthonie Esq., 24th May 1760.

⁹⁰⁰ Nenadic, "Middle-Rank Consumers," 147.

men's relationships with objects were more complex than previously assumed. Ceramics, for instance, which have previously been considered feminine, had multiple complex meanings which changed over the period as global trade and the European ceramic industry evolved. To male consumers different ceramics could represent ideals as diverse as connoisseurship, links to global trade networks, or aversions to foreign luxuries.

Using literary sources alongside personal writings in Chapter Four allowed a consideration of the ways in which men's relationship with material culture was portrayed in the public medium of print. McKeon used novels to inform and enrich his study of the domestic by exploring how cultural representations evoked a sense of the public and private spheres.⁹⁰¹ One purpose of this chapter was to provide a context to the attitudes to men's roles in domesticity and consumption, as they were perceived in this significant area of contemporary public discourse. The novels have revealed how elite men's relationship with the material world was widely understood and articulated and allowed an examination of the imagined emotional significance of objects to elite patriarchs as well as the value of their relationships with others.

The eight selected novels were written in a number of different literary styles across the period 1777-1830. The way in which ideas about masculinity were framed changed across the period represented by them. They shift from sentimental to romantic ideals of masculinity and then to the beginnings of a new nineteenth-century emphasis on manly character. Underlying this, however, the novels demonstrate much continuity in the shared concept of what an elite man should be at different stages in his life. For

⁹⁰¹ McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*.

example descriptions of the home are used to display men's characters in the same way in novels as different as *Vivien Grey* and *Fleetwood*.

The analysis of key life stages in Chapter Four follows that identified in the case studies, beginning with youth and education before moving on to courtship, marriage and co-partnery, fatherhood, and public life. At each stage the home was central to men's development and changing identity. The concerns voiced in the case-study men's correspondence about reputation and status are echoed in the concerns of the male protagonists in the novels. In the novels the contrast between a boy's childhood home and his new lodgings at school and university caused a great deal of anxiety and adjustment for the boys' sense of self. The importance of male relationships in the novels confirmed the value of investigation into this area in the case studies. Although there was more material on young men in the novels than in the letters there was a greater emphasis on the importance of adult male relationships in the case studies.

During courtship and marriage the novels emphasise the importance of provision of material support and marital cooperation or co-partnery for elite men. It was important for both partners to respect private boundaries and co-operate in shared space. Although this appears to have been less important for the case-study men, co-partnery was still essential within the male dominated management of household expenses. In both the novels and the case studies a man's ability to provide materially for his wife was essential for a successful marriage. According to the novels, once a man became a father another transition occurred for him as he adjusted to the role of patriarch. Fathers had the important duty of teaching their sons about setting up and running a home. In the novels male protagonists also used the home to display and perform masculinity. Objects such as portraits and family seals were portrayed as status enhancing and masculine.

This project also opens up some interesting questions for the future. One advantage of the use of the letters as evidence was the detail of analysis it allowed. This revealed the individuality of the masculinities displayed by the patriarchs through their material culture. It would be interesting to examine more of these differences to a greater degree. Nationality was an area which emerged in the studies, in particular, the desire of the Scottish aristocrats to highlight their Englishness through their consumption. A future project could incorporate elite men from Wales and Ireland as a further comparison. Religious differences are another area which could be examined in more depth. The Rathbone family who were practising Quakers showed strong religious influences in their consumption choices. It would certainly be worth comparing them with other Quaker families, however, to work out how typical they were as the representative of their beliefs. A selection of elite men with broader and more varied religious interests may provide some interesting insights. Given the amount of attention that the exercise of patriarchy has recently received in relation to the eighteenth century, it would be interesting to find out what happened to these ideas and social practices in the nineteenth-century elite family. While the Victorian middle class has been the subject of considerable discussion, we know relatively little about the relationship between elite families and their material worlds in this later period. Given how much attention the men in this study paid to securing the material worlds for future generations, it would certainly be interesting to know how enduring their efforts were in the centuries that followed.

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