Servants and the Country Estate: Community, Conflict and Change at Chatsworth, 1712-1811

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Abstract

This thesis explores the working lives of servants employed by the dukes of Devonshire on their ancestral estate of Chatsworth over the course of the eighteenth century. While historians have recognised the prevalence of numerous forms of service in early modern society, research into individual experiences of service has remained focused on the relationship between servants and masters. This thesis demonstrates that there are multiple other factors which had an impact on an individual's time in service. By examining servants' interactions with residents and workers on the country estate, as well as their relationship with their master's household, this thesis places servants beyond the house in which they worked to explore their interactions with the rural community.

This study examines the experiences of these servants from three perspectives: the duke, the estate's residents, and the servants themselves, in order to present as broad an understanding as possible of the lives of these individuals. Through the use of estate records, parish registers and personal documents, including household accounts, inventories, overseer of the poor accounts and probate records, this thesis considers: the extent to which servants' experiences of life and work on the estate differed from the estate's casual labourers; the status of servants in the estate hierarchy; how servants chose to present their occupational status in public settings; and the extent to which they were able to enact agency during their day-to-day lives on the estate. Through an examination of these areas, this thesis explores aspects of the social, economic and material lives of these servants as they experienced daily life as part of the duke's household and the local community, and challenges the assumption that servants were isolated from other local residents. In doing so, this case study of the eighteenth-century Chatsworth household contributes to historians' understanding of the occupation of service and the diverse range of individuals it encompassed, and, in particular, of rural service during a period of transition in the relationship between master and servant.

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List of Abbreviations

C&C: *Continuity and Change*

DC: Devonshire Collection

DRO: Derbyshire Record Office

LMA: London Metropolitan Archives

NA: National Archives

P&P: *Past and Present*

SRO: Staffordshire Record Office

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Introduction

This thesis is about the lives of the 189 servants who are recorded as having worked at Chatsworth, the ancestral country seat of the duke and duchess of Devonshire, between 1712 and 1811. It is about the individuals who passed through the duke's service quickly like nineteen-year-old Mary Coope, the still-room maid, who was employed in the house for only a year before leaving to marry a man from the Chatsworth estate and twenty-two-year-old stable hand Joseph Loton who served at Chatsworth for two years before leaving to join the household of another member of the Cavendish family. It is about those for whom service provided employment at a crucial stage in their life cycle like forty-one-year-old Eleanor Potter who took on the role of housekeeper in order to support herself in her widowhood, or eighteen-year-old Britannia Whitehead who worked for four years as a housemaid to save funds in preparation for her married life in London. It is about those who spent a large portion of their lives employed at Chatsworth, like Jonathan Littlewood who entered the duke's service as a stable hand aged fifteen, became a groom at the age of twenty-three and was promoted to hunting groom when he was sixty-one and the stallion groom, William Pleasance, who raised his nine children on the same annual wage of £7 that he received every year during his fifty-five years of service at Chatsworth. These individuals were all united by their service to the duke but their experiences of service were personal to their own working lives. Service did not exist separately to other aspects of an individual's life and the reasons why these individuals entered, left or remained in service were a result of how the institution of service was able to function alongside other areas of their lives. Nor did an individual's life outside of their work come to a standstill once they entered service; courtship, marriage and family were not incompatible with service. The aim of this thesis is to examine how individuals experienced service in the country house by considering how the occupation of service influenced their social interactions, material experiences and self-depictions. It will question what factors influenced an individual's experience of service and how servants negotiated these to benefit their own personal circumstances.

The country house estate has traditionally been studied as a site which reflected and maintained the power and authority of the landowning elite family.[1] Architecturally the

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[1] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 1978); Jonathan Finch and Katherine Giles (eds), *Estate Landscapes: design, improvement and power in the post-medieval landscape* (Woodbridge, 2007); Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: architecture, landscape and society* (Stroud, 1998); Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997); Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 2000); John Gloag,

country house dominated the landscape which reflected its place as the 'nucleus' of the local area and as a site which could mobilise tenant farmers, labourers, tradespeople and craftsmen.[2] Many of the workers employed by the country house came from local communities which surrounded the country house and often from the estate villages located in the boundaries of the family's parkland. Yet estate villages were home to more than just tenant farmers and craftspeople; many country house servants were able to reside outside the 'big house' in properties owned by their master and mistress. While historians have recognised the country estate did provide the opportunity for servants to live-out, no study has examined how this affected an individual's experience of service in the country house.[3] This thesis will show how the country estate affected an individual's time in service by placing servants in this environment. Therefore, this thesis is not only a study of servants in the country house; it is also a study of servants' lives on the country house estate.

While employment in the country house was not the experience of the majority of servants in the eighteenth century, this thesis argues that the experiences of these servants can offer an alternative perspective on how service affected and intersected with other aspects of an individual's life. Servants' lives have most often been considered in relation to, and as an extension of, their master's lives. Peter Laslett has argued that servants were 'included within the personalities of their masters or mistresses, they lack a degree of social and political independence and personalities of their own in society at large'.[4] However, how a servant spent their time away from the daily tasks they completed for their master or mistress was of great concern to their employers. The people servants spent time with, where and for how long could cause agitation for masters because a servant's interactions and relationships could affect the spiritual and physical wellbeing of the wider household. Court records show the damaging consequences of servants' relationships beyond the household: thefts, hidden pregnancies, and loss of life were matters that a master or mistress might have to deal with as a result of their servants' social lives. Despite the presence of such concerns in servant-employing households, historians have rarely considered the interactions and social relations of servants outside of the house in which they worked. Instead, the closest many historians

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The Englishman's Castle: a history of houses large and small (London, 1944); Richard Wilson, *Creating paradise : the building of the English country house, 1660-1880* (London, 2000).

[2] Heather Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (London, 1982), p. 80.

[3] Pamela Sambrook, *A Country House at Work: Three Centuries of Dunham Massey* (London, 2003); Pamela Sambrook, *The Servants' Story: Managing a Great Country House* (Stroud, 2016); Trevor Wild, *Village England: A Social History of the Countryside* (London, 2004), p. 81.

[4] Peter Laslett, 'The Institution of Service', *Local Population Studies* 40 (1988), p. 57.

have come to placing servants outside of their master's house has been to consider how individuals might use service in order to gain settlement in a parish.[5] Study of the country house estate provides a microcosm through which to explore how the institution of service intersected with other aspects of an individual's attributes such as their gender, age and status and how the institution of service affected their interactions with different social groups.

As well as the location of the country house in a country estate, the lives of servants were also affected by the place of the country house in the portfolio of properties owned by an elite family. While country houses were not the only properties owned by the elite, they have remained at the forefront of studies on the domestic experiences of elite families. The prevalence of the country house in the work of historians and in popular imagination has been influenced by their physical presence in today's society as heritage sites and private archives. In contrast, the smaller country properties and London town houses which also formed part of the network of residences owned by elite families have been overlooked because demolition or repurposing has meant these properties are largely absent from the present-day landscape. In his influential study, *Life in the English Country House* published in 1978, Mark Girouard argued that it was during the Georgian period that people were 'most addicted to life in the town'.[6] Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers were also aware of the distance which existed between country house owners and the residents on their estates. A contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1745 lamented absentee landowners who spent too much time away from their estates and who rarely saw their tenants, while the architect John Loudon encouraged elite families to build their country houses close to local villages, in his architectural manual published in 1835, in order to avoid the 'silence [which] reigns around the deserted mansion'.[7] When not on grand tours or taking the waters at spa resorts, an elite family's obligations to politics, the court and fashionable society meant they spent much of their year residing in their London property rather than their country house. The dukes and

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[5] Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700-1850* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 115-116; K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: social change and agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 38.

[6] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 6. Also see for similar arguments: M. H. Port, 'West End Palaces: The Aristocratic Town House in London, 1730-1830', *The London Journal* 20.1 (1995), pp. 17-46; Kate Retford and Susanna Avery-Quash (eds), *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display* (London, 2019) and Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (London, 2009); Dana Arnold, 'The Country House and Its Publics' in Dana Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House : architecture, landscape and society* (Stroud, 2003), p. 23; J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), p. 366.

[7] 'Weekly Essays', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (October, 1745) Volume 153, p. 545; John C. Loudon, *An encyclopædia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture and furniture; containing numerous designs for dwelling from the cottage to the villa* (London, 1835), p. 810.

duchesses of Devonshire were one such family and over the course of the eighteenth century they spent an average of only twelve weeks of the year at Chatsworth.[8] Aristocratic families were not the only mobile group who moved between residing in urban and rural environments. The growing number of country houses being built or updated over the course of the eighteenth century meant there was an increasing number of elite families, who occupied the social status below the aristocracy or titled elite, who also took part in aspects of the London Season. The titled elites, to which the dukes of Devonshire belonged, numbered around 170 families in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century and rose to almost 300 families, or 500 families if Irish titles are included, by the end of the century when William Pitt the Younger awarded additional titles. Below this aristocratic group were the gentry, a group which G. E. Mingay has estimated comprised of between 8,000 and 20,000 individuals, and of which many would also have experienced a similar geographical mobility to the titled elites because they travelled to the capital from their country residence to take part in the social and consumption networks present in London.[9]

While a family's seasonal residency in their ancestral country seat has been acknowledged in previous studies of country houses, this mobility has most often been examined from the perspective of the elite family rather than the effect it had on the workers and servants who remained employed at the property all year round. Work by Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery has shown that an elite family's mobility between their properties created alternative consumer markets and a family's location could influence the type of goods they purchased.[10] Margot Finn and Kate Smith's work on the links between country houses and the East India Company have shown how these consumption practices could extend beyond the houses owned by individuals in England to encompass their networks in other countries.[11] Historians studying absentee landowners have taken two approaches to the topic of elite seasonal residency. They have either focused on the figure of the landowner and the practices they employed to manage their estate in their absence or have overlooked the ancestral country

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[8] See Appendix One for table on the length of the family's residence at Chatsworth for the period of this thesis, pp. 304-309.

[9] G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963), p. 6.

[10] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford, 2016); Jon Stobart, 'Making the global local? Overseas goods in English rural shops, c. 1600-1760', *Business History* 59:7 (2017), pp. 1136-1153.

[11] Margot Finn and Kate Smith, *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London, 2018);
Joseph Friedman, 'Town and Country: The Spencers of Althorp', in Retford and Avery-Quash (eds), *Georgian London Town House*, pp. 99–118; Port, 'West End Palaces'.

seat entirely in favour of focusing on subsidiary estates owned by the family such as those in Ireland which were very rarely visited.[12]

This thesis will approach the mobility of the elite family and its effect on the environment of the country house from an alternative perspective to previous studies by focusing on the experiences of the servants who lived, worked and socialised on the country house estate and who continued to do so throughout the year with or without a master or mistress present. Jessica Gerard's study on the nineteenth-century country house described the permanently resident servants as a 'caretaker domestic staff' and dismissed them for not being a true representation of an elite family's household.[13] Instead, this thesis argues that the small servant population who remained on the estate for the majority of the year is a valid and authentic portrayal of an elite household which merits a focused study. In the absence of the family it was these servants who had to maintain and manage the house and estate, ensure the needs of tenants were dealt with and implement their master's wishes without the communication of face-to-face instructions. This thesis will show that their master's absence also affected the routines of a servant's working day because they were not dictated by the immediate needs of the family they served in the same way as when they were resident in the house. Instead servants were able to adapt, to an extent, their daily tasks in order to accommodate the needs to their own family life, neighbours, and the farming year.

This introduction is formed of four parts. The first, and most substantial, section examines the historiography surrounding the issues examined in this study. I will first turn to assess the historiography of domestic service in the eighteenth century in order to demonstrate how this thesis will provide a distinct contribute to our knowledge of the institution of service. This section will examine how historians have considered the intersection between service and an individual's life stages, the impact an individual's gender had on their experience of service, how historians have examined the agency of servants and the approaches they have used, and

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[12] Melvyn Jones, 'The Absentee Landlord's Landscape: The Watson-Wentworth Estate in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Landscapes* 1.2 (2000), pp. 33-52; P. Roebuck, 'Absentee Landownership in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: A Neglected Factor in English Agrarian History', *The Agricultural History Review* 21.1 (1973), pp. 1-17; J. V. Beckett, 'Absentee Landownership in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: the Case of Cumbria', *Northern History* 19:1 (1983), pp. 87-107; Jonathan Theobald, ''Distant Lands': The Management of Absentee Estates in Woodland High Suffolk, 1660–1800', *Rural History* 12.1 (2001), pp. 1-18; Carol Beardmore, 'Landowner, Tenant and Agent on the Marquis of Anglesey's Dorset and Somerset Estate, 1814-44', *Rural History* 26.2 (2015), pp. 181-199; Carol Beardmore, *Financing the Landed Estate: Power, Politics and People on the Marquis of Anglesey's Estate, 1812-1854* (London, 2019); D. R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People: The estate steward and his world in later Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1992).

[13] Jessica Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants 1815-1914* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 145.

how the experiences of urban and rural servants have been considered and how this has influenced how historians have approached the changing relationship between masters and servants which took place over the course of the eighteenth century. After these four themes: life-cycle service, gendered experiences, servant agency, and urban and rural servant experiences, this introduction will then turn to examine how previous country house studies have approached the subject of domestic servants and will show how this thesis offers a different approach by combining two spheres of research which have traditionally been examined separately: the country house and the country estate. The second section of this introduction will provide a short history of Chatsworth and place it in its eighteenth-century context. The third section will then move on to examine in more detail the archives and sources I have drawn upon in this thesis. Finally, the fourth section will outline the collaborative nature of my PhD, a theme which will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion to this thesis.

Life-cycle Service

Historians researching servants are faced with several challenges when searching for these individuals in the historical record. Dorothy Marshall, the historian who brought servants into the consciousness of twentieth-century historians, acknowledged one of the greatest problems facing historians of service when she stated in her 1949 article, 'The English Domestic Servant in History', that 'even the word 'servant' is not easy to define'.[14] The range of roles and individuals whose work was defined as service has led Ann Kussmaul to argue that 'the existence of service in all its forms' was a defining characteristic of early modern service and distinguished the period from the nineteenth-century when service came to be defined by its relationship to the domestic setting.[15] The prevalence of service in early modern society has led Peter Laslett to argue that servants formed 'the largest single occupational group' in England.[16] The number of servants employed in the early modern period is suggestive of the diverse range of experiences those who were encompassed in this term could have; in 1806 the statistician Patrick Colquhoun estimated there were 910,000 servants in England.[17] While Colquhoun's estimate may have been distorted to support his treatise on the labouring poor,

[14] Dorothy Marshall, *The English Domestic Servant in History* (London, 1949), p. 3.

[15] Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 9.

[16] Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge 1977), p. 35.

[17] Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence London; exhibiting a general view of the national resources for productive labour; with propositions for ameliorating the condition of the poor, and improving the moral habits and increasing the comforts of the labouring people* (London, 1806), p. 253.

his statistic is still suggestive of the significant proportion of the population who were occupied in service. Quantitative research by historians has also supported this, with Kussmaul estimating that servants formed 13.4 per cent of the English population between 1574 and 1821 while Craig Muldrew has suggested there were 1.7 servants for every day labourer working in eighteenth-century England.[18]

Despite historians acknowledging that early modern service was an occupation defined by the variety of roles and individuals which could be attributed to the term, this diversity is not reflected in the approach taken by the majority of studies on domestic service. Instead, historians have most often focused on the concept of life-cycle service, a term coined by Peter Laslett in his research on marital age in early modern England, as a framework for their research.[19] Laslett used the term to describe the large numbers of adolescent men and women who worked in service into their early twenties. He viewed the later age at which individuals chose to marry as a consequence of this labour, a trend which Laslett argued was a distinguishing feature of the family in Western Europe. Historians have since used this term to define the adolescent men and women who worked in service between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four.[20] The emphasis historians have placed on service as a youth experience has meant service has been viewed as a 'bridging occupation' between adolescence and married life.[21] Deborah Simonton has argued that service acted as a form of apprenticeship for adolescent girls while Ben-Amos has argued that life-cycle service was a means of 'preparing children for their future' because it provided individuals with opportunities to earn an income while ensuring they were no longer a burden on their parental home.[22] In this context, masters

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[18] Laslett, *Family Life*, p. 35. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 3; Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 222.

[19] On the concept of life-cycle service see: Peter Laslett, 'Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time', *Journal of Family History* 2:2 (1977), p. 104; Laslett, 'Institution of Service', p. 57. For research which has focused on this type of service see: Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, 'Servants in Preindustrial Europe: Gender Differences' *Historical Social Research* 23:1-2 (1998), p. 114; Christer Lundh, 'The social mobility of servants in Sweden, 1740-1894', *Continuity and Change* 14 (1999), pp. 57-89; Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in 18th-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, 1983); Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996); Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, 2000).

[20] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 3.

[21] Theresa M. McBride, 'The Modernization of "Woman's Work"', *The Journal of Modern History* 49:2 (1977), pp. 231-245; L. Broom and J.H. Smith, 'Bridging Occupations', *The British Journal of Sociology* 14:4 (1963), p. 322.

[22] Deborah Simonton, 'Earning and Learning: girlhood in pre-industrial Europe', *Women's History Review* 13:3 (2004), pp. 363-386; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), p. 164.

and mistresses acted in a 'complementary' role to the parental home and took on the role of *loco parentis* by supplying food, accommodation and medicine for these dependants.[23]

Life-cycle service has become the prevalent portrayal of servants in the work of historians and has remained a central concept in discussions of servant experiences for decades. This focus has not been unjustified, Ann Kussmaul has estimated that 60 per cent of all early modern servants were aged between fifteen and twenty-four.[24] However, such emphasis has been disproportionate and, as Kussmaul's estimate reveals, there was a significant proportion of servants who did not belong in this category. Some recent studies have challenged the emphasis on life-cycle servants. Paula Humfrey's edited collection of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century court depositions, published in 2011, contests what she views as the 'prescriptive assumption' of life-cycle service. Her work has shown that the urban servant workforce was comprised of individuals from a variety of situations, including married women who had families and households of their own, and thereby demonstrates how individuals could adapt the institution of service to benefit their own circumstances.[25] Leonard Schwarz's research on the demand for domestic servants in the eighteenth century has similarly complicated the narrative of life-cycle service. His work has argued that the growing demand for domestic servants could not have been met by adolescent women alone; therefore, 'large numbers of never-married older women' were required to work as servants in order to create a workforce large enough to supply the demand.[26] Other research has shown that service could provide security and an income for individuals who chose to never marry.[27] D. A. Kent has argued that female servants in London may have chosen to remain in service because it was 'sufficiently attractive…as a way of life' in comparison to the other opportunities available to them while Raffaella Sarti has similarly argued that women may have enjoyed greater freedom in service than they might have done in marriage.[28] Although

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[23] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence*, p. 165; Sheila McIssac Cooper, 'Service to servitude? The decline and demise of life-cycle service in England', *The History of the Family* 10:4 (2005), p. 371.

[24] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 3.

[25] Paula Humfrey (ed.), *The Experience of Domestic Service for Women in Early Modern London* (Farnham, 2011).

[26] Leonard Schwarz, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Economic History Review* 52.2 (1999), pp. 251-252.

[27] McIsaac Cooper 'Service to servitude?'. For a European example see Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris: essai sur la culture populaire au 18e siècle* (Paris, 1981), pp. 90–91 quoted in Raffaella Sarti, 'All masters discourage the marrying of their male servants, and admit not by any means the marriage of the female': Domestic Service and Celibacy in Western Europe from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century', *Economic History Quarterly* 38:3 (2008), p. 430.

[28] D. A. Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London', *History Workshop* 28 (1989), p. 112; Sarti, 'Domestic Service and Celibacy', pp. 417-449.

eighteenth-century commentators discouraged employers from hiring married servants, work by Amy Erickson and Deborah Simonton has shown men and women could continue to be employed in service after their marriage and these individuals often remained in demand by employers because of their experience, maturity and skill.[29] Naomi Tadmor's concept of the household-family has also shown servants were accepted into the household at various stages of their lives because it was a flexible unit which was ultimately based on the 'contractual, domestic and occupational' obligations of an individual who had to contribute to the economic productivity of the family rather than based on notions of life stage.[30]

The majority of these studies which have sought to show the limitations of historians' narrow focus on life-cycle service have focused on large scale quantitative research or have included singular examples of servants in the broader studies of women's experiences. This thesis will approach the diversity of servants' experiences by tracing the individual lives of those who served at Chatsworth. In doing so, this thesis will draw upon previous research which has been suggestive of the diverse range of workers employed in the country house. Jessica Gerard's study of the nineteenth-century country house has identified four types of servants who worked on the country estate: the life-cycle servant, the career servant who chose to spend their life in service beyond the life-cycle stage, the 'distressed gentlewoman' who turned to service in widowhood or when personal circumstances necessitated it, and the labourer who had the flexibility to use service when it was advantageous to them.[31] Other historians have similarly acknowledged that elite households employed servants who did not conform to the notion of life-cycle service and many have used the term 'career servant' to describe these individuals, a concept which linked the longer-term service of these individuals to their promotion in the servant hierarchy.[32] While these concepts recognise

[29] Amy Louise Erickson, 'Married women's occupations in eighteenth-century London', *C&C* 23:2 (2008), pp. 267-307; Deborah Simonton, ''Birds of Passage' or 'Career' Women? Thoughts on the Life Cycle of the Eighteenth-Century European Servant', *Women's History Review* 20:2 (2011), p. 216. Also see Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore, 2009), esp. p. 135; Laslett, 'Institution of Service', pp. 55-57.

[30] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: household, kinship, and patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 27.

[31] Gerard, *Country House Life*, p. 162.

[32] Jacob F. Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages in rural England, c. 1700-1860', *Economic History Review* 66:1 (2013), p. 1; Shelia McIssac Cooper, 'From Family Member to Employee: Aspects of Continuity and Discontinuity in English Domestic Service, 1600-2000' in Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux (ed.), *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity, Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th-21st Centuries*, (Bern, 2004), p. 279; J.J. Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1956), p. 35; Jane Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England 1560-1650: Kussmaul Revisited', Paper given at Population, economy and welfare, c. 1200-2000: a conference in honour of Richard M. Smith, 16th-18th

servant experiences did not always conform to the idea of life-cycle service, they have resulted in oversimplified divisions between the two groups. In his study of servant wages, Jacob Field divided individuals into the categories of 'life-cycle servants' and 'career servants' based only on their wages and responsibilities. As a result, his study deemed all maids to be life-cycle servants despite only having limited information about their age and length of service.[33]

By studying the Chatsworth household, this thesis will reveal a more complex picture than the broad notions of 'life-cycle servant' or 'career servant' can present and show there were more reasons behind what motivated individuals to leave or remain in service than the opportunity for marriage or promotion. As this thesis will show the servants who were employed as part of the caretaking staff at Chatsworth had little opportunity for promotion in the household yet, despite this, many servants remained in the duke's service beyond the 'life-cycle' period, in part, because the community in which the country house was located facilitated relationships between servants and tenants which contributed to servants' decisions about the length of time they remained in service. By revealing the life stories of servants in the Chatsworth household this thesis will contribute to understandings of how individuals used employment in service at different stages in their lives because not all individuals who remained in service beyond the age of twenty-four were in roles of responsibility or received promotion. This approach reclaims service from being considered simply as a 'life stage', which individuals moved on from once they were married, to acknowledge that service was, in Paula Humfrey's words, part of a 'working life'.[34]

Gendered Experiences

The individuals employed in service in the domestic environment, in agriculture, and in trade were from a variety of backgrounds and entered service for a range of circumstances. It was an institution which could adapt to an individual's personal needs and was used by both men and women at various stages in their lives. Tim Meldrum's research on domestic service in London has demonstrated that gender is a central concept to understanding how an individual experienced service and has argued that historians need to give more attention to this issue in

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September 2011, https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/events/richardsmithconference/papers/Whittle.pdf (last accessed 23rd March 2017).

[33] Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', p. 9.

[34] Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Service*, p. 26.

their work on domestic service.[35] Many historians studying domestic service have concentrated on researching the experiences of female servants, rather than their male counterparts, because of the growing number of women entering the servant workforce in the eighteenth century.[36] The increased demand for domestic servants from middling-sort households and those working in commerce and trade resulted in more women becoming involved in service in order to fulfil this demand. Household data from the Cambridge Group has estimated that between 1750 and 1821, female servants accounted for 50.3 per cent of the servant population which had increased from 47.3 per cent between 1650 and 1749.[37] The type of work these households required, alongside the lower cost of female labour in comparison to male servants, meant many of these families chose to employ female servants.

The focus of many historians on the middling-sort and lower-status households which were most likely to employ individuals from this expanding female workforce has been the result of a historiographical shift in social history. The rise of the 'history from below' approach, seen from the 1960s onwards, changed the way historians of domestic service explored the experiences of these individuals. The movement, driven by the desire to write a social history of society which extends beyond the confines of elite experiences and instead approaches events from the perspective of those lower down the social strata, has prompted historians to examine the experience of service from an alternative perspective than the 'top-down' approach used by Dorothy Marshall. Marshall herself was aware of the difficulties of writing about servants from a perspective other than their masters', an issue she termed the 'servant problem'.[38] Her work was a consequence of this problem because it emphasised the complaints and displeasure of masters, found in newspapers, magazines and travel guides, over the opinions or perspectives of the servants themselves. J.J. Hecht's monograph, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*, published in 1956, followed on from Marshall's work and similarly emphasised the perspectives of employers.[39] While the title of Hecht's study was broad, his focus remained almost exclusively on elite households and emphasised the hierarchical nature of servants employed in large houses. Published on the cusp of the history from below turn, Hecht's 'top-down' perspective soon fell out of favour

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[35] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 7, p. 182.

[36] See Introduction, p. 7, footnote n. 19.

[37] Richard Wall, 'Regional and temporal variations in English Household Structure from 1650', in John Hobcraft and Philip Rees (eds), *Regional Demographic Development* (Abingdon, 1979), p. 98. Also quoted in Schwarz, 'English servants', p. 249, Table 8.

[38] Dorothy Marshall, 'The Domestic Servant in the Eighteenth Century', *Economica* 25 (1929), pp. 15-40.

[39] Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, p. xi.

with historians. Servants did not feature in many of the cornerstone studies from the history from below movement, with works by E. P. Thompson and Christopher Hill choosing instead to focus on more riotous occupations who more easily worked within a narrative of revolution and industrialisation.[40] However, the history from below approach did promote research into family, household structure, and demographic change, and these studies have done much to show the prevalence of servants in early modern society through quantitative research.[41] The methodological changes promoted by this shift, which encourages historians to reconstruct the lives of groups and individuals further down the social hierarchy, have influenced how historians have approached the subject of servants.

Since Marshall's and Hecht's initial studies, research on servants has turned to examine the experiences of individuals working in smaller, lower status households which employed only one or two servants. Peter Earle's study of London between 1650 and 1750 concluded that 89 per cent of households which hired servants employed between one and three individuals.[42] The pervasiveness of women in service, and in particular their presence occupying these roles in smaller households, is suggested by an estimate made by statistician Patrick Colquhoun in 1806 in which he calculated there was a ratio of 1:7 male to female servants employed that year in the capital.[43] The prevalence of studies on female servants has been influenced by both their physical presence in the occupation and the desire to trace women's experiences within the historical record. The historiographical turn to history from below enabled the development of women's history which further promoted the study of domestic service as a means through which the lives of women in the past, their labour and their responsibilities could be examined in greater depth.[44] D. A. Kent's 1989 article, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London', was one of the first studies

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[40] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London, 1972).

[41] Richard Wall, 'Leaving home and the process of household formation in pre-industrial England', *C&C* 2:1 (1987), pp. 77-101; Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, *Household and family in past time : comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe* (London, 1972); Richard Wall, Jean Robin and Peter Laslett (eds), *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge, 1983); E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871 : A Reconstruction* (London, 1981).

[42] Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650-1750* (London, 1994), p. 124.

[43] Colquhoun, *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, quoted in Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, p. 2, pp. 33-34.

[44] For recent examples see of Laura Schwartz, *Feminism and the Servant Problem Class and Domestic Labour in the Women's Suffrage Movement* (Cambridge, 2019); Olivia Robinson, 'Foreign female domestic servants in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century London: understanding transnational experiences', D.Phil (University of Oxford, forthcoming).

to specifically focus on the 'maid of all work' employed in smaller households.[45] Kent used settlement examinations to consider the experiences of individuals in service from a perspective other than their master's and found that service provided women with opportunities for economic security and a sense of independence which were rarely available to unmarried women or women in other occupations. Kent's use of legal documents, which recorded the personal histories of individuals, provided an approach which examined domestic service from the perspective of the servants themselves and explored how an individual could use this form of work to their advantage rather than the benefits they afforded the master or mistress of the house.

The growing demand for servants in smaller, middling-sort households has led historians to examine the extent to which the increasing numbers of female servants in the workforce affected the characteristics associated with service.[46] Bridget Hill has argued that service increasingly became 'feminised' over the course of the century as the growing number of women employed as servants caused service to be aligned with attributes associated with women such as dependency, passivity and subservience. Her monograph, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1996, was motivated by a desire to trace the history of women's subordination in the domestic setting.[47] She believed that industrialisation disadvantaged women's labour prospects and enforced a more distinct separation between women's work, which took place in the domestic setting, and men's work in the public realm.[48] Hill has argued that the connotations which resulted from this separation and the association of female workers with service led men to leave service and no longer enter the occupation.[49] Hill's argument supported the work of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall who argued that there was an emergence of gendered 'separate spheres' by the end of the eighteenth century which came to form part of a distinct middling-sort culture in the nineteenth century.[50] This concept has since been revised; Amanda Vickery has argued that these 'spheres' were not 'constituted or radically reconstituted' between 1650 and 1850

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[45] Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible', p. 112.

[46] For estimates on the number of male and female servants employed in the eighteenth century see Schwarz, 'English servants'.

[47] Hill, *Servants*.

[48] Bridget Hill, 'Women's History: a study in change, continuity or standing still?' *Women's History Review* 2 (1993), pp. 5-22.

[49] On arguments for the feminisation of service see Hill, *Servants*, pp. 22-41; Raffalla Sarti, 'Forum: Domestic Service Since 1750', *Gender & History* 18:2 (2006), pp. 188-189; R. C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester 2010), p. 66.

[50] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, 1987).

to force women into the private, domestic setting but, instead, reflected an aspect of women's lives which had existed for centuries.[51] Tim Meldrum's findings, which disagree with Hill's assessment, draw upon Vickery's argument. His study of servants employed in small households argued that the feminine connotations of service began before the increase in the number of domestic servants in the eighteenth century and continued into the nineteenth century.[52]

This thesis will contribute to debates on how gender and service intersected by considering how the experiences of male servants compared to the female servants who worked in the same household for the same master. Gender is an important category of analysis in this study because male servants formed a significant part of elite households. The type of work required by a landowner and the centuries-old tradition associated with the elite house for keeping many male servants in their household retinues meant male servants continued to play important roles in elite households into the eighteenth century.[53] As a result, eighteenth-century commentators viewed male servants as luxuries and criticised employers for hiring, what they perceived as, unproductive workers to wait on tables, drive their carriages and support their leisure activities.[54] Their higher wages and the additional expense of their perquisites, including livery and board wages, meant male servants could be an expensive drain on an individual's housekeeping account.[55] The association of male servants with luxury has resulted in their absence from many works on domestic service; however, quantitative research has shown that male servants were also present in households below those of the elite. Sheila McIsaac Cooper has estimated that male servants comprised of between 10 and 20 per cent of early modern domestic servants, a total which did not include those working in husbandry or industry.[56] The presence of male servants in households further down the social hierarchy is also suggested by the introduction of a tax on male

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[51] Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal* 36:2 (1993), pp. 383-414. Also see Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: the emergence of separate spheres?* (Abingdon, 2013). Shoemaker built on Vickery's work in his monograph to argue many similarities existed between women's experiences in 1650 and 1850. He also argued there were some marked differences in how the periods understood gender difference such as ways of thinking about the body.

[52] For arguments against the feminisation of service see Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 74-75.

[53] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

[54] The government described its reasons for the introduction on a tax on male servants as 'the first weight ought to fall upon the rich and opulent' quoted in Carolyn Steedman, 'The servant's labour: the business of life, England, 1760-1820', *Social History* 29:1 (2004), p. 8.

[55] Jane Holmes, 'Domestic Service in Yorkshire, 1650-1780', PhD (University of York, 1989), Table 1, p. 77; Merlin Waterson, *The Servants' Hall: A Domestic History of Erddig* (London, 1980), p. 26.

[56] McIsaac Cooper, 'From Family Member to Employee', p. 286.

domestic servants in 1777. Records kept for the tax in 1780 listed 24,553 households employing a total of 49,475 male servants across England and Wales. Leonard Schwarz's research has shown that of the total 24,553 households paying the tax, 23,533 employers did not have a title.[57] Due to the specific conditions which led an individual to be eligible for taxation, the number of servants recorded in this document provides a lower estimate of the total number of male servants in England and reveals that at least 2.6 per cent of men aged fifteen and over were in service at some point in their lifetime.[58] These statistics show that while male servants were not as ubiquitous as female servants, they were also not an anomaly in the history of domestic service and remained a sizable presence in the servant workforce.

In the context of debates on the increasing number of female servants and the attributes associated with the institution of service, this thesis will examine how male and female servants experienced these characteristics and the extent to which they were able to distance themselves from them. It will do this by assessing the language servants used when presenting themselves to others and examining the extent to which they associated themselves with the language surrounding domestic service. The connotation of service did not map easily onto expectations placed on early modern men. As Robert Shoemaker has argued, 'while subordination for women was part of their prescribed gender role, for men of course it was not'.[59] Instead, masculinity was defined by traits which were in contrast to those associated with service. Independence and self-sufficiency were viewed as the epitome of manliness, citizenship, and national character, and was the opposite of the subservience and dependency associated with service.[60] Through an examination of the descriptors servants chose to define themselves by, this thesis will move beyond understanding servants in the terms their masters' used to describe them to consider how the workers themselves considered their roles.

Traditionally, servants have often been defined by their relationship to their master to the extent that Tim Meldrum has argued that historians have been 'much more absorbed by the implications of service for social relations than by the work servants performed'.[61] The focus

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[57] Schwarz, 'English servants', p. 243.

[58] *Ibid*., pp. 239-244; John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2007), p. 295.

[59] Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 178. Also see Hill, *Servants*, pp. 38-39.

[60] Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: citizenship and gender politics in Georgian England* (Manchester, 2005), p. 1.

[61] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 128.

on service as a social exchange rather than an agreement of labour has been part of the reason why servants has remained largely absent from labour histories. Mostly notably, E. P. Thompson's 1963 monograph, *The Making of the English Working Class*, did not include servants in the occupations he surveyed. This omission motivated Carolyn Steedman to demonstrate that servants have a rightful place in labour histories.[62] Her work has done much to emphasise a servant's relationship with the tasks they performed which she has argued resulted in servants forming consciousness about their social position. In particular, her research on the place of domestic servants in eighteenth-century law has shown the importance of work, and the specific tasks a servant completed, to legal definitions of service. While the introduction of a tax on servants clarified their legal status, Steedman argues that it also distanced servants from notions of productive labour.[63] The male servant tax, introduced in 1777, distinguished between productive service, such as agricultural work which was exempt from the tax, and unproductive service, such as footmen and grooms which were seen to feed the luxury lifestyles of the elites.[64] The female servant tax legislation, introduced eight years later, did not make the same distinction and instead all female labour was considered by the law to be unprofitable to society. The domestic setting of much of their work has also resulted in the absence of servants from labour histories. The eighteenth century saw the beginnings of a transition in the meaning of home which continued into the nineteenth century and beyond. Work by historians of the home has shown that a similar language as the one used to define servants was used to define the home as a private site which was not involved in economically productive activities.[65] As a result, the labour of groups like servants and married women whose work often took place in the domestic space was not considered productive work.

More recently, work by the *Women's Work in Rural England, 1500-1700* project at the University of Exeter led by Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood and *The Gender and Work Project* at Uppsala University have established an alternative approach to the concept of work. Their methodology moves away from the market-orientated definition of work in order

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[62] Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009); Carolyn Steedman, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in an Industrial Age* (Cambridge, 2007).

[63] Steedman, 'The servant's labour', pp. 3-4.

[64] Susan E. Brown, 'Assessing Men and Maids: The Female Servant Tax and Meanings of Productive Labour in Later-Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Left History* 12:2 (2007), pp. 15-18.

[65] Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (London, 1930); Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortune*.

to interpret work through a definition that early modern people would have understood.[66] The *Women's Work* project used as its foundation the work of economist Margaret Reid who argued that an activity which could be 'substituted with purchased goods or services' should be deemed productive.[67] By taking this approach to the concept of work, Whittle and Hailwood's project has still emphasised the productivity of work, defining it as action undertaken 'in opposition to leisure or idleness', but has separated it from its emphasis on economic production and output.[68] The project has used a 'task-orientated approach' to examine work through the unit of a single task rather than by an individual's occupational title and, in order to understand the range of tasks an individual was engaged in during their daily lives, the project examined the individual activities recorded in court depositions.[69] This approach has inspired this thesis to consider the individual tasks and activities which formed part of a servant's daily life from the time they woke up to when they went to sleep rather than merely the titled positions given to them by the duke. This approach requires servants to be considered outside of their place in the duke's house because simple activities such as sleeping or tasks like preparing meals, for many servants, took place away from Chatsworth in a servant's own property on the estate. By considering servants through this concept of work, their lives can be considered in a multifaceted way which did not only exist in relation to their master, and instead be examined beyond their occupational title. Through this approach, this thesis will demonstrate that a servant's life was informed by their relationship to multiple households: chiefly their master's household and their own household.

<u>Servant Agency</u>

The rise of history from below has broadened historians' awareness of the lives of labouring people and inspired historians of service to consider the employment from the perspective of the individuals undertaking the work. In more recent years historians have used the institution

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[66] Jane Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Preindustrial Economy', *Past & Present* 243:1 (2019), pp. 35-70; Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'Research in Progress Essay: Women's Work in Rural England 1500-1700 – A New Methodological Approach', *Local Population Studies* 96 (2016), pp. 66-71; https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/ (last accessed 1st August 2019); The Gender and Work Research Project, https://gaw.hist.uu.se/what-is-gaw/research+project (last accessed 1st August 2019).

[67] https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/ (last accessed 1st August 2019); Margaret Reid., *Economics of household production* (New York, 1934), pp. 6-8.

[68] Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches', p. 35.

[69] See methodology of the Early Modern Women's Work Project, https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/methodology (last accessed 1st August 2019); Gender and Work Research Project description of their verb-oriented method, https://gaw.hist.uu.se/what-is-gaw/The+verb-oriented+method (last accessed 1st August 2019).

of service to examine the extent to which women were able to express agency in their lives. In his book, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (2000) Meldrum examines the experiences of servants through witness depositions. He has argued that while female servants were more vulnerable to the precarious nature of service than their male counterparts, they were still able to influence their situation through their interactions with other members of the household. Research by Paula Humfrey and Laura Gowing has similarly shown servants were able to act in order to shape the circumstances in which they lived and worked.[70] Tessa Chynoweth's research into probate documents and court records has revealed servants' limited agency within the domestic space which they were able to exert through the material goods they possessed.[71] Carolyn Steedman's work has argued that a servant's knowledge of the 'things' they worked with, cleaned, repaired and washed, created a workforce which were self-aware of their labour and who were regularly able to confront their masters about their situation.[72] These studies have crucially reinstated the agency of servants to studies of service, which had been lost in 'top-down' research, by showing that servants did possess the ability, however limited, to act in their own interests in their master's household.

This thesis will build on the work of these historians who have shown several means through which servants could exert their agency and have done much to portray the experience of service from their perspective, as far as it is possible. This thesis will consider the extent to which country house servants at Chatsworth were able to exert agency during their employment with the duke. In asking this question, this thesis will examine service from the perspective of the servants themselves. This approach differs from previous studies of elite servants which have presented them from a 'top-down' perspective and have emphasised the limiting, hierarchical nature of service in large households or the paternal relationship they shared with their employer.[73] This thesis defines agency in the same terms as Anne Montenach and Deborah Simonton have done in their book, *Female Agency in the Urban*

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[70] Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London* (Oxford, 1996); Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Service*.

[71] Tessa Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space in London, 1750-1800', PhD thesis (Queen Mary, University of London, 2016).

[72] Steedman, *Labours Lost*.

[73] Peter Hammond and Carolyn Hammond, *Life in an Eighteenth Century Country House* (Stroud, 2013); Christie, *British Country House*; Lawrence Stone, *Broken Lives: separation and divorce in England, 1660-1857* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 137-8; Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, pp. 35-68; Jill Franklin, 'Troops of Servants': Labour and Planning in the Country House', *Victorian Studies* 19:2 (1975), pp. 211-239; Waterson, *Servants' Hall*.

Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640-1830 (2013) as an individual's 'capacity for action'.[74] In this context, an individual does not have to take action in conflict or in confrontation; the capacity for agency could include an individual taking action in agreement or compliance. It is the ability to choose an action or response which meant individuals have agency and can influence the environment and circumstances around them. For groups like servants, agency was not fixed and the ability to act was related to an individual's surroundings and situation in any given moment.[75] Andy Wood has warned historians who search for agency in lower status groups not to overemphasis the ability of these individuals for action.[76] An individual or group's ability to act was, to an extent, dictated by the structures of power which surrounded them. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' provides a means through which to approach this idea and a way of describing how servants' experienced space. Habitus refers to learned social structures which have an impact on the internalised and unconscious actions undertaken by individuals in a social environment like space.[77] At Chatsworth, many of a servant's actions were unconsciously a result of internalised social norms which developed from their lower social status and the conventions of their role. Although these structures influenced an individual's actions, Bourdieu emphasised that within this structure there was also room for individual interventions. Anthony Giddens has similarly argued that individuals were not constrained by these structures because they continually negotiated their relationship with a space on a daily basis.[78]

Exploring the agency of servants prompts this thesis to ask a further, methodological, question: to what extent can the lives of servants and their agency be read in sources which survive in country house archives and local record offices? Historians of domestic service cannot fail to encounter the 'servant problem' defined by Marshall and the perspective of employers which is present in many surviving sources. In order to examine servants beyond this context, this thesis has been inspired by the work of historians of the poor who have

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[74] Anne Montenach and Deborah Simonton, 'Introduction: Gender, Agency and Economy: Shaping the Eighteenth-Century European Town' in Deborah Simonton and Anne Montenach (eds), *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640-1830* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 3-4.

[75] Megan Clare Webber, 'Troubling agency: agency and charity in early nineteenth-century London', *Historical Research* 91:251 (2018), pp. 121-124; Montenach and Simonton, 'Introduction', pp. 4-5.

[76] Andy Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the limits of popular agency in a Yorkshire Valley c. 1596-1615', *P&P* 193 (2006), pp. 41-72.

[77] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 16, pp. 78-79.

[78] Anthony Giddens, *Central problems in social theory: action, structure and contradictions in social analysis* (London, 1979).

shown that individuals in the lowest circumstances could still embody a sense of agency and have demonstrated approaches which uncover the lives of those who leave little written trace in the archives.[79] In particular, this thesis has been inspired by recent work on institutions which have moved beyond considering how control was created and reinforced within these spaces to instead consider how residents and inmates were able to form concepts of domesticity, resistance and empowerment.[80] Daniel Miller has argued that no matter how 'oppressed and apparently culturally impoverished' a group was 'most people nevertheless access the creative potential of the unpromising material goods around them'.[81] The limited material culture with which these individuals were provided with enabled them to form concepts of domesticity and expressions of self even in restricted circumstances. The work of Jane Hamlett and Rebecca Preston has also shown that the perspective of residents in these controlling circumstances can be gleaned from examining space, material goods and social interactions because objects and their environment enabled 'the transmission of a set of ideas'.[82] Henry Glassie argued that material objects can provide evidence of the voices of those who leave little written documentation because objects were created and used with meaning.[83] The work of historians of material culture, which has drawn upon concepts conceived by geographers and anthropologists, has recognised that space is 'inherently dynamic' and the meanings assigned to a landscape or object were continually being remade and renegotiated depending on the historical actors interacting with it.[84] Using this approach will allow this thesis to explore the experiences of servants from their own perspective in the absence of written records created from their viewpoint.

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[79] For examples see Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, *London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of a Modern City, 1690-1800* (Cambridge, 2015); Peter Mandler (ed.), *The Uses of Charity: the poor on relief in the nineteenth-century metropolis* (Philadelphia, 1990); Peter King, 'Social Inequality, Identity and the Labouring Poor in Eighteenth-century England', in Henry French and Jonathan Barry (eds), *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 60-87.

[80] Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Basingstoke, 2015); Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, 'Introduction' in Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti (eds), *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2009); Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1724-1970: Inmates and Environments* (London, 2013).

[81] Daniel Miller, *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (London, 1995), p. 1.

[82] Jane Hamlet and Rebecca Preston, ''A Veritable Palace for the Hard-Working Labourer?' Space, Material Culture and Inmate Experience in London's Rowton Houses, 1892-1918' in Hamlett, Hoskins and Preston, *Residential Institutions in Britain*, p. 95.

[83] Henry Glassie, 'Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies', *Prospects* 3 (New York, 1977), pp. 29-30.

[84] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 2-3; Hannah Moore, *Space, Text and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 8 quoted in Amanda Flather, 'Space, Place, and Gender: The Sexual and Spatial Division of Labor in the Early Modern Household', *History and Theory* 52:3 (2013), p. 345.

This approach differs from the way previous histories of the country house have engaged with institutional studies. Jessica Gerard described the country house as a 'total institution' and used the term to argue that the country house was used as a structure through which a master could control all aspects of an individual's life from their daily routine and dress to their relationships and religion.[85] Gerard's approach was heavily influenced by the work of Erving Goffman who defined an institution as a 'place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life'.[86] I agree with Gerard that there are a number of similarities between the country house and institutions: both were largely comprised of 'non-family arrangements' and communal experiences were shared through collective meal times, provisions of accommodation and a growing standardisation of furniture and furnishings.[87] However, in contrast to Gerard's approach, this thesis argues that country houses bore more resemblance to a residential institution as defined by Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston, as a place which 'provided the primary living spaces of their inhabitants (staff, inmates or both), including sleeping accommodation and, sometimes, space and facilities for eating, leisure and work'.[88] It is not the focus of this thesis to compare experiences in the country house to those in an institutional setting. Instead, I seek to draw on the concept which Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston have defined as 'inhabiting'.[89] This concept recognises that the structures of power inherent in these buildings were only one aspect of the lives of residents and that their lives were equally shaped by the interactions that took place in these spaces. Applying this approach to the study of the country house will reveal how servants lived within the spaces conceived for them by the duke and his stewards and how they engaged with the material world in order to inform their experiences.

Urban and Rural Servant Experiences

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[85] Gerard, *Country House Life*.

[86] Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Condition of the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York, 1961), p. xiii.

[87] Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, 'Introduction', in Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti (eds), *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2009), p. 1.

[88] Eleanor Conlin Casella, *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement* (University Press of Florida, 2007), p. 2; Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston, 'Introduction' in Hamlett, Hoskins and Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1724-1970*, p. 3.

[89] *Ibid*., p. 8.

Historians of urban service have shaped debates on domestic servants over the last forty years.[90] Their research has been crucial in emphasising the importance of gender to an individual's experience of service and has done much to show how servants were able to use the institution of service to their own advantage. Through the use of court records, witness testimonies, probate documents and settlement examinations these historians have established an approach which examines domestic service from the perspective of the individuals undertaking the work rather than their masters, as far as it is possible. However, the experience of service in the capital was not necessarily typical of service elsewhere in the country. In his study of London servants, Tim Meldrum has acknowledged that the capital was a 'unique location for the study of pre-modern domestic service' because of the high demand for service and, as a result, it 'cannot be representative of the British experience as a whole'.[91] While the development of urban centres in the eighteenth century meant their population was on the rise, the majority of individuals continued to live in rural areas. Jan de Vries has estimated that at least 85 per cent of the early modern Europe population lived outside of large towns before the turn of the nineteenth century.[92] In the English context, E. A. Wrigley similarly estimated that the vast majority of people remained resident in rural areas throughout the eighteenth century. His estimate of the English population in 1700 reveals that of a total population of 5.06 million individuals, 4.21 million were living in rural areas. This number remained relatively stable over the course of the century even when the total population had increased to 8.66 million by 1801, of which 6.28 million still resided in rural areas.[93] By examining service on the country estate, this thesis will examine the institution of service in a rural context and questions what effect geographical location had on individual experiences of service.

The experiences of servants in rural areas have remained an under-researched subject. When rural servants have been examined it has mostly been in the context of agricultural service,

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[90] Peter Earle, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review* 42.3 (1989), pp. 328-353; Amanda Flather, 'Male Servants, Identity and Urban Space in Eighteenth-Century England', in Deborah Simonton (ed.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience* (London, 2017), pp. 91-102; Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible', pp. 111-128; Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*; Humfrey *Experience of Domestic Service*; Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space'.

[91] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender,* p. 207.

[92] Jan De Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London, 1984), p. 42.

[93] E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15:4 (1985), p. 700.

rather than domestic service.[94] Ann Kussmaul's work on early modern servants in husbandry is a reminder that male and female servants were required by many rural households and frequently worked in both the domestic and agricultural environment.[95] The flexibility of service in all its forms is a theme present in many of the chapters in Jane Whittle's edited collection, *Servants in Rural Europe: 1400-1900*, published in 2017.[96] Charmian Mansell's contributing chapter showed how female servants could move between annual service and working as a casual labourer, thereby tailoring the type of work they did to meet the requirements of their employer.[97] In the European context, Cristina Prytz and Hanne Østhus both showed how servants could move between other occupational and social roles while still retaining the title of 'servant'.[98] Social and occupational mobility also coincided with physical mobility; Bridget Hill considered rural servants to be the most mobility of servants because their work provided them with the opportunity to move between country and town.[99] While this research has shown the versatility and flexibility of rural service, research on service in the country house has been in contrast to these traits. In contrast to her assessment of rural servants more generally, Hill has also argued that servants employed in the country house lived an isolated life which was 'largely confined to the household' because these houses were located far 'away from any village or town'.[100] Through an extensive study of the individual servants employed at Chatsworth, this thesis will question the extent to which Hill's assumption about country house service was the lived experience for these workers.

Understanding the experiences of rural servants has consequences for historians' comprehension of crucial conceptual discussions on service. Jeremy Hayhoe has argued that

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[94] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*; Frances Richardson, 'Women Farmers of Snowdonia 1750-1900', *Rural History* 25:2 (2014), pp. 161-181; Nigel Goose, 'Farm Service, Seasonal Unemployment and Casual Labour in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *The Agricultural History Review* 54:2 (2006), pp. 274-303; Thomas Martin Devine, *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914* (Edinburgh, 1984); Stephen Caunce, 'Farm Servants and the Development of Capitalism in English Agriculture', *The Agriculture History Review* 45:1 (1997), pp. 49-60; A. J. Gritt, 'The 'Survival' of Service in the English Agricultural Labour Force: Lessons from Lancashire, c. 1650-1851', *The Agricultural History Review* 50:1 (2002), pp. 25-50; Nicola Vernon, *Rural Women Workers: Gender, work and wages in the nineteenth-century countryside* (Woodbridge, 2002).

[95] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*.

[96] Jane Whittle, *Servants in Rural Europe: 1400-1900* (Woodbridge, 2017).

[97] Charmian Mansell, 'Female Service and the Village Community in South-West England 1550-1650: The Labour Laws Reconsidered' in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in Rural Europe*, pp. 77-94.

[98] Cristina Prytz, 'Life-Cycle Servants and Servant for Life: Work and Prospects in Rural Sweden c. 1670-1730' in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in Rural Europe*, pp. 95-111; Hanne Østhus, 'Servants in Rural Norway c.1650-1800' in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in Rural Europe*, pp. 113-130.

[99] Bridget Hill, 'Rural-Urban Migration of Women and their Employment in Towns', *Rural History* 5:2 (1994), pp. 185-194. Also see Simonton, 'Earning and Learning', p. 364; Jeremy Hayhoe, 'Rural Domestic Servants in Eighteenth-Century Burgundy: Demography, Economy, and Mobility', *Journal of Social History* 46:2 (2012), p. 555; Graham Mayhew, 'Life-Cycle service and the family unit in Early Modern Rye', *C&C* 6:2 (1991), p. 206.

[100] Hill, *Servants*, p. 1. Also see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 7.

fundamental concepts in the historiography of servants have still yet to fully be considered in relation to the experiences of rural servants.[101] Hayhoe points, in particular, to the transition in the relationship between master and servant from a paternal one to an economic exchange based on contractual obligations and a 'cash nexus' as a concept which has not been considered from the perspective of rural servants.[102] Sheila McIsaac Cooper has described this change as the transition of servants from 'family member to employee' and has viewed it as part of a wider series of measures which were aimed at separating masters from their servants.[103] Historians have debated the extent to which attitudes had changed by the end of the century. Carolyn Steedman has argued that servants were viewed through an economic rather than a paternal lens by the end of the century. She has pointed to the introduction of taxes on domestic servants, first on male servants in 1777 and then on female servants in 1785, which placed domestic servants in a constitutional framework based on the work they did rather than their relationship to their master.[104] Work by Meldrum has argued against viewing paternal and contractual relations as conflicting experiences and has instead argued that servants could experience both forms of relationship from the same master.[105] Naomi Tadmor's work on the 'household-family' has further shown how servants could be included in the master's concept of the family while also being aware of their economic contribution to the household.[106]

The changing relationship between master and servant is of interest to this study because it spans the periodisation of this thesis. While this thesis is not purely a chronological account of this change, it will engage with the notions of paternal and contractual relations because these types of exchanges were central to various interactions on the country estate. Years before the introduction of the servant tax, the country house was engaged in negotiations between paternal and contractual relations, with servants, tenants, tradespeople and the local militia, which placed it at the forefront of many social changes taking place during this period. E. P. Thompson defined the relationship between the gentry and labouring people in eighteenth century as one caught between 'the old world and the new' with masters keen to

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[101] Hayhoe, 'Rural Domestic Servants', p. 558.

[102] Cissie C. Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants & their Masters in Old Regime France* (London, 1984), pp. 13-20.

[103] McIsaac Cooper, 'From Family Member to Employee', pp. 277-296.

[104] Steedman, *Labours Lost*.

[105] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 179-185.

[106] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, esp. pp. 27-29.

have 'the best of both…without the disadvantage of either'.[107] Well-established paternal traditions developed from the manorial past of many country estates. The concept of lordship, which had characterised feudal society and had been widespread in previous centuries, created the customs by which the country house continued to operate. Country houses continued to retain many aspects of administrative care for the surrounding land and, as a result, paternal responsibility remained linked to the country house even with the demise of feudalism in wider society. While this created an environment which resulted in estate tenants remaining obligated to the country house long after society's feudal structure had declined, George Comniel has argued that the continuation of England's feudal traditions was the 'crucible' for the country's development into an industrialising, capitalist society which helped to create a climate in which contractual relations flourished.[108]

By examining the changing relationship between master and servant in this context, this thesis offers a different perspective than previous studies which have remained limited to examining it in the context of smaller, urban servant-employing households. Smaller households did not have the same tradition of paternal service which was present in larger household and, as a result, the position of servants in smaller households was detached from the origins of service which could still be seen in elite properties. In elite, landowning households the concept of benevolence and the provision of additional perquisites characterised the relationship between elites and the lower orders. In contrast, new employers of servants were increasingly coming from trade and business backgrounds which transformed the master-servant relationship into one which prioritised an economic relationship and the payment of wages. These changes have been viewed as part of wider social and economic changes; as society increasingly industrialised and businesses became more focused on a capitalist agenda, they rejected the moral and paternal notions present in previous working relationships.[109]

The legacy of country estates meant country house owners had many different types of interactions and relationships with those who lived and worked on the estate and parkland.

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[107] E. P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', *Journal of Social History* 7:4 (1974), pp. 382-383.

[108] George C. Comniel, 'English Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 27:4 (2000), p. 4; Spencer Dimmock, *The Origin of Capitalism in England, 1400-1600* (Leiden, 2014); R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1967); Thompson, 'Patrician Society', p. 382.

[109] To see how some businesses encouraged 'industrial feudalism' see Jude V. Nixon, '"Workers, Master Workers, Unworkers": Carlyle and Southey – The Saint-Simonians and Industrial Feudalism', *Revue LISA* 7:3 (2009), pp. 452-463.

While many of these exchanges took place beyond the walls of the country house, it is a central tenet of this thesis that the artificial boundary between house and estate which occurs in many country house studies does not reflect the daily lives of servants or tenants on the country estate. The reliance on casual labourers, often drawn from the local tenants, and the presence of live-out servants who resided on the estate rather than in their master's house meant access to both areas was flexible for many individuals.[110] Examining servants and their interactions in the context of the wider estate differs from the approach of previous studies of country houses which have examined the estate and the house separately.[111] Historians have acknowledged that the land surrounding the country house formed an integral part of the definition of a country house and was as much a part of the displays of elite power and 'visible evidence' of a family's status, wealth and influence as the country house itself.[112] Despite this, many studies have followed Heather Clemenson's division of the country estate into two spheres: the 'core', a term she used to refer to the house and the land immediately surrounding the house like the gardens, and the 'periphery', used to describe the parkland and estate villages.[113] Social histories of the country estate have emphasised the landowner-tenant relationship when examining the estate while studies of the country house have focused on relations between members of the household.[114] This division represents the distinctions made while administering and accounting for the country house estate rather than the experiences of those who resided on it.

By placing servants in both spheres, this thesis will consider how servants interacted with both the country estate community and the country house, an approach which differs from previous studies on servants which have mostly considered individuals through their

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[110] Sambrook, *Country House at Work,* p. 194. On the European context see Prytz, 'Life-Cycle Servants', p. 106. To see Chatsworth's reliance of day labourers, see Appendix Two, pp. 310-313.

[111] For example see: John Cornforth, *English Interiors 1790-1848: The Quest for Comfort* (London, 1978); John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: a history of country house and garden views* (London, 1979); Kenneth Woodbridge, *The Stourhead Landscape* (Wiltshire, 1971); Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London, 1993); Michael Wilson, *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977); John Barnatt, *Chatsworth: a landscape history* (Bollington, 2005).

[112] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 3; Giles Worsley, 'Beyond the powerhouse: understanding the country house in the twenty-first century', *Historical Research* 78:201 (2005), pp. 430-431.

[113] Clemenson, *English Country Houses*, pp. 1-2.

[114] For country estate studies see: Briony McDonagh, *Elite Women and the Agricultural Landscape, 1700-1830* (London, 2018), Timur Guran Tatlioglu, 'Biographies of People and Place: The Harewood Estate, 1698-1813' PhD Thesis (University of York, 2010), Beardmore, *Financing the Landed Estate*. For country house studies see: Gerard, *Country House Life*.

relationship to the domestic setting and other members of the household.[115] Two notable exceptions to this are Paula Humfrey's study of early modern women in urban service and Charmian Mansell's work on the interactions sixteenth- and seventeenth-century female servants had with the communities in which they worked. Humfrey's work has drawn upon Robert Shoemaker's assessment of the mobility of female servants in London in order to show how the occupation of service did not confine an individual to the site of their employer's household.[116] In the rural context, Mansell's research used court depositions to show that female servants interacted with a wide range of people from the local community outside of their employer's house.[117] This study will build on the work of these historians to reveal how servants became part of the estate community and examine the variety of roles they could undertake beyond their employment in the duke's household.

In order to examine servants' interactions with other estate residents, this study also engages with the concept of community. The term 'community' has been used by historians to describe many different types of groups which shared a common interest. It has most often been used to describe a geographical area and historians of the poor law have shown the importance of the parish to the concept of the community as individuals applied for settlement or relief to parish officials which in turn decided whether they were considered to belong to the area.[118] Dennis Mills' definition of community as compromised of 'face-to-face groups residing in close proximity to each other, enabling people to have a comprehensive knowledge of each other' also emphasised the importance of geographical closeness.[119] This thesis uses the term 'estate community' to extend beyond the geographical restrictions imposed by the parish or the physical boundaries of the estate. It unites the villages of Edensor and Calton Lees, which were on the estate, with the village of Pilsley, which was outside of estate boundary but was part of the parish of Edensor, and the village of Beeley, which was also located outside of the estate boundary but which had entered the manor of the

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[115] Robert J. Steinfield, *Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350-1870* (North Carolina, 1991), pp. 15-54; Steedman, *Master and Servant*; Steedman, *Labours Lost*; Schwarz, 'English Servants'.

[116] Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Service*, esp. p. 28.

[117] Charmian Mansell, 'A New History of Female Service in Early Modern England, 1550-1650', PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2017).

[118] K. D. M. Snell, 'Belonging and Community: Understandings of 'Home' and 'Friends' Among the English Poor, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review* 65:1 (2012), pp. 1-25; Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The micro-politics of poor relief in rural England, c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004); J. A. Johnston, 'Family, Kin and Community in Eight Lincolnshire Parishes, 1567-1800', *Rural History* 6:2 (1995).

[119] Dennis Mills, 'Defining Community: A Critical Review of 'Community' in *Family and Community History*', *Family & Community History* 7:1 (2004), p. 7.

duke during the period of this thesis and, therefore, shared many of the same characteristics of the estate villages. The residents of these areas shared a geographical closeness but they were also united by their obligations to the duke which created a shared cultural understanding. Historians researching communities have shown that individuals could belong to more than one community: religious identity, language use, or a shared occupation could also affiliate an individual with a community.[120] Tony Nicholson's study on mining communities in nineteenth-century America defined the concept of community as the experience of 'shared space' shaped by the interactions of those present within it.[121] The concept of shared space was not necessarily geographically restricted, it could also existed in the intellectual realm as shown by the work of historians of material culture which has demonstrated that taste groups, which were formed through the purchase of certain objects, could create communities which existed beyond one village or parish.[122] The concept could also relate to the physical world. Previous studies of country house servants have suggested the shared space of the master's house was an environment which united servants. F. M. L. Thompson's argument that if a servant culture existed anywhere then it was at the country house suggested that the occupation of service combined with the proximity of servants in one household could create a specific community.[123] This approach was similarly echoed in Merlin Waterson's study of the servants at Erddig in which he argued that the 'Erddig household throughout most of its history was genuinely one community'.[124] By examining the experiences of servants on the Chatsworth estate, this thesis will explore how servants' experienced community beyond the confines of the duke's house.

Carolyn Steedman has argued that eighteenth-century writers used servants more than any other group to 'write histories of the social itself'.[125] For historians in the present day servants remain a group used to illustrate the changing social world and servants have featured in

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[120] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p. 13; Henry French and Jonathan Barry, 'Identity and Agency in English Society, 1500-1800 – Introduction', in Barry and French (eds), *Identity and Agency*, p. 1.

[121] Tony Nicholson, 'Community and Class: The Cleveland Ironstone Field, 1850-1914', *Labour History Review* 60:2 (1995), p. 82.

[122] Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 149; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1988).

[123] F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 248.

[124] Waterson, *Servants' Hall*, p. 10.

[125] Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp. 13-14.

histories of the family, business, domestic space and consumption.[126] They have been important historical actors in studies on the domestic environment with their sleeping and eating arrangements used to examine how the notion of privacy came to be understood in the household.[127] This thesis will demonstrate that servants can also be used to illuminate the complexities of rural society. While this thesis is constrained to the individuals who were recorded as servants in the Chatsworth household accounts, their lives were not limited to this sphere. By examining how individuals experienced service on the country estate, the factors which affected their experiences, and how they expressed their agency, this thesis will examine the lives of servants from multiple perspectives: their master, the local community and the servants themselves.

Eighteenth-Century Chatsworth

This thesis examines Chatsworth under the dukedoms of four successive dukes of Devonshire: the 2nd Duke (1707-1729), the 3rd Duke (1729-1755), the 4th Duke (1755-1764) and the 5th Duke (1764-1811). Each mainly used Chatsworth as their summer retreat from the London Season and adapted the house for their personal use. Chatsworth had been owned by the Cavendish family since the middle of the sixteenth century when the original Tudor manor was built by Sir William Cavendish and Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsberry (better known as Bess of Hardwick) in the 1550s. At the end of the seventeenth century and into the beginning of the eighteenth century, Chatsworth was redesigned under the 3rd Earl, later 1st Duke, of Devonshire into the baroque house which remains today, as shown in Figure 1. For his support of William of Orange and his role in the Glorious Revolution, the Earl was awarded several positions of status including becoming a member of the Privy Council, a knight of the garter, and the ministerial role of lord steward of the king's household. The

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[126] On the family and the home see Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (London, 2009); Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Aldershot, 2007); Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London, 2016); Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (London, 2017); J. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective' in D. V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (eds), *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (London, 1965); Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977). On business see Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 2017). On consumption see John Styles, 'Involuntary Consumers? Servants and Their Clothes in Eighteenth-Century England', *Textile History* 33:1 (2002), pp. 9-21; Claire Walsh, 'Shopping at First Hand? Mistresses, Servants and Shopping for the Household in Early-Modern England' in David E. Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby (eds), *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 13-26.
[127] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2007); J. Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan, 1835–1914* (London, 1981).

honours culminated in a dukedom in 1694.[128] With the rebuilding of the house, the family's managerial centre moved from Hardwick Hall, another Derbyshire house owned by the family and favoured by Bess of Hardwick, to Chatsworth. Over the course of the century very few changes were made to the exterior of the house. The only phase of building which took place during the period of this thesis commenced under the 4th Duke who hired the architect James Paine to make alterations to the house in the 1750s and 1760s. These changes included the addition of a north wing, which acted as a service wing to house with the kitchens, bakehouse, supplementary stables and other workrooms located in this space, and a new separate stable block. After this the exterior of the house remained unchanged until the 6th Duke rebuilt the 4th Duke's north wing in the nineteenth century.

Chatsworth was situated in a one-thousand-acre park which encompassed the family's formal gardens, pleasure grounds, farmland, and estate villages. This estate was small in comparison to the West Yorkshire country estate of Wentworth Woodhouse, owned by the Marquess of Rockingham, which sat in an estate of 19,000 acres; however, the Cavendish family owned land and properties across Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and around the country, which contributed to the family's income.[129] The Chatsworth estate included four villages and hamlets which had close ties to country house: the village of Edensor and the hamlet of Calton Lees were located within the boundaries of duke's park, while the village of Beeley and the hamlet of Pilsley were on the outskirts of the estate. Figure 2 shows the geographical locations of these sites on the present-day estate. The dukes of Devonshire were the majority landowner in the settlements of Edensor and Calton Lees, although a handful of freehold properties remained in the villages throughout the eighteenth century. These villages had been founded long before the presence of the Cavendish family when a former manor house had been on the site and were, therefore, not built specifically to supply Chatsworth with workers. By the eighteenth century, however, most of the villages' residents completed work for the estate in some capacity, either on an irregular basis called upon when required, or as a seasonal casual labourer. The majority of the residents in these villages had occupations relating to farming the land or keeping livestock, either as their main form of employment or as a by-employment. The 1811 census, taken the year this study ends, recorded 74 of the 101

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[128] David Hosford, 'Cavendish, William, first duke of Devonshire (1641–1707), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4948 (last accessed 15th October 2018).

[129] Arthur Elton, Brett Harrison and Keith Wark, *Researching the Country House: A Guide for Local Historians* (London, 1992), p. 14.

families living in the village as 'chiefly employed in Agriculture'.[130] Residents were able to keep their livestock on the estate land although, in the absence of any common land in the enclosed parkland, they had to pay the duke for this privilege. Other occupations which were also present in these villages included trades and crafts such as blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, and butchers, who would have been of particular use to the country house, its residents and its visitors. The thesis focuses in particular on the village of Edensor because of its proximity to Chatsworth. In the first half of the eighteenth century the village came close to the banks of the River Derwent which naturally separated Chatsworth and the family's formal gardens from the wider estate. As a result, the village could be seen from the windows of Chatsworth itself. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's employment in the 1760s by the 4th Duke to redesign the park in his trademark sweeping natural style resulted in the parts of the village closest to the house being demolished. By the end of the century, Edensor could no longer be seen from the windows of the house although the village did remain home to over four hundred inhabitants.[131] Edensor's location as the settlement closest to the house also meant that it was the village where the majority of live-out servants resided.

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[130] *Abstract of the Answers and Returns Made pursuant to an Act, passed in the Fifty-first Year of His Majesty King George III* (London, 1812), p. 57.
[131] Devonshire Collection (hereafter DC): AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788.

Figure 1: The situation of modern-day Chatsworth House. The exterior of the house seen in this image was part of the 1st Duke's redesign of the house. The River Derwent, in the bottom-right of this image, acted as a natural barrier between Chatsworth and the estate village of Edensor. Photo: Author's own.

On the outskirts of the park, and less than two miles away from the country house, were the villages of Beeley and Pilsley. These two villages have been included in this study because they formed part of the community in which the Chatsworth servants lived, worked and socialised. The village of Beeley had been owned by many different landowners during its history but by the early seventeenth century the Cavendish family owned 79 acres of land and five properties within the settlement. The 3rd Duke's acquisition of the manor house in 1747 prompted the Cavendish family to purchase more of the village's land and properties throughout the century. The hamlet of Pilsley occupied a similar place to Beeley in the family's estates as they worked to increase their ownership of lands and houses over the course of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. The population of these settlements were smaller than that of Edensor. The 1811 census recorded Beeley as having a population of 272 people, Pilsley with a population of 162 people, and Edensor with a population of 439 people.[132] Despite the smaller population, the same focus on the land

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[132] *Abstract of the Answers and Returns,* pp. 56-57.

remained in these settlements with 83 per cent of the families in Beeley and 70 per cent of the families in Pilsley said to be chiefly employed in agriculture in 1811, a sum comparable to the 73 per cent of families in Edensor defined in this way. The terrain in Derbyshire encouraged a range of farming practices. David Hey defined the county's landscape as predominately pastoral with many farmers involved in animal husbandry.[133] Ann Kussmaul's examination of three Derbyshire parishes in her research on the early modern rural economy led her to characterise the county as one defined by regional industries rather than the seasonality of arable or pastoral farming.[134] The presence of farming on the country estate was not a contradiction of Kussmaul's findings because, as she argues, areas of regional industry saw parishes of industry and parishes of arable land existing concurrently and the growing and harvesting of crops still remained important to these areas.[135] Away from Chatsworth estate, mining and textile manufacturing were important occupations for the rest of the county's population.[136]

The experiences of those who lived and worked at Chatsworth were also influenced by the position of Chatsworth within the family's nexus of properties. Chatsworth was one of several houses owned by the Cavendish family. It acted as the family's retreat once the London season had finished each year and hosted the family, usually between the months of June and October.[137] Devonshire House was the family's main residence for much of the year. Its location in Piccadilly, close to Buckingham House and the Houses of Parliament, reflected the family's position at the centre of political and elite society. The Cavendish family were notable Whig supporters, often at the heart of the party's campaigns, and each of the dukes took up a seat in the Houses of Lords, with the 4th Duke briefly nominal Prime Minister from 1756 to 1757.[138] The marriage of the 4th Duke to Charlotte Boyle, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, meant the number of principal properties owned by the family grew to include Chiswick House on the outskirts of London, Bolton Abbey and Londesborough Hall in Yorkshire, and Lismore Castle in Ireland alongside Hardwick Hall,

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[133] David Hey, 'The North-West Midlands: Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Shropshire' in Joan Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume V Part I* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 129-158.
[134] Ann Kussmaul, *A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538-1840* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 184.
[135] *Ibid.,* pp. 146-154.
[136] Hey, 'North-West Midlands', pp. 135-139; Barnatt, *Chatsworth*; S.D. Chapman, 'The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Cotton-Spinning Industry', *Economic History Review* 18:3 (1965), pp. 526-543.
[137] See Appendix One, pp. 304-309.
[138] Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, 'Cavendish, William, fourth duke of Devonshire (bap. 1720, d. 1764), prime minister', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4949 (last accessed 15th October 2018).

which the Cavendish family directly inherited from Bess of Hardwick. Over the course of a year the family could reside in many of these properties with visits to Londesborough and Hardwick regularly incorporated into the family's journey to and from Chatsworth, while Chiswick was a popular and close retreat for the family away from the scrutiny they could face in London. The experiences of the servants employed at the family's London properties, which this thesis defines as Devonshire House and Chiswick, provide a useful comparison to the experiences of the Chatsworth servants at several points in this thesis. Although the Chiswick area was not part of London during the eighteenth century, the close relationship between these two properties which developed from their close geographical relationship, the regular movement of servants between the two sites and the family's use of the properties in conjunction with each other meant these houses had much in common.

An examination of the lives of those who lived and worked at Chatsworth requires the country house to be understood in this wider context. Historians have long recognised the important role the country house had as a display of the power and prestige of its owners and, as the Cavendish family's ducal seat, Chatsworth was a display of this established elite lineage. Yet the country house was only one property used by the family and this, alongside the house's location on an estate with villages and hamlets, means this thesis also examines the effect this system of connected houses and estates had on the lives of Chatsworth's servants.
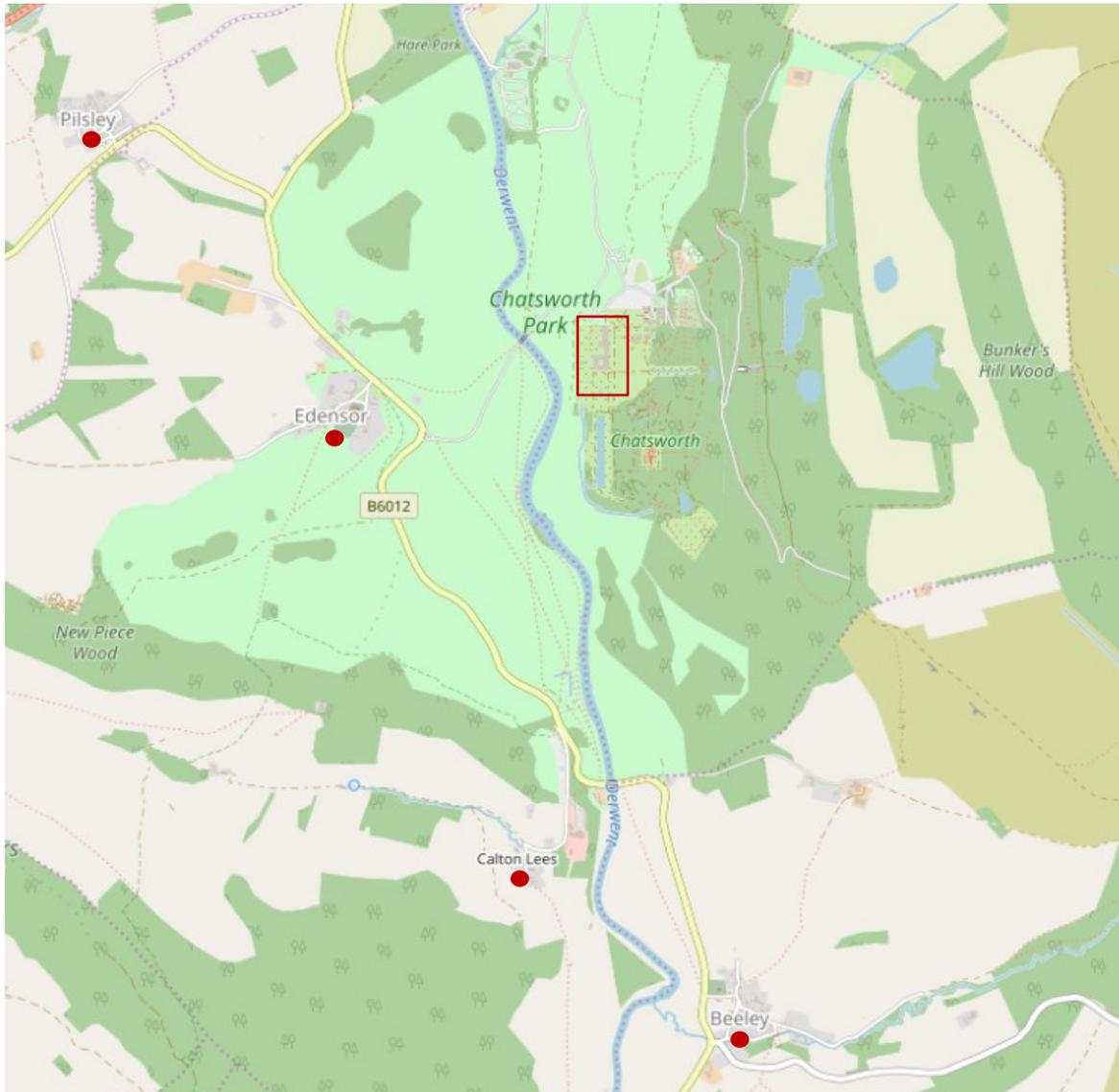
Figure 2: An Ordinance Survey map of the modern-day Chatsworth Estate. The location of the house is reference by the box and the location of the villages of Edensor, Pilsley and Beeley, and the hamlet of Calton Lees are represented by the circles on the map. *Source*: Jisc Geospatial Data.

Sources and Methodology

Finding references to servants in the archives is not a difficult task; they were a group with a 'noisy' presence in early modern society.[139] However, finding evidence of a servant's experience of their work beyond a record of their name or a role is more difficult. In this context, the title of D. A. Kent's 1989 article on female domestic service, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible', still endures to describe the place of servants in the archives.[140] The 'scattered' nature of servants in archival records has been acknowledged by historians even since

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[139] Steedman, *Master and Servant*, p. 14.
[140] Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible'.

Dorothy Marshall identified this problem in her 1929 article, 'The Domestic Servant in the Eighteenth Century', when she declared that the history of servants 'is perhaps more difficult to write than that of any other employment'.[141] Recent studies on domestic service have turned to court records to find evidence of experiences of work, household relationships and domestic space from the perspective of the servants. Eighteenth-century witness depositions and court testimonies have been used by both Tim Meldrum and Paula Humfrey to reveal the mobility of servants in smaller households between the house in which they worked and the streets of the capital.[142] In order to examine servants in the domestic setting, Tessa Chynoweth used court records and probate documents to show how servants engaged with the material culture which surrounded them. Away from the domestic environment, Charmian Mansell has used church court depositions to show how servants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries interacted with the rural community beyond their employer's household.[143]

Because this study restricts its focus to one household, the types of records used in this thesis have been determined by the availability of sources relating to the experiences of servants at Chatsworth in the eighteenth century. This focused study draws upon a range of sources including manuscripts produced by the household such as account books and inventory records, documents produced for the parish including church registers and accounts of parish officials, and legal documents like wills and probate inventories. Carolyn Steedman in her study, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (2007), which researched the life of Phoebe Beatson, a nineteen-year-old servant, has shown the detailed work which can be done through combining a vast range of different types of sources to recreate a world view of an individual who often remains largely silent in their own story.[144] This thesis takes a similar approach by surveying a wide variety of documents from multiple archives in order to reconstruct aspects of the lives of the servants at Chatsworth. It combines traditional sources in new ways to show the roles servants occupied in their master's household and the local village. I have compiled these documents from a variety of archives in order to examine the experiences of servants from a range of perspectives and to provide an alternative angle to the 'top-down' perspective which dominates the country house

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[141] Marshall, 'Domestic Servant in the Eighteenth Century', p. 15.

[142] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*; Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Service*.

[143] Mansell, 'Female servants'; Charmian Mansell, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England (1548–1649): evidence from church court depositions', *C&C* 33:3 (2018), pp. 315-338.

[144] Steedman, *Master and Servant*.

archive. By combining documents produced by the country estate with manuscripts created by the parish and the servants themselves, this thesis aims to present a more complex and comprehensive depiction of several aspects of an individual's life in service than any one source can present.

This thesis on the Chatsworth household is a case study which will draw wider conclusions about how the occupation of service influenced other aspects of an individual's life. Elements of the analysis in this thesis have been inspired by aspects of micro-history because my focus on a single site shares a number of similarities with the close analysis of a single geographical location undertaken by historians of micro-history. Andrew Blaikie has described community history as 'micro-social history' and micro-studies have shown the importance of closely examining and, where possible, recreating the connections and relationships which formed part of an individual's life.[145] This approach is of particular use to this thesis when it considers a servant's place in the wider estate community. Driven by the desire to reconstruct, as far as is possible with surviving sources, the interactions servants had outside of the house as well as in it, and to examine how servants could shape elements of their lives by employing the social networks they had, this thesis engages with the belief shared by historians of microhistory that all people were 'active individuals' in their own lives.[146] In order to achieve this approach and to examine the experiences of individuals on the estate more broadly, this study moves beyond examining documents only produced by the estate, and which survive in the archives of the country house, and combines these records with sources from local archives which show the estate from an alternative perspective. Reconstructing servants' lives from local archives in conjunction with the country house archive creates an approach through which the servant's world can be gleaned from multiple angles and mentalities. The approach of this thesis responds to several of the absences present in the country house archives: the absence of servants' own voices, the absence of personal accounts which show their interactions with other servants and, in the absence of references to the Chatsworth servants in personal documents written by the Cavendish family, the lack of references to individual traits or characteristics of these servants. Using sources from local

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[145] Andrew Blaikie, 'Problems with "strategy" in micro-social history: families and narratives, sources and methods', *Family & Community History* 4:2 (2001), pp. 85-98; Pamela Sharpe, 'The total reconstitution method: a tool for class specific study', *Local Population Studies* 44 (1990), pp. 41–51; István Szijártó, 'Four Arguments for Microhistory', Rethinking History 6:2 (2002), pp. 209-215; Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800–1930* (Cambridge, 1996); Keith Wrightson, 'Villages, villagers and village studies', *Historical Journal* 18:3 (1975), pp. 632-639.

[146] Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó (eds), *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London, 2013), p. 5.

archives provides one way to negate the impact of some of these absences by examining other aspects of servants' lives such as their presence in the estate community and, in doing so, reveals the complexities of a servant's life as they navigated the structures present within their master's households and those which existed beyond it.

This PhD was produced as part of a Collaborative Doctoral Project with Chatsworth and this partnership has given me unparalleled access to their archives. As a result, the main archive for this thesis is the Devonshire Collection which remains in private collection at Chatsworth and is cared for by the Chatsworth House Trust. The volume of material which remains in the house's collection means it is one of the largest surviving country house archives in the country and the collection continues to expand as manuscripts are rediscovered or donated. Because the collection has been in private hands for centuries it has remained largely unexplored by historians of the country house. The method through which the archive has been catalogued has influenced the periodisation of this thesis because the Devonshire Collection categorises its manuscripts by duke rather than by century or other external factors. This shape of the archive has influenced how this thesis has been structured. In the absence of household accounts for the time of the 1st Duke, this thesis begins with the dukedom of the 2nd Duke which began in 1707 and ends with the death of the 5th Duke in 1811. The first reference to servants during the dukedom of the 2nd Duke is from an account book written in 1712; as a result, this document marks the earliest reference for this thesis and the year from which this study begins. The Devonshire Collection manuscript archive is formed of two distinct, but broad, categories: the first is the personal papers and correspondence of the family while the second includes documents relating to the management of the house and estate. The first category has been the most consulted by historians interested in the lives of the elite. In particular, correspondence relating to the wife of the 5th Duke, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who was at the centre of fashionable society and Whig politics, has been one of the document series most utilised by historians.[147] This first collection is only occasionally used in this thesis because these documents reflect the London-centric lives of the Cavendish family, and when servants are mentioned in these manuscripts it is most often in reference to the family's London households. Personal archives were regularly curated by individuals or their family members who decided which documents were kept and which were censored or destroyed altogether. Both the family's

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[147] Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London, 1998); Anja Müller, *Framing Childhood in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals and Prints, 1689-1789* (Farnham, 2009); Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life c. 1754-1790* (Oxford, 2005).

correspondence and the letters and reports sent by stewards and servants have suffered from this process in the archive held at Chatsworth. For the period studied by this thesis only a small handful of letters survive written between the duke and his steward at Chatsworth with the majority of them referencing local news rather than the management of the Chatsworth household.

This thesis therefore makes much greater use of the second collection and draws upon household and estate accounts, rental records, receipts and vouchers, inventories and floor plans. The accounting practices of the eighteenth-century Chatsworth stewards have ensured large series of documents survive for the household and the estate. Duplicate copies of accounts were produced in order that a record could be kept with the family's agent in London and one could remain at Chatsworth. The separation of these two records over the centuries, one in the family's personal archives and one deposited with the family's lawyers, has ensured that long runs of Chatsworth's household and estate accounts have survived. These records enable this thesis to trace the lives and routines of servants and they form a fundamental part of this thesis because the survival of documents in extensive runs allows this thesis to taken both a quantitative and qualitative approach to its analysis. The means through which the house and estate were managed can be reconstructed from the various forms of accounting which took place on the estate throughout the year before the annual accounts for the house were produced. Receipts and bills formed the first stage in the accounting chain. They were written by servants and workers, or by an individual's family member or colleague if a worker was illiterate, before being passed on to the servant in charge of the department who witnessed the payment of the wage. With little surviving documentation written by servants and casual workers, these bills and receipts can be some of the only sources which survive written in a servant's own hand. For this reason, they provide a tangible link to these individuals and show the importance of these individuals to the maintenance of properties like Chatsworth and their close link to the economic workings of an estate. These bills were then written up by the housekeeper or steward who kept the day book for the household, a document which would form the foundation of the annual account written by the steward or accountant. This second manuscript collection also includes documents which have been recently donated to the archives; a notable source used in this thesis which came from this means is the Steward's Order Book, a book of instructions written by the steward at Chatsworth, which was donated by a descendant to the Chatsworth archive in 2005. While the Devonshire Collection suffers from the same asymmetry present

in the majority of archives which favour an elite voice, the continued emergence of these documents shows there is hope that other documents produced by lower status individuals will come to light in the future and with this so too will their voices and mentalities.[148]

The accounts kept by the country estate were not written as a 'hybrid narrative' which combined a family's personal records with their numerical accounting and which Beverly Lemire found in early modern account books written for smaller households and personal purposes.[149] Lemire's study of account books written by those residing in households below elite level found the process of accounting played a dual function in the life of the writer, a tradition which came from the 'evolution of literate communication', recording family history and commonplace thoughts alongside the documentation of an individual's spending. Karen Harvey has similarly argued that account books were 'literary works as much as documentary sources'.[150] Accounting for a large estate did not produce documents in this tradition; these manuscripts were instead largely standardised works which were not overt records of personal history or family relationships. Servants were important figures in the accounting process in many households and, by the turn of the nineteenth century, employers were encouraged to hire a servant who was able to keep household accounts; one author even advised that a servant should not be hired if they 'could not read, write and keep a common account'.[151] Accounts are useful sources for historians examining servant experiences because they provide evidence of the seemingly mundane aspects of daily life. They are also suggestive of the ongoing relationships the country estate had with individuals and their family. For example, an entry in the household accounts for 1792 under the list of servant wages read 'paid Thomas Holderness Junr for wages due to his late Father being 112 days to the 15th July last (the day he died)' was an important record of the exact amount owned to a servant's family but was also an acknowledgment of an individual's long term service and an act of remembrance.[152] When individual entries in these practical, and often utilitarian, documents are combined across a year, a decade, or even a lifetime, they provide in-depth and, at times, intimate details about an individual's life. Another example of this is an entry

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[148] Jill Lepore, 'Asymmetry in the Archives', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 160:2 (2016), p. 178.

[149] Beverly Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c. 1600-1900* (Manchester, 2005), p. 195.

[150] *Ibid.,* p. 195; Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), p. 73.

[151] Lemire, *Business of Everyday Life,* p. 207.

[152] DC: AS/1074, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1792.

in the 1756 account book which recorded a monetary gift given by 'His Graces order' of £2 2s 'To Ann Noel of Hucklow widow of the man that was kill'd at Chatsworth', the following entry in the accounts read 'more when she lay in £1 1s', and the subsequent line recorded 'more when she buried her child 10s 6d'.[153] In this instance, the Chatsworth accounts capture a snapshot of one family's life in the space of one month.

Alongside the archive at Chatsworth, this thesis has also turned to local archives to reconstruct the country estate village and the daily experiences of servants there. In doing so, it has sought to move beyond examining servants from the perspective of their employers. In their guide to researching the country house, Arthur Elton, Brett Harrison and Keith Wark remarked that the 'records of the landowner are the source of nearly all that is known of his servants' and which recorded little about their lives outside of employment.[154] My research argues that aspects of a servant's life beyond their relationship with their master can be reconstructed from other sources. This thesis uses church registers and parish accounts from Derbyshire Record Office to provide an alternative perspective of the country estate which is not present in the documents created for the duke. Overseer of the poor accounts provide another view of the village community, separate to the paternal charity offered by the duke, and offer a means through which to explore the place of servants in the social hierarchy of the wider estate. Bastardy papers, settlement examinations and removal orders, apprenticeship records, petty sessions and other court records were also consulted to inform a detailed depiction of the residents of the estate community. Church registers, which recorded baptisms, marriages and burials, have revealed where servants came from, their social networks, and the impact the environment of the estate had on their life once entering service. These documents have become increasingly accessible through online resources and the digitisation of manuscripts. In order find the experiences of servants when they extend beyond the county of Derbyshire, I have used Ancestry.co.uk to search thousands of parish registers from around the country to examine in greater detail the locations of servants at various stages of their lives. From these sources, elements of an individual's life can be pieced together to form a more detailed and comprehensive representation of an individual which establishes there was more to their life than the type of work they did. In order to examine servants' relationships towards the end of their lives I have used the National Archives and Staffordshire Record Office to find probate documents and from which I have

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[153] DC: C/107, Alexander Barker's accounts, 1755-1757, vol. 2 1756-1757, *Gifts.*

[154] Elton, Harrison and Wark, *Researching the Country House,* p. 130.

created a database of 127 wills which relate to estate residents and servants in the duke's households. When combined with church records and household accounts, these sources show the relationships and connections a servant made and maintained until the end of their lives, and provide a better understanding of how these individuals experienced various life stages in the occupation of service. From the information collected from these archives I have created a database of servants employed by the dukes of Devonshire during the period 1712 to 1811 which includes a total of 638 individuals who worked at six of the family's properties.[155] The database has been designed to record a range of aspects of a servant's life and to suggest the mobility of individuals through life, in the servant hierarchy, and between the duke's properties. Information from the Chatsworth archive has informed the names of individuals, the positions they held, the years they worked, their wages, and their promotions, within this database. Sources from local archives had meant details such as where an individual was baptised, who they married, how many children they had and where they were buried have also been possible to include in the database.

Collaborative Doctoral Award Project

Before this introduction concludes with an outline of the chapters in this thesis, it is important to acknowledge a second output which was produced alongside the research for this project. The funding for this thesis came from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) as part of their Collaborative Doctoral Award scheme (CDA) which focuses on encouraging and developing collaboration between universities and educational institutions.[156] This thesis is one of three funded by the AHRC at Chatsworth under the wider project title 'From Servants to Staff: The Whole Community at Chatsworth 1700-1950' which researched Chatsworth's servants and their experiences of service and the country estate across three centuries.[157] Undertaking research for this thesis alongside two other PhD candidates who were working on similar topics has been a formative part of this study. Not only has it provided the opportunity to situate this research within a wider context of service and to explore the similarities and differences which existed between servants in different periods of history, it

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[155] See Appendix Three for a more detailed explanation of the database, pp. 314-318.

[156] Arts and Humanities Research Council, Collaborative Doctoral Award, https://ahrc.ukri.org/funding/apply-for-funding/archived-opportunities/collaborativedoctoralawards (last accessed 1st April 2019).

[157] Lauren Butler, 'Power at the Power House: Agency and Authority on the Chatsworth Estate, 1811-1877', PhD (University of Sheffield, 2019); Fiona Clapperton, 'The Making of a Modern Estate: Chatsworth 1908-1950', PhD (University of Sheffield, 2019).

also fostered an intellectually stimulating environment through which this research has been shaped.

There were several aims of this collaborative project which has benefitted both the research of this thesis and the development of the collection and archives for future researchers. For the duration of this PhD project, I have been involved in cataloguing manuscripts and resources within the archives and, in turn, this project has profited from the expertise and knowledge of the archivists and volunteers in the Collections Department at Chatsworth. Public engagement has been another important aspect of this project and research from this thesis has been presented in many different forms from public lectures, storytelling events, educational activities, and exhibitions, which have engaged an audience wide ranging in age. The collaborative nature of this project, the processes behind it, its influence on the project as a whole and the future of collaborations between universities and partners will be reflected upon further in the conclusion to this thesis.

<u>Outline of thesis</u>

This thesis seeks to examine how servants experienced employment in the country house and life on the country estate across five chapters. Chapter One establishes who was considered to be a servant from the perspective of the duke and his stewards. It will examine what factors defined these individuals from the day labourers and casual workers who were also employed on the country estate. As a site which employed many different types of workers, the task of defining service on the country estate is not straightforward for historians but it did have important implications for both master and servant. This chapter situates the servants at Chatsworth within the debates of contemporaries and historians who have characterised service as a role defined by where a person lived, where they ate, the tasks they completed and their relationship with their employer. While early modern legislation defined servants in contrast to casual labourers, the country house provides a site which enables the lived realities of these roles to be explored. It was also an environment with a complex relationship with the concepts of paternal and contractual relations; therefore, this chapter will also consider the position of the Chatsworth servants in this debate. By closely examining what, if any, factors united the range of individuals who were grouped together under the account book heading 'Servant wages and board' this chapter will reveal how the requirements of the country estate resulted in a wide range of servant experiences.

Chapter Two turns to focus on how servants interacted with the residents on the estate and what these interactions and exchanges reveal about a servant's status in the estate hierarchy. By combining the Chatsworth archive with parish records, this chapter assesses the extent to which the nature of service affected how an individual interacted with the local community. It will show that an individual's place in the servant hierarchy did not always translate to their place in the estate hierarchy. Instead, the community's perception of, and relationship with, an individual servant could be informed by more than their economic status or their relationship with the duke. This chapter will explore the place of servants in some of the economic, social and moral hierarchies present on the estate and examine how the occupation of servant enabled an individual to present desirable qualities which could benefit their position in the community.

Chapter Three turns to analyse how servants defined their own lives on the estate to different audiences. By analysing the occupational descriptors servants chose to define themselves in their wills, in estate documents and on their gravestones, this chapter will consider what factors influenced the language servants chose to use when presenting themselves in these formal settings. The extent to which the environment of the country house estate influenced this decision will be demonstrated by a comparison of the descriptors used in the wills written by the servants at Chatsworth and those written by the duke's London servants. By examining a range of source made for different audiences and the considered choices a servant made when articulating a version of their public identity, this chapter also contributes to understanding how servants perceived themselves and their agency when they made these choices.

Chapters Four and Five will work together to explore the material lives of servants in the country house through a comparison of three inventories made of Chatsworth in the second half of the eighteenth century. Chapter Four will assess how notions of status and gender affected how the duke furnished the rooms of his servants and influenced a servant's material experiences in the house. In doing so, this chapter places the experiences of the Chatsworth servants in dialogue with changing consumer habits in the eighteenth century. Alongside the inventories, servant wills and probate inventories will also be used to show how servants engaged with objects beyond the material world created for them. Together these findings show that material culture provided a means through which servants could create agency in a space which belonged to their master. Chapter Five builds upon this focus on materiality in order to examine in greater depth how servants were able to influence the space around them

and find agency in the material culture of the country house. The absence of the family for much of the year meant that the servant's gaze became crucial to the duke's own perception of his house. This chapter will consider how the physical presence of servants in the country house enabled them to exert their agency over space in certain situations. Together these two chapters demonstrate the essential role servants played in the act of recording and shaping the spaces within the country house.

These five chapters will examine the lives of servants on a country estate at a time of transition in the relationship between servants and the law and servants and masters. By examining servants from multiple perspectives and in multiple sites around the country estate, this thesis will show an individual's experience of service was not only influenced by their relationship to managerial figures or institutions. Instead, I argue that by extending our understanding of the occupation of service beyond this it is possible to find previously hidden facets of the working lives of servants.

Chapter One: Defining Service

In 1800, George Pleasance was paid £23 14s 0.5d for his wage and travel expenses for the year he had spent working in the hack stables.[158] In the same year, Joseph Vickers was paid £35 2s 10d for his work and travel as a groom. Despite both men being in receipt of a wage, being paid expenses and working at Chatsworth for the whole year, only Joseph Vickers was recorded in the household accounts as a servant while George Pleasance was a labourer. Servants and labourers have traditionally been defined in contrast to each other by historians and eighteenth-century commentators. In her study of early modern husbandry servants, Ann Kussmaul identified four characteristics of servants which she argued placed servants in contrast to the experiences of casual labourers.[159] For Kussmaul, servants were hired for a year in contrast to labourers who were employed for shorter periods defined by the day or task. Only servants served one master while a labourer could be hired to several masters and were in charge of managing their own time. It was only servants, not labourers, who lived in their master's house and servants were usually unmarried, adolescent individuals who left service when they married while labourers came from a variety of life stages.

The differences between these groups were also enshrined in early modern law. The Statute of Artificers, which had been brought into effect in 1563, still remained the law's position on servants into the eighteenth century.[160] While the Statute focused on servants working on the land, domestic servants were considered in the same terms because no alternative legislation was produced for them. The Statute defined servants as workers who were hired yearly, which placed them in contrast to labourers who were employed in smaller increments of time or on a task-by-task basis. The distinction between servant and labourer was also important for early modern individuals as Alexandra Shepard has shown that labourers made efforts to distance themselves from an association with service when they described themselves in witness testimonies.[161] However, the experiences of George Pleasance and Joseph Vickers at Chatsworth suggest that these categories may not have been as definitive as previously

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[158] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

[159] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 135.

[160] Mansell, 'Female Service', pp. 77-94; Douglas Hay, 'England, 1562-1875: The Law and Its Uses', in D. Hay and P. Craven (eds), *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill, 2004), pp. 59-116; Douglas Hay, 'Master and Servant in England: Using the Law in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' in Willibald Steinmetz (ed.), *Private Law and Social Inequality in the Industrial Age: Comparing Legal Cultures in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 227-264.

[161] Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England (Oxford, 2015)*, pp. 181-182.

suggested. This chapter will examine the extent to which the servants at Chatsworth shared similarities and differences with the experiences of labourers on the estate as presented through the household accounts. It will also consider the extent to which the servants themselves had an identical relationship with the duke and what the differences in these relations suggest about the institution of service. In doing so, this chapter will reveal the complexities of service and show the importance of examining the specific experiences of servants and their life stories.

Understanding who was defined as a servant is central to this thesis for several reasons. Firstly, it provides the foundation upon which the subsequent chapters of this thesis are built; as George Emery has argued, historians have 'to learn the context for their collection, the social background and motives of the collectors' before they can use this information.[162] The findings of this chapter will be important when this thesis turns to examine how servants interacted with estate tenants away from their work at the country house. Secondly, defining service was important for early modern employers because it had economic consequences for masters who were expected to provide a servant with accommodation, provisions and medical attention, should they require it, but were not held to the same accountability for casual labourers or craftsmen. Thirdly, the definition is also important to historians of service, particularly those researching the eighteenth century, because the concept of service was undergoing a transition during this period. The paternal bonds which had previously been at the centre of the relationship between master and servant were no longer the only means of defining it. Instead, contractual obligations also came to define this relationship. As the Introduction to this thesis has shown, the chronology of this change has been disputed.[163] Carolyn Steedman has argued that the definition of service changed with the introduction of the servant tax because servants became defined by the tasks they completed rather than by where they lived, the length of their term or their relationship to their employer.[164] Tim Meldrum has warned against considering the two concepts as completely separate from each other. His research on urban service shows how aspects of the paternal relationship such as perquisites continued to exist alongside contractual relations.[165] By examining aspects of the

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[162] George Emery, *Facts of Life: The Social Construction of Vital Statistics* (Montreal, 1993), p. 18.

[163] See Introduction, pp. 23-25.

[164] Steedman, *Labours Lost*, p. 133; *The statutes at large, from the eighteenth year of the reign of King George III to the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King George III* (London, 1786), pp. 527-528.

[165] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 186.

duke's relationship with his servants and casual labourers on the estate, this chapter will also assess the extent to which the servants at Chatsworth experienced this transition.

This thesis argues that the country house estate is a valuable site to examine this period of change in the relationship between masters and servants because it was an environment which encompassed examples of both paternal and contractual dealings. It was a site which retained a cultural history of paternal relations between master and worker, landowner and tenant, due to its manorial past. Yet it was also a place which had dealings with contractual relationships because the living conditions of tenants were agreed by rental leases. Robert Houston has argued that the old powers of elite landowners were 'only slowly eroded' during the early modern period because local residents still remained a crucial workforce and aspects of the feudal relationship between tenant and landowner remained part of the estate experience.[166] This was also witnessed by Leslie Baker-Jones in her study of the Welsh gentry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which she argued that acts of charity by a landowner including their gifts towards the maintenance of churches and schools were evidence that elements of feudal bonds between landlord and tenant continued into the eighteenth century and beyond.[167] The presence of both paternal and contractual relations on country estates was witnessed by E. P. Thompson who argued that the gentry were keen to have the 'best of both the old world and the new'.[168] As a result, he argued many landowners 'clung to the image of the labourer as an unfree man, a "servant:"', despite such workers no longer being bound to the lord of the manor.[169] Therefore, the country house is a site where service can be examined in a broad context because it employed many different types of workers which meant the landowner and his stewards had to distinguish servants from these other forms of labour. In particular, the country house allows for a direct comparison between servants and casual labourers employed by the same master. By examining how service was defined in a single property, this chapter also hopes to avoid the limitations Matthew Woollard found in his attempt to define the term 'servant' in nineteenth-century census returns. He argued that large scale classification of servants can 'stifle the identity of domestic servants' as a single term fails to capture the range of job roles, social backgrounds

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[166] R. A. Houston, *Peasant Petitions: Social Relations and Economic Life on Landed Estates 1600-1850* Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 64-65, p. 198.

[167] Leslie Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in Their Community* (Gomer, 1999), pp. 110-122. Also see John A. Hassan, 'The Landed Estate, Paternalism and the Coal Industry in Midlothian, 1800-1880', *The Scottish Historical Review* 59:167 (1980), pp. 73-91.

[168] Thompson, 'Patrician Society', pp. 382-384, quotation on p. 382.

[169] *Ibid*., p. 383.

and interactions of servants.[170] Instead, through a close analysis of one household, this chapter aims to reveal the variety of experiences encapsulated in the term 'servant'.

Although servants were employed for a variety of different tasks, historians have argued there were factors which united the individuals who became servants. Many definitions of the term 'servant' have focused on the relationship between servant and master which was most often developed through a servant's residence in their master's house.[171] Peter Laslett defined servants as residents in a household whose activities 'serve and support family members' while P. J. P. Goldberg similarly argued that the relationship between employer and employee was crucial to the definition of service and was shaped through residence in the master's house.[172] Bridget Hill also emphasised the relationship between servant and master in her definition of service when she argued that the wide range of individuals who could be considered servants were a 'homogenous body' because they were all linked by 'the duty of complete and unquestioning obedience' to their master.[173] Steedman recognised the importance of residency in her definition of a servant but also emphasised the receipt of wages as crucial to the concept of service, thereby distinguishing servants from apprentices.[174] The prominence of the economic nature of service seen in Steedman's definition is also present in Jane Whittle's definition of servants which she defined as 'workers who lived within the home of their employer, and who received board and lodging as well as a cash wage' as well as being employed for terms longer than labourers.[175] The length of an individual's employment was a crucial factor for eighteenth-century commentators when defining servants. When the justice of the peace, Richard Burn, defined servants in 1755 he argued that 'the law never looks upon any person as a servant who is hired for less than one whole year'.[176]

These definitions show that being a servant was shaped by social relations, the payment of wages and residency, and was as much a social and cultural position as it was an economic

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[170] Matthew Woollard, 'The Classification of Domestic Servants in England and Wales, 1851-1951', *Proceedings of the Servant Project,* 2:2 (2002), p. 11.

[171] Marshall, 'English Domestic Servant in History'; Steedman, *Labours Lost.*

[172] Laslett, 'Institution of Service', p. 56; P. J. P. Goldberg, 'What Was a Servant?' in Anne Curry and Elizabeth Matthew (eds), *Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 2-3.

[173] Hill, *Servants*, p. 252.

[174] Steedman, *Labours Lost*, p. 31.

[175] Jane Whittle, 'Introduction: Servants in the Economy and Society of Rural Europe', in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in Rural Europe*, p. 1; Also see Hayhoe, 'Rural Domestic Servants', p. 558.

[176] Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace, and the Parish Officer* (London, 1793), p. 213.

one. This has led Deborah Simonton to argue that the term 'servant' 'covered a wide range of contractual, residential and employment patterns'.[177] As a result, a range of individuals could be included under this terminology because the practice was ultimately defined by an individual's relationship with authority. This is shown in the four types of servants identified by eighteenth-century judge William Blackstone in his *Commentaries on the Lawes of England*, first published in 1765, which included apprentices and labourers alongside 'domestics' in his definition of 'servants'.[178] While Blackstone acknowledged the difference between labourers, a group 'hired by the day or the week' who did not live in their master's household, and 'domestics' who were hired for a year and resided with their master, he included both in his definition of servants. The inclusion of labours in this group supports Thompson's argument that many landowners still considered their labourers to be servants because they shared many social characteristics.[179] Charwomen and laundresses also occupied this grey area between labourer and servant. Deborah Simonton described charwomen as 'non-resident servants' while Leonard Schwarz similarly categorised them as 'paid living-out servants' and Sheila McIsaac Cooper notes that laundresses had 'regularly scheduled appointment with their employers' which shared a similarity to the routines of 'domestics'.[180] Carolyn Steedman has argued that charwomen and laundresses shared characteristics of a servant in 'the social sense, but nothing at all in the legal and fiscal meaning of the term' because they were not taxable workers under the servant tax legislation.[181]

The absence of these roles from the definition of 'servant' used by the servant tax suggests that early modern individuals did acknowledge a difference between acting as a servant and acting in service. Samuel Johnson's dictionary provided three different definitions for the term 'servant' while the term 'service' had nineteen definitions. A servant was described as 'one who attends another, and acts at his command' but the word 'service' could define anything from 'menial office', 'publick office' and 'useful office' to 'any thing done by way

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[177] Simonton, 'Birds of Passage', p. 211.

[178] William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England. In four books. The sixth edition* (Dublin, 1775), p. 425-427. The four were 'menial servants' or 'domestics', apprentices, labourers, and skilled men like stewards and bailiffs.

[179] Thompson, 'Patrician Society', p. 383.

[180] Simonton, 'Birds of Passage', p. 210; Schwarz, 'English Servants', p. 236-256; McIsaac Cooper, 'Family member to employee', pp. 279-280.

[181] Steedman, 'Servant's labour', p. 10.

of duty to a superior'.[182] The definition of 'servant' showed the relationship to a master was crucial while 'service' encompassed notions of duty to any superior whether they were a neighbour, the king or the country. The eighteenth century was therefore a period in which there was a growing distinction, at least in legal terms, between a 'servant', the term used to describe the position given to a worker, and the act of service, the task a worker did. Both concepts were present on the country house estate, however, previous studies have not examined the extent to which they produced different experiences of work. The four categories of servants Jessica Gerard identified in her research on the nineteenth-century country house evade confronting this concept because she used the term 'servant' to describe all individuals who worked for the landowner. Gerard's inclusion of labourers as one of the four groups she identified as servants is a marked contrast to other historians' definitions of service which exclude labourers because they did not share the same contractual relationship with their employer as servants.[183] This chapter will examine in greater depth the extent to which the working lives of servants and labourers shared characteristics and whether the dukes of Devonshire defined these groups in the same terms.

In order to approach this, this chapter uses the household accounts produced by the duke's steward. It will take as its starting point the individuals who were listed under the heading 'Servants Wages and Board' in order to examine the factors used the define those whom the duke and the estate's management deemed to be servants. The experiences of these individuals will then be compared to the experiences of labourers working on the estate. The account books for Chatsworth survive in large consecutive runs for the majority of the eighteenth century and therefore allow for an examination of the way service was defined over the course of a century. In these accounts, the heading 'Servants Wages and Board' remained a constant for the duration of the century and Figure 3 provides an example of how this heading was used in the estate's accounting practices. This chapter will begin by first assessing the composition of the servant body at Chatsworth by looking at the size of the household, the gender ratio of the servant body and the length of time servants were employed by the duke for, before then examining the extent to which Chatsworth was typical of other elite households. It will then turn to explore how the experiences of servants shared similarities and differences with the relationship casual labourers had with the estate. It will first address this by examining the paternal elements of a servant's relationship with their

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[182] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary Of The English Language* (London, 1755, volume 2), pp. 1794-1796.

[183] Gerard, *Country House* Life, p. 162.

master in the form of the perquisites granted to them such as accommodation and board. The second part of this section will then turn to analyse the contractual elements of the master-servant relationship to examine how a servant's annual employment compared with the work undertaken by casual labourers. In doing so, this chapter will demonstrate that, even in one household, the task of defining servants was not simple and combined multiple elements.

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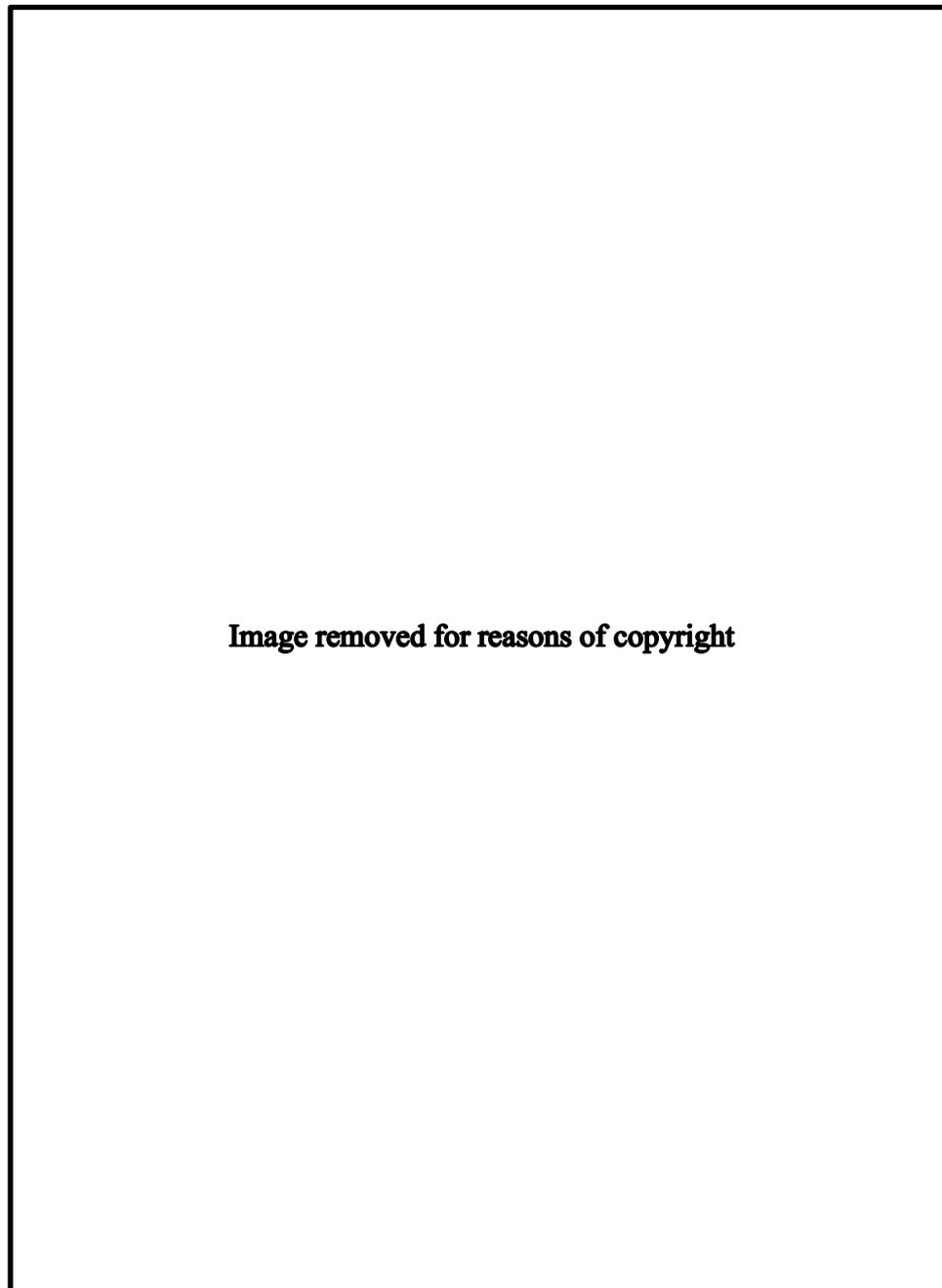
Figure 3: An example page from the 1735 household account which shows how individuals were accounted for throughout the year under the heading 'Servants Wages & boardwages'. This layout of this page was seen throughout the century in the yearly household accounts. *Source*: DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts 1733-1741, 1735.

Serving the Country Estate

The number of servants permanently resident on the country estate was only a small proportion of the total number of servants employed by the family. The family's residence at Devonshire House for large periods of the year meant this London property was the family's main household which was reflected in the size of the servant body which was comprised of between forty and fifty individuals. The number of servants employed here was far larger than at Chatsworth where the size of the servant household over the course of the century ranged from eleven to twenty-seven servants.[184] Despite not being the family's main residence, the number of servants employed at Chatsworth did increase over the course of the century. This trend can be seen in Table 1 which shows the number of servants listed in the household accounts at five-year intervals between 1720 and 1810. While the size of the servant population during this period both began and ended with a household of sixteen, the table shows the 5th Duke was more likely to employ more servants than previous dukes. The table also shows that servant numbers were often inconsistent and the size of the household could fluctuate depending on the needs of the family. The presence of twenty servants in 1760, a rise of six from 1755, was a result of the employment of additional men to oversee the changing parkland designed by Capability Brown. The decrease in servants five years later was a result of the park being completed and the death of the 4th Duke the previous year. The fluctuation in numbers shown in the table is also suggestive of the ability of some servants to move between the family's households and be paid from other household accounts. For example, John Hawkins, Duchess Georgiana's groom received his annual wages from both the Chatsworth household and the Devonshire House accounts over the course of his employment, although he was never paid by both households in the same year.

Table 1 also reveals the gender division of the Chatsworth household. With the absence of a permanently resident master, personal servants and servants who worked solely in the house were not required to the same extent as they were at Devonshire House. As a result, the

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[184] The difference between the two households in reflected in the proportion of income each household spent on servants. Samuel and Sarah Adams' guide, *The Complete Servant* recommended that a family with a large income should dedicate 25 per cent of their expenditure on servants. At Chatsworth, between 1785 and 1805 was only half of the amount recommended by Samuel and Sarah Adams was spent on the servants' wages and board accounted for an average of 12 per cent of its entire household expenses for the period. In comparison, the spending at Devonshire House was closer to the Adams' recommendation with an average of 24 per cent of the entire household spending going on servant expenses. Samuel and Sarah Adams, *The Complete Servant Being a Practical Guide to the Peculiar Duties and Business of All Descriptions of Servants ... with Useful Receipts and Tables* (London, 1825), p. 4; DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher; Chatsworth Housekeeping, 1794, 1796-1797; AS/1067-1076, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1785-1795.

Chatsworth household was characterised by a small indoor workforce and, consequently, a small female population. The two female servants listed in the years 1720 and 1725 were a dairy maid, Jane Hackett, and Widow Harris, who was employed to look after woodland close to the Chatsworth park, while the only female servant employed between 1730 and 1735 remained the dairy maid. The small number of female servants was partly a result of the family's absence but was also influenced by the presence of a male housekeeper who worked at Chatsworth until his death in 1735. Under a male housekeeper, the employment of maids may have been viewed as morally dubious in the absence of the master and his household who were not able to supervise the interactions between the servants. The first housemaid at Chatsworth was employed in 1737 a year after a female housekeeper was employed. The table also shows the household very slowing started to employ more female servants although, even when the servant population at Chatsworth increased under the 5th Duke, the number of female servants remained low and peaked at only four: a housekeeper, two housemaids and a dairy maid.

Instead, the servant body at Chatsworth was overwhelming male. Table 2 shows the roles of servants employed at Chatsworth in 1730, 1760 and 1790 and reveals the majority of servants worked outside of the house in the stables, gardens and parkland. The table also reveals that the increase in the number of servants employed during the dukedom of the 5th Duke was largely the result of more male servants employed in the stables, a department which rose from six servants, during the time of the 3rd Duke, to ten under the 5th Duke. The gendered nature of the household at Chatsworth was similar to other elite households which continued to favour the employment of male servants. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Sir Richard Newdigate's household at Arbury Hall also favoured the employment of male servants, with male servants accounting for seventeen of the twenty-eight servants employed there. Like at Chatsworth, the majority of Newdigate's servants worked outdoors.[185] The country residence of Baron Petre, Thornden Hall in Essex, also employed a significant number of male servants which accounted for nineteen of the thirty-three servants employed there in 1742.[186] The employment of male servants was common amongst elite households and Leonard Schwarz has calculated that dukes employed an average of twenty-six male servants while earls

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[185] Steve Hindle, 'Below stairs at Arbury Hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his household staff, c. 1670-1710', *Historical Research* 85:227 (2012), pp. 74-75.

[186] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 328, footnote n. 34.

employed an average of sixteen manservants in their households.[187] The prevalence of male servants was, in part, a result of traditions dating back to the fourteenth century when the retinues of aristocrats were largely comprised of male servants. By the eighteenth century the employment of male servants was viewed as a luxury which showed a master's status and wealth which continued to make male servants prevalent and visible figures in elite households.

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[187] Schwarz, 'English servants', p. 240. The Marquess of Rockingham's household at Wentworth Woodhouse was an extreme example employing sixty-two male servants. Port, 'West End Palaces', p. 33.

Table 1: Number of servants recorded in the household accounts under the heading 'Servant wages and board'

	Year	Total number of servants listed in the household account	Number of male servants	Number of female servants
2ⁿᵈ Duke	1720	16	14	2
	1725	19	17	2
3ʳᵈ Duke	1730	14	13	1
	1735	14	13	1
	1740	13	11	2
	1745	12	10	2
	1750	13	10	3
	1755	14	12	2
4ᵗʰ Duke	1760	20	16	4
5ᵗʰ Duke	1765	11	9	2
	1770	20	17	3
	1775	19	16	3
	1780	13	13	0
	1785	22	18	4
	1790	22	19	3
	1795	21	18	3
	1800	18	16	2
	1805	20	16	4
	1810	16	13	3

Sources: AS/452 Chatsworth Account 1720-1721; AS/446 Chatsworth Account 1725-1726; C/15 Chatsworth account 1729-1730; C/13 William Barker's Accounts 1733-1741; C/6 Chatsworth cash book 1739-1745; AS/1082 Account of household disbursements, 1750-1751; AS/80 Chatsworth Household Accounts 1755; AS/1064 Chatsworth Accounts 1759; AS/1065 Chatsworth Accounts 1762; C/22, Chatsworth Household, Husbandry, Stables and Domain Account, 1766-1774; L/95/9 Chatsworth vouchers 1776-1790; AS/1067 Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth 1785; AS/1072 Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth 1790; AS/1076 Account of Joseph Fletcher for

Chatsworth 1795; L/91/8 Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth Accounts 1793, 1798-1817.

Table 2: Servant Roles recorded in the Chatsworth Household Accounts

1730 (3rd Duke's household)	1760 (4th Duke's household)	1790 (5th Duke's household)
Assistant to the Keeper	Dairymaid	Duchess Georgiana's Groom
Dairymaid	Gamekeeper	Gamekeeper
Gardener	Gardener	Gamekeeper
Groom x 3	Groom x 2	Gamekeeper at Baslow
Housekeeper	Housemaid x 2	Gamekeeper at Haddon
Huntsman	Husbandman	Gardener
Husbandman	Keeper	Groom x 3
Keeper	Looking after labourers	Housekeeper
Pasture tenant	Nursery man	Housemaid x 2
Stable boy	Pasture tenant	Hunting Groom
Steward	Stable hand x 3	Park keeper
Stud Groom	Stallion Groom	Pasture tenant
Undergardener	Steward	Porter
Underkeeper	Stud Groom	Stable hand x 2
Warrener	Underkeeper	Stallion Groom
		Steward
		Stud Groom
		Underkeeper
		Upholsterer

Sources: C/15 Chatsworth account 1729-1730; C/13 William Barker's Accounts 1733-1741; AS/80 Chatsworth Household Accounts 1755; AS/1064 Chatsworth Accounts 1759; AS/1065 Chatsworth Accounts 1762; AS/1072 Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth 1790.

The servant body at Chatsworth also shared similarities with households below the aristocracy. A comparison of the Chatsworth household to other elite and aristocratic properties suggests that the size of the Chatsworth household had more in common with households of the gentry or aristocratic households which had been reduced because of personal circumstances. This is important because it suggests that the experiences of the servants at Chatsworth may also have been replicated further down the social hierarchy. This is also supported by research by Steve Hindle who has argued that there was no 'dissociation' between aristocratic landowners and gentry landowners.[188] Finding comparable examples to the Chatsworth household has been difficult because, as the Introduction to this thesis noted, the majority of studies have focused on the hierarchy present in large London household or have viewed the skeleton households resident in country houses as incomplete which has resulted in them being largely absent from studies of service.[189] As already seen in this chapter, the households of Sir Richard Newdigate and Baron Petre shared similarities with the Chatsworth household. Erddig, the country home of politician Philip Yorke, employed a similar number of servants to Chatsworth. In the 1770s, his household consisted of between twenty-five and thirty servants while during the same period at Chatsworth, the number of servants ranged from nineteen to thirty-one.[190] The servant household employed by Elizabeth Montagu, the Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch, in 1819 numbered twenty-four, a similar size to the twenty-three servants employed at Chatsworth in 1811.[191] Figures found for households kept by other titled families at their country seats have been most dissimilar to the size of the Chatsworth household. The household at the duke of Marlborough's country seat, Blenheim Palace, was said to employ over seventy servants in 1764.[192] Despite the similar circumstances and comparable London residency shared by the Cavendish and Marlborough families, the household at Blenheim was over five times the size of that employed at Chatsworth in the same year. The cost of wages and liveries at Blenheim totalled nearly £3000 for the year.[193] In comparison, the cost of wages and liveries at Chatsworth two years

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[188] Hindle, 'Below Stairs at Arbury Hall', p. 73.

[189] See Introduction, pp. 3-5.

[190] Waterson, *Servants' Hall*, p. 30.

[191] Emma Frances Purcell, 'Managing Aristocratic Households: Women's Agency within the Montagu Property Nework, c. 1709-1827', PhD thesis (University of Leicester, 2018), pp. 101-102.

[192] A. P. Baggs, W. J. Blair, Eleanor Chance, Christina Colvin, Janet Cooper, C. J. Day, Nesta Selwyn and S. C. Townley, 'Blenheim: Blenheim Palace', in Alan Crossley and C. R. Elrington (eds.), *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 12, Wootton Hundred (South) Including Woodstock* (London, 1990), pp. 448-460.

[193] *Ibid*.

previous, in 1762, amounted to only £416 18s 7d.[194] Similarly, the Earl of Salisbury's ancestral seat at Hatfield Hall employed more servants than Chatsworth. In 1797 the Earl employed thirty-six servants, fourteen more than Chatsworth employed in the same year.[195] The disparity between these figures and the household at Chatsworth emphasises the need for historians to more closely examine who was recorded as a servant and take into consideration how the household changed depending on the residence of its master. When compared to other elite households, the number of servants at Chatsworth was most comparable to the London household of the duke of Northumberland which, in 1803, employed twenty-five servants at Northumberland House.[196] In the same year, Chatsworth employed twenty-three servants.[197]

The largely male household had an impact on the average length of service at Chatsworth. Table 3 shows the number of years Chatsworth servants were employed for between 1712 and 1811 and reveals there was a marked difference in the experiences of male and female servants. For the period of this study, a total of sixty male servants, 43 per cent, remained in service at Chatsworth for over ten years and, in the absence of substantial household records before 1712 and after 1816, it is possible that this number was even higher.[198] In contrast only ten female servants, 19.6 per cent, remained in the duke's service for over ten years during the same period. Female servants worked for an average of seven and a half years, a total which decreases to five years when the role of housekeeper is removed from the sample. The distinction between male and female servants was largely a result of the effect marriage had upon the experiences of servants. As marriage most often marked the end of service for women their time as servants was shorter than their male counterparts, which lasted for an average of twenty-five and a half years. Contemporaries warned against the employment of married servants because they feared their presence in a household could create a challenge to the authority of the master. They were most concerned about the impact a female servant's husband could have on the household because his existence defied the patriarchal authority of

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[194] DC: AS/1065, Chatsworth Accounts, 1762.

[195] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 328, fn. 34.

[196] Port, 'West End Palaces', p. 33.

[197] DC: DF3/1/6, Summary of Accounts, 1773-1810; DC: L/95/10, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1780-1810.

[198] DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1794, 1796-1797; DC: AS/1066-1076, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1784-1795.

the master of the house.[199] As a result, marriage was viewed as a life-event which ended an individual's time in service, a point most emphasised by the life-cycle model.[200]

Table 3: Length of time Chatsworth servants were employed by the dukes of Devonshire

Length of Service	Number of Male Servants in Sample (1712-1811)	Percentage of Male Servants Sample	Number of Female Servants in Sample (1712-1811)	Percentage of Female Servants Sample
0-5 years	53	38.4	27	52.9
6-10 years	25	18.1	14	27.45
11-15 years	12	8.69	3	5.88
16-20 years	12	8.69	5	9.8
21-30 years	16	11.59	2	3.9
31-40 years	11	7.97	0	-
41-50 years	7	5	0	-
51-60 years	2	1.4	0	-
Total	138		51	

Sources: See Appendix Three, p. 314.

Table 3 suggests that many of the Chatsworth female servants followed this pattern and left the duke's service upon marriage. In contrast, male servants remained employed on the estate after their marriage because it was not viewed as a threat to their master's authority. The environment of the country estate further contributed to this largely stable, well-established

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[199] Philippa Maddern, ''In myn own house': The Troubled Connections between Servant Marriages, Late-Medieval English Household Communities and Early Modern Historiography', in Susan Broomhall and Stephanie Tarbin (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 45-46.

[200] John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System' in Richard Wall, Jean Robin and Peter Laslett, *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, pp. 65-104.

workforce because estate villages provided locations where male servants could form their own household units with their wives and children. While the country estate provided some servants with the opportunity to form their own household unit which enabled male servants to be both householder and servant, the country estate was not the only place where married servants were employed. Philippa Maddern has found there was no link between married servants and aristocratic households; instead her study concluded that married servants were more common in the houses of the clergy or the middling sort.[201] Similarly, in his study of London service, Meldrum found 8.5 per cent of female servants were married and a further 9.2 per cent were widowed.[202] Therefore, the experience of the Chatsworth servants was not an anomaly.

The stability provided by the country estate can be further seen when the Chatsworth servants are viewed in comparison to their counterparts at Devonshire House. Table 4 shows the length of service of the individuals who appeared in the Devonshire House accounts between 1744 and 1811. The table reveals that 44 male servants from a total 221, less than 20 per cent, remained in the duke's service for over ten years. This was less than half the percentage calculated for the male servants at Chatsworth. The percentage of female servants who remained in employment at Devonshire House for over ten years was also lower than at Chatsworth and accounted for 13 per cent of the female workforce, a total of 20 of the 154 female servants.[203] The higher turnover of servants in London reflected the greater number of opportunities available in the urban environment and was suggestive of the difficulty servants could have in accommodating their families close to their place of work.[204] The number of servants who left after a year at Devonshire House accounted for 25 per cent (ninety-five individuals) of all servants employed in the household.[205] At Chatsworth the ratio was much lower with only 11 per cent of servants (twenty servants) leaving after a year.[206] The long-term nature of service characterised a large proportion of individuals' experiences of

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[201] Maddern, 'Servant Marriages', p. 52. Also see Simonton, 'Birds of Passage', p. 216.

[202] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 18.

[203] DC: C/166/A, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1776-1779; DC: C/166/B, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1780-1789; DC: C/166/C, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1789-1796; DC: C/166/D, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1797-1804.

[204] Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible'; Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Service*.

[205] DC: C/166/A, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1776-1779; DC: C/166/B, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1780-1789; DC: C/166/C, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1789-1796; DC: C/166/D, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1797-1804.

[206] DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1794, 1796-1797; DC: AS/1067-1076, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1785-1795.

employment at Chatsworth which was attainable, in part, due to sense of autonomy granted to male servants who were able to progress through stages of the life cycle while still remaining in service.

Service has often been viewed as a life stage, a form of work which individuals did for only a short period of their lives. This concept has been further emphasised by historians' focus on life-cycle service which described service as an employment completed by adolescents which ended upon their marriage. Kussmaul has suggested that around 60 per cent of the servant population were aged between fifteen and twenty-four and formed part of this category which has led Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos to describe domestic service as the 'most formative' stage of a woman's life.[207] Through a study of baptism registers I have found the dates and locations of the baptisms of 88 of the 189 servants employed at Chatsworth between 1712 and 1811.[208] These registers reveal that the term 'life-cycle servant' was not applicable to many of the servants at Chatsworth. The percentage of servants who started work at Chatsworth after the age of twenty-four was 52 per cent, forty men and eleven women, while 71 of the 88 servants worked on the estate beyond the age of twenty-four. Chatsworth was not alone in employing older servants who were sought after because of the experience they brought with them. Meldrum found that 15.8 per cent of the female servants in London between 1715 and 1752 were aged thirty and over and 5.1 per cent were aged over forty.[209] Similarly, D.A. Kent found a significant number of older women in service in London, in her study of female service she found that 38.3 per cent were aged over thirty and 10 per cent were over fifty years old.[210] The higher age of the servants at Chatsworth might be attributed to a desire by the duke to employ skilled workers but the continued presence of servants, in particular male servants, well into their midlife suggests that one of the greatest benefits of working on the country estate was not the paternal relationship formed between master and servant but instead the opportunity to form parental relationships of their own.

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[207] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 3; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence*, p. 155.
[208] Baptisms (PR) England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).
[209] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 18.
[210] Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible', p. 115.

Table 4: Length of time Devonshire House servants were employed by the dukes of Devonshire

Length of Service	Number of Male Servants in Sample (1744-1811)	Percentage of Male Servants in Sample	Number of Female Servants in Sample (1744-1811)	Percentage of Female Servants in Sample
0-5 years	129	58.4	113	73.4
6-10 years	48	27.1	21	13.6
11-15 years	18	8.1	8	5.2
16-20 years	8	3.6	8	5.2
21-30 years	10	4.5	3	1.9
31-40 years	6	2.7	0	-
41-50 years	2	0.9	1	0.6
51-60 years	0	-	0	-
Total	221		154	

Sources: See Appendix Three, p. 314.

Historians have often characterised long-term service as synonymous with promotion in the servant hierarchy and have used the term 'career servant' to describe those who remained in service beyond the age of life-cycle service.[211] Jessica Gerard used this term to define those who spent their lives in service 'working their way up to the rewards of being an upper servant' and thus equating a servant's longevity with their aspiration for promotion.[212] However, the Chatsworth accounts show the long service of many individual was rarely the result of promotion. Between 1712 and 1811 only six servants were promoted within the household at Chatsworth. While there were opportunities for promotion in the family's network of properties, these numbers also remained low with only eight Chatsworth servants moving to another of the family's other properties for promotion between 1712 and 1811 and a further five moving to take on the same or similar work with no monetary increase.

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[211] Simonton, 'Earning and Learning', p. 377.
[212] Gerard, *Country House Life*, p. 164.

Altogether this resulted in 14 of the 189 Chatsworth servants recorded during this period receiving a promotion. Therefore, the long-term service of many servants, as shown in Table 3, was in spite of the limited potential for promotion rather than because of it. Occupational promotion was not the only motivation for remaining in service and the term 'career servant' is not an appropriate definition for all those who remained in service after the age of twenty-four. As the number of promotions was low at Chatsworth, and the mean length of time it took for a servant to receive a promotion was 9.2 years, the decision behind a servant's choice to remain in the duke's employment was made in conjunction with other aspects of their lives, a theme which will be examined in further detail in the next chapter.[213] Instead, Laslett's term 'lifelong or lifetime servants' offers an alternative approach which does not define the longevity of servants by an individual's desire for a career but simply by their long service.[214] In several cases this term was accurate. Of the 189 servants who served on the estate for the period of this thesis fifty-four of them have been found in the burial registers for the parish of Edensor, eight female servants and forty-six male servants.[215] Only 15 of the total 54 were identified as being baptised in Edensor and therefore the increase in numbers reveal many of the duke's servants found a place on the estate for the rest of their lives. The circumstances of these servants show that the title of 'servant' encompassed a wide range of experiences and showed that, for many, service could form a significant part of their lives even when promotion was not possible.

An examination of the number, gender and age of servants recorded by the accountant under the heading 'Servants Wages and Board' has revealed that this was a group of diverse individuals who were employed in service at various points of their lives. This initial analysis of the composition of the duke's household reveals it encompassed individuals who could be defined as life-cycle servants and those for whom service was a life-long occupation. This section has also suggested that the environment of the country estate played a role in why an individual chose to remain in the duke's employment. Although it is difficult to directly compare the Chatsworth household to other country properties owned by elite families, the examples found suggest that the permanent servant body employed at Chatsworth shared similarities with elite households rather than aristocratic households. Therefore, the

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[213] See Chapter Two, pp. 111-122.

[214] Laslett, 'Institution of Service', pp. 57-58.

[215] DRO: M/39 vol. 1, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Burials 1726-1812; Monument and gravestone inscriptions in Edensor Churchyard, http://www.thrower.org.uk/edensor/frames.htm (last accessed 14th June 2019).

experiences of servants at Chatsworth were not necessarily limited to aristocratic households. This chapter will now turn to examine in more detail the similarities and differences between the individuals labelled in the household accounts as servants and how their experiences compared with those of casual labourers. In doing so, this chapter will examine the broader question of how precise historians can be when defining 'servants' by their work.

Bed and Board

As the introduction to this chapter showed, where an individual lived and slept were crucial factors when it came to defining who was understood to be a servant for both contemporaries and historians.[216] Douglas Hay's work on early modern law has shown that the legal position of servants distinguished them from labourers because of their residence in their master's household.[217] Providing accommodation and sustenance for servants was especially important because servants were viewed as dependants and the age and unmarried status of many servants meant they were reliant on their master and mistress for these needs. Living in a master's house was the most common means through which a servant's basic needs were fulfilled because masters and mistresses acted *in loco parentis*. The paternalistic nature of service was reinforced by this social relationship and was also an aspect of service which made their position distinct from casual labourers who did not receive the same formal care and remunerations. While these perquisites have been regarded as restricted to servants, landowners like the dukes of Devonshire also had obligations to their tenants which were similarly based in paternal responsibilities. In these instances, the payments and charity given to tenants and casual labourers could bear close resemblance to those given as part of the servant's contract. The following section will examine how the provision of accommodation and nourishment was experienced by the servants at Chatsworth and the extent to which this was a factor which distinguished them from other workers on the estate.

Lodgings

Providing accommodation for servants within the house was, in many cases, a practical solution for both master and servant. For employers, it meant servants were on hand at all times of the day or night to response to the family's needs and meant the physical and spiritual welfare of servants could be closely supervised. For servants, living-in had

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[216] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 135; Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*, pp. 2-3; Laslett, *World We Have Lost*, pp. 2-3; Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 213-214. See Chapter One, pp. 49-50.
[217] Hay, 'Law and Its Uses', p. 63.

substantial economic value, especially when combined with board wages, because it meant servants were more protected from the cost of accommodation and food. In their study on women's wages, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf found that the monetary value of board and lodgings were worth 'considerably more' than the wages paid to the same individuals.[218] While living-in meant a servant's basic needs were met, there were also negative implications to boarding because it left servants vulnerable to physical and sexual assaults from their master or other members of the household.[219]

While definitions of the term 'servant' emphasised the importance of residence, at Chatsworth living-in was the minority experience for servants and instead the majority of servants lived in the estate village of Edensor. In 1719, five of the 14 servants listed in the household accounts were recorded as living out, including the warrener, the underkeeper, the husbandman and the pasture tenant for Cracknowls, a nearby wood. In 1736, 10 of the 13 servants employed that year lived out, including the married couple of the dairy maid and huntsman: eight households paid rent to the duke and were named in the rental account while gardener, James Broussard, lived in the cottage provided for his use.[220] The roles of these servants show that living out was not a practice restricted to upper servants as has been suggested by Jacob Fields.[221] The servants who lived out did share similar characteristics: the vast majority were male servants who worked in outdoor spaces. Female servants were able to live outside of the duke's household but the practice was restricted to specific, limited circumstances which were dependent on their seniority and marital status. In 1740, the two female servants listed in the rental accounts were the housekeeper, Mrs Potter, who rented land on the estate, and Jane Hackett, the dairy maid, who continued to rent the property she had shared with her deceased husband. The death of the male housekeeper in 1735, and the subsequent employment of a female housekeeper, meant residency in the house was no longer morally dubious and the practice of female servants living-in became less problematic. This is shown by the increase in the number of servants who lived in the house and after Jane Hackett's death in 1743, none of the maids were listed as renting on the estate. In 1788, when

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[218] Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *Journal of Economic History* 75:2 (2015), p. 414. Also see Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible', pp. 118-123.

[219] Flather, *Gender and Space*, pp. 71-72; Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 2003), pp. 62-67; Laura Gowing, 'The Twinkling of a Bedstaff: Recovering the Social Life of English Beds 1500-1700', *Home Cultures* 11:3 (2014), p. 299; Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 100-110.

[220] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741; DC: C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1732-1759.

[221] Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', p. 255.

the number of female servants employed at Chatsworth was at its height for the period of this thesis, all of the six female servants listed in the household accounts lived in.[222] In the same year, the number of servants living out had also increased with 17 of the 28 servants employed in 1788 recorded as living in Edensor.[223] When servants did live out they were not confined to a specific area of the estate. Figure 4 shows the location of the properties rented by servants in the village in 1785 and reveals that servants were scattered throughout the village and were neighbours to non-servant tenants on the estate.

Although the practice of living-in did not unite all the servants employed by the duke, it did appear to be a practice restricted to those who had a position as a servant. This can be seen by the limited circumstances in which individuals who were not the duke's servants were accommodated for at Chatsworth. Records show that the family did provide accommodation in their property for servants from different households. William Gould, the 3rd Duke of Portland's land agent at Welbeck Abbey, stayed overnight in the house on several occasions when he came to discuss business or socialise with the servants and residents on the estate.[224] However, when the estate employed skilled labourers who travelled from further afield they were not accommodated at Chatsworth and instead were accommodated for in the village inn at the expense of the duke. The innkeeper, Philip Melton, was paid several times for lodging the rat catcher including in 1780 when he received 18s 5d for the labourer's 'Board & Ale' and again in 1782 when he was paid £1 3s 4d for his expenses.[225] The gamekeepers and hare hangers who were not permanently employed on the estate and instead brought in for the hunting season were also accommodated for at the inn in the same manner.[226] The duke's provision for casual labourers in the village inn suggested that strangers were not encouraged to stay overnight in the house. William Gould's experience was different to these labourers because he was a servant. Servants were expected serve their master's interests and by entering into employment a bond was formed between master and servant which was, in part, based on trust. Although he was not the family's servant, Gould's status and his servant contract meant he received the paternal support which was also provided to the duke's own servants.

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[222] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 139.

[223] DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788.

[224] Diary of William Gould, 1783-1795 (Privately printed), 14th January 1786, 26th January 1787, 25th April, 3rd October, 24th October 1789, 24th April 1790.

[225] DC: C/14/13, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 1782.

[226] DC: AS/1333, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1780.

Figure 4: A 1785 map of Edensor village showing the location of properties and attached land rented by servants in the same year. Several properties contained more than one household. Chatsworth is not present on this map of the village but is located off the right-hand side of this image. The largest plot depicted in red and closest to Chatsworth was rented by the duke's steward. *Source*: DC: M/2581, Map of Edensor, c. 1785.

Over the course of the century the increasing number of servants who lived out at Chatsworth was part of a wider trend across the eighteenth-century which witnessed a general decline in servants' residency in their masters' household. Jacob Fields and Deborah Simonton have found that towards the end of the eighteenth century employers increasingly favoured the employment of charwomen and day servants over live-in servants because the former were cheaper and offered a family more privacy, especially in smaller households where there were greater restrictions on space.[227] Despite the decline in residency, masters could ensure they still remained connected to their servant by providing paternal support through

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[227] Simonton, 'Birds of Passage', pp. 214-218; Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', p. 267.

alternative methods. Cathryn Spence has found evidence that there was still an expectation that employers would help to find suitable accommodation for their servants if they were living out and contribute to its cost.[228] At Chatsworth, there is no evidence to suggest that live-out servants paid a reduced rent to the duke and it was only in exceptional circumstances that servants' rent was paid for by the duke himself, as was the case for Mary Hackett who received the use of a farm on the estate with the annual rent paid for by the duke as a gift upon her retirement as housekeeper.[229] However, there were other ways in which the family's paternal responsibility could be translated to those who lived outside of the house. Sara Pennell has shown that heating was part of the provisions provided by paternal figures; just as maids were provided with blankets in their rooms as a source of warmth, Pennell found that the provision of coals was a means through which parish officials could share a similar feeling of heat and comfort in an individual's own home.[230] The duke used this practice of giving coals to share an aspect of paternal care with his live-out servants. The 1728 household account recorded the steward, a groom, the keeper and the dairy maid all given a yearly annuity of between thirty and forty loads of coal and similar entries were annual occurrences which prevailed for the majority of the century.[231] By the end of the century, the form of this allowance had changed. Rather than a physical presentation of coal, the allowance was increasingly given in the form of the equivalent sum of money: in 1793 the park keeper, James Grove, was paid £1 5s for an 'annual allowance in lieu of coals' and stallion groom, William Pleasance, was paid £3 3s 6d 'in lieu of boots, breeches and coal' for the year.[232] The gift of money meant the paternal tradition continued over the course of the whole century, however, the payment of the annuity as money rather than as actual coals meant the paternal origins of the allowance became detached from it. This allowance shows a paternal bond remained a key aspect of the master-servant relationship but, by the end of the century, the form of this perquisite took on more contractual elements, thereby showing paternal and contractual forms could exist at the same time.

Gifts from the duke did not distinguish servants from tenants and labourers because provisions of charity were also given by the duke to the labourers on his estate. However, there was a distinction between the support the duke provided for his servants and that which

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[228] Cathryn Spence, *Women, Credit, and Debt in Early Modern Scotland* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 166-167.

[229] DC: C/11/11, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1704.

[230] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 62.

[231] DC: AS/448, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1727-1728.

[232] DC: L/91/8/1, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth accounts, 1793.

he offered to labourers. When labourers were in need of assistance they were often paid in the form of a weekly allowance rather than a material allocation of coal like the servants.[233] This allowance was different to the monetary gifts the duke gave to his servants because the duke did not specify what the labourers' allowances should be spent on. The difference between these payments reveal that servants were not granted the same level of freedom by the duke or his steward as was given to labourers. This reflected the difference between who governed the work of servants and labourers: a servant's labour belonged to their master on whom they remained dependent on for the majority of their needs, in comparison, a labourer retained ownership of their work and were more independent than the servants.[234] The importance of control can be seen in other forms of perquisites masters gave to their servants. Urvashi Chakravarty has argued that the wearing of livery was a visible representation of a servant's contract with their master and a statement of the contradictory experience servants had of freedom which combined 'liberty and servitude, consent and constraint'.[235] These examples show that servants did have the ability to freely give their labour, as opposed to slaves, but their subservience to a master remained present in many of their interactions. The gifting of coal to tenants was not absent from the estate altogether but was a form of assistance provided by the parish overseers.[236] These allowances show residents on the estate had other networks of support open to them beyond the duke. Often these two forms of support, the duke and the parish, were used in conjunction with each other by the same individuals, such as the labourers Alice Booth and Mary Bradley who appear in both accounts.[237] Coal allowances were used in a similar manner as accommodation in Chatsworth because both were specific perquisites given only to servants. The focus on warmth and comfort in the allowances granted by the duke were a form of paternalism only directed towards his servants. The emphasis on these aspects also allowed the duke to exert a form of control over his servants which he could not, to the same extent, extend towards the labourers.

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[233] In 1728, Elizabeth Bradley, Mary Barker, Elizabeth Vickers, Elizabeth Wind, Mary Smith and Jane Heward were all given a weekly allowance which lasted 52 weeks. Elizabeth Bradley and Mary Baker were given 1s 6d a week while the rest received 12d a week. DC: AS/448, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1727-1728.

[234] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 181.

[235] Urvashi Chakravarty, 'Livery, Liberty, and Legal Fictions', *English Literary Renaissance* 42:3 (2012), p. 366. Also see Elizabeth Rivlin, 'Service and Servants in Early Modern English Culture to 1660' in *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2005), pp. 25-28; Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws*, p. 425-427.

[236] Derbyshire Record Office (hereafter DRO): D1192/A/PO/1, Parish account book, including overseers', churchwardens' and headboroughs' accounts, 1794-1828.

[237] *Ibid*., 30th March 1796; DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

Living-in was not a universal experience for the servants at Chatsworth. It was, however, a practice which did distinguish servants from casual labourers on the estate. Because male servants increasingly lived in the estate villages rather than in the duke's house, living-in was a form of accommodation which did more to distinguish female servants from female casual labourers rather than distinguish servants from labourers in general. Living out did not mean servants were distanced from the duke's control; the duke was still able to exert his authority and governance over the actions of his servants because they resided in properties owned by him and he chose how they received their perquisites. As servants did not receive a complimentary property from the duke or a reduction in the cost of their rent, the experiences of servants who lived out shared many similarities with the casual labourers employed at Chatsworth who were also tenants on the estate. The means through which the duke provided charity payments reveal that paternal principles still formed part of the relationship between the duke and the servants who lived out. However, the change in the allowance from physical coals to their monetary equivalent meant that, in practice, servants and the labourers may have acknowledged little difference between this perquisite and the gifts of money the duke gave to his tenants. This section has shown that defining servants by their residency in a master's household leads to only a partial view of service which focuses on life-cycle servants and female servants rather than encompassing the range of experiences servants had.

Board

Accommodation was not the only basic necessity employers were expected to provide for servants; food provisions were also part of the parcel of perquisites. Board wages were paid separately to a servant's annual wage and were given in lieu of food in the absence of their master.[238] This allowance was a means of securing a servant's labour for the duration of this absence because it meant servants were able to purchase foodstuff in the absence of their master. Board wages caused recurring debates amongst early modern commentators: to some they were viewed as a negative aspect of service because they allowed servants to become too independent from their masters, others argued that they were a positive as they allowed the household to be run in a more economical manner.[239]

The practicalities of the payment of board wages are difficult to uncover as specific details about how and where servants purchased food rarely survives. There is also little surviving

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[238] Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Wages of Women in England', p. 414.
[239] Hill, *Servants*, pp. 70-71.

evidence about how servants chose to use their board wages although servant memoirs suggest servants combined their resources and ate meals together, such as at Eden Hall where the first footman prepared the meal for the rest of his fellow menservants.[240] On country estates, board wages were not restricted to the servants who lived in the household. Little is known about the extent to which these servants would have eaten with the servants who lived in the house but instructions written by the Marquis of Kildare suggest that at his property, Carlton House, live-out servants in receipt of board wages did not eat communally with the servants who lived in.[241] The board wages at Chatsworth were paid in a similar arrangement to other eighteenth-century households. The household followed the practice of grading board wages depending on a servant's gender and the nature of their work with what were deemed to be more physically demanding jobs paid more.[242] Writing in *The London Adviser* in 1786, John Trusler encouraged employers to pay upper servants a board wage of 10s 6d a week and 7s a week to under servants.[243] This division was a practice used at Chatsworth and created a gulf between the experiences of upper and lower servants, and male and female servants. In the 1720s, the dairy maid received 2s 6d a week for her board wage while the male housekeeper and a groom were paid 7s a week.[244] By 1794, the range of board wages paid to servants had increased: housemaids received 4s a week, the gamekeeper was given 5s, the porter 6s and the housekeeper 7s a week.[245] Away from the premiums of living in the capital and the competition of other households, Chatsworth often paid amounts below Trusler's recommended sums although certain servants in the stables such as the duchess's groom and the hunting groom were paid 10s 6d a week in board wages as a mark of their status in the servant hierarchy, the importance of their work and an allowance for a diet which met the demands of their roles.

Household manuals and conduct literature rarely included specific instructions to employers about which servants should or should not be in receipt of board wages which suggests that a master had the power to decide whether a servant received board wages and if so, how much.

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[240] Charles W. Cooper, *Town and Country, or Forty Years in Private Service with the Aristocracy* (London, 1937), p. 26; Annie Gray, 'Broccoli, bunnies and beef: supplying the edible wants of the Victorian country house' in Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann (eds), *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (Swindon, 2016), p. 169; John Macdonald, *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman* (Abingdon, 1927).

[241] Terence Dooley, 'Copy of the Marquis of Kildare's Household Book, 1758', *Archivium Hibernicum* 62 (2009) p. 194.

[242] D. A. Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible', p. 123.

[243] John Trusler, *The London Adviser and Guide: Containing Every Instruction and Information useful and necessary to Persons Living in London and coming to reside there* (London, 1786), p. 48.

[244] DC: AS/446, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1725-1726.

[245] DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1794, 1796-1797.

At Chatsworth, board wages were not given to all servants, however, the division between those who received a board wage and those who did not was not influenced by whether a servant lived-in or out of the duke's household. Nor was the division as straightforward at Chatsworth as Jacob Fields has suggested when he proposed that senior servants who lived out would have paid for their own board and lodgings.[246] While the absence of board wage payments might suggest that these servants were travelling, the limited travel expenses paid to them shows this was not the case. Of the seventeen servants employed in 1723, eight were listed as receiving board wages including the housekeeper, the dairy maid, and at least four grooms.[247] The nine servants without board wages included two gardeners, three keepers, the husbandman, the pasture tenant and the warrener. These servants worked in the gardens and parkland and were further away from the house than those who were in receipt of board wages. The location of a servant's work rather than their place of residence appeared to influence which servants were in receipt of board wages and this division remained in the household accounts into the middle of the century. This may suggest that certain servants ate together because it was those who worked closest to the servants' hall who were provided with board wages. This division also emphasised the difference which could exist between 'domestics' who worked around the location of the house and servants who worked in the estate's parkland in agricultural roles which could also have been performed by labourers. The giving of board wages to the former, and not the latter, underlined the dependency of domestic servants in an environment which was becoming increasingly occupied by female servants at Chatsworth.

The division in the experiences of servants who performed tasks which were also completed by workers outside of service and the experiences of servants who occupied roles associated with service is further shown in the absence of a board wage for Ralph Trotter, the upholsterer, in the final quarter of the century. Although much of his work was based in the house, including his workshop before it was moved to the stables in 1798, Trotter never received a board wage during the course of his thirty-year employment at Chatsworth. This was not a result of his high wage; although he was the second highest paid servant at Chatsworth on £80 per annum, the steward, the highest paid servant on the estate, did receive a board wage. Instead, much like the position of gamekeeper or pasture tenant, Trotter's role could also be undertaken by an individual who was not a servant. Trotter's work as an

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[246] Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', p. 255.
[247] DC: AS/449, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1723-1724.

upholsterer was a craft learned through an apprenticeship and this separated him from the rest of the servants employed by the duke who did not need to complete this level of preparation before taking on a role. While Trotter was still considered to be a servant in the eyes of the law because he was included in the servants for whom the family paid tax for, his additional training meant his role combined the position of a servant with that of a craftsman. While Trotter's place in the household accounts shows the 5th Duke employed him on a permanent basis, his apprenticeship, and the opportunities brought to him by his trade, meant that Ralph Trotter was involved in a form of work which meant he was less dependent on his master and the occupation of service than others in the household. The different experience of the two groups of servants was further emphasised when the steward stopped receiving board wages in the 1790s, at a time when the family desired to reduce their expenses at Chatsworth.[248] Like the upholsterer, the steward also had a role which required education and it was a position which was increasingly becoming professionalised over the course of the century, as the gentry increasingly chose agents and stewards from the ranks of lawyers rather than employing local men of standing.[249] Like the role of upholsterer, gamekeeper or gardener, the position of steward was increasingly being filled from skilled workers who had undertaken a level of formal training before they were employed for these roles.

While these examples suggest that the duke and his agent were instrumental in deciding who received a board wage, the example of gamekeeper Thomas Burgoine suggests servants were able to exert some influence over the decision. When Burgoine started working for the duke in 1774 he was the first gamekeeper to receive a board wage at Chatsworth. His experience of board wages, which he received from the first year of his employment and throughout his service on the estate, was in contrast to the experience of the estate's other gamekeeper, George Vickers, who never received board wages during his twenty-eight years on the estate. While Vickers entered the duke's service in 1766, several years before Burgoine, both men were employed at Chatsworth at the same time. The different experiences of the two gamekeepers suggest that servants were able to exert a level of influence over certain aspects of their contract with the duke on an individual basis. It also shows that paternalism was not simply dispensed by a master or landowner; instead there was room for negotiation within

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[248] DC: CS5/795, Duchess Georgiana to Countess Spencer, 1787.

[249] Sarah Ann Webster, 'Agents and professionalisation: improvement on the Egremont estates c.1770 to c.1860', PhD thesis (University of Nottingham, 2011); Jeremy Moody, 'The Reeve's Tale: Past, Present and Future', in Carol Beardmore, Steven King and Geoff Monks, *The Land Agent in Britain: Past, Present and Future* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 25-29; Caroline Dakers, 'Land Agents: Fact and Fiction in the Long Nineteenth Century' in Beardmore, King and Monks, *Land Agent*, pp. 73-76.

this dynamic relationship. Steve Hindle has argued that paternalism was mediated through 'personal and intimate' interactions between individuals and Burgoine's case suggests that the actions of the duke could be changed by the personal circumstances of his servants.[250]

Understanding how servants used these board wages in practice is difficult to know from the records which survive at Chatsworth. It is not possible to discern from the household accounts if the servants who lived on the estate with their families pooled their resources with the servants in the house and ate with them in the servants' hall or if they used the monetary allowance to buy their own household food which they ate as a family. While board wages had been associated with servants, the practice was not restricted to them. At Chatsworth they were also used as a replacement for wages; in 1726, two boys who had been helping in the stables were not paid a wage but instead given a board wage of 4s a week for the twenty-one weeks they were employed, similarly Mrs Marsden, a temporary housekeeper, received a board wage for the several months she worked in the house rather than a wage.[251] This practice was reminiscent of the payment of apprentices who, as indentured servants, received accommodation and food but were not paid a wage.[252] Payment of a board wage to labourers was an acknowledgement of the consistency of their labour and their work alongside the permanent servants. Board wages were most often paid to those who fulfilled roles which were closer to the immediate sphere surrounding the country house. The absence of servants who worked in the wider agricultural landscape or those trained in specific skills from this form of paternal perquisite suggests that the duke and his estate were regularly evaluating, and re-evaluating, which servants required support. While this may have been a way to save on household expenses, the division in who was deemed a dependant and worthy of this support and who was viewed as able to support themselves resulted in these provisions becoming detached from their original paternal meanings. The perquisites associated with a paternal master's duty of care like board wages did remain a crucial part of service throughout the century and both servants and masters were able to exert influence over who received the payment of perquisites and how. However, the provision of food, accommodation and other aspects of comfort were not universal factors of service and they did not completely differentiate between servant and labourer.

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[250] Hindle, 'Below stairs', p. 74. Also see Thompson, 'Patrician Society', p. 384.

[251] DC: AS/446, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1725-1726; C/22 Chatsworth Household, Husbandry, Stables and Domain Accounts, 1766-1774.

[252] Alysa Levene, ''Honesty, sobriety and diligence': master-apprentice relations in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England', *Social History* 33:2 (2008), p. 196.

Contracted Work

The formal contract was a key aspect of the relationship between servants and their master or mistress because it secured a servant's labour for a set period of time, most often for the period of a year, although half-yearly and monthly intervals also used this system.[253] Hiring servants for a yearly term was also enshrined in laws made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which distinguished servants, who were hired for an annual period and who lived with their masters, from labourers, who were hired by the day, lived out and could work for several employers.[254] In his 1786 guide to London, John Trusler also emphasised the yearly hiring of servants when he wrote 'all hiring without stipulation of time is, strictly speaking, hiring for a year, and the law so construes it'.[255] While employers were encouraged to have a written contract with their servants in order to avoid disputes over wages, contracts were most often verbal.[256] Therefore, while the contract was an important part of service, their survival is rare.[257] Their creation was not only for the benefit of the master; servants could also benefit from them as they provided protection from unfair dismissal. Trusler's guide stated that a contract meant a master was unable to dismiss a servant 'by reason of sickness, or any other disability by the act of God; nor may his wages for those causes be abated'.[258] Steedman has argued that the creation of a contract between servant and master also reinforced the notion that servants were 'not slaves' as both sides could add stipulations to the contract which had to be agreed to before it was accepted.[259] Jeremy Goldberg similarly argued that the contracted nature of service could provide servants with an element of authority as employers were 'obliged to bargain with persons inferior in terms of age and household status, and perhaps also in terms of gender and social status'.[260] The security which servants could find in contractual work was in contrast to day labourers who were employed by the day or task and could easily be dismissed when the work was finished or when the master's decided so.

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[253] Hayhoe, 'Rural Domestic Servants', p. 558; Donald Woodward, 'Early modern servants in husbandry revisited', *Agricultural History Review* 48 (2000), p. 141.

[254] Hay, 'Law and Its Uses', pp. 62-63.

[255] Trusler, *London Adviser*, p. 50.

[256] *Ibid*., p. 49; Goldberg, 'What was a Servant?', p. 11.

[257] Hay, 'Masters, Servants, and Magistrates', p. 66; Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry,* p. 4.

[258] Trusler, *London Adviser*, p. 50.

[259] Steedman, *Labours Lost,* p. 61.

[260] Goldberg, 'What was a Servant?', p. 10.

No written contracts survive for the servants employed by the dukes of Devonshire in the eighteenth century and no records of any verbal contracts remain in the archives. The household accounts suggest that Chatsworth did employ servants on yearly contracts as the majority of servants received their wages in one annual sum. The practice of annual wage payments remained until the death of the 5th Duke in 1811 and resulted in the practice remaining at Chatsworth for longer than other households which had become more flexible in their payment of wages, providing servants with half-yearly and quarterly wages.[261] The longevity of this type of contract at Chatsworth was a reflection of the long-term nature of service on the estate. Half-yearly wages were used at Chatsworth in a minority of cases and were usually paid to the roles most likely to be untaken by individuals for shorter periods of time like the housemaids and stable hands. This practice was more common at Devonshire House where the payment of wages reflected, and facilitated, the characteristics of service in London. The practice of paying wages half-yearly had been in place at Devonshire House since at least 1768 and was used to pay the vast majority of servants.[262] At Chatsworth, annual wages were most often paid to servants in charge of departments such as the housekeeper, gardener and gamekeeper and were a sign of those who were seen to be stable, permanent members of staff who were needed to oversee the running and management of the house and estate throughout the year. There is evidence to suggest that the payment of wages could be flexible to the needs of individual servants and the timing of payments could change to favour both master and servant. When the family spent more time at Chatsworth between 1800 and 1801 they were able to more closely monitor the household than they had previously and for these two years the housemaids, who had previously been paid half-yearly, were paid yearly.[263] The change also came at a time when the family were keen to make financial savings and did not want the burden of having to find new housemaids. The personal circumstances of a servant could also influence the payment of wages. Since the beginning of her service at Chatsworth in 1782, housekeeper Ann Grove had been paid her £15 wage in one yearly sum. In 1796, this changed to half-yearly following the death of her brother, the park-keeper on the estate, in January of that year. The event disrupted Ann's own stability on the estate and may have caused uncertainty in her employment which accounted for this change in her wages. The change to a more flexible payment appeared to be well

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[261] Joyce Burnette, 'The wages and employment of female day-labourers in English agriculture', *Economic History Review* 4 (2004), p. 676.
[262] DC: C/36, Devonshire House Household Expenses, 1750-1766.
[263] DC: AS/1066, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1784.

founded as in 1798 Ann left her position at Chatsworth. The payment of an annual or half-yearly wage was a characteristic of service at Chatsworth and across the country, but Ann Grove's case suggests that the interval at which wages were paid was not only decided by the master but could be also influenced by the servants themselves.

A servant's contract and the exchange of labour for a wage has been viewed as crucial to the definition of a servant because it suggested that a servant relinquished all their time and labour to their master. Peter Laslett has argued that an employer had 'complete control over the time and labour of servants'.[264] Leonard Schwarz has similarly argued that while the relationship between servants and masters was increasingly contractual, a servant's time did not need to be defined because it 'belonged to the master or mistress, who had no legal need to consider hours of work'.[265] The omnipresence of servants could be attractive to employers because it provided a workforce who was available at any time of the day or night for no additional expense.[266] However, the Chatsworth accounts suggest that a servant's contract did not encompass all the labour they performed and that there were limits to the duties which a servant in a specific role was expected to perform. The household accounts show servants were paid on top of their wages for additional work they completed which was deemed separate to the labour which was covered as part of their titled role. These additional responsibilities ranged from tasks which took place in the same location as their official work, such as the 6s paid to Jane Hackett, the dairy maid, in 1741 for killing rats in the dairy or the additional payments made to Henry Woodward, the pasture tenant at Cracknowls, for 'killing moles, mowing rubbish, gathering stone' and shearing sheep at Cracknowls.[267] Other tasks servants were paid for included more general duties around the house and estate and were undertaken interchangeably by both servants and day labourers. This included 'looking after the Great Clock' which in 1739 was completed by the huntsman, Robert Hackett, who was paid 12s for undertaking the task for twelve months while the following year it was performed by Anne Loton, a casual labourer, who received the same amount as Hackett for the task.[268] The position of watchman was also a role completed by both servants and casual labourers. In 1739 Abraham Broom, the husbandman, was paid for working 122 nights as a watchman alongside four other men who were not servants.

[264] Laslett, 'Institution of Service', p. 57.

[265] Leonard Schwarz, 'Custom, wages, and workload in England during industrialization', *P&P* 197:1 (2007), p. 156.

[266] Woodward, 'Early Modern Servants', p. 143.

[267] DC: C/22, Chatsworth Household, Husbandry, Stables and Domain Accounts, 1766-1774.

[268] DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1739-1743.

These additional payments made to servants reveal there were boundaries to the work expected of their named positions. Steedman has argued that having a good 'sense of what the job should and should not entail' was crucial when it came to defining servants as contractual workers, an emphasis which she attributes to the focus the servant tax placed on the specific types of roles in its definition of service.[269] The additional payments made to servants at Chatsworth show that both the duke and his servants recognised what was and, more importantly, what was not encompassed in their roles. These examples also show that, at Chatsworth, a servant's awareness of the labour specified by the position they occupied predated the introduction of servant tax which Steedman has viewed as the turning point. In the absence of documents relating to a servant's contract it is impossible to know if servants were made aware of the tasks which were considered to be a part of their roles and those which were deemed separate from the beginning of their employment on the estate. What the household accounts do suggest is that the nature of the country estate, which employed large numbers of casual labourers, may have aided servants' receipt of these additional payments. Paying servants for additional tasks was an acknowledgement that while a master may employ a servant and, in theory, have access to their labour at all times, it did not mean that all forms of work fell within the remit of a servant's role.

Payments for these additional tasks suggest that the difference between servants and casual labourers was less distinct than definitions of service have allowed for because both groups were able to manage aspects of their time in order to take on additional, sometimes profitable, tasks. At Chatsworth, there were other aspects of a casual labourer's work which had associations with service. In particular, the household accounts reveal that several labourers spent the year in employment to the duke, much like his servants. Annual employment for labourers could take two forms. For some, their time was spread across departments like Alexander Hibert, who worked 365 days across the gardens, brewery and house in 1739.[270] Many others spent their employment in a single, concentrated area such as Matthew Halksworth who was paid for 'working the ox team' for 365 days in 1800, John Bradley who spent the year assisting in the stud stable and Thomas Hawkins who spent 365 days with the husbandry team.[271] The focused nature of this work, their assignment, in many cases, to a single department, and their annual employment show how labourers could have a similar

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[269] Carolyn Steedman, 'A Boiling Copper and Some Arsenic: Servants, Childcare, and Class Consciousness in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Critical Inquiry*, 34:1 (2007), p. 63; Steedman, *Labours Lost*.
[270] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741, 1739.
[271] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

experience of work to servants on the country estate. However, the payment of their wages did continue to distinguish labourers from servants because the former often received their wages in quarterly allowances rather than a single yearly payment. The wages of labourers were also still calculated by a daily rate, even when they worked for the entire year, which led to them being paid irregular sums. For example Matthew Halksworth was paid £18 4s for his year's work with the ox team, a sum calculated at 7s a week, while George Pleasance was paid £21 5s 10d for 'assisting in the hack stable', a sum calculated at 1s 2d a day.[272] This was in comparison to the rounded sums paid to servants for their work which were calculated for the year rather than by the day or week.[273] As a result, the social and material worlds experienced by labourers during their work would have been similar to that of the servants but their monetary experiences of employment on the estate differentiated them.

While a servant's contract with the duke distinguished their wages from the day rate given to labourers, another form of contract on the estate, the rental lease, united the experience of the majority of servants and day labourers. Previous studies have noted how rental leases created an environment where tenants and farm servants' experiences shared several similarities; this chapter argues that several of these similarities also existed between the domestic servants at Chatsworth and the tenants on the estate.[274] When an individual signed a rental agreement they accepted a series of clauses which affected their rented land and the relationship they had with the estate. Alongside conditions about maintaining the land and specific instructions on the amount tenants could cut from the trees and hedges in their plots, the leases at Chatsworth also recorded a further duty which bound tenants to the country estate. This particular clause in the duke's leases equated tenants with service because rental leases stated a tenant 'shall and will from time to time during the said term upon reasonable notice and demand do and perform all such boons and services unto and for the said Duke, [and] his heirs'. The reason the leases gave for this clause was that such tasks 'have been formerly done and usually done and performed by the former tenants or occupiers of the said demised

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[272] *Ibid.*

[273] On the difficulty which annual wages caused for servants see Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', p. 262.

[274] Christopher Clay, 'Landlords and Estate Management in England' in Joan Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume V Part II* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 217-223; Colin Shepherd, 'Changing Tenurial Forms and Service Renders in the North East of Scotland between the Fifteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries: Evidence of Social Development, Capitalised Agrarianism and Ideological Change', *Rural History* 26:1 (2015), p. 56.

premises' which they had been 'heretofore accustomed to do & perform'.[275] Christopher Dyer has argued that leases in the medieval period were used to 'communicate tradition and obligation' with lords keen to keep a record of the obligation owed to them.[276] The wording of the leases at Chatsworth suggests that the duke was keen to continue this emphasis. They also show that the dynamic between paternal landlord and his tenants was still relevant into the eighteenth century because the duke continued to draw upon the manorial tradition which meant those living on the land were obliged to provide their labour to the lord of the manor.

The clause in the Chatsworth leases resulted in a large proportion of tenants working for the duke in some capacity. Of the ninety-five individuals listed as paying rent between 1732 and 1752, only five were not paid for undertaking some form of labour at Chatsworth during this period.[277] The size of a tenant's farm did not change the expectation that they would complete work on the estate but it did appear to influence the type of work a tenant did. The transportation of coals was a task completed by tenants who paid higher rents as it was a task which required the resources to move heavy loads but it was also a role which meant they were not working alongside their fellow tenants who were often paid to complete manual agricultural labour in groups.[278] The nature of these tasks, such as the carriage of fuel and gathering the harvest, echoed the types of work which tenants were obliged to perform as part of their service dues to the landowner as part of feudal law.[279] I. D. Whyte found in their study of landlord-tenant relationships in early modern Scotland that there was a similar continuation of feudal traditions with tenants involved in the carriage of coals and providing

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[275] DC: H/164/30, Counterpart of lease between Robert Marsden and the Duke of Devonshire, 1st November 1734; DC: AS/278, Lease from the Earl of Devonshire to Edmund Marsden of Baslow 16th December 1672; DC: H/373-375, Edensor Rental Leases, 1650-1731 in Documents relating to Edensor, 1595-1711.

[276] Christopher Dyer, 'The Language of Oppression: The Vocabulary of Rents and Services in England, 1000-1300' in Monique Bourin and Pascual Martínez Sopena (eds), *Pour une anthropologie du prélèvement seigneurial dans les campagnes médiévales (XIe-XIVe siècles): Les mots, les temps, les lieux* (Paris, 2007), pp. 72-79. Also see Andrew Hann, 'Labour policy and rental policy on the Ditchley estate, 1700-50: parallel paths of transition', in Elizabeth Baigent and Robert J. Mayhew (eds), *English Geographies 1600-1950: Historical essays on English customs, cultures, and communities on honour of Jack Langton* (Oxford, 2009), p. 79.

[277] Philip Riden and Dudley Fowkes, *Hardwick: a great house and its estate* (Chichester, 2009), p. 54. The transportation of coal to the family property was a requirement of the leases on the Hardwick estate during the 17th Century when Hardwick was used as the main property of the family when they stayed in Derbyshire. It does not explicitly appear as a requirement in the leases for villages on the Chatsworth estate.

[278] DC: C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1732-1759. John Bowering was paid for 'working with team' in the gardens in 1743 and again in 1748 for 'team work'. Gervas Heward was also paid for 'work with team in gardens' in 1744 and John Randle was paid for 'going with team on household account' in 1744.

[279] Dyer, 'Language of Oppression', p. 76; Shepherd, 'Changing Tenurial Forms', p. 56.

labour and resources for other tasks on the estate.[280] While Chatsworth tenants were in receipt of payment for this work by the eighteenth century, the duke's expectation remained that they would fulfil the labour needs of the estate. The importance of the local area and the labour of tenants to the running of Chatsworth can be seen in the percentage of the total household expense spent in the immediate area surrounding Chatsworth. In 1739, 48.4 per cent of all of Chatsworth's expenses were paid to individuals who either rented in the estate villages, paid rent to the duke in the three miles which surrounded the country house, or had a family connection to the estate.[281] The percentage remained high in the second half of the century and, in 1774, 52.4 per cent of expenses were paid to those associated with the estate.[282]

Although these workers were not categorised as servants in the household accounts, their employment on the estate was descended from the act of serving which was part of manorial traditions.[283] The labour of the estate's tenants invoked the social aspect of service, with their links to a paternal figure head and the perquisites they were given in the form of beer or charity gifts, but the absence of a contractual relationship with the duke and the security it could provide meant these individuals were not included in the servant wage lists in the household accounts. As Keith Wrightson has argued, 'masters might like to think of their employees as 'servants' when requiring their compliance but in a cold economic wind their own sense of personal obligation was prone to wither'.[284] Tradition remained a crucial aspect to how the work of estate tenants was understood because they continued to provide a service which was bound in centuries of custom. In contrast, the work of servants emphasised the waged aspect of their work which Steedman has viewed as a part of the developing contractual relationship between masters and servants.[285] The involvement of casual labourers in all departments on the estate demonstrated which tasks were solely the duties of servants and which could be completed by others. The payment of servants when they completed additional tasks suggested that a servant's position was increasingly defined by what it was not. This was in contrast to the rental contract signed by tenants which

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[280] I.D. Whyte, 'Landlord-tenant relationships in Scotland from the sixteenth century to modern times', in John Beech, Owen Hand, Mark Mulhern and Jeremy Weston, *Scottish life and society: a compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 9): The individual and community life* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 344-345.

[281] DC: C/13, William Barker's accounts, 1739; DC: C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1732-1759; DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth vouchers 1739-1743.

[282] DC: L/95/9, Chatsworth vouchers, 1776-1790.

[283] Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp. 209-210.

[284] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000), p. 326; also see Thompson, 'Patrician Society', pp. 382-383, referenced in Introduction, p. 25.

[285] Steedman, *Labours Lost*, esp. pp. 56-60.

acknowledged that a tenant's labour was expected by the duke but did not record in what specific capacity. At Chatsworth, the relationship between servant and master had become more defined over the course of the century than the relationship between landowner and tenant, as the former transitioned from the familial relationship of previous centuries to a relationship defined by enforceable aspects.

The performance of service

This chapter has so far shown that there were a variety of servant experiences which fell in-between the spectrum that had at one end live-in servants and at the other labourers who lived in their own houses. Similarly, the experiences of day labourers could also fall in different places on this spectrum as many workers at Chatsworth had comparable working experiences to the servants. Recalling his childhood in his *Handbook of Chatsworth* finished in 1844, the 6th Duke described a man called 'old John Barton, under-gardener, in his blue apron, who made us small hand fishing-nets'.[286] The position of undergardener had once been a servant role listed under the heading of 'Servants wages and board' in the first half of the century, but during the 6th Duke's childhood, and at the time John Barton was working at Chatsworth, there was no undergardener recorded in the household accounts. Instead of being recorded as a servant, John Barton was listed as a labourer on the estate. The household accounts and receipts also show that he was not one of the most consistent day labourers employed by the estate. When the number of days he worked can be established through surviving voucher records Barton appears only periodically throughout the year: in 1777 he was paid for working in the park for fifty-eight days and in 1800 he was paid for forty days repairing the river banks and fifteen hours mowing the rushes.[287] Under the 6th Duke, the definition of servant expanded to include those labouring in the gardens who came to be given the title 'gardener' as opposed to the description of 'labourer' which they received in the eighteenth-century accounts. By assigning a servant's role to John Barton, the 6th Duke might have been projecting the way he categorised his own estate onto his childhood memoirs but the misattribution of servant status to a casual labourer emphasised the grey area which could exist between perceptions of servants and casual labourers.

This ambiguity was most apparent in the descriptions of female casual labourers recorded in the household accounts who were paid for working in the house during the preparation for the

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[286] 6th Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook of Chatsworth* (Privately printed, 1845), pp. 161-162.
[287] DC: L/95/9, Chatsworth vouchers, 1776-1790; DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

family's arrival and their stay at Chatsworth. These women were recorded under the heading 'Disburs[e]ments upon the Household account' but were defined through the same term used to describe the women listed under the heading 'Servants wages and board'. In 1720, Amy Smith was paid 'for being housemaid 7 weeks & 2 days at 2s 8d a week' while Dorothy Strutt and Anne Meat were paid for 'being housemaid 7 weeks and helping to clean the house before his Grace came' and the practice for describing these women as housemaids continued on an almost yearly basis into the 1730s and 1740s.[288] These women were not the only female casual labourers who entered the house to work but the description of 'housemaid' was only attached to certain individuals. In the same year as Smith, Strutt and Meat were described as 'housemaid', three other women were paid for working in the house, kitchen and laundry but their labour was described by the task they completed such as 'helping in the kitchen' or 'helping to make up linen' rather than by the position of 'being housemaid'. Therefore, a labourer was required to do more than simply clean or undertake a specific task in the house in order to be considered a housemaid from the perspective of the accountant. The women who were described as housemaids shared several characteristics contemporaries viewed as defining female country house servants: they were local women who were unmarried and in their adolescence with all aged between fifteen and twenty-four. Ruth Ridgyard was seventeen when she worked in the house in 1738, her sister Sarah was eighteen when she appeared in the household accounts in 1741 and Ann Meat was aged twenty-two when she first appeared in the accounts in 1737.[289] The casual housemaids were also younger than the charwomen the estate employed which meant these women were closer in age to the annually-employed housemaids at Chatsworth.[290] The situation of these individuals was in contrast to other female day labourers who worked in the house. In the laundry, female labourers came from a much wider age range and included both unmarried and married women. The household accounts for 1739 show the range of women who were employed in this environment: Elizabeth Bradley was aged twenty-six and unmarried while Ann Lant was married and aged sixty-one.[291] The diverse nature of laundry workers was a result of the

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[288] DC: AS/452, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1720-1721.

[289] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741; DRO: M/38 vol. 10, Edensor Parish Church Registers 1539-1726, 8th May 1715.

[290] DC: AS/1070, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1788. Mary Food was sixty-three when she was paid as a charwoman in 1788.

[291] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741; DRO: M/38 vol. 10, Edensor Parish Church Registers 1539-1726, 14th May 1713; 'Ann Green', Baptisms (PR) Dronfield, Derbyshire. 5th February 1678. Source film no. 0428906,0498071. Collection: England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

previous tradition on the estate of sending laundry out of the house to local washerwomen because laundry maids only formed part of the family's travelling household. This changed in the 1730s when these casual working women entered the domestic space of the country house to perform the tasks rather than taking the laundry away from the house.[292]

The similarities in age and background between the housemaids and the labourers described as housemaids were not the only factors which invited the steward to make this comparison; the length of time labourers spent in the house was also important when considering how they were categorised. In 1738, Ruth Ridgyard was paid £2 6s 4d for 'helping clean the house, helping in the scullery, being housemaid 17 weeks' which meant she worked for the duration of the family's stay at Chatsworth.[293] In the same year, Ann Meat was paid 10s 2d for 'helping to clean the house before the family and after they returned', a role which did not see her defined as a housemaid after working either side of the family's time at Chatsworth.[294] The extended period of time Ruth Ridgyard spend working in the house can also be linked to the definition of the word 'being' which requires something to come into existence and is a process through which something develops into being over an unspecified amount of time. Yet there was more to the process of becoming a housemaid than simply entering the house to work on consecutive days. The time labourers spent working at the house before and after the family's arrival was not considered to be a part of the time an individual was considered to be a housemaid. This can be seen in the separation of these different times in the 1737 household accounts which recorded Dorothy Strutt and Ann Meat both paid for 'being housemaid 7 weeks *and* helping to clean the house before his Grace came [my emphasis]'.[295] Therefore, to be considered a housemaid, a labourer had to be working for an extended period of time while the family were present. The act of being known to the family, even in a theoretical way such as working in the house during their visit, provided casual housemaids with a contract-like approach to their work because it created a relationship, however limited, between the two parties. The experience of these women suggested that service could be a transient state which could be adopted without the formal process of creating a contract between master and worker. By working in the house at the same time as the family were present, these female casual labourers combined the act of service with the concept of a servant through the performance of a specific role.

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[292] Sambrook, *Country House at Work*, pp. 65-66.
[293] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1738.
[294] *Ibid.*
[295] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1737.

Early modern conduct literature showed that there was an acknowledged difference between servants and charwomen or laundresses. To Hannah Woolley casual female workers were untrustworthy and she advised servants to 'beware of gossip and charwomen, for they will misadvice you'.[296] Guides such as Woolley's *The Complete Servant Maid* show there was an expectation that servants would come into regular contact with these women and work alongside them; Jonathan Swift's satirical conduct book, *Directions to Servants in General*, published in 1745 included instructions to cooks about how charwomen should be managed in the kitchen.[297] While residency in their master's household distinguished the individuals who these texts described as 'servants' and those who were charwomen, the Chatsworth account books do not reveal if the casual housemaids resided in the house. Parish records reveal these women were baptised in villages either on the estate or close to Chatsworth and their work in the house suggests they were probably still residents of these areas at the time of their employment which meant they may have travelled from their homes each day to work at Chatsworth. Yet, the early start and long working hours required of housemaids may have made even the closest of journeys impractical. The casual housemaids were in receipt of higher wages than permanent housemaids; the former were paid at the rate of 4d a day while the latter received £3 a year, a rate of less than 2d a day.[298] The higher daily rate paid to casual labourers was the duke's acknowledgement of the cost of living outside of the country house. This may indicate that these women did not reside in the house but the use of the term 'housemaid' to describe them suggests that a certain type of relationship between the individual and the house was required in order to qualify for this term.

Giving a servant's occupational title to several casual female labourers was the steward's acknowledgment of their work but the practice was limited to female labourers. Men's work in the house was more piecemeal than that of the casual housemaids because it was generally undertaken before and after the family's stay, rather than during it. For example, in 1735 Robert Coulson was paid for 'for taking down the furniture in the house in October 1734 putting it up in april 1735' and in 1739, Constantine Sheldon was paid £1 15s 10d for 'helping furnish & unfurnish the house & helping to clean the house'.[299] When the account books did include titles for these men it was in reference to their occupations outside of the

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[296] Hannah Woolley, *The complete servant-maid or, The young maidens tutor Directing them how they may fit, and qualifie themselves for any of these employments* (London, 1677), p. 156.
[297] *Ibid.*; Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants in General* (London, 1745), p. 32.
[298] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741.
[299] *Ibid.*

tasks they completed for the duke: Robert Coulson was acknowledged as an upholsterer and Constantine Sheldon a baker.[300] These men had work roles separate to their labour at the country house which did not easily conflate with ideas of service, unlike the female labourers. The seeming ease with which female casual labourers were described as servants may have been a result of the status women's domestic work occupied in society which was considered to not contribute to the economy. Paula Humfrey has argued that the work of female servants was not described in the same way as men's work because women were often described by their marital status rather than the work they completed.[301] The term 'housemaid' was flexible because it could be applied to both resident, annually-paid servants and non-resident, non-permanent workers which reflected the lack of economic value attached to women's work. This can also be seen in the distinctions which were created in the legislation for a tax on male and female servants. The tax on male servants passed in 1777 targeted those who contributed to the luxury of elite lifestyles. It included grooms, valets and butlers and distinguished them from agricultural and manufacturing servants who were exempt from the tax. The legislation made a clear delineation between productive labour and labour employed for the purpose of displaying wealth and status by referencing specific occupations which were to be liable to the tax. Susan Brown has argued that the introduction of a tax on female servants in 1785 showed society's beliefs that female labour was not productive because it did not actively contribute to the economy. In contrast to the tax on male servants, there were no specific servant roles listed for inclusion or exclusion from the tax which resulted in all female labour classed as unproductive. The inclusion of all female servants in the tax was 'indicative of an attitude towards female domestic labour as unspecialised and undifferentiated'.[302] Ideas surrounding the productivity of female labour may have made it easier to describe casual female labour as service yet the specific circumstances in which the term 'housemaid' was used showed the importance of working in the house when the family were present. Therefore, being considered a 'servant' was not simply based on the task an individual did but it also required a relationship to exist between the individual and the master.

The use of the term 'housemaid' to describe casual labourers did not remain in the accounts for the duration of the century. Although the practice continued into the 1740s, by 1750 it had

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[300] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1741, William and Robert Coulson were paid for furnishing and unfurnishing the house in 1741, Robert was the upholsterer and William a relation.

[301] Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Servants*, p. 8.

[302] Brown, 'Assessing Men and Maids', p. 15.

disappeared from the household accounts and was replaced by the phrase 'helping in the house'.[303] This change in language predated the introduction of the tax on servants, which prompted the courts to more accurately define domestic service, but did coincide with an increase in the number of permanent female servants employed by the estate. Table 1 shows there were three female servants employed in 1750, a housekeeper and two maids. The changing structure of the Chatsworth household, although only small, meant the house was turning inward to focus on using its own resources and the labour of casual workers was not required to the same extent as it had been. The language used to describe the work of the female day labourers from the 1750s onwards further separated them from Chatsworth's permanent servants. In 1762, Jane Wynne was paid £4 2s 4d for 'helping in the house', in 1794 'Jane Bradley & others' were paid £5 5s to 'for assisting in the House' and in the 1798 accounts, the labour of twelve different women who worked in the house, in the kitchen, and in the laundry was hidden behind the entry, 'Thomas Cowley and others for assisting in the Kitchen & [ca] when their Graces were at Chatsworth £64 12s 2d'.[304] The description of these women bore similarities to the marginalisation of women's work that historians have seen taking place under the capitalist outlook promoted by the industrial revolution.[305] The continued presence of female labourers in day books and receipts suggested that there was not a restriction on the opportunities available to these women in the second half of the century. Instead, the terms 'assisting' and 'helping' restricted their labour to a supporting role within the house and ensured they were secondary to the servants. It was a language which distinguished them from permanent servants because it stressed the actions they were undertaking and placed them in an inferior position to defined roles which they supported.

While the work itself had not changed, the end of casual labourers being described in the same terms as servants suggests that there was an increased desire, at the very least by the steward who wrote the accounts, to separate the roles of servants and casual labourers. In her research on workers' sense of self, Shepard found that when husbandmen employed the term 'help' they used it to describe 'reciprocal obligation rather than wage relations'.[306] The term used in the Chatsworth account books might also have been used in a similar way to invoke

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[303] DC: AS/1082, Account of household disbursements, 1750-1751; DC: AS/1079, Account of household disbursements, 1744-1745; DC: AS/1080, Account of household disbursements, 1745-1746.

[304] DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1794; DC: AS/1076, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1795; DC: DE/CH/3/3/1, Chatsworth Day Book, 1798-1799.

[305] See Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family, 1790-1865', *Economic History Review* 48:1 (1995), pp. 89-117.

[306] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 167.

the concept of service which was found in the estate's leases rather than the position of servant which had legal implications. The decline in the use of servant titles to describe those who were not employed on a contractual basis took place as servants were increasingly conceptualised as workers, a position which would later be enshrined in law.[307] Carolyn Steedman has argued that servants came to be defined by their titles and their work by the end of the century because of legal definitions.[308] As a result, occupational titles like 'housemaid' may have been more important towards the end of the century than they had been in the first half.

Restricting servant roles to individuals who had been employed for an annual period suggests that paternal ideas of service were being displaced by a more legalistic framework. Matthew Woollard has argued this was the case by the time of the census in the nineteenth century when the definition of a servant in this document was based upon 'both the types of work carried out *and* the form of contract entered into'.[309] While Carolyn Steedman has argued that 'it was not what you *called* your employee that counted, but rather, what he *did*', the change in the language used to describe this group of female casual labourers suggests that the terms used to describe workers were important.[310] The restricted use the term 'housemaid' to apply only to the women who were contractually hired for a yearly term and who resided in their master's house shows that the definition of a servant was, to an extent, define in contrast to day labourers in the second half of the century. It also came at a time when the number of female servants employed at Chatsworth was increasing. Therefore, the term came to describe a specific, contracted type of workforce rather than a general action completed in the presence of the family.

Providing a significant amount of labour for a single master created conditions which, in many ways, replicated traditional forms of service because it created a relationship of dependency on a single person. Guidelines published after the male servant tax came into force also show how regular work for one individual could lead to a labourer being considered a servant. A guide published in 1781 classified a 'Day-Labourer' who was 'Paid by the week to work in a garden tho' he does other work, no regular gardener being kept' as

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[307] Steedman, *Labours* Lost, pp. 14-17.
[308] *Ibid.*
[309] Woollard, 'Classification of Domestic Servants', p. 3.
[310] Steedman, 'Servant's Labour', p. 27.

liable for the servant tax.[311] In contrast, a day labourer who was chiefly employed in husbandry and worked as a postilion for a number of different people was not liable to be taxed.[312] At Chatsworth, many of the casual labourers, although not defined as servants either by the estate or the law, were still reliant on the duke for a wage and had to wait, much like the servants, to be paid by the duke.[313] Shepard has argued that 'the boundary between living in service and depending on wage labour could also be readily collapsed' as even the labourer, who in theory was self-sufficient, was still dependent on their employers paying them in good time in order to maintain their autonomy.[314] The contract created between master and servant transferred labour from master to servant and was an acknowledgment that this work would be done in the name of the master, using his resources and on his property. Casual workers on the country estate were as much a part of the maintenance of the estate, and with it the Cavendish family name, as the servants were, although they did on occasion bring their own tools and resources.[315] The country house estate highlights the difficulty of separating servants from casual labourers because the estate was one of the biggest employers in the local area which drew upon paternal traditions and a refined accounting system to manage hundreds of workers and tradespeople.

Conclusion

Guidelines produced after the introduction of the male servant tax demonstrated the difficulty in identifying precisely who was considered a servant. The publication of *Appeals relating to the tax on servants; With the opinion of the judges thereon* in 1781 described those who qualified for the tax in the eyes of the courts through a range of terms; they were 'a real servant', 'a menial servant', 'a professional' gardener as appose to a 'jobbing one' but accessing what the realities of these terms meant for early modern people remains difficult for historians.[316] The range of servants listed as working in the country house reveal the variety of experiences which coexisted under the term 'servant'. This chapter has shown that

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[311] *Appeals relating to the tax on servants; With the opinion of the judges thereon* (London, 1781), p. 10.

[312] *Ibid*.

[313] Even though many of the labourers on the Chatsworth estate worked for the duke for the majority, if not all, of the year, they would not have been liable for the servant tax because they were employed in a place which already had servants performing these roles, as the guidelines stated a labourer who was 'Hired to work in a garden where an head gardener is kept' was not considered to be liable in the *Appeals relating to the tax on servants*.

[314] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 183.

[315] DC: L/95/9, Chatsworth vouchers, 1776-1790. Philip Melton was paid for labouring on the estate as part of a team of four men and two horses with a cart.

[316] *Appeals relating to the tax on servants*, p. 18, 20, 40.

while a group may have been united under one heading in the account books, their experiences of service could vary significantly. It has been difficult to define service by a single factor because a servant's experience of work was influenced by a wide range of interconnected factors, which at Chatsworth included where a servant slept and ate, the area of the estate in which they worked, the basis on which they were hired, and their individual circumstances. While residency in the duke's house was largely restricted to servants, it was not the majority experience at Chatsworth. Similarly, the duke's provisions of board wages and perquisites were most often associated with servants, yet the household accounts reveal they were not experienced by all servants. Instead, the factor which most closely united servants was the calculation of their wages, which were set by the year rather than the day or week.

Contrary to how servants were defined in theory, this chapter has shown that the experiences of servants and casual labourers were not necessarily at separate ends of the spectrum. Casual labourers were often part of the departmental identity which formed from working on the country estate because they were regularly present in the house, stables and gardens, sometimes for the whole year. Casual labourers were not considered to be servants on the estate but they did provide their service for the duke. They were expected to supply their labour because of where they were living and its manorial heritage rather than the creation of a specific contract between an individual servant and a master, although, by the eighteenth century, these expectations were enshrined in the rental agreement. Paternalism and tradition remained important in the lives of servants who benefited from the perquisites of board and coal but custom, built upon paternal tradition, was also the defining link between the labour of tenants and the country house. Many casual labourers experienced the social aspects of service but their economic experience differed from the duke's servants; servants received annual payments which were calculated for the year rather than the day rate paid more regularly to casual labourers. This distinction meant casual labourers and servants would have been aware of their differing status. While Gerard's four categories of servants grouped domestic servants and casual labourers together because they worked for the same master, this chapter has shown that these groups would not have considered themselves the same and nor did their master who restricted perquisites like board wages and coal allowances to a specific group. The contribution casual labourers made to country estates should not be overlooked but their inclusion in the same category as servants ignores the differences they

would have perceived between their own circumstances and the subordination and dependency of servants.

The variety of experiences servants had with regards to their accommodation, board and other perquisites show that while a master decided the specifics of these factors, servants were able to exercise limited agency within these areas. Servants were able to influence certain areas of their arrangement with the duke for their own benefit: living out provided servants with opportunities that would not have been possible within the duke's household and the move between yearly and half-yearly wages meant servants had increased flexibility in their relationship with the institution of service. These examples answer a critical question in this thesis because they reveal a servant's ability to adapt the management practices of the estate to fit their own needs which gave them limited agency to influence their working lives. While Cissie Fairchilds has argued that the creation of distance between master and servant meant service ceased to be patriarchal, this chapter has suggested that a master's paternal control took other forms.[317] The payment of a coal allowance, provided in various forms, enabled the duke to continue to give comfort to his servants even when they lived away from his own house and acted as a reminder of his omnipresence on the estate. In this context, perquisites became a strategy through which the duke could maintain his authority in his absence. As a result of the continued presence of these paternal perquisites in various forms over the course of the century, this chapter supports the conclusion of Tim Meldrum who argued that perquisites continued to form an important part of the relationship between servant and master.[318] Yet the examples at Chatsworth also suggest the need for a more nuanced approach to this argument. The type of paternal relationship the duke had with his servants depended on several factors including their position in the servant hierarchy, the nature of their work, and their level of education. The absence or removal of certain roles from the board wage lists may have been a practical choice for a master who wished to save money but it also showed the duke considered certain servants to be different to others he employed. Those who had undertaken apprenticeships or occupied roles which could also be the occupation of a labourer were viewed as having the ability to support themselves rather than being dependent on the duke. This was only a status granted to male servants, female servants continued to be viewed as dependants throughout the century.

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[317] Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*, pp. 16-17, 38-40, 158.
[318] Meldrum*, Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 125.

Understanding the complexities of defining service on the estate and the similarities and differences which existed between servants and casual labourers is important because it affected how these individuals presented themselves and interacted with others. Acknowledging that live-out servants shared many similarities with their non-servant neighbours will be important for subsequent chapters of this thesis as I turn to examine how servants interacted with the estate community. The multiple aspects of service examined in this chapter also suggest that a servant's position was negotiated through several different factors and individuals. Examining the multiple elements which went into an individual's employment will be important when this thesis turns to examine how servants described themselves in a public setting. This chapter has shown that there was no uniform experience for servants, even in a single household. However, the subsequent chapters of this thesis will show that it was in these areas of difference and ambiguity that servants were able to find limited agency to shape their time on the estate to benefit them.

Chapter Two: Servants and the Estate Community

The similarities between servants and tenants or servants and casual labourers discussed in the previous chapter showed these groups were not always as clearly defined as has been suggested in some historical scholarship. The opportunity for servants to live outside of their master's house meant that aspects of their lives closely resembled the experiences of the estate's tenants and the long-term employment of many servants meant they had the opportunity to forge lasting connections with the wider estate. These findings have important implications for this chapter, which turns to examine how a servant interacted with the local community, because they show that the country house and the country estate were not separate entities. Instead, they were spheres which many servants could easily move between on a daily basis as they travelled from their own house to the duke's house. This chapter questions Evelyn Lord's assertion that although domestic servants lived in a parish they 'were not necessarily part of the community' and instead 'formed a sub-culture of their own'.[319] While the previous chapter examined how the duke and his accountant conceptualised servants, this chapter will move beyond the master-servant relationship in order to locate servants within the wider estate. In doing so, it will examine how the local community conceptualised servants within the social and economic hierarchies present on the wider estate, and examine the extent to which the position of servant could impede or assist a servant's social life. This chapter will argue that an individual's place within the servant hierarchy did not directly correspond with their status in the estate community. The factors which influenced a servant's standing in the duke's household did not always operate in the same way in the local community because status on the estate was derived from a different source of authority. While the servant community was shaped by a vertical wage hierarchy, the estate community operated according to status derived from visibility on the estate, land holding patterns and the availability of income.

In order to examine the estate community, and the place of servants within it, this chapter brings together documents produced by the duke's officials, such as household and rental accounts, with manuscripts created by parish officials, including church registers and the overseer of the poor's accounts. By combining these sources this chapter aims to examine the position of servants within the local community in a way which a study of the manuscripts

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[319] Evelyn Lord, 'Communities of Common Interest: the Social Landscape of South-East Surrey, 1750-1850' in Charles Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, cultures and kinship, 1580-1850: cultural provinces in English local history* (Leicester, 1993), p. 142.

produced from the duke's perspective cannot accomplish alone. Alongside these sources this chapter will also draw upon the wills of servants and tenants in order to examine the community 'upwards from the ground level' rather than from the elite perspective which permeates the household accounts.[320] As documents which recorded the wishes of an individual and which were signed by witnesses often from the local area, wills are suggestive of the relationships an individual formed during their lives which cannot be witnessed in surviving administrative documents. Using sources created by estate residents in conjunction with those created for the landowner enables this chapter to examine some of the economic, social and moral capabilities of individuals within the community. The economic hierarchy will be explored through the memorandum books kept by the duke's steward and used when he was collecting the rents in the estate villages. This document also recorded some of the monetary loans between tenants on the estate and this chapter will examine the place of servants in these surviving credit networks. The parish registers provide a means of examining some of the social hierarchies on the estate. In particular, this chapter will examine the social position of servants at two points in their life cycle: at marriage and at death. Who an individual married and whether they were married by banns or license revealed much about their status in the community as did the people they chose to act as witnesses to their wills at the end of their lives. Finally, the moral hierarchy will be analysed through examining the individuals who were chosen by the principal tenants to act as overseers of the poor, a role given to individuals of upstanding character.

Examining the place of servants on the Chatsworth estate presents an alternative approach to previous studies which have emphasised the 'highly stable' nature of estate communities. Country estates have been characterised as closed communities which remained inward facing because landowning patterns followed the 'estate system' where property was owned by a landowner, rather than freeholders, who had control over the types of individuals residing in the area.[321] These factors created a community which had a more limited occupational pool than an open parish and whose lives were more heavily regulated by a landowner.[322] The Chatsworth estate did reflect elements of this type of parish; in 1788 there

[320] Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Introduction' in Phythian-Adams, *Societies, cultures and kinship*, p. 5.

[321] Comninel, 'English Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism', p. 36.

[322] Sambrook, *Country House at Work*, pp. 169-170; *Ibid.*, p. 156, 174; David Spencer, 'Reformulating the 'closed' parish thesis: associations, interests, and interaction', *Journal of Historical Geography* 26:1 (2000), pp. 83-98; Rob Lee, 'Death and the Jarvises: Public Space, Private Space and the Politics of Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Norfolk (and beyond)' in Fiona Williamson (ed.), *Locating Agency: Space, Power and Popular Politics* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010), pp. 197-198.

were only five freeholders, in addition to the duke, who owned property in the village of Edensor.[323] While the community in an open parish was formed from a growing population of freeholders who created a diverse economy fuelled by shopkeepers, tradesmen and craftsmen, the population of estate communities have been viewed as largely stable. In this type of community, the employment of servants and their subsequent residence on the estate provides the opportunity to examine how new individuals integrated themselves into a stable community. Therefore, by examining the methods servants used to interact with the wider estate and the characteristics which supported their bids to become members of it, this chapter contributes not only to the history of domestic service but also to community studies.

While official documents created for the duke often defined the geographical perimeter of the estate, the estate community at Chatsworth was characterised by more than just the physical area in which people resided. Bernard Deacon and Moira Donald have argued that while 'communities are found in localities' they are 'not synonymous' with them.[324] Instead, a community was produced by the people in a landscape and their exchanges within it which, in turn, created hierarchies, obligations and informed a sense of belonging.[325] This also meant that communities were not static, regardless of whether they were in a closed or open parish, because they were formed through interactions. Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard have warned historians against seeing community as formed through a set of 'consensual social relations' because communities could also be places of tension and conflict as local hierarchies were continually negotiated.[326] Tensions within a community were not restricted to simple divisions between opposing groups such as landowner and tenants or rich and poor; instead, hierarchies were based on many different factors including age, gender, wealth, religion, occupation and landholdings.[327] It was these complex hierarchies that servants had to learn to navigate during the course of their employment on the Chatsworth estate. This was continually exercised over the months and years an individual spent in service and the continual negotiation that an individual and their household had to do in order to secure their status in the community has led Deacon and Donald to argue that 'community is better

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[323] DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788.

[324] Bernard Deacon and Moira Donald, 'In Search of Community History', *Family & Community History* 7:1 (2004), p. 13

[325] Mills, 'Defining Community', p. 7.

[326] Phil Withington and Alex Shepard, 'Introduction: communities in early modern England', in Phil Withington and Alex Shepard (eds), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 3-6.

[327] Henry French, *The Middling Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, 2007).

viewed as a process rather than a place'.[328] From taking part in traditional customs and local festivals to adhering to a community's expectations on character, behaviour and morality, there were many actions in an individual's social and economic life which contributed to their place in the community.[329] As a result, Wrightson has argued that the parish community was 'one perennially defined and redefined by processes of inclusion and exclusion'.[330] Delineating the boundaries of the community was a crucial, if ongoing, task for contemporaries and by understanding how servants interacted with this process historians can gain a greater understanding of how this practice was managed.

The estate community at Chatsworth was formed from a diverse group of individuals who had different social status, economic power and occupations. At the top of hierarchy was the duke of Devonshire. While his role as landowner influenced several aspects of life on the estate, the duke was not involved in public office at a parish level which was instead the responsibility of the middling sort. This category encompassed a range of occupations and economic ability; Margaret Hunt defined the majority of middling-sort people as having an income which ranged from £50 to £2000 per annum and meant the category included individuals in commerce, professions such as law or education, and the clergy.[331] In rural areas, Joan Kent has argued that the middling sort mostly comprised of profitable farmers and better-off trades- or craftsmen.[332] On the Chatsworth estate, freeholders such as Captain Emmanuel Barker or the Reverend James Peake, who died in 1803 with probate of £5000, formed the higher echelons of the middling sort.[333] The Barker family, who had resided in the village since the 1500s, also formed part of this group with notable members of the family including two of the duke's stewards. Below this wealthier, more longstanding group was another section of the middling sort. While this group may not have shared the same economic capability as other members, they shared many similar social and moral

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[328] Deacon and Donald, 'Community History', p. 14.

[329] A. Walker, 'Feasting in a South Yorkshire colliery district: resistance and accommodation to customary change in Wombwell and Darfield, c. 1860-1900', *Family & Community History*, 4:1 (2001), pp. 5-18; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 216.

[330] Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 12.

[331] Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London, 1996), pp. 15-20.

[332] Joan Kent, 'The Rural 'Middling Sort' in Early Modern England, circa 1640–1740: Some Economic, Political and Socio-Cultural Characteristics', *Rural History* 10:1 (1999), p. 19.

[333] DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents' Survey, 1788; SRO: B/C/11, James Peak, Clerk, Edensor, 19th April 1804.

characteristics with them.[334] Kent has argued that involvement in the governance of the local community through parish office was a crucial means through which the diverse middling sort created and shaped the characteristics which defined them.[335] On the estate, the residency of farmers and craftsmen, whose businesses were not dependent on the income they received from work they completed for the landowner, meant that several households had the means to occupy this rank in the community if their businesses were successful. Labouring people, who took on work for others, occupied the social group below the middling sort and this was the group to which the majority of early modern society belonged. The duke's reliance on a workforce of day labourers at Chatsworth meant many who resided on the estate were employed in this form of precarious, informal labour. The inclusion of a poor house in the centre of Edensor village further highlights that this group were a visible presence in the local community.

The servants employed at Chatsworth also came from a range of social groups and the hierarchy of wages which existed in the duke's household meant that their ability to engage with the social, economic and material culture associated with certain groups was dependent on their place within the servant hierarchy and the wage they received. Only a very small minority of servants were paid an annual wage of £50 and above, the lowest boundary Hunt placed on entrance into the middling sort. These servants were skilled workers like John Scott, the gardener, on £50 per annum, Ralph Trotter, the upholsterer on £80 a year, and the estate's steward employed from the respected Barker family who earned between £100 and £150 a year over the course of the century. These men, as the previous chapter showed, often completed training in specific skills before they entered service and occupied roles which were only employed in the households of elite families.[336] The majority of the servants at Chatsworth received wages far below these amounts and the experiences of these low-earning servants form the main focus of this chapter. The wages of lower servants at Chatsworth were broadly comparable with the wages paid to servants in other households in the eighteenth century.[337] Until 1762, housemaids received £3 a year which was in line with D. A. Kent's study which found that 75 per cent of the female servants that she sampled who worked

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[334] Henry French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600–1750* (Oxford, 2007), p. 71; Also see Kent, 'Rural 'Middling Sort', pp. 19-54.

[335] Kent, 'Rural 'Middling Sort'', pp. 20-21.

[336] See Chapter One, pp. 73-75.

[337] For eighteenth-century servant wages see Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible' p. 115; Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, pp. 80-84; Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', pp. 249-272; Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism*, p. 114; Holmes, 'Domestic servants in Yorkshire', p. 79. For earlier in the period see Whittle, 'Servants in Rural England 1560-1650'; Humphries and Weisdorf, 'Wages of Women in England', pp. 405-447.

outside of London received less than £4 a year. When wages for housemaids at Chatsworth rose in 1762 to £5 per annum and to £10 in the 1770s they were in line with the advice of John Trusler who, in 1786, suggested that employers should pay their housemaids between £7 and £9 a year.[338] With no formal legislation to regulate wages, payments to servants could vary extensively between households. The slightly higher wages received by country house servants was the result of the status of their employer who often provided London-weighted wages across all of their households.[339] The wages at Chatsworth were in a similar range to the payments given to the servants at Wentworth Woodhouse, the Marquess of Rockingham's country house, where in 1782 maids were paid £7, £3 less than at Chatsworth, and the gardener earned £50 per annum, the same as at Chatsworth although his housekeeper did receive £30 a year, double what the housekeeper at Chatsworth was paid.[340] A general increase in wages at Chatsworth occurred in the 1760s and 1770s, which was the same period other historians have found wage increases occurred in other households.[341] During this period the driver of the ox team's wages increased from £12 to £16 in 1774, the stable hand's wage rose from £7 to £12 in 1777 and the hunting groom received an additional £5 to his £40 wage from 1778.[342] The payment of servants in whole pounds meant an increase in their wages could take years, even decades, to occur, and was a disadvantage that many servants working in households at different levels of society also faced.[343] This was seen in the experience of the gamekeeper Thomas Burgoine who was paid an annual wage of £21 for the duration of his forty-three years on the estate yet when his son took over the role upon his death Burgoine Junior started on a wage of £50 per annum. The majority of servants listed in the accounts did not receive large sums of money which meant their status most resembled the labouring classes at the bottom of the estate hierarchy.

In order to examine how servants engaged with the estate community, this chapter first considers the extent to which servants had a previous connection to the estate before they started their employment at Chatsworth. This is important to establish because the connections a servant did, or did not, have when they started their employment reveals the

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[338] Trusler, *London Adviser*, p. 48.

[339] Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', pp. 253-254.

[340] Holmes, 'Domestic servants in Yorkshire', p. 77.

[341] Styles, 'Involuntary Consumers?', p. 12; Holmes, 'Domestic servants in Yorkshire', p. 83; Hill, *Servants*, p. 87.

[342] DC: C/14/5, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 1774; DC: AS/1527, Account of Alexander Barker, 1777-1779; DC: AS/1005, Accounts of Alexander Barker, 1778.

[343] Field 'Domestic service, gender, and wages'; Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, pp. 142-149.

extent to which they had to work to become part of the estate community. Finding a servant's last place of employment is an almost impossible task in the absence of family correspondence. In the scarcity of these records, this thesis has examined a servant's place of baptism in order to assess whether they had family connections to residents on the estate. While baptism records do not reveal where a servant lived or travelled from immediately prior to their employment, they are suggestive of prior familial connections a servant may have had on the estate even if they cannot account for other kinship networks. To gather this information I searched the parish registers for eighteenth-century England and Wales available on Ancestry.co.uk to find entries for the names of the 189 individuals recorded under the heading of 'Servants wages and board' in the Chatsworth accounts.[344] In order to ensure the baptism records I found were for the specific individuals listed in the Chatsworth accounts, rather than any namesakes, I correlated these baptism entries to other stages in an individual's life-cycle. Suggestions of these life stages often came from the household accounts because these records provided information which could be used to find marriage or death dates. For example, household accounts recorded the year of a servant's death if they died in service, such as the death of huntsman Robert Hackett which was recorded when his family received his £2 1s 'wages to the sixth of Jan^{ry} 1740 being the Day he Died', or included the name of a servant's wife or children who collected the wages of their husband or father on occasion.[345] When a servant's death was recorded in the accounts I checked these dates against the surviving legible gravestones in Edensor churchyard as well as parish registers; because grave inscriptions often recorded an individual's age at death this was then used to provide an estimate for an individual's birth date which could be used to limit the period when their baptism would have been recorded.

I was also able to find servants' marriage registers by tracing the baptism of their children or by using the first name of their wives which were recorded in the household accounts. Marriage registers were also used to provide estimates about an individual's age in order to find evidence of their baptism in parish records. Female servants were more difficult to find through this method because of their shorter service on the estate. In some instances, the household accounts recorded if a female servant had left service in order to marry which provided a foundation upon which to search for a marriage record. When this was not recorded in the household accounts the recognised correlation between the end of service and

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[344] I used the same process on the servants recorded at Devonshire House, Chiswick and Hardwick Hall. See Appendix Three, pp. 314-318.

[345] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1740.

marriage meant I used the year a female servant's employment ended with the duke to suggest the start of a period of time when these women may have got married in order to search for their appearance in parish registers. Correlating several life stages was the best means of ensuring the individuals found in parish registers were most likely to be the individuals recorded in the Chatsworth accounts. Through this approach I traced birth years for ninety individuals and baptism registers for 75 of the 189 servants who worked at Chatsworth between 1712 and 1811. The remaining 114 servants, for whom baptism records have not been found, were likely to have been born away from the estate. This is because church registers for the parish of Edensor survive in full for the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and as the majority of estate residents would have baptised their children in the parish, it is possible to discern the majority of servants who were born on the estate. The baptism registers reveal that male servants were more likely to have been born on the estate than female servants. Of the forty-seven male servants who were identified in the baptism records, twenty-three, 48.9 per cent, were baptised in Edensor Parish Church while an additional ten were baptised less than five miles away. The female servants form a smaller sample but only 4 of the 28 female servants, 14.3 per cent, whose baptism records have been found came from the parish of Edensor while a further six were baptised within a five-mile radius.[346]

These findings challenge previous assumptions about country house servants which have emphasised the role of the estate village in providing male and female servants for the big house. Jessica Gerard stated that the maids employed in country houses were likely to be the daughters of tenant farmers.[347] This notion has been influenced by contemporary commentators who encouraged families in large houses to employ their tenants in service roles, an approach which drew upon the paternal responsibility of the landowner towards his tenants. An article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1745 argued that the children of tenants would be 'honoured in the *service* of his lordship'.[348] This focus on the immediate locality surrounding the country house as the site of prospective employees is in contrast to the findings of historians who have studied domestic service away from the country estate. These

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[346] Five came from places between 6-10 miles away from Chatsworth including the town of Matlock. Three were baptised in areas which were between 11-20 miles from Chatsworth including areas on the outskirts of larger towns like Chesterfield and Derby. Twelve female servants came from places between 6-10 miles away including Baslow and Bakewell. Four female servants came from places between 31-50 miles away which included centres such as Manchester and two from places between 51-100 miles from the house

[347] Gerard, *Country House Life*, p. 179. Also see Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, p. 10 for a similar argument.

[348] 'Weekly Essays', *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 545.

historians have stressed the geographical mobility of male and female servants who were able to use service as a means of moving between the rural and urban environment or as a way of experiencing other areas of the country.[349] The records found for the Chatsworth servants suggest that country house servants may have had more in common with the wider servant population and may have been more mobile than previously suggested.

This chapter will now turn to examine how servants navigated the hierarchies on the estate and the extent to which they were involved in positions of status and regard in the parish. It will first turn to examine the place of servants in the estate's economic hierarchy by focusing on the place of servants in the credit networks on the estate before moving to examine the status of servants in the social hierarchy as can be gleamed by their marriage records and wills. Finally, it will conclude by examining the role of servants in parish office and what this can reveal about how the local community viewed the moral character of servants.

Economic Hierarchy

Servants would have been familiar with the concept of an economic hierarchy because the servant hierarchy, based on skill and managerial capability, was reinforced by an economic scale. Lower servants performing menial tasks were paid the least and were at the bottom of the hierarchy while upper servants, in particular male servants, with desirable skills and managerial authority earned the highest amounts at the top of the hierarchy.[350] Servants would also have been knowledgeable of their economic capabilities within wider society because they spent their wages as well as saving them. The diary of Thomas Turner shows that servants were regular visitors to local fairs and events while research by John Styles has argued that servants had the ability to purchase a wide range of clothing and material from practical undergarments to more luxurious fabrics.[351] On the Chatsworth estate, the wages of many servants would have been used to support their own families with whom they resided and servants required good financial management to balance the payment of rents to the duke alongside the maintenance of their family and the care of their land and livestock. This was also an experience shared by tenants on the estate who had similar responsibilities to their families and the duke. The previous chapter showed that there were several similarities

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[349] Simonton, 'Earning and Learning' p. 364; Hill, *Servants*, p. 5.

[350] See Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages', p. 257 for how the wage hierarchy manifested itself on the servant hierarchy.

[351] Styles, 'Involuntary Consumers?', pp. 9-21; Jessica Davidson, '"Gaily drest in all your best, to spend your holiday": domestic servants at the provincial fair', paper given at Beyond the Home Conference, University of Oxford, 8th September 2017.

between servants and tenant labourers but the annual payment of servants remained a substantial difference between the groups.[352] While this would have been a restriction on a servant's economic abilities, they were able to find alternative means to support themselves. Eighteenth-century society ran primarily on credit rather than cash, a system used by all members of society from elites, like the duke, to the poorest members of a community, which was a form of transaction which provided individuals with another means of supporting a household's consumption.[353] It was, however, a system which did require an individual or a household to gain, and maintain, the support of their kin and community. Keith Wrightson has described credit as 'the most tangible form of the complex of bonds of mutuality within the trade, the neighbourhood and the extended family'.[354] Therefore, the credit relationships in which an individual was involved reveal their relationships in a variety of different environments.

Credit was crucial for communities and networks of support extended beyond kin relations and involved the wider locality. The far-reaching nature of credit led B. A. Holderness to argue that the 'willingness to lend' was a central issue for rural communities and Christopher Clark, in his study of early modern America, to describe credit as 'part of the fabric of rural society'.[355] When an individual was included in local credit networks a bond of trust was formed between them and the community.[356] Trust was a crucial aspect of this relationship which Niklas Luhmann has stressed was a means through which a community could make definite the uncertainty of the future.[357] The public nature of credit meant it also served as an important social function which could reveal a community's leaders as well as those individuals and households who were unable to sufficiently manage their economic situation.[358] However, these studies have tended to focus on the credit relationships which

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[352] See Chapter One, pp. 76-83.

[353] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

[354] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 315.

[355] B. A. Holderness, 'Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Period 1650-1720', *The Agricultural History Review* 24:2 (1976), p. 108; Christopher Clark, 'Household, market and capital : the process of economic change in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts, 1800-1860', , PhD thesis (Harvard, 1982), pp. 76-77 quoted in Mick Reed, 'Class and Conflict in Rural England: Some Reflections on a Debate', in Mick Reed and Roger Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880* (2nd edition, Abingdon, 2015), p. 20. Also see Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (London, 1990) for similar argument.
Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880

[356] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 3.

[357] Niklas Luhmann, *Trust and Power* (Chichester, 1979), p. 23.

[358] Spence, *Women, Credit, and Debt*, pp. 158-186.

existed between masters and servants in the household in which they worked. Craig Muldrew argued that servants were important lenders because there were 'many thousands of debts owned on credit to servants and wage labourers by their betters'.[359] Duchess Georgiana, wife of the 5th Duke, was known to have borrowed several hundred pounds from one of her servants when her gambling debts escalated.[360] Examining the networks which appear in the estate's day book presents a different approach to exploring a servant's relationship with credit because it takes servants beyond the household of their master and places them within the wider estate community.

Credit networks reveal servants were active participants in the community because these networks were formed face-to-face through personal interaction.[361] To assess the economic hierarchy on the estate, this chapter uses the day book compiled as part of the estate rental accounts to reveal economic relationships which existed between members of the estate community. Before the records were written up into a neat annual summary document, this book was used by the duke's steward to record the daily incomings and outgoings from the tenants on the estate, noting payments for rents alongside wages for casual work undertaken on the estate. In the interest of ensuring the money which was owed to the duke was received in full, several loans of money between residents were also recorded within this account book. The act of recording the exchange of money meant the duke's steward acted as a witness to the loans, a practice which may have been influenced by some forms of credit such as sealed bonds which required a witness and which recorded only the amount of money given, rarely the purpose for it.[362] Networks of kinship and neighbourly support are most often seen in court records when this relationship between individuals broke down but an examination of these rental accounts provides the opportunity to examine these relationships when they were working.[363] Brodie Waddell has argued that historians need to look beyond moments of conflict to show other aspects of life which could influence the economy and the

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[359] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 97.

[360] Foreman, *Georgiana*,

[361] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, pp. 124, 151.

[362] *Ibid*., p. 113; Robert Tittler, 'Money-lending in the West Midlands: the activities of Joyce Jeffries, 1638-49', *Historical Research* 67 (1994), pp. 256-257.

[363] Hindle, *On the Parish,* p. 48.

Chatsworth day book provides a means of examining credit networks at a time when they were not in crisis.[364]

The day book for the period 1732 to 1752 recorded two types of credit networks: those which involved the duke and those which existed between residents on the estate. The account reveals the duke considered both tenants and servants to be worthy recipients of his monetary loans, with both groups included in the credit networks he supported, because he had paternal responsibility for the servants and tenants on his estate. The day book recorded 125 individuals who paid rent or received money for their labour over the course of this period and thirty-one of these individuals were listed as being 'lent money' from the estate's purse.[365] The status of these thirty-one individuals varied. John Harris received the largest loan during this period, a sum of £20. Harris was paid for acting as the slaughterman on the estate and for providing cheese and bacon to the house during the duke's residency which suggested he was a butcher or similar tradesman. His status as a tradesman meant Harris was of a higher status than the other tenants, mostly labourers, who received the majority of the duke's loans. The majority of other loans were for much smaller amounts of money consisting of a few shillings or a couple of pounds and were most often given to men who also took on casual work on the estate. For example, Thomas Needham was lent 5s by the duke in 1736, the same year in which he has been employed in the gardens for nine months and thirteen days.[366] Similarly, the £1 lent to John Randle in 1740 was given to a man who, alongside his wife and daughter, completed several tasks on the estate such as hay making, flattening molehills and tending the sheep.[367]

Only five of the 31 individuals recorded in this document receiving money from the duke were servants, although it was a servant, Robert Wind, who received the most sustained help documented in this account. Wind was lent money on nine separate occasions during the twenty-year period the account book was used. These loans were usually small sums, and rarely exceeded £2, and were most often given at the same time that Wind received his annual wage but was also required to pay his rent. The presence of these payments at specific times of the year was probably a result of the limitations in Wind's own income because his annual wage of £6 a year did not cover his yearly rent on the estate which totalled £6 16s.

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[364] Brodie Waddell, *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 13-14.

[365] DC: C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1732-1759.

[366] *Ibid*., 24th November 1736.

[367] *Ibid*., 8th October 1740.

The account book for this period does not include what the proposed purpose of the loans were for but a similar account for the period 1713 to 1732 suggests they were small sums used to provide relief for an individual's immediate need. The purchase of coals was a common reason recorded in this earlier account: Richard Vickers, a tenant on the estate, was lent money four times in one year in order that he might buy coals while Gervas Heward, the underkeeper, was given 10s to also purchase coals.[368] These payments further show the importance of coal to the maintaining of the relationship between house and estate as discussed in Chapter One.[369] They also show that while servants remained the only group to receive the physical gift of coal from the duke, the duke was able to bestow the same comfort in the short-term to his tenants through these loans. The servants who received loans such as Robert Wind, the groom, or pasture tenant John Bampton had more in common with the labourers who received loans rather than the tradesmen, like John Harris, because servants and labourers were groups who were both lent smaller sums of money from the duke.

The second type of loans recorded in the day book was those between residents on the estate and they reveal the extent to which an individual's networks of credit could extend to encompass many different social groups. When the account of Edward Greensmith was drawn up in 1722 the steward was careful to record a sum of £10 3s 1d which Greensmith owned to various members of the estate.[370] It included £6 11s 2d owed to Richard Lant, a labourer, 7s 6d to be given to Elizabeth Bradley, a tenant on the estate who took on casual work at Chatsworth in the laundry, and 10s which was to be paid to Jonathan Ward, a servant with the position of warrener and a wage of £8 a year. Greensmith was a freeholder on the estate, which distinguished him from the majority of residents in the community, and his regular supply of oats and cattle to the house showed him to be a landholder of some fortune. Although he was of a higher status than many other residents on the estate, Greensmith's interactions with both labourers and servants showed these two groups were part of the same economic community. The accounts of John Strutt, the man who rented the estate's mill, were equally as diverse and included payments to Robert Wind, a stable hand, and Jane Hackett, the dairy maid, as well as tenants like John Booth and Francis Sharp.[371] Strutt would have interacted with Jane Hackett, the dairy maid, when he loaned his cow to the estate for

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[368] DC: C/10/A, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1713-1732, 22nd January 1721, 6th August 1722, 24th December 1722, 19th October 1727, 13th December 1727.

[369] See Chapter One pp. 66-72.

[370] DC: AS/440, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1719-1720; C/10/A, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account, 13th November 1722.

[371] DC: C/10/A, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account, 30th October 1716, 22nd April 1718, 6th May 1724.

the weeks the family resided at Chatsworth in order that enough milk could be produced for the household. Strutt's status as the tenant owner of the mill meant he would have been a known figure in the community and his payments recorded in the day book show he had interactions which a range of individuals in the neighbourhood whom he deemed credible and trustworthy. While the reasons behind these payments remain unclear, they do demonstrate the wide variety of people that the estate inhabitants came into contact with and who were trusted to be part of this network of exchange.

The example of Richard Wind, the groom, reveals that a servant's annual wage did not always cover the necessities in their own lives which, in turn, affected a servant's ability to share their resources with their neighbours. This restriction is highlighted in the very small number of servants recorded as providing money to other tenants. The day book recorded eighty-three occasions between 1732 and 1752 when tenants on the estate helped with the payment of another tenant's rent yet servants account for only five of these instances. Gervas Heward was the most prolific of these servants and he paid the rent of Widow Bradley four times between 1743 and 1746. His role as underkeeper was one of the lowest paid roles on the estate. His annual wage of £2 equalled the sum paid to the dairy maid and Heward remained on this wage in the same role from his employment at the age of fifteen until his death in 1745 aged forty-seven.[372] Yet his ability to pay Widow Bradley's rent, as well as his own annual rent of £6 6s 8d, showed that service was only one facet of an individual's life. Although his progression in the servant hierarchy was prevented by the presence of keeper John Hackett, who continued to occupy the role until a few months before his death aged seventy-five, Heward found other ways to earn an additional income.[373] As well as his work as underkeeper, he was also paid by the duke to act as a watchman and for taking on other tasks in the park and stables for which he was paid on a casual basis. Heward's ability to help Widow Bradley was possible because of the resources he made separately to his employment as a servant which provided a crucial source of income in addition to his annual wage from the duke.

The importance of alternative sources of income suggests why the only other recorded instance of a servant paying a tenant's rent was paid in partnership with other tenants: in 1735, Abraham Broom, the husbandman, paid a third of the rent of William Hall alongside John Gardom, who paid the other two thirds. Gardom was the most prolific tenant in the day

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[372] DRO: M/39 vol. 1, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Burials 1726-1812, 10th April 1745, p. 16.
[373] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 'Servant wage and board', 1735.

book who supported others and he was recorded fourteen times in the day books paying the rent of another tenant. Robert Houston's research on estate tenants similarly found it was a common practice for tenants to work together to farm land or rent plots in order to maintain the economic and agricultural health of the local community.[374] The involvement of Broom in this task, alongside his neighbours, demonstrates his motivation to protect the whole community from the disorder which could come from a failing tenant and unprofitable farm. The social status of John Gardom, the blacksmith who lent money alongside Broom and the most recurring name in the day book, is suggestive of the characteristics important in gaining a position of status in the estate's credit hierarchy. John Gardom was from a notable local family who moved to the area in the early seventeenth century and this background provided him with a recognisable 'social profile' in the local community.[375] Naomi Tadmor conceptualised an individual's awareness and remembrance of their family line as the 'lineage family' which she argues was a concept often wrapped up in a language 'made for 'public discourse' because a person's genealogy continued to hold an important social function in their own lives.[376] While personal sources relating to Gardom do not survive which make it impossible to know if he employed this language, the community would have been aware that his uncle, Thomas Gardom, had married into the Broomhead family and moved into Bubnell Hall, a large property in the neighbouring village of Baslow. This association made Gardom's position in the community more prominent because, as Tadmor argues, connections to 'dynastic families' were often shared by middling-sort people in a neighbourhood.[377] John Gardom's role in the village as a blacksmith also made him a visible figure as his workshop was also located on the estate. Here, Gardom was able to display the 'industriousness' Muldrew describes as being crucial to middling sort for building a reputation for credit.[378] Gardom's position as one of the leaders of the estate community's credit network highlights the importance of having an income separate to one provided solely by the duke and which was not paid at only one point in the year. His trade and his family history enforced Gardom's position as a hardworking and trusted member of the community and one who had access to readily available funds to support others.

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[374] Houston, *Peasant Petitions*, pp. 189-190.

[375] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p. 97.

[376] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[377] *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

[378] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 17.

Many of the Chatsworth servants could not draw upon the same local family history as Gardom because they were not baptised on the estate or in neighbouring villages.[379] They were, however, able to quickly become a part of the estate's credit networks even if they were not able to be leaders of it. Eleanor Potter, the housekeeper at Chatsworth, began her employment in 1736 after the death of previous housekeeper, John Phillips.[380] She appeared to be only tied to the area through her appointment as housekeeper and yet she became part of the estate's economic community within her first year. There are eight recorded payments for Potter's rent in the day book made by three different people between 1737 and 1751.[381] The first time Potter appears in the rental account is in 1737 when her £3 yearly rent was due at Ladyday, a sum which was paid for her by John Gardom on the 28th May 1738.[382] While credit was often a relationship between individual parties, the prosperity of the whole community was balanced upon the series of networks formed from credit exchanges.[383] Therefore, credit relied on the understanding of a shared future; Eleanor Potter's immediate acceptance into the community was not based on her family name but rather on the belief of her permanency in the role as housekeeper, and was secured by John Gardom's help in her first year of service.[384] This was the only year Gardom paid for Potter's rent but his faith in her appeared to be well founded because she remained in the duke's service until at least 1752, a year before her death, and the piece of land she had rented on the estate still bore her name in 1774.[385] Although Jonathan Healey has noted that payments of charity to those new to an area could be less forthcoming than those to long term residents, the inclusion of Potter in the credit networks on the Chatsworth estate within her first year showed that employment in the house and inclusion in the estate community were closely entwined.[386]

The characteristics of service on the Chatsworth estate placed servants at a disadvantage in the estate's economic hierarchy. Their annual wages made it difficult to offer support to others when their own needs had to be met first. In some cases even meeting these needs

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[379] See Chapter One, p. 63.

[380] DC: C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741.

[381] DC: C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account. On the 28th May 1738 it was paid by John Gardom, between 1746 and 1751 Thomas Darwent was contributing towards the rent and in 1750 Francis Strutt was also giving payments.

[382] *Ibid*., 28th May 1738.

[383] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation,* pp. 2-4.

[384] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[385] DC: AS/1053, Account book, 1774-1776.

[386] Jonathan Healey, "By the charitie of good people': poverty and neighbourly support in seventeenth century Lancashire', *Family & Community History* 19:2 (2016), p. 91.

could be difficult when wages and rent were paid at the same time or when wages did not cover an individual's basic necessities. Instead, the individuals who did occupy a superior position in the estate's economic hierarchy were those who had access to a more readily available income, occupied a position of some social status, and those whose status was recognised by many on the estate. What the credit networks recorded in the day book do reveal is that servants and tenants did come into contact with one another on a regular basis. Personal relations and face-to-face contact were important aspects of monetary support which was enabled by the close proximity in which servants and tenants worked and lived.[387] A servant's relationship with the estate did not stop at their residency on it but they were also part of the networks of credit which existed within it: money passed through their hands from other estate workers and, on occasion, they had their own rent paid for them or helped another tenant in need. The acceptance of servants into this community was an 'expression of communal cohesion', and their inclusion within it showed the identity of the estate community was shaped around the duke's servants as well as his tenants.[388] Although the duke had ultimate control over who lived in his properties, acceptance into the community was not something he could force. A servant's economic capabilities may have been limited by their work but trust was a currency servants were well versed in, and it was a factor which was essential for being part of the bonds of the estate.[389]

Social Hierarchy

At Marriage

Many of the servants started their employment at Chatsworth when they were of marrying age. For the period of this thesis the median age of male servants when they were first employed by the duke was twenty-eight, from a sample of sixty servants, and for female servants it was twenty-three, from a sample of twenty-eight servants. With so many individuals starting their employment at Chatsworth during this period of their lives, the decision of if, when and who to marry had implications for a servant's employment and their relationship with the community. For some, the decision to marry put an end to their time in service to the duke because couples were expected to create a new 'independent unit'

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[387] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation,* p. 124.
[388] Hindle, *On the Parish,* p. 81.
[389] Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, pp. 150-154.

separate to the household of their parents or master.[390] The experiences of female servants at Chatsworth echo the findings of Kussmaul whose research found that more than half of the ninety-six servants in her study married before they left service or immediately upon leaving and that two-thirds of the sample had married within the first year of their departure.[391] Of the twenty-four female servants for whom marriage records have been found, eighteen were married in the year following their departure from the duke's service. In an extreme case, Elizabeth Bown and Sarah Brindley both left their positions as housemaids at Chatsworth on the 10th May 1788 and were both married in Bakewell two days later on the 12th May 1788.[392] For others, marriage could be used to show their desire to establish themselves more firmly on the estate. Who a servant married was not only suggestive of an individual's social interactions but also showed how they were viewed by others in the community because 'social compatibility' was seen as important for a successful marriage.[393] For, despite the increased move towards benevolent partnerships over the course of the eighteenth century, it was still expected that love would not stray beyond the boundaries of an individual's social status and marriage was expected to be entered into only when a suitable partner had been found.[394] Therefore, who a servant married is suggestive of how the community viewed the status and prospects of that individual.

The marriage registers which have been found for the Chatsworth servants suggest that marriage between the duke's servants was rare. Across all of the duke's households, only seven female servants who were employed between 1712 and 1811 from a total of 147 have been found to marry other servants in the duke's employment. Instead, both male and female servants chose to marry partners away from the duke's household and a significant number of male servants married close to the estate. Of the forty-four marriage records found for male servants, thirty were married within five miles of Chatsworth, with the estate village of Edensor the most popular site with eighteen marriages. The marriages which took place in

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[390] Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, p. 158.

[391] Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry,* p. 83.

[392] DC: AS/1070, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1788, p. 166; Marriages (PR) England. Bakewell, Derbyshire. 12th May 1788, Elizabeth Bown and Robert Marsden. Source film no. 004133137. p. 497 no. 667. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019); Marriages (PR) England. Bakewell, Derbyshire. 12th May 1788, Sarah Brindley and Jonathan Littlewood. Source film no. 004133137. p. 4967 no. 666. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[393] Lord, 'Communities of Common Interest'*,* p. 132.

[394] Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450–1700* (London, 1984), p. 67; Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300–1840* (Oxford, 1986); R. B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (London, 1981).

churches surrounding the estate reveal that the community and the people servants interacted with were not restricted to the boundaries of the duke's park. The parish registers also reveal that unmarried male servants tended to marry soon after their employment on the estate: in the second half of the century there was a difference of only a year between the median age at which a male servant began their employment, at 26 years old, and the median age of male servants at marriage, at 27 years old. Baptism records have been found for thirty-five of the forty-four male servant for whom marriage registers have also been found which reveal that the mean age of male servants at first marriage was 28.4 years old. This age is broadly in line with the findings of Wrigley and Schofield's study of the English population which found the age at first marriage for men in the first half of the century was 27.5 years old and 26.4 years old in the second half.[395] The swift relationships which formed between male servants and their prospective partners show that service in the country estate was not isolated, and instead was a form of employment which enabled individuals to extend their social networks. The mobility of servants during their daily tasks or during their recreational time meant there were opportunities to attend the village church, local fairs and celebrations and festivals, and showed servants were a part of social networks which extended beyond their master's house.[396]

During the early modern period most marriages took place in the parish where the bride or the groom was from, although the practice often favoured the parish of the bride over that of the groom.[397] The decision of many male servants to marry locally showed they were marrying women from the immediate area surrounding the estate and a closer analysis of the partners they chose show that many of them were marrying into established estate families. Choosing a partner who had kin in the local area and, therefore, knowledge of the social hierarchies on the estate meant that servants gained access to networks of credit and support which they may not have had immediate access to upon their arrival at Chatsworth. As David Cressy has argued, having a wide network of kin was a 'store of wealth' which could be drawn upon when a person was in need.[398] One way in which servants could achieve this was

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[395] Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, p. 255.

[396] McIsaac Cooper, 'Service to servitude?', pp. 373-374; Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community'.

[397] Rebecca Probert and Liam D'Archy, 'Westmorland Weddings: A Study of the 1787 census', *Family & Community History* 16:1 (2013), pp. 32-44; R. B. Outhwaite, 'Age at Marriage in England from the Late Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23:1 (1973), pp. 55-70; Rebecca Probert and Liam D'Archy, 'The impact of the Clandestine Marriages Act: three case-studies in conformity', *C&C* 23:2 (2008), pp. 309-330.

[398] David Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *P&P* 113 (1986), p. 69.

by marrying into long-standing estate families. The relatively stable nature of country house estate communities meant that several generations of a family could remain residents in the same area. The stability of these communities was further supported by the long lease periods of property on country estates. Although there was a decline in one-hundred year leases by the eighteenth century, landowners still often required tenants to sign rental agreements for a period of twenty-one years.[399] A comparison between the surnames recorded in a survey taken of Edensor in 1691 and a survey of the village from 1788 shows the longevity of many families with 37 per cent of the surnames from the first survey being present nearly one-hundred years later.[400]

Established families were not necessarily always elite families on the estate and the types of families that servants married into most often came from lower down the social hierarchy. William Pleasance, the stallion groom, was baptised in Cambridge in 1734 but by 1764 he was employed at Chatsworth and had married Elizabeth Marsden.[401] She was the daughter of the brewer for the house and her family had lived on the Chatsworth estate for at least a hundred years.[402] Elizabeth was also a casual labourer employed in the house and, in 1762, she was paid for working as the confectioner's maid when the family were in residence.[403] David Hawkins, the head farmer on the duke's lands, followed a similar path when he married Ann Lant in 1785.[404] Her father was a labourer on the estate who worked in the stables and the park undertaking tasks such as building fences and cutting wood.[405] Ann herself had also been employed by the estate as a casual labourer, working in the kitchens and house.[406] Thomas Newton, a groom, chose Sarah Bradley as his wife.[407] Like Ann Lant,

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[399] Andrew Hann, 'Labour policy and rental policy on the Ditchley estate, 1700-50: parallel paths of transition', in Baigent and Mayhew (eds), *English Geographies 1600*-1950, p. 79; David Stead, 'The Mobility of English Tenant Farmers, c. 1700-1850' *Agricultural History Review* 51:2 (2003), pp. 174-183; Sambrook, *Country House at Work*, p. 169, 208. Not every estate changed its practices. At Dunham Massey, the Earls of Stamford continued to use long leases until the nineteenth century to encourage casual workers to stay on the land.

[400] DC: AS/630, Edensor Assessment, 1691; DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788.

[401] DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811, William Pleasance and Elizabeth Marsden, 23rd April 1764.

[402] DC: AS/630, Edensor Assessment, 1691.

[403] DC: C/11/57, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1762.

[404] Marriages (PR) England. Edensor, Derbyshire. 25th June 1785, David Hawkins and Ann Lant. Source film no. 428909. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[405] DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788; L/95/9, Chatsworth vouchers, 1776-1790; C/11/57, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1762.

[406] DC: C/14/12, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 15th February 1781.

[407] Marriages (PR) England. Edensor, Derbyshire. 21st April 1812, Thomas Newton and Sarah Bradley. Source film no. 428909. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

Sarah also worked in the house as a day labourer. In 1811 she worked alongside her mother, Mary Bradley, in the kitchens scouring the pots and pans overnight.[408] Her brother, John Bradley, was one of the labourers who were employed all year round in the stables.[409]

The importance of finding a partner who was a suitable, and at least equal, match meant that parents and wider family were often involved in choosing a partner for their child.[410] By choosing to marry into families who had close links to the estate and those who offered their own labour to the duke, servants were able to show their prospective partner's parents their suitability. Richard Wall has argued that social assets which promoted the eligibility of men as a marriage partner included youth, strength, work experience and skill.[411] Employment in the duke's service enabled men to show several of these traits. The types of roles completed by these families on the estate shows they were not the wealthy, prosperous tenants on large farms because, as Chapter One argued, these groups were more likely to be involved in the transportation of coals rather than manual, agricultural work.[412] Instead, these families were most likely to form part of the labouring classes on the estate and the estate's regular employment of multiple members of these families shows these households were reliant on the country estate for work. Marrying these women meant servants were forming connections with families who held a similar social position as they did. William Pleasance, David Hawkins and Thomas Newton were all in the lower half of the servant hierarchy and received wages between £7 and £20 per annum. While the families they married into appeared to be of similar economic status as them, these women would have brought with them different social connections and by marrying into these kinship networks, servants gained the social and economic benefits which came from becoming part of a family with estate connections. Furthermore, becoming part of these families with access to these connections brought with it a legacy which could be a powerful currency elsewhere on the estate.

Servants who were higher in the servant hierarchy had a different experience of marriage. For some, the mobility which came with their roles meant they married further away from the estate. The bailiff, James Mathison, on a wage between £50 and £80 per annum, was married in Chesterfield in 1814 while James Broussard, the gardener on a wage of £40 in the first half

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[408] DC: L/95/10, Chatsworth vouchers, 1780-1810.

[409] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

[410] Richard Wall, 'Beyond the Household: Marriage, Household Formation and the Role of Kin and Neighbours', *International Review of Social History* 44 (1999), pp. 55-56.

[411] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[412] See Chapter One, p. 82.

of the century, was married in London.[413] When senior servants were married at Edensor Parish Church they chose partners from different social backgrounds to the lower status servants. For example, Alexander Barker, the duke's steward, married Mary Noel by licence in 1737 while Edward Slow, the hunting groom on £40 a year, who married Sarah Bonsall in 1793.[414] While both of these women were described as belonging to Edensor at the time of their marriage, neither they nor their families were recorded in the household accounts working as casual labourers which placed them in contrast to the types of women lower servants married.

Examining the types of families that servants married into shows there was a division between the experiences of lower and upper servants. The upper servants, who were more highly skilled, better educated and held managerial positions, were viewed as occupying a similar status to some of the middling-sort individuals on the estate. This was a result of factors such as their economic capabilities which came in the form of higher wages, their social connections such as the relationship they were able to more easily foster with the Cavendish family, and the levels of literacy and education they were required to have in order to fulfil their roles. Lower servants, who did not enter their roles with the same level of training as upper servants and had a lower economic status than them, shared more in common with labouring families on the estate who were tenants of smaller plots of land and completed more casual, menial work for the duke than higher status members of the community. While a servant's choice of partner reflected this general division, the means through which a servant married shows the nuances of their status. With the passing of the Marriage Act (also known as the Hardwicke Act) in 1753 all marriages were required to take place either by licence or by banns, and the recording of marriages became more standardised from parish to parish. When a couple came to marry their decision about which practice to use could be influenced by many factors, including their age and whether they had their parents' approval, although the cost of a licence remained one of the significant

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[413] Marriages (PR) England. Chesterfield, Derbyshire. 3rd January 1815, James Mathison and Dorothy Hill. Source film no. 1752144. p. 48 no. 144. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019); Marriages (PR) England. St Bartholomew, London. 2nd July 1723, James Brossard and Sarah Nailour. Source film no. 416744. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[414] Marriages (PR) England. Edensor, Derbyshire. 12th September 1737, Alexander Barker and Mary Noel. Source film no. 428909. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019); Marriages (PR) England. Edensor, Derbyshire. 30th June 1793, Edward Slow and Sarah Bonsall. Source film no. 428909. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

considerations.[415] Banns were the cheaper option and were therefore favoured by labouring people. This practice was more public because it involved a couple's intention to wed to be read out to the local congregation each week for the three Sundays before the wedding. This formality had the consequence of making the couple's intention public knowledge which allowed for any objections to marriage to be made known. Marriage by licence was more private because couples did not have to publicly share their intention to marry and instead declared there was no impediment to their marriage by the form of a sworn declaration. This process enabled a marriage to happen more quickly without informing the local community in advance. This process was, however, more expensive and a marriage license often cost a couple several shillings to obtain, a significant portion of a labourer's income. As a result, marriage by license was often not obtainable for couples on lower wages.

Servants used both of these practices when they married in Edensor parish church and the parish registers reveal they used them in almost equal measure. Of the sixteen servants who were married in Edensor during the period 1754 to 1811, seven were married by license and nine were married by banns. In the same period, marriage by licence accounted for almost a third of non-servant weddings at the church, with 63 of the total 214 marriages recorded completed by licence. The occupations of the men who paid to marry by licence included publicans, tradesmen, schoolmasters and yeomen and are suggestive of the higher social status of many of those who favoured this method. Philip Melton, the innkeeper on the estate, used this means to marry Elizabeth Pass in 1758.[416] Melton was one of a limited number of freeholders on the estate in the second half of the century and his ownership of five properties in the village of Edensor ensured his economic and social status in the community was visible.[417] The servants who married by license during this period did not occupy the highest roles in the servant hierarchy; their wages ranged from £7 to £21, however, they were servants who had sole responsibility over specific areas or departments on the estate. This included men like Thomas Burgoine, the gamekeeper, and David Hawkins, the duke's

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[415] Cathy Day, *Wiltshire Marriage Patterns 1754-1914: Geographical Mobility, Cousin Marriage and Illegitimacy* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2013), p. 254; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 306-311.

[416] Marriages (PR) England. Edensor, Derbyshire. 26th January 1758, Philip Melton and Elizabeth Pass. Source film no. 428909. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[417] DC: C/11/57, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1762; DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788.

farmer, who were in charge of managing important parts of the duke's estate.[418] As this chapter has already noted, the highest paid servants in the hierarchy were often the most mobile servants and many married away from the estate. In other cases, the marriages of these long-serving servants predated the introduction of the Marriage Act in 1753, as was the case of the steward, Alexander Barker, who married in Edensor by licence in 1737.[419]

There were other reasons why an individual may have chosen to marry by license other than to reflect their own social status. Some servants who chose to marry by license may have been influenced by the higher status of their marriage partner. The marriage of Sarah Thompson, the still room maid, by license to Hugh Travis was made possible by Travis being the son of the Chatsworth gardener, one of the most senior servants on the estate with a wage of £40 a year.[420] A license also enabled couples to marry quicker which was helpful for the marriage between Francis Barber, the duchess's footman, and Martha Loton, the daughter of the porter, in 1787.[421] Barber's place as part of the family's travelling household meant he was only present at Chatsworth for the duration of the duke's stay and the temporary nature of his residency at Chatsworth may have prompted the couple to choose to marry by license in order to wed before the duke left the estate. These servants did not match the status of other estate residents using marriage licenses such as Philip Melton, the publican, who had greater economic and social power than them. However, the ability of these servants to marry by license showed their capacity to save their wages in order to afford the cost of a license and suggested that some were eager to promote their status on the estate as they entered their next life stage. On the estate, marriage by banns was more commonly used by labouring people such as farmers, wallers, and husbandmen. No individual who chose this means of marriage was recorded in the registers as a yeoman or gentleman. Much like the tenants who chose this method, the servants who favoured marriage by banns were probably influenced by their economic circumstances. While the annual wages of the servants who married by banns were similar to those who married by licence, ranging between £10 and £40, the choice to

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[418] DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811, Thomas Burgoine and Catherine Ridgyard, 28th September 1780; Marriages (PR) England. Edensor, Derbyshire. 25th June 1785, David Hawkins and Ann Lant. Source film no. 428909. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[419] DRO: M/38 vol. 11, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Baptisms 1726-1838, Marriages 1726-1754.

[420] DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811, Sarah Thompson and Hugh Travis, 26th July 1810.

[421] DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811, Francis Barber and Martha Loton, 13th November 1787.

marry by banns showed individuals like grooms, watchmen and keepers were keen to conserve funds and did not need to keep their marriages private. This choice also reflected the similar status many servants had with the labouring families who also chose this method. A servant's choice of partner and their method for marriage reveal that the majority of servants were closer in status to farm labourers on the estate than members of the middling sort.

Marriage was a social occasion which encouraged festivities to celebrate the newly married couple. In order to celebrate, individuals required leisure time and surplus income in order to attend any gatherings and, as a result, historians have shown how the timings of marriages were important in order to allow a community to partake in the occasion.[422] Wrigley and Schofield found that the patterns of marriage in early modern Western Europe reflected the seasonality of work in agriculture and were often scheduled for the early-summer or the autumn months to coincide with payments to labourers following either the sowing or reaping of the harvest seeds. In contrast, the harvest period in the later-summer months coincided with a lull in marriages as the community took part in the busy harvest period.[423] At Chatsworth, the marriage registers reveal that the timings of servant marriage and tenant marriages were influenced by different factors which meant these groups may have formed two different communities during these celebrations. Kussmaul's study of marriage patterns found spring and summer months to be the most popular months in early modern Derbyshire for marriage in order to coincide with the downturns in the seasonal work dictated by animal husbandry. This trend did not occur in the tenant marriages recorded in the Edensor parish registers; the spring months accounted for 50 of the 252 marriages, 19.8 per cent, which took place between 1700 and 1799 while sixty-six marriages, 26.2 per cent, were recorded as taking place in the summer months.[424] Instead, tenants favoured marrying in the winter months of December, January and February, which accounted for 83 of the 252 marriages, 32.9 per cent, which took place between 1700 and 1799.[425] These months reflected the lull in work on the estate as the ground hardened and farming activity associated with tenants' own livestock diminished. Servant marriages during the winter months accounted for 15 of the 76 servant weddings which have been traced, a smaller percentage at 19.7 per cent than tenant marriages for the same period. In contrast, the timings of servants' marriages were influenced

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[422] Ann Kussmaul, 'Time and Space, Hoofs and Grain: The Seasonality of Marriage in England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15:4 (1985), pp. 755-779; Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England,* p. 305.

[423] *Ibid.,* pp. 298-303.

[424] DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811.

[425] Kussmaul, *General View of the Rural Economy,* pp. 2-4, p. 20.

by the seasonal arrival of the family and they were more likely to favour spring and summer months when the family were not usually at Chatsworth, both seasons accounted for 23 of the 76 servant marriages, 30.26 per cent, which have been traced.[426] These months were often a period of change for servants who might have been in-between work or at the end of a contract after Lady Day or Midsummer but before the opportunity for new work at Michaelmas in September. They were also a quieter period before the arrival of the family at the end of summer and into the autumn. The six months between March and August inclusively accounted for 60.5 per cent, 46 of 76, of the servant marriage but less than half, 46 per cent, 116 of 252, of tenant marriages. These different seasonal influences suggest that servants and residents may not always have been able to celebrate these occasions together due to their different commitments and the difference may have left servants on the periphery of the estate community in certain moments.

The difference in networks between servants and the tenants on the estate is most obvious in the marriages of female servants. Of the fifty female servants employed at Chatsworth during the period of this thesis, marriage records for twenty-four have been found. Only four female servants were recorded in the marriage registers in Edensor and, therefore, this sample suggests that female servants were more likely to leave the estate in order to marry. Female servants were also more likely to marry at a later age than the female tenants on the Chatsworth estate. The mean age of female servants at marriage was 29.8 years-old while for female tenants it was 25.3 years-old, the same found by Peter Laslett in his study of women in the second half of the eighteenth century.[427] The sample size for the age of female servants at marriage is small at twenty-four which means these calculations have be influenced by atypical results such as Sarah Brindley, a maid who left service to marry another servant at the age of sixty-three, when she is removed from the sample, the mean age of female servants at marriage deceases to 28.4 years-old. However, these results, while not definitive, remain suggestive of the impact employment in service could have on an individual's life beyond their work. The husbands of female servants further show how they were part of networks which existed beyond the estate and reveal that female servants retained close connections to their parental home. Hannah Pearce left her employment at Chatsworth in 1794 in order to return to Chesterfield, the place of her baptism, to marry Robert Wearmouth in the same

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[426] To see how the seasonality of the family's residence at Chatsworth affected casual labour too see Appendix Two, pp. 310-313.

[427] Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, p. 255; Laslett, *Family Life*, p. 40.

year.[428] Esther Alsop also returned to her place of baptism, Darley Dale, in order to marry William Rogers in 1813, three years after she had left the duke's service.[429] The connection between female servants and their parental home was reinforced throughout their service at Chatsworth, with several siblings of female servants also finding employment in the duke's service. Tim Meldrum has shown that this was a common method used by younger sisters, who often found employment by following in their older sisters' footsteps to work for the same master.[430] Of the twenty female servants employed at Chatsworth between the period 1785 and 1805 there were three sets of sisters. When Hannah Pearce left Chatsworth at the age of twenty-eight after four years of service to the 5th Duke in order to get married, she was replaced by her own sister, Ann, who entered service at Chatsworth on the same day Hannah departed from it. Sisters Hannah and Ruth Gregory worked at two of the duke's properties, Chatsworth and Hardwick Hall, with both starting work as housemaids at Chatsworth but later being promoted to housekeepers for the 5th Duke in his Derbyshire houses.[431] The practice of employing siblings could benefit both employer and employee: it was a way to find an appropriate servant from a trusted source as well as a providing a comfort and a remedy to homesickness for the servant already in employment.[432]

The decisions servants made about who and when to marry have further highlighted the gendered differences which existed in the institution of service. Female servants remained important earners for their own families by sending a portion of their wages back home to their parents and siblings.[433] Male servants were more independent and often chose to set up a household on the estate. Marriage was more than simply a process which involved a couple exchanging vows, it was also a life stage which took into consideration an individual's social position. A servant's ability to marry into established estate families reveals that they were

[428] DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1794; Robert Wearmouth. Source film no. 1752144, volume 2. p. 150 no. 595. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[429] Marriages (PR) England. Darley Dale, Derbyshire. 14th November 1813, Esther Alsop and William Rogers. Source film no. 1041102. Collection: England Marriages, 1538-1973. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[430] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender,* p. 30.

[431] The network of the duke's houses provided more opportunities to find work for family members. Mary and Elizabeth Marsden moved together from Chatsworth where they had worked in the 1760s to the family's London home in 1771 to work in the laundry. DC: C/166/A, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1776-1779; DC: C/166/B, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1780-1789; DC: C/166/C, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1789-1796; DC: C/166/D, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1797-1804; C/22, Chatsworth Household, Husbandry, Stables and Domain Account, 1766-1774.

[432] Hayhoe, 'Rural Domestic Servants', p. 564.

[433] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 30.

deemed to have acceptable social and economic prospects by labouring families. Marriage into these families brought with it 'social and economic capital' through kinship ties which would have otherwise been unavailable to them during their first years on the estate and which would have supported them in other areas of estate life.[434] By examining the marriages of servants, this chapter has shown that servants were interacting with individuals outside of the duke's employment. However, it has also suggested that servants and residents followed different seasonal patterns and, as a result, both groups may not have been able to take part in each other's celebrations. The different timings of their seasonal labour may have had further impacts on the ability of servants to take part in community festivals and traditions beyond marriage which may have impacted their sense of belonging to the community.[435]

At Death

With the average length of service at Chatsworth for male servants over twenty-five years, many went on to live the rest of their lives on the estate. Preparations for the end of one's life in the form of a writing a will provide another opportunity to examine the status of servants in the wider community. The study of wills has been a staple in research by historians of family and community since Wrightson and Levine's study of Terling, published in 1979, and are a source which provides an insight into community and kinship relations, especially in communities for which other personal records are scarce.[436] When an individual made a will they required the signature of witnesses, who had been present during the writing of the will, and executors, who were to carry out the requests of the deceased. These individuals had to be trustworthy and were therefore drawn from an individual's close friends and family or respected people within the community. As members of the estate, servants were one group a villager could ask to take on these roles when they were writing their wills. This section asks two questions: what role did servants have in the wills made on the estate and who did servants choose to act as executors and witnesses to their wills? The role servants played in the wills made by residents on the estate will be suggestive of the status of servants amongst

[434] Naomi Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change', *C&C* 25:1 (2010), p. 16.

[435] Geoffrey Crossick, 'The Labour Aristocracy and Its Values: A Study of Mid-Victorian Kentish London', *Victorian Studies* 19:3 (1976), p. 313; John Beckett, 'Rethinking the English village', *The Local Historian* 42:4 (2012), p. 304.

[436] Clive Leivers, 'Family and Community in Early Modern England: A study of Selston, Nottinghamshire 1550-1650', *Family and Community History* 14:1 (2011), p. 48; Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling 1525-1700* (London, 1979). Another influential study was Margaret Spufford 'The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their influence', *Local Population Studies* 7 (1971), pp. 28-43.

other occupations in the parish. From the surviving wills from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Prerogative Court of York held at the National Archives and the wills from the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, I have created a database of 127 wills and abstracts of wills written between 1698 and 1849 which relate to the Cavendish family's households and the Chatsworth estate. In order to be included in the database, residents had to have died between 1700 and 1811 and servants had to have served the dukes of Devonshire between 1712 and 1811. This has resulted in the database being formed of twenty-nine wills written by the Chatsworth servants, eleven by the servants at the family's London properties, and the remaining eighty-seven created by the residents of the parish of Edensor.[437]

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[437] Chatsworth Servants: DC: L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734; National Archives (hereafter NA): PROB11/1743/234, Will of Jonathan Littlewood, late Groom to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire of Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th July 1828; PROB11/1175/221, Richard Holden, Brewer of Bakewell, Derbyshire, 12th February 1789; PROB11/1479/55, Ann Grove, Spinster of Bakewell, Derbyshire, 6th May 1808; IR26/359/250, Abstract of Will of David Loton, Yeoman of Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th September 1809; IR26/361/486, Abstract of Will of Ralph Travis, Gardener of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 12th May 1811; PROB 11/1986/370, Hannah Gregory, Spinster of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 27th October 1843; Staffordshire Record Office (hereafter SRO): B/C/11, James Brossard, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 29th April 1762; James Loton, Gardener, Edensor, Derbyshire, 25th April 1744; John Hackett, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1735; Priscilla Twigg, Matlock, Derbyshire, 12th December 1856; Jane Hackett, Widow, Derbyshire, 27th April 1744; Thomas Burgoine, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 20th April 1820; Thomas Burgoine Jr, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th September 1850; John Hutchinson, Keeper, of Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1743; William Barker, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 28th April 1737; Thomas Roberts, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 14th October 1762; John Bampton, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1763; John Sadler, Yeoman, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 14th October 1773; Joseph Higginbotham, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th October 1781; Thomas Holderness, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th June 1837; Ruth Cottingham, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 15th October 1857; Henry Woodward, Farmer, Calton Houses, Edensor, Derbyshire, 6th May 1824; B/C/11, Joseph Marsh, Park-keeper, Edensor, Derbyshire 20th April 1820; B/C/11, Ralph Trotter, Farmer, Rufforth, Derbyshire, 2nd November 1830; P/C/11 Robert Hackett, Yeoman, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 17th April 1741; Sarah Holt, Widow, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 18th May 1754; Eleanor Potter, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 18th May 1753; Will of John Phillips, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 17th July 1735. Estate Residents: NA: PROB11/1290/60, Will of John Barker, Gentleman of Edensor, Derbyshire, 6th May 1797; PROB11/1967/87, Reverend James Peake, Clerk of Edensor, Derbyshire, 10th August 1842; IR26/353/406, Abstract of Will of Daniel Lant, Taylor of Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1799; IR26/353/929, Abstract of Administration of William Barker Bossley, Gentleman of Edensor, Derbyshire, 29th August 1796; IR26/354/57, Abstract of Will of Elizabeth Lant, Widow of Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1802; IR26/354/727, Abstract of Administration of James Hampshire, Innholder of Edensor, Derbyshire, 27th December 1802; IR26/359/526, Abstract of Administration of Dorothy Blore of Edensor, Derbyshire, 27th June 1809; IR26/360/221, Abstract of Will of George Travis, Farmer of Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th June 1810; IR26/361/51, Abstract of Will of Richard Littlewood, Blacksmith of Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th March 1811; Staffordshire Record Office: B/C/11, Will of Ann Plant, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th October 1722; Anne Mercer, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1711; Edward Cowley, Edensor, Derbyshire, 2nd April 1700; Elijah Trout, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th April 1724; Francis Pickering, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1776; George Baken, Labourer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1774; George Cowley, Carpenter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 19th April 1704; Gervas Patrick, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1729; Will of Hannah Girdom, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1731; Will of Henry Dakin, Husbandman, Calton, Edensor, 3rd October 1711; Will of Henry Sheldon, Tailor, Edensor, Derbyshire, 9th April 1712; Will of Hugh Wheeldon, Carpenter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1731; Will of James Booth, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 11th April 1728; Will of James Loton senior, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 28th April 1726; Will of James Peak, Clerk, Edensor, Derbyshire, 19th April 1804; Will of James Wheeldon, Painter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 10th May 1768; Will of John Barker, Edensor, Derbyshire, 7th April 1727; Will of John Bowring, Pilsley, Edensor, 17th April 1766; Will of John Holme, Farmer, The Lees, Edensor, 16th October 1740; John Lees, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 31st October 1739; John Merrill,

While wills are a popular source for historians researching family, kin relations or community, they are not without their limitations. Making a will was an activity which required individuals to have a certain level of material wealth which has resulted in middling-sort and elite individuals being over-represented in probate documents. Similarly, men appear most frequently as testators because married women were only allowed to make a will with

Edensor, Derbyshire, 19th October 1752; John Patrick, Farmer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1760; John Rivers, Edensor, Derbyshire, 5th October 1721; John Rivers, Edensor, Derbyshire, 7th May 1772; John Sheldon, Edensor, Derbyshire, 5th May 1725; John Wilson, Baker, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1763; John Woodhouse, Edensor, Derbyshire, 6th October 1701; John Woodhouse, Pilsley, Edensor, 6th October 1703; John Woodhouse, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 21st October 1737; Jonathan Triggs, Clerk, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702; Joseph Dale, Labourer, Pilsley, Edensor, 21st April 1763; Margaret Bowering alias Greensmith, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd July 1724; Margery Hartley, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702; Martha Heward, Pilsley, Edensor, 3rd October 1711; Mary Harrison, Widow, Pilsley, Edensor, 17th October 1757; Mary White, Edensor, Derbyshire, 5th October 1726; Matthew Colson, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1723; Michael Plant, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1766; Michael Sherratt, Webster, Pilsley, Edensor, 2nd May 1734; Ralph Penistone, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 26th March 1718; Richard Drabble, Husbandman, Pilsley, Edensor, 21st April 1743; Richard Harrison, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th October 1761; Robert Holme, Labourer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 12th November 1701; Robert Kirke, Schoolmaster, Edensor, Derbyshire, 14th May 1767; Robert Lees senior, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1765; Robert Lees, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th April 1707; Robert Pennistone, Husbandman, Pilsley, Edensor, 23rd April 1742; Rowland Harrison, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 19th September 1717; Rowland Mather senior, Weaver, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1729; Samuel Coulson, Upholsterer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th April 1744; Samuel Peniston, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 27th March 1735; Sarah Plant, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th April 1775; Thomas Hartley, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702; Thomas Potter, Curate, Edensor, Derbyshire, 31st October 1733; Thomas Sales alias Patrick, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 11th April 1705; William Cowley, Joiner, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1763; William Mather, Edensor, Derbyshire, 27th April 1709; William Mather, Edensor, Derbyshire, 4th April 1722; Maria Roberts, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th October 1785; James Hewett, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 26th May 1718; Hannah Stevenson, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 16th October 1783; George Barker, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 1774; Thomas Hutchinson, Edensor, Derbyshire, 2nd May 1811; Jonathan Twigg, Clark, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702; Martha Heyward, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1711; Samuel Dongworth, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1785; Henry Woodward, Husbandman, Calton Houses, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th May 1789; Robert Bampton, Tailor, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th October 1789; John Gibbon, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 20th May 1791; James Gibbon, Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th October 1807; Grace Gibbon, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1808; Peter Furniss, Yeoman, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 14th October 1808; James Allen, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd November 1809; Philip Melton, Innkeeper, Edensor, Derbyshire, 18th October 1792; Nathaniel Woodhouse, Yeoman, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 17th October 1793; Anne Marsden, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794; George Cowley, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794; Henry Bessick, Gardener, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 16th October 1794; John Bossley, Butcher, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794; Matthew Coulson, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1723; Thomas Bland, Farmer and painter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1803; Anthony Holmes, Edensor, Derbyshire, 28th February 1806; P/C/11, Alexander Simpson, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 18th October 1776. London Servants: NA: PROB11/1638/43, Will of Sarah Dunks, Spinster, Housekeeper to the Duke of Devonshire of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex, 4th January 1821; PROB11/1295/108, Will of Mary Griffiths, Servant to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire of Chiswick, Middlesex, 14th August 1797; PROB11/1150/144, Will of Thomas Tawney, Servant to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire of Chiswick, Middlesex, 10th February 1787; PROB11/1332/165, Will of Bryan Hodgson, Servant of Devonshire Piccadilly, Middlesex, 15th November 1799; PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, Butler of Devonshire House Piccadilly, Middlesex, 7th August 1798; PROB11/1521/480, Will of Toussaint Ambroise Bertrand, Gentleman of Devonshire House Piccadilly, Middlesex, 4th May 1811; PROB11/1650/21, Will of William Rhodes, Gentleman of Saint Clements Danes, Middlesex, 3rd November 1821 IR26/383/688, Abstract of Administration of Edward Ridgway, Widower of Devonshire House Piccadilly, Middlesex, 29th November 1809; PROB11/1420/171, Will of Stephen Beeston, Groom of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex, 14th February 1805; PROB11/1149/58, Will of Edward Duffee of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex, 8th January 1787; London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA): DL/C/0467/101/001-002, Will of Francis Beeston, January 1818.

the permission of their husbands.[438] This gender distinction is reflected in this collection of wills: nine of the 40 servants' wills were made by female servants, and nine of the 87 resident wills had female testators. These numbers reflect the gendered nature of elite service but also suggest that female servants had more opportunities to write wills because many of them were single or widowed and, therefore, did not need any permission to write a will, unlike the married female tenants who required the approval of their husbands. Expending the effort and expense of making a will was also only undertaken by individuals who had material goods or property worth bequeathing. The presence of several wills made by servants show the duke's servants had enough goods or savings to make writing a will an important exercise. The servants who made wills spanned the servant hierarchy from lower servants, such as maids, grooms and footmen, to upper servants, like housekeepers, gardeners, and stewards. The finding of wills for the servants employed by the duke relies heavily on servants either listing their occupation on their death, dying in service at one of the duke's properties or remaining geographically close to their place of former service, where they were married, or where they baptised their children. As a result, female servants, lower status servants and the servants who travelled more extensively after their employment in the duke's service often remain hidden. Despite these limitations, wills provide historians with a view of an individual's relationships which few other sources allow. Examining these wills in conjunction with other records produced by the estate allows this chapter to focus in detail on the status of individuals called upon to take part in the process of will-making.

The majority of the wills examined in this thesis, whether created by a servant or a resident, follow the general trend of early modern wills of appointing a family member as executor.[439] Dividing and distributing a person's estate was a task which required commitment and knowledge of the will maker's network and, as a result, an executor was often chosen from someone who was close to the individual and those who were bound to them in kinship often presented a dependable option. As Table 5 shows relatives accounted for 22 of the 33 executors recorded in the Chatsworth servant wills and 84 of 110 instances of executors in the wills of parish residents. When family members who acted as executors or witnesses were also servants for the duke they have only been counted once as family and are not included in the category of 'servant'. Male servants most often relied on their immediate family like their

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[438] Leivers, 'Family and Community', p. 42.

[439] Johnston, 'Family, Kin and Community', p. 183; Leivers, 'Family and Community', p. 48; Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction', pp. 38-69, esp. pp. 62-64.

wives and sons to act as their executors.[440] Female servants who died in service often did not have the same network because they were widowed or unmarried and instead these women often relied upon siblings or their nephews to occupy this role such as Hannah Gregory, the housekeeper, who used her nephew as her executor.[441] This reliance is similar to the close connections female servants had to the parental home already witnessed during their service and at the time of their marriage.[442] The wills reinforce the gendered experience of servants on the estate: men had the ability to create their own family units on while women remained close to their parental home.

When family members were not chosen, the Chatsworth servants turned to other servants to act as executors. Of the thirty-three servant wills, other servants of the duke acted as executors on four occasions. For other female servants, the duke's servants could provide the stability and trust required of an executor in the absence of immediate family members. At the time Priscilla Twigg made her will in 1849 she had never married and was recorded as living in Matlock, over six miles away from the Chatsworth estate. She had served the family from 1811 to 1846 as their dairy maid and this connection saw her turn to the duke's steward to act as the executor of her will.[443] The same was also true for male servants who died having never married. The housekeeper John Phillips asked the long serving William Barker, land steward at Chatsworth, to be the executor of his will.[444] These men would have worked closely together to oversee the running of the estate and implement the orders of the duke. His choice of William Barker, the steward at Chatsworth, as an executor reflected his trust in Barker and his permanency within the duke's service. In contrast, servants did not act as executors in any of the residents' wills, and instead residents were more likely to turn to their fellow tenants who accounted for 16 of the 110 instances in their wills. While servants were not popular choices for executors, the moments in which they were chosen show that they were an important resource for servants who did not have an immediate family to turn to. The servants chosen to act as executors reflected the importance of having a relationship of trust with an executor. By choosing the steward, Twigg was not selecting a servant she had

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[440] For example, see: SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Hutchinson, 21st April 1743, the keeper who chose his wife Elizabeth as his executor; SRO: B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737, the steward who chose his son Alexander as his executor.

[441] NA: PROB/11/1986/370, Will of Hannah Gregory, 27th October 1843.

[442] See Chapter Two, pp. 120-121.

[443] SRO: B/C/11, Will of Priscilla Twigg, 12th December 1856.

[444] SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, 17th July 1735.

worked closely with but was instead picking a servant who would have understood the significance of this position and who had the knowledge and capability to complete the task.

Unlike executors, witnesses were rarely family members and were instead more likely to be selected from an individual's wider network of friends and neighbours. Acting as a witness was an intimate act because it required an individual to attend the writing of the will, usually in an individual's house, and therefore witnesses were usually drawn from friends and kin who attended the dying.[445] Servants appear infrequently in this role on the Chatsworth estate and, as Table 6 shows, accounted for nine of the 83 witnesses in servants' wills and nine of the 200 witnesses recorded in tenants' wills. The servants chosen to act as witnesses in wills varied and, of the eighteen servants recorded across these wills, thirteen different individuals appear which further highlights the importance of the personal relationship between the will maker and those they chose to act in official roles. Servants and tenants were also likely to choose different servants to act as their witnesses and only three servants appeared as witnesses in the wills of both servants and tenants: the steward Alexander Barker, the brewer Robert Marsden, and James Grove, the park keeper all acted in this role for both groups.[446] The positions of the servants who witnessed the wills of tenants suggest that working for the duke may have shaped these relationships. John Bossley's choice of brewer Robert Marsden may have been a result of a connection forged through their relationship with Chatsworth because both men supplied foodstuffs to the house with Bossley, the butcher, supplying meat while Marsden was in charge of the beer.[447] Similarly, James Booth's choice of the gardener James Loton may have been a result of the relationship which formed when Booth took on casual labour in the park and as a watchman.[448] James Grove, the park keeper, acted as a witness for the will of John Barker, a resident on the estate from a well-respected family.[449] Grove's yearly wage of £12 meant he was in the lower-half of the male wage hierarchy and yet he was still a witness to the will of a freeholder on the estate. The two could have developed a relationship as a result of Grove's work which may have intersected with

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[445] Christopher Marsh, 'Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England', in Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 160-161; Keith Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 139 (2006), p. 168.

[446] SRO: P/C/11, Will of Robert Hackett, 17th April 1741; P/C/11, Will of Jane Hackett, 27th April 1744; P/C/11, Will of Eleanor Potter, 18th May 1753; B/C/11, Will of John Bossley, 3rd May 1794; Will of Thomas Bland, 13th October 1803; NA: PROB11/1290/60, Will of John Barker, 6th May 1797; B/C/11, Will of Joseph Higginbotham, 17th October 1781.

[447] SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Bossley, Butcher, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794.

[448] SA: B/C/11, Will of James Booth, 11th April 1728.

[449] NA: PROB/11/1290/60, Will of John Barker, 6th May 1797.

Barker's interests in protecting and managing his own parcels of land on the estate. Grove acted as witness to Barker's will alongside the schoolmaster at the village school and a tailor who lived on the estate. The account books are suggestive of the overlapping spheres of these individuals but they do not show if or how these individuals worked together directly. These individuals may have come into contact with one another during the work they completed for the duke but friendships were formed through repeated contact on the estate.

The nine servants who witnessed the wills of other servants were similarly chosen from a wide range of positions. In some cases a fellow servant was chosen because they worked closely with the will-maker such as Mary Marple, a maid, who was a witness to the will of housekeeper Eleanor Potter, or the groom Robert Winn who witnessed the will of John Hackett, the huntsman.[450] In other instances, the account books do not show a direct link between the two parties. In 1778, Joseph Higginbotham, the husbandman, asked Robert Marsden, the brewer, to be his witness, and in 1820 the gamekeeper, Thomas Burgoine, chose the upholsterer, Ralph Trotter, and his son James Trotter as two of the witnesses to his will.[451] The choice of servants outside of the will-maker's own department is suggestive of mobility of servants around the estate and the interconnectivity of different administrative areas of the duke's household. It also indicates the importance of a servant's time outside of the daily tasks they completed for the duke as occasions when servants could build upon and maintain these friendships. The database of wills shows it was rare for more than one servant to be asked as a witness the will of a fellow Chatsworth servant; yet the witnesses used in the wills of female servants show these women were frequently reliant on either individuals who had connections to Chatsworth or the servants employed in the Chatsworth household. In 1753, Eleanor Potter, the housekeeper, chose Mary Marple, the housemaid, and Mary Barker, the wife of the steward at Chatsworth, to be the witnesses to her will.[452] Jane Hackett, the dairy maid, used Alexander Barker, the steward, Robert Winn, the groom, and Ann Loton, a possible relation of gardener James Loton, as the witnesses to her will.[453] These connections show female servants had personal relations which existed beyond the confines of the household as well as those which developed within the duke's house.

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[450] SRO: P/C/11, Will of Eleanor Potter, 18th May 1753.
[451] SRO: B/C/11, Will of Thomas Burgoine, 20th April 1820.
[452] SRO: P/C/11, Will of Eleanor Potter, 18th May 1753.
[453] SRO: P/C/11, Will of Jane Hackett, 27th April 1744.

Table 5: Categories of Executors present in wills

	Executors to the wills of Estate Residents	Percentage of executors to wills of Estate Residents	Executors to the wills of Chatsworth Servants	Percentage of executors to wills of Chatsworth Servants	Executors to the wills of London Servants	Percentage of executors to wills of London Servants
Family	84	76.36 %	22	66.67 %	8 (3 also the duke's servants)	53.33 %
Tenants	16	14.55 %	4	12.12 %	0	-
Servants	0	-	4	12.12 %	3	20 %
Unknown individuals	10	9.09 %	3	9.09 %	4	26.67 %
Total	110		33		15	

Sources: Wills from National Archives; Staffordshire Records Office; London Metropolitan Archives. See Chapter Two, pp. 122-123, footnote n. 437.

Table 6: Categories of Witnesses present in wills

	Witnesses to the wills of Estate Residents	Percentage of witnesses to wills of Estate Residents	Witnesses to the wills of Chatsworth Servants	Percentage of witnesses to wills of Chatsworth Servants	Witnesses to the wills of London Servants	Percentage of witnesses to wills of London Servants
Family	3	1.5 %	2	2.4 %	1 (Also a servant to the duke)	3.45 %
Tenants	128	64 %	50	60.24 %	0	-
Servants	9	4.5 %	9	10.84 %	14	48.28 %
Unknown individuals	60	30 %	22	26.5 %	14	48.28 %
Total	200		83		29	

Sources: Wills from National Archives; Staffordshire Records Office; London Metropolitan Archives. See Chapter Two, pp. 122-123, footnote n. 437.

The range of servants who acted as witnesses show that the servant hierarchy was not a major factor when individuals were considering who to ask, instead personal connections were often favoured over the status of an individual. Of the thirteen different servants who witnessed wills, only four occupied roles which were acknowledged as upper-servant positions: the housekeeper, the steward, the upholsterer and the gardener.[454] The presence of other servant roles in the wills of tenants including the assistant-keeper, the under-gardener and a groom show servants of all statuses were interacting with the community, although gender could influence the extent of this interaction. The wills of tenants and servants reveal that servants did act in the role of witnesses, but only in a minority of cases. Their limited presence reveals servants were individuals who could be drawn upon like any other person on the estate. It was, however, not a necessarily a reflection of their status in the estate community and infrequent appearances were common for several groups; of the 196 different individuals who appear as witnesses to wills made by Chatsworth servants and residents, 146 of them only occur once in the database which further revealed the personal nature of this choice. Robert Marsden, the brewer, witnessed three wills, the most of any of the servants, and his presence was equal to men such as John and Thomas Bossley, the butcher, and William Cowley, a labourer, who also witnessed three.[455]

The database shows servants were not a common group to feature in wills but the estate residents were more prevalent. Table 6 shows that tenants accounted for 50 of the 83 witnesses, 60.2 per cent, in servant wills, and 128 of the 200, 64 per cent, of tenant wills. Beyond this general category, there was little consensus on the types of individuals who were called upon to perform the role of witness. While in previous centuries the roles of witness and executor would have been fulfilled by the parish elite such as large landowners and, most common of all, the clergy, the same unanimity was not present by the eighteenth century.[456] Landholding did continue to hold some influence into the eighteenth century at Chatsworth with Nathaniel Woodhouse, a yeoman in Pilsley acting as a witness to seven wills and William Oxley, a farmer and tax-collector on the estate witnessing four wills, although none of these were servants' wills.[457] This echoes the findings of Matthew Cragoe's study on

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[454] Judith Rollins, *Between Women: Domestics and Their Employers* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 25.

[455] SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Bossley, 3rd May 1794; B/C/11, Will of Thomas Bland, 13th October 1803; B/C/11, Will of Joseph Higginbotham, 17th October 1781.

[456] R. C. Richardson, 'Wills and Will-Makers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Some Lancashire Evidence', *Local Population Studies* 9 (1972), p. 37; Leivers, 'Family and Community', pp. 49-50.

[457] SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Woodhouse, 21st October 1737; B/C/11, Will of Richard Drabble, 21st April 1743; B/C/11, Will of Robert Pennistone, 23rd April 1742; B/C/11, Will of Joseph Dale, 21st April 1763;

eighteenth-century Kent which found the continued prominence of farmers and artisans as leading members of the community.[458] However, other groups failed to retain the same status as they had previously held. Despite being prominent figures in wills in previous centuries, clergymen did not feature in any of the wills recorded in this database.[459] The declining presence of religious-establishment figures at Chatsworth saw several residents turned to the schoolmaster to act in as a witness, a trend also found by Clive Leivers in his study of wills made in seventeenth-century Nottingham.[460] Between them the estate's schoolmasters witnessed twenty-two wills between 1700 and 1811, including eleven witnessed by Robert Kirke and eight by Joseph Machin, the most of any individual resident in this period. Schoolmasters were also used by both servants and tenants, appearing nine times as a witness in the wills of servants and thirteen times in the wills of residents.

The prominence of schoolmasters in wills has been argued to be a result of their levels of literacy which exceeded many of the residents in their communities. Donald Spaeth, in his research on seventeenth-century household inventories, also found schoolmasters commonly acted as witnesses of wills.[461] He has argued that schoolmasters were sought out by will-makers because they were literate members of a community and could act as scribe if necessary. Michael Riley found in his study of four Yorkshire communities between 1660 and 1760 that the numbers of illiterate witnesses declined in the eighteenth century.[462] This may have been a result of literate individuals being favoured for the role but may also have reflected the increasing literacy levels in society more generally.[463] Although not a precise measure, an individual's ability to sign their name does provide a means of estimating the literacy level in a community. The Edensor marriage registers between 1754 and 1811

B/C/11, Will of John Bowring, 17th April 1766; B/C/11, Will of Maria Roberts, 17th October 1785; B/C/11, Will of Edward Cowley, 2nd April 1700; B/C/11, Will of Henry Melton, 21st October 1736; B/C/11, Will of Thomas Sales alias Patrick, 11th April 1705; B/C/11, Will of Robert Lees, 16th April 1707; B/C/11, Will of John Barker, 7th April 1727; B/C/11, Will of Edward Cowley, 2nd April 1700.

[458] Matthew Cragoe, 'The Parish Elite at Play? Cricket, Community and the 'Middling Sort' in Eighteenth-Century Kent', *History* 102:349 (2017), p. 51.

[459] Leivers, 'Family and Community', p. 49.

[460] *Ibid*.; Also see: Margaret Spufford, 'Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire, 1570-1700' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part*, pp. 152-156.

[461] Donald Spaeth, ''Orderly made': re-appraising household inventories in seventeenth-century England', *Social History* 41:4 (2016), p. 431.

[462] Michael David Riley, 'Families and their Property in Early Modern England: A study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse, 1660-1760', PhD thesis (York, 1990), p. 120.

[463] Kent, 'Rural 'Middling Sort'', p. 40; Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth Century Britain, 1688-1783* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 98.

recorded that 141 of 202 men and 107 of 202 women could sign their names.[464] The duke's servants were also increasingly literate. Of the seventeen servants listed in 1739, I have found seven were able to sign their names while four could not, and of the twenty-one servants listed in 1800, fifteen were able to sign their names while two could not.[465] Therefore, the choice of the schoolmaster by servants and tenants was not solely because of his literacy, instead it also reflected his position as an educated and trusted individual who had benefited the local community.[466] J. A. Johnston has argued that the choice of witnesses in wills showed the declining influence of the community because the number of witnesses to a will decreased.[467] The individuals chosen at act in these roles in this sample of wills suggest that community was still an important part of people's lives into the eighteenth century.

Clive Leivers has argued that the rise in literacy rates and the growing separation between the parish gentry and the lower sorts meant witnesses were increasingly chosen from a testator's friends and neighbours and witnesses were drawn from the same social status as the will-maker.[468] The number of individuals who witnessed the servants' and tenants' wills did suggest that people were chosen because they had personal connections to the will-maker while the social status of servants can be inferred from the absence of certain types of individuals in their wills. The men who witnessed the will of James Peak, whose probate inventory was valued at £5000, or the will of William Barker Bossley, whose probate was valued at £1000, did not appear as witnesses in any of the servants' wills.[469] Similarly, Nathaniel Woodhouse, the yeoman who witnessed seven wills on the estate, did not act as a witness to any of the servants' wills. Despite this, the individuals recorded as witnesses in servants' wills show the broad range of interactions they could have. Richard Holden, the brewer who died in 1789, listed Philip Melton, the Edensor innkeeper, Barker John Blockley, a farmer on the estate, and Joseph Machin, the schoolmaster, as his witnesses.[470] The housekeeper, John Phillips, turned to the carpenter on the estate, Richard Mortin, who he

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[464] DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811.

[465] DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1739-1743; DC: DE/CH/3/11/44, Vouchers, 1800; DRO: M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Marriages 1754-1811.

[466] While literacy might have been attractive in a witness, it was also not essential and the database does include witnesses who were not able to sign their names. For example, see SRO: B/C/11, Will of James Loton, 25th April 1744.

[467] Johnston, 'Family, Kin and Community', p. 190.

[468] Leivers, 'Family and Community', p. 50. Also see Shani D'Cruze, *A Pleasing Prospect: Social change and urban culture in eighteenth-century Colchester* (Hatfield, 2008), p. 75.

[469] NA: PROB11/1967/87, Will of Reverend James Peake, 10th August 1842; NA: IR26/353/929, Abstract of Administration of William Barker Bossley, 29th August 1796.

[470] NA: PROB11/1175/221, Will of Richard Holden, 12th February 1789.

would have known from the work he undertook for the house.[471] Tradesmen were regular choices for servants as witnesses with blacksmiths, shoemakers and painters all appearing in their wills.[472] These tradesmen were also likely to have connections to the country house that paid for their services on various occasions.[473] John Gardom and John Strutt, both blacksmiths on the estate, witnessed the wills of the steward and the gardener at Chatsworth while Abraham Wheeldon, the shoemaker, witnessed the will of James Loton, the undergardener.[474] Geoff Monks has argued that 'social and working relationships in rural communities are deeply intertwined'.[475] The presence of trades- and crafts-people in servants' wills suggests this was the case at Chatsworth and that servants built closer relations with people who they encountered in the context of the country house and in the immediate sphere of the village rather than with farmers or land owners.

A comparison of the groups recorded as executors and witnesses in the wills of the Chatsworth servants with their London counterparts reveals that the environment of country estate enabled servants to draw upon a wider network of individuals. Much like their Chatsworth counterparts, family members were still most likely to occupy the position of executor in the wills of London servants and accounted for 8 of the 15 executors recorded in these eleven wills as shown in Table 5. After family members, the London servants were more likely to choose people outside of the duke's household to act as an executor. Some drew upon networks formed during the duke's service, such as Francis Beeston who asked John Pattison Panton, a gentleman of Old Burlington Street, to be an executor of his will in 1818. Pattison Panton had previously been a witness to the 5th Duke's will in 1809 and had worked for the Exchequer in the Pipe Office.[476] Other connections offer glimpses into a servant's life outside of the duke's household such as the housekeeper Sarah Dunks who chose Salmon Burrell, a linen draper, who was located less than a mile away from Devonshire House on Oxford Street, as a joint executor of her will alongside her nephew. Choosing individuals outside of the duke's household was suggestive of two factors which

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[471] SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, 17th July 1735.

[472] SRO: B/C/11, Will of James Loton, 25th April 1744; B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737; B/C/11, Will of James Brossard, 29th April 1762; P/C/11, Will of John Sadler, 14th October 1773.

[473] See for example: DC: C/13, William Barker's accounts, 1739; DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth vouchers 1739-1743 for references to Richard Mortin. In 1739, Mortin was paid for 131 days carpentry.

[474] SRO: B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737; B/C/11, Will of James Brossard, 29th April 1762; B/C/11, Will of James Loton, 25th April 1744.

[475] Geoff Monks, 'William Gould, Land Agent and the Rural Community in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire 1783–1788', *Family & Community* 21:2 (2018), p. 79.

[476] *The Royal Kalendar and court and city register for England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies for the Year 1819* (London, 1819), p. 233; DC: L/13/23, Will of the 5th Duke of Devonshire, 1809.

affected the lives of London servants. Firstly, it reflected the higher turnover of servants in the duke's London household which meant that lasting relationships were more difficult to form.[477] Secondly, it was suggestive of their mobility in the capital. Robert Shoemaker has suggested that servants in the metropolis were some of the most mobile individuals in society and the relationships indicated in these wills highlight this mobility, both in terms of the often short-term nature of their service and their daily mobility around the capital.[478] This meant these servants had more opportunity to form friendships and connections with many different groups of people.

The types of witnesses chosen by the family's London servants differed from the choices made by their Chatsworth counterparts because London servants were more likely to use their fellow servants as witnesses. Table 6 shows that servants accounted for 14 of the 29 witnesses, 48.3 per cent, listed in the eleven wills. Across these wills, servants were more present and nine of the 11 London wills listed servants acting in both the roles of executor and witness. In the absence of a country estate, which provided the Chatsworth servants with a wider pool of friends and neighbours in the immediate vicinity, the London servants were more reliant on the relationships they formed within the sphere of the duke's households. Two of the London servants' wills used servants to fill every role in their wills: Brian Hodgeson used his brother Robert, a porter at Devonshire House, as his sole executor, while the porters William Rhodes and Henry Matthes, also of Devonshire House, acted as his executors.[479] The will of Edward Duffee, the coachman at Devonshire House, went further by not including any family members in his will; instead, William Beard, the house steward at Devonshire House, and Joseph Marsden, the duke's valet, were the executors of his will and their presence reflected Duffee's long service in the duke's household as both of the men he chose has served the family for many years much like Duffee himself.[480] The choice of witnesses and executors in the wills of the London servants highlights the mobility of servants between departments. Francis Beeston, the 1st coachman, asked the 2nd Cook, Thomas Howard, to be one of the witnesses to his will while the will of Stephen Beeston, a

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[477] See Chapter One, pp. 62-64.

[478] Robert Shoemaker 'Gendered Spaces: Patterns of mobility and perceptions of London's geography, 1660-1750' in J.F. Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 159-161.

[479] NA: PROB11/1332/165, Will of Bryan Hodgson, 15th November 1799.

[480] NA: PROB/11/1149/58, Will of Edward Duffee, 8th January 1787.

groom at Devonshire House, included two footmen as witnesses.[481] The will of Francis Barker, a footman who had risen to the role of the butler at Devonshire House, was witnessed by a butler, a chairman, and a groom.[482] These wills show the close working relationship between the servants in the stables and the footmen who would have often accompanied the grooms and coachmen when the family travelled by carriage. These servants would have spent much time interacting during the working day; both would have gone on visits with the family and would have spent time waiting for the family's return to the carriage. The importance of the immediate sphere in which urban individuals lived and worked, and the influence it had on the choices they made in their wills, has also been seen by William Coster in his study on the bequests left in early modern Yorkshire wills. The prevalence of kin in urban wills led him to argue that the family unit was of great importance to individuals who lived in towns and cities because kin was more likely to fulfil a multitude of roles in these individuals' lives such as landlord or master.[483] The immediate sphere of the household was a significant site to the duke's London servants, and the concentration of their executors and witnesses in this environment, suggests that a servant's time was more focused on this site, in comparison to the relationship the Chatsworth servants had with the county house, because they served a resident master.

Wills are suggestive of the day-to-day interactions and associations of servants and they show that the servants at Chatsworth created connections with a wide group of people. The country house and its reliance on local trades- and crafts-people did create meetings between these individuals and servants. However, the personal connections and friendships which are suggested by an individual's presence in the will-making process suggest these relationships were formed from interactions both in and out of work. The nature of servants' work may account, in part, for their absence in the wills written by those who resided on the country estate in comparison to the wills of Devonshire House servants. At Chatsworth, the working routines of servants on a large estate meant they were not always on hand to act as a witness to a will in comparison to the London servants who were more confined to Devonshire House. The small number of servants acting as witnesses in both the wills of servants at

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[481] LMA: DL/C/0467/101/001-002, Will of Francis Beeston, January 1818; NA: PROB11/1420/171, Will of Stephen Beeston, 14th February 1805.

[482] NA: PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, 7th August 1798.

[483] William Coster, *Kinship and Inheritance in Early Modern England: Three Yorkshire Parishes* (York, 1993), pp. 7-9. Also see Peter Clark, 'The migrant in Kentish towns 1580-1640', in Peter Clark and Peter Slack (eds), *Crisis and order in English towns 1500-1700* (London, 1972), pp. 117-163.

Chatsworth and wills of the estate's residents suggest that servants were not a popular choice for the role. The credit networks on the estate reveal that servants quickly became a part of the community; however, their absence in wills demonstrates that, even with the longevity of their service, they were overlooked in favour of the connections an individual formed with their neighbours and other estate residents.

Moral Hierarchy

Although in a grand setting, Edensor was not without impoverished residents and the poor house in the centre of the village was a reminder of the poverty which could exist despite paternal gifts of charity. Alongside the duke, overseers of the poor were another facet of support in the community. Overseer of the poor accounts survive for Edensor for the period 1794 to 1811 and during this time four of the 15 men elected to be overseers were servants on the estate.[484] Servants also acted as witnesses of the overseer's records and accounted for six of the 25 individuals who completed the task during this period.[485] The position of overseer was subordinate to the role of churchwarden in the parish but election to this position still required men to be considered of good standing within the community. As Steve Hindle has argued, the position also held a 'political' element to it as these men acted as governors of the poor, and the individuals chosen to undertake the role had to be substantial men whose status and wealth were a reflection of their 'respect', 'compassion' and 'grace'.[486] The election to such an important role was a reflection of the esteem these servants were held in by their neighbours and their place as trusted members of the wider estate community. Joan Kent has argued that holding parish office created a set of shared values in the community which were of particular significance to members of the middling sort because they were the individuals who were regularly appointed to these roles.[487] Election to these roles showed servants were chosen because they encompassed these principles. The types of servants chosen are suggestive of the values which the estate held in high regard and shows that a servant was capable of displaying values shared by the middling sort, even if other aspects of their status did not correspond with this group. The gamekeeper, the baker-brewer, the park keeper, and the pasture tenant were all elected to the role. The absence of the highest paid members of the

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[484] DRO: D1192/A/PO/1, Parish account book, including overseers', churchwardens' and headboroughs' accounts, 1794-1828.

[485] *Ibid*.

[486] Hindle, *On the Parish,* pp. 257-258; Steve Hindle, 'Exhortation and entitlement: negotiating inequality in English rural communities, 1550-1650' in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 108.

[487] Kent, 'Rural 'Middling Sort'', pp. 19-54.

duke's household, such as the steward on £100 a year, the upholsterer on £80 per annum, and the duchess's groom on £50, in these years both as witnesses to the accounts or as officers suggest that the estate did not solely focus on an individual's monetary worth as a validation of their place in the estate hierarchy. The men who were selected were not the highest-paid servants at Chatsworth, nor were all of them born on the estate, but their election to serve the community showed their personal values were in line with the beliefs held by the parish elite.

Steve Hindle has shown that local authority was often 'exercised in most rural parishes by men who resided on the broad convex slopes rather than at the very summit of the social hierarchy'[488] Men like the duke did not occupy these positions; instead, the men who participated in parish office were often wealthier individuals and, at Chatsworth, those appointed as overseers were traditionally men with economic and social power.[489] Robert Lees, the publican on the estate as well as a freeholder, John Barker and Allen Vickers, who both rented properties on the estate, and Thomas Bossley, the estate's butcher, were all men who took on the role. These men had positions which placed them in contact with many of the residents on the estate, which meant they were in a position to observe the physical and moral wellbeing of the parish inhabitants. Their property ownership and experience in trade was also suggestive of their status and promoted traits like independence and diligence which were important to the middling sort.[490] The servants chosen for the role also followed a similar hierarchical pattern. The absence of the most senior servants from this role during this period may have been a result of the travel required for positions such as steward or personal groom which meant they could be absent from the estate for periods of time. Instead, it was servants lower than these positions of management which were elected to parish roles. The favouring of these servants also meant that the individuals selected were the ones who worked outside the house in the landscape, where they were visible to the rest of the estate.

Thomas Burgoine, the gamekeeper at Chatsworth from 1774 until at least 1816, would have been a known figure to the estate. His work to protect his master's game and property from poachers meant he was often the estate's first line of defence against intruders. Despite the importance of his position for the success of his master's hunts, his yearly wage of £21 was small in comparison to many on the estate. His role also meant that he was well acquainted with the law and its processes. The four cases of assault which were brought before the petty

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[488] Hindle, 'Exhortation and entitlement', p. 120.
[489] Wrightson, 'Politics of the Parish', pp. 19-20.
[490] Kent, 'Rural 'Middling Sort'', p. 31.

sessions courts and involved a person from Edensor between 1774 and 1811 were all against the gamekeepers on the Chatsworth estate.[491] P. B. Munsche has argued that gamekeepers were unpopular figures on estates because they were seen to reinforce disliked laws on the local community and were portrayed as having an ambiguous moral compass.[492] Burgoine's election to the role of as overseer between 1795 and 1796 suggests that not all estate communities viewed gamekeepers in this way. Historians have traditionally defined gamekeepers as 'the most isolated members of the community' but Burgoine's appointed to a role elected by members of the community suggests his position as gamekeeper did not segregate him from the village.[493] His work could benefit the wider estate community by protecting their property and prosecuting local thieves and it may have been this recognised lawfulness which resulted in the community electing him as overseer of the poor.

The importance of visible morality when designating the role of overseer can also be seen in the appointment of Henry Woodward, the pasture tenant. When Woodward became overseer in 1802 he was in his forty-seventh year of service to the duke and aged fifty-six. His economic status in the servant hierarchy was in decline by the time he took on the role of overseer; his annual wage of £8 had decreased to £7 in 1778 and would again decrease in 1808 to £6 when Woodward was sixty-two.[494] Part of his role as pasture tenant was overseeing the wellbeing of the grazing sheep and cattle on the estate's land; this included looking after the animals of estate residents who paid to put out their animals on the duke's land. Woodward's appointment to the role of overseer showed the servant hierarchy was not the most important factor when being involved in the community. Instead, his position in the village community came from the qualities of care and supervision he displayed during his work and his ability to continually display them over many years brought him a respect from the community that his economic status did not convey. While the aging population of the servant body may have been viewed as a nuisance to employers, one visitor to Chatsworth in 1798 wrote that 'most of the servants are as old as the house, and the greatest part of them stone deaf', the estate residents did not view age with the same disdain.[495] Instead, the

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[491] DRO: Q/MP/1/1-41, Derby Division Petty Sessions.

[492] P. B. Munsche, 'The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660-1830', in *Journal of British Studies* 20:2 (1981), p. 82.

[493] *Ibid*., p. 96; Lord, 'Communities of Common Interest', p. 142.

[494] DC: AS/1005, Accounts of Alexander Barker, 1778; DC: AS/1065, Chatsworth Account, 1762; DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1794, 1796-1797; DC: L/91/8/12, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth accounts, 1808.

[495] Beata Francis and Eliza Keary (eds), *The Francis Letters: Sir Philip Francis and Other Members of the Family* (London, 1901, Volume 2), p. 430. Duchess Georgiana also complained about the hearing loss of the

longevity of service and the skills, experience and knowledge it brought with it were, in some ways, beneficial to a servant's status on the estate.

Both the role of gamekeeper and pasture tenant had responsibilities which benefitted the wider community, as well as their master, by looking after the security of animals and property. The duality of their work, in part for the benefit of the master and in part for the benefit of the village, was a theme shared by the other servants, such as the baker-brewer and the park keeper, who also took on the role of overseer in Edensor. These were jobs which also came into regular contact with the village; the giving of corn to the local mill was a stipulation of estate leases, and the park keeper would have worked alongside the host of casual labourers who were needed to maintain the estate. The sense of trustworthiness which came from these connections was formed over time. This was reflected in the length of time these servants had spent in the duke's employment when they became overseers, with all four having served at Chatsworth for at least fourteen years before their appointment. Henry Woodward was the longest serving of all, having been employed on the Chatsworth estate for forty-seven years before he was elected overseer in 1802. Although the length of his service and his declining health placed Woodward at a disadvantage in the servant hierarchy, it was the longevity of his work which increased his status as a member of the wider estate. Alexandra Shepard has argued that what a person did for a living rather than the amount an individual had to maintain themselves by 'became increasingly important to the ways in which they accounted for themselves and appraised others'.[496] Men like Woodward and Burgoine were not in the higher ranks of society on the estate but their work provided a means through which their characters and morals could be seen by others. Shepard has also argued that an individual's inclusion in credit networks was based upon a community witnessing the 'honesty associated with painstaking labour'.[497] The work of these male servants fulfilled a similar function as its visibility proved they were undertaking productive work. The tax on male servants defined service as decorative rather than a productive form of work, although exceptions were made for several groups of workers including agricultural servants whose labour was viewed as advantageous to wider society. The men who became overseers were included in this tax but their appointment to overseer reveals that the location

family's servants. She wrote to her mother that the old butler had a 'ghost of a bell' in his ear which meant he kept entering the room when he had not been summoned. DC: CS5/577, Duchess Georgiana to Countess Spencer, 8th January 1781.

[496] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 301.

[497] Alexandra Shepard, ''Honesty, Worth and Gender in Early Modern England', in French and Barry (eds), *Identity and Agency*, p. 93.

of their work outside of the house and the nature of it were viewed by the community as productive and of benefit to them.

A 1793 guide for parish officials, entitled *The parish officer's complete guide,* demonstrated that those outside of a locality could have a different understanding of who was considered suitable for the position of overseer than the people who elected an individual. An example the guide gave told how the archdeacon of Cardigan refused to swear in an individual chosen for the role because 'he was a poor dairy-man, and a servant' which made him 'unable and unfit to execute the office'.[498] The archdeacon's concerns were rejected by the spiritual court which argued that 'the parishioners may chuse [sic] and trust whom they think fit' to act in parish office. This example shows that being a servant was not incompatible with holding office, although certain conditions and stipulations required from the role meant it was given to individuals who met particular criteria. At Chatsworth, those who were chosen had been on the estate consistently for many years and had shown their honesty and reliability through their work in a visible setting. These servants were not in the highest positions in the servant hierarchy but the roles they occupied justified their place as trusted members of the estate community because they showed their abilities to uphold the law and to observe and protect the estate. Their status as servants in the lower portion of the servant hierarchy meant these individuals did not have the same social or economic position as others who were appointed to the role of overseer but their election did show that certain characteristics of their work did intersect with the qualities desired for the role of overseer.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore the extent to which servants integrated into the local community and the status they occupied within the hierarchies of the estate. It has demonstrated that these processes were influenced by a number of factors. The servants at Chatsworth were visible members of the community; they lived within the estate villages, married at the village church and raised their children on the estate. Servants were quickly accepted into the estate community because of the tendency for many to remain in the employment of the duke for many years. Male servants further promoted their assimilation into the community by marrying partners who came from the local area which, in turn,

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[498] John Paul, *The parish officer's complete guide; Or The laws relating to the respective duties of church warden, overseer of the poor, constable, and surveyor of highways. The sixth edition, containing all the acts of Parliament; the decisions of the several courts of law upon these subjects; and the points of many manuscript cases, particularly with respect to settlements, to the commencement of Michaelmas term in the thirty-third year of George the Third* (London, 1793), p. 16.

provided them with a wider network of kin relations. This chapter has argued that gender was the most polarising of factors when it came to a servant's experience on the country estate. Female servants most often lived within the duke's household where they were dependent on their master and retained a strong connection to their parental home. Their time on the estate was shorter than male servants because they were more likely to leave service to marry and they were more likely to leave the country estate to marry closer to their parental home.

The servant hierarchy did not map directly onto the estate hierarchy; the estate hierarchy was separate from the duke's involvement but one the servants on the estate still had to learn to navigate. A servant's wage did not fix their place in the economic hierarchy of the estate because, as this chapter has shown, servants were able to use other forms of employment to supplement their income and become more active members of the economic hierarchy. In other hierarchies the traits associated with service were beneficial to individuals because they promoted honesty and fidelity which were ideal for official positions on the estate. These instances show that the institution of service was not incompatible with engagement in the local community and servants were quick to engage with the wider estate upon their employment. However, there were also times when the routines of servants differed from the wider community. Servants married at different times of the year to estate residents and their weddings were more likely to conflict with the seasonality of farming work undertaken by residents. The absence of servants from wills made on the estate also suggests that servants were not always present to act as witnesses. The range of hierarchies examined in this chapter has shown that the servants' engagement with the estate community related most closely to the labourers on the estate rather than the skilled craftsmen, elite farmers or institutional leaders present in the local villages. However, they remained an active part of it from the beginning of their employment, through marriage, old age and death.

While Jon Stobart has argued that 'neither reputation nor networks were constructed overnight', the inclusion of servants in the estate's credit networks from their arrival on the estate shows servants were able to benefit from their connection to the duke and the tradition of long-term employment at Chatsworth.[499] However, in other areas of their lives, servants did have to create and maintain these networks themselves. Some relationships were created or bolstered through the work servants and tenants completed for the duke. Yet in order for these relationships to develop into friendships and trusted connections, they had to be

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[499] Jon Stobart, 'A settled little society: networks, friendship and trust in eighteenth-century provincial England' in Baigent and Mayhew (eds), *English Geographies 1600-1950*, p. 68.

maintained outside of work. As a result, female servants were more likely to remain reliant on networks which were closely related to the Chatsworth household. Maintaining and building relationships was possible through a servant's long-term presence on the estate and, as many individuals entered employment at Chatsworth with few connections, they had to work to become part of the estate community. Historians have often presented the rural community as a stable one.[500] While there was a level of stability to the families present on the estate, the community itself was dynamic. Servants' changing statuses in the different hierarchies showed an individual's place on this scale was not static and varied depending on what was required by the community. Age, gender, integrity, economic ability and kin connections all worked to support an individual's place in the community, but different factors could influence different hierarchies: Henry Woodward's old age and long-term employment on the estate supported his election to overseer while the youth and skill of William Pleasance supported his courtship of Elizabeth Marsden. Keith Wrightson has argued that there was a 'core and a periphery in every neighbourhood' which affected an individual's place in the community.[501] This chapter has argued that there could be multiple spheres and that an individual's place, especially the place of labouring people and lower-sort individuals, could vary.

Understanding a servant's experience when they were employed in the country house cannot be fully explored without acknowledging the wider context in which the country house sat. All servants, whether they were male or female, had daily interactions with both servants and tenants. Piecing together aspects of these servants' networks has shown that they did not draw upon a single source of support but instead looked to their family, their fellow servants and the inhabitants of the estate villages for help. Servants' roles created characteristics which strengthened a servant's status with their fellow tenants. Visibility and longevity were key features of the leaders of this community and while these attributes were more easily accessible to the tradesmen and craftsmen on the estate, they were also areas which allowed servants, and in particular male servants, to ascend the estate hierarchy.

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[500] J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 28-30.

[501] Wrightson, 'Politics of the Parish', p. 19.

Chapter Three: Defining Oneself

On his death in 1815, William Pleasance, the stallion groom, left no will and his son James had to make the journey to the Court of Litchfield in order to gain the authority to deal with his father's estate. The documents produced as part of this appeal reveal some of the many elements which formed part of an individual's life: William Pleasance was recorded as being 'of Edensor', a description which showed his residence in the village, he was 'a widower', a term which suggested he occupied a position as head of the household and family, and he was a 'Stallion Groom', a skilled worker who was employed in a specialised environment.[502] The range of factors used to describe William Pleasance show why servants employed on the country estate did not form a homogenous group. In comparison to Steedman's conclusion, evidence of a collective servant identity or consciousness has so far remained elusive in this thesis.[503] As Chapter One showed, none of the multiple ways in which service could be defined successfully characterised all those listed as servants in the household accounts. Not all servants received the duke's paternal perquisites, the payment of wages could vary across the hierarchy and the accommodation of servants within the house and village created a distinction between the experiences of male and female servants. One factor which did unite many of the servants, as shown in the previous chapter, was their interactions with the wider estate. Both male and female servants quickly become part of the estate community from the start of their employment and, as a result of these interactions, the customs and characteristics of this estate village permeated their daily lives. While the last chapter revealed how servants were perceived by the estate community, this chapter will turn to examine how servants presented themselves to others in public settings, with particular emphasis on how they labelled themselves when interacting with the estate community. By examining how servants chose to define themselves, this chapter suggests why the experiences of country house servants could be so diverse.

Through analysis of estate documents, wills and grave inscriptions, this chapter explores the occupational descriptors servants chose to define themselves by. The different audiences of these sources will show the extent to which servants changed or adapted the labels they gave themselves and reveal the range of identifiers individuals could draw upon to describe themselves. Audiences varied from the more personal, private group of friends and

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[502] SRO: B/C/11, Affidavit of the will of William Pleasance, 12th October 1815.
[503] Steedman, 'Boiling Copper', pp. 62-63, 72-75.

neighbours who witnessed wills to the managerial gaze of the duke and his stewards who produced and read official estate documents to the wide audiences who had access to the village graveyard which included an individual's family, the parish and visitors to the country estate. Because all three of the sources considered in this chapter were produced either on the estate or were created for an audience on the estate, this chapter first examines the type of categories which would have carried status in the estate community. It will assess the importance of land in the lives of the estate's tenants and argue that this created a structure which shaped the decisions servants made when they described themselves in their wills. The second part of this chapter will examine how servants described their occupations in wills, official estate documents and gravestone inscriptions. By closely examining these circumstances this chapter seeks to examine how servants perceived their work when they fashioned their social status and assess the extent to which they were able to successfully emphasise other aspects of their identity in certain circumstances. The findings of this chapter reveal the complex relationship servants had with their occupational identity, even in the area of a single parish, as they navigated their place within the social order. In doing so, this chapter will demonstrate the range of factors which influenced the lives of the servants and how they could use these to their own advantage.

Previous studies which examine servants' occupational identity have often explored how this was constructed through clothing, and in particular the wearing of livery. Clothing presented an external statement of an individual's status as a servant to a master with social prestige and was a symbol which people would have promptly recognised.[504] Livery was a display crafted by the decisions made by a servant's master and mistress, rather than a personal choice made by an individual servant, and had the consequence of emphasising the similarities between servants rather than their differences. The creation of a very public display of a servant's place reflects Margaret Hunt's findings that early modern people expected some groups such as women, servants or slaves 'to be significantly less "individualistic" than others'.[505] This chapter will examine the public presentation of servants from a different perspective; it will explore how servants themselves shaped how they were presented outside of the household rather than how this was constructed by their master. The external gaze of an audience remained a crucial factor in the decisions that servants made when they described themselves

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[504] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2004), pp. 177-178; Styles, *Dress of the People*, esp. pp. 277-299; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp. 175-176.
[505] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, pp. 81-82.

and how they changed these descriptors depending on who they were addressing. The interactions an individual had had an impact on how they came to define their self and how they presented it to others. In his study on selfhood in the eighteenth century, Dror Wahrman characterised identity as being formed of two parts: the first was 'the unique individuality of a person' and the second emphasised a 'common denominator' which defined an individual's place within a group identity.[506] Jonathan Barry has argued the latter was the way in which early modern society defined identity because early modern people were more focused on the characteristics of group membership rather than an individual sense of self.[507] In the absence of personal documents which discuss the self, this chapter cannot examine how servants understood their identity but instead focuses on how they presented an aspect of themselves in a formal setting. Yet the concept of identity defined by Wahrman is a reminder of the dynamic nature of self-definition and it emphasises the importance of considering how the labels people used to describe themselves could be meaningful ways individuals associated themselves with a group.[508]

The act of defining oneself in formal settings required an individual to have self-awareness of the roles they occupied. Work has been a prevalent factor in defining servants as a collective group. The definitions of service referred to in Chapter One reveal that the specific roles occupied by servants and the working relationship between servant and master were important features of the institution of service.[509] The introduction to this thesis also showed Carolyn Steedman has argued that female domestic servants were one of the first groups to experience class consciousness in England because their material knowledge of the sphere in which they lived and worked meant they came to understand the social difference which existed between them and their masters.[510] Despite research by E. P. Thompson and Steedman who have shown the importance of work to labouring people, this theme has featured less frequently in the work of historians researching identity in social communities

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[506] Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, p. xii. These two forms have also been defined in psychology. Identity theory is how an individual understands their role within society and navigates the expectations placed upon them while social identity theory defines how the desire to belong shapes the identity of an individual. See Michael A. Hogg, Deborah J. Terry and Katherine M. White, 'A Tale of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison of Identity Theory with Social Identity Theory', *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58:4 (1995), pp. 255-269; French and Barry, 'Introduction', in Barry and French (eds), *Identity and Agency*, p. 1.

[507] Jonathan Barry, 'Identité Urbaine et Classes Moyennes Dans L'Angleterre Moderne', *Annales ESC* 48:4 (1993), p. 854 quoted in French and Barry, 'Introduction' in French and Barry, *Identity and Agency*, p. 2.

[508] On the instability of identity with particular reference to autobiographies see Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1995), esp. p. 153.

[509] See Chapter One, pp. 49-50, 72-76, 84-91.

[510] Steedman, *Labours Lost*; Steedman, 'Boiling Copper', pp. 36-77. See Introduction, p. 18.

which have instead placed more emphasis on factors such as gender, age and social status.[511] Historians' wariness of ascribing occupational titles as a form of identity has largely been a result of the flexibility of early modern workers to move between occupations and their ability to incorporate many different forms of employment into their working lives.[512] Despite this, occupational titles remained a part of an individual's legacy and were a crucial means through which an individual's life was narrated in parish registers at different life stages.[513] Penelope Corfield has argued that 'by the eighteenth century, a reliance upon occupation as an identifier was well established' and work, or an individual's lack of it, became 'a short-hand guide to socio-economic standing' in a community.[514] Describing oneself through how they applied themselves on a daily basis was an important part of gender, and, in particular, masculine identity; Keith Thomas has argued men 'were what they did' with work proving an instrumental aspect of selfhood because of their long working hours and the close relationship which existed between occupation and social status.[515] Alexandra Shepard's research on early modern notions of worth has also shown that what an individual did to earn their income became increasingly important in the definitions of worth given by early modern individuals during court appearances with emphasis increasingly placed on what they did rather than their material wealth over the course of early modern period.[516] The evidence of workplace identities in histories of the early modern social order has led Mark Hailwood to call for historians to look again at occupation as a category of identity.[517] Building on E. P. Thompson argument that working people were not restricted to 'vertical consciousness' or the labels which came from their specific trade or workplace, Hailwood argues that historians need to move beyond the inaccuracy of single work or trade

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[511] Barry and French (eds), *Identity and Agency*; Michael Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Hierarchy in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy, and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001).

[512] K. Tawny Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work: Multiple Employments and Occupational Identities in Early Modern England in Early Modern England', *History Workshop Journal* 85(2018), p. 26; Jonas Lindström, Karin Hassan Jansson, Rosemarie Fiebranz, Benny Jacobsson and Maria Ågren, 'Mistress or maid: the structure of women's work in Sweden, 1550–1800', *C&C* 32:2 (2017), p. 230.

[513] K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-*1950 (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 491-492.

[514] Penelope J. Corfield, 'Business leaders and town gentry in early industrial Britain: specialist occupations and shared urbanism', *Urban History* 39:1 (2012), p. 28.

[515] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 107-108; McCormack, *Independent Man*.

[516] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*.

[517] Mark Hailwood, 'Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79:2 (2016), p. 187.

identifiers and instead consider 'broader 'work-based'' identity.[518] This chapter does not use occupational titles to survey the specific forms of work completed by the servants or residents on the estate and, therefore, aims to avoid the limiting nature of these terms. Instead it uses these descriptions as a means to examine how individuals presented themselves to others and what connotations they were evoking when they chose them.

Wills and probate inventories have been important documents for historians analysing the types of work individuals undertook in the early modern period because they include descriptions of an individual's occupation and an insight into the material goods which related to the range of roles an individual did through their working lives.[519] Probate documents reveal that many early modern individuals were occupied in additional forms of employment alongside their primary occupation which was recorded in wills or parish registers. Work relating to agriculture was one of the most common forms of by-employments undertaken by early modern people; research by Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann found that half of the inventories they analysed for craftspeople in Kent and Cornwall between 1600 and 1750 showed evidence of households also being involved in farming on a profitable scale.[520] In rural areas this connection to the land only increased and Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans found that wills written in rural environments showed the 'overwhelming dominance of agriculture' in the working lives of individuals.[521] The presence of by-employments in rural communities and the additional income they brought into labouring households had important implications for consumption in lower status households. Jan de Vries has argued through his concept of the industrious revolution that the additional forms of work undertaken by members of a household and the long hours they spent working these various forms of employment were conscious choices made by families in order to produce a supplementary income which they could then spend on new material goods.[522] The prevalence of by-employments in early modern wills does show historians need to be careful when using the single occupational descriptors listed

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[518] Thompson, 'Patrician Society', pp. 396-397; Mark Hailwood, '"The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the RHS* 24 (2014), p. 82.

[519] Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households: 1600–1750* (Abingdon, 2004); Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: Evidence of Women's Work from Probate Documents', *The Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), pp. 52-74; Barker, *Family and Business*.

[520] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, pp. 74-76.

[521] Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part*, p. 60.

[522] De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*; Jan de Vries, 'The Industrial-Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *Journal of Economic History* 54:2 (1994), pp. 249-270.

within them. By using wills in conjunction with other records produced by the estate's management which present an individual's occupation from the perspective of the duke, this chapter argues that the occupational descriptions recorded in wills provide a useful way to assess how servants perceived their position in the duke's household alongside the other roles they occupied.

Although historians have recognised the widespread presence of by-employments in the lives of many individuals, servants as an occupational group have often remained absent from these studies. The expectation that a servant's time and labour belonged to their master alongside their residence in their master's household and the prevalent interpretation of service as a transitional occupation has resulted in historians viewing these individuals as not having the time or means to undertake additional roles. Their absence may also be a result of servants as an occupational group being underrepresented in wills because of their lower status which meant they did not have processions of sufficient value to create a will. Of the 5245 wills made in the town of Ely between 1701 and 1750 Nesta Evans found only 0.4 per cent belonged to individuals who described themselves as in service. This small amount was the same percentage as those who described themselves as belonging to an occupation related to medicine, a much more skilled line of work. Servants continued to account for only a small number of the Ely wills and of the 3405 wills made between 1751 and 1800, only 0.2 per cent were made by individuals who described themselves as servants.[523] The absence of servants' wills may have also been a result of wills usually being written towards the end of an individual's life. As service was undertaken by many adolescent workers and often came to end upon marriage, older individuals who remained in service may have been less inclined to associate themselves with this occupation in their wills. Alexandra Shepard found this to be the case in her work on witness testimonies in court and concluded that both men and women were less likely to define themselves as servants as they became older.[524] Therefore, the small number of wills written by servants in Ely may also have been a result of servants describing themselves through other means. An examination of wills in this thesis provides the opportunity to examine the extent to which this was the case on the Chatsworth estate. They also provide the means to examine an aspect of a servant's life from their perspective. In her research on female will making, Barbara Harris argued that the process of making a will provided women with a means through which they could more freely express themselves than

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[523] Nesta Evans, 'Occupations and Status of Male Testators in Cambridge, 1551-1750' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part*, p. 180.
[524] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp. 237-238.

'at any other point in their lives'.[525] Wills provided a similar freedom for servants who, in many cases, created these documents away from the gaze of their master. Therefore, wills offer a different perspective on the lives of servants than that presented by documents produced for the duke and provide a means of examining the extent to which servants chose to associate themselves with service or employ language which described them in other ways.

Work was only one factor which could inform how an individual presented themselves in a formal situation because individuals identified as part of more than one group. Local or regional practices also played an important role in the labels an individual chose to identify themselves by. While work could create a vertical hierarchy, which ranked individuals based on social or economic factors, the paternal lordship of the duke created a horizontal identity which united those living and working on the Chatsworth estate. As the landowner of the majority of properties in the estate villages, the duke's position gave him the authority to define many of the structures on the estate which influenced the behaviours of those present on it. However, paternalism was not part of the 'gentry's overarching hegemony', it was instead shaped through continual reciprocal negotiation and was a relationship upheld by both elites and their subordinates.[526] Therefore, the potential to influence actions on the country estate was not restricted to the decisions made by the landowner but also the choices made by the tenants. James C. Scott's work on small, often hidden acts of rebellion and discontent has similarly shown that power was not restricted to the elites.[527] Scott's approach which looks beyond large-scale protests, presents a way for historians to show the potential of subaltern groups to act in their own interests. He argues that overt forms of resistance such as riots and rebellions were rare and instead resistance was more often shown through quiet forms of defiance such as gossiping and foot dragging. These actions formed part of a 'hidden transcript' which Scott argues reveals the true emotions of subordinate groups and were used to offset the displays of deference which were present in what Scott terms the 'public transcript' which were the interactions which took place between the 'rulers and the ruled'.[528] Scott's approach is particularly useful for this thesis because it provides a means of examining the experiences of servants in an archive curated from an elite perspective, where

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[525] Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002).

[526] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1993), p. 9.

[527] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London, 1990).

[528] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-18.

evidence of larger gestures of dissatisfaction such as petitions and riots rarely survive.[529] This approach shows that power was not stable or ascribed to a single social group but was instead a fluctuating force which was influenced by everyday interactions.[530] In the context of this chapter, the labels a servant chose to describe themselves were similarly influenced by more than just the relationship these individuals had with the duke and were instead was shaped through their contact with others on the estate.

Scott's theory does have its limitations and has been criticised by historians for its tendency to place too much emphasis on the binary distinction between elites and the peasantry because the concept of two transcripts places the ruled against their rulers.[531] The early modern social order was more complex than this dual model can incorporate and a closer inspection of inflexible categories such as class or geography has shown these themes are unable to account for all the decisions an individual made. As a result, Keith Wrightson has argued that the social order in early modern England is 'best explored at the vitally important local level'.[532] Examining how servants in a single household described themselves to the immediate local community provides a means of examining the nuances of individual lives and presents a more complex account of the different hierarchies which existed on the estate.

The decisions servants made when it came to defining their occupational identifiers were not chosen to be statements of desire for monumental change but were rather choices which acknowledged their ability to command this aspect of their lives. Through an exploration of the categories servants employed to describe themselves in formal contexts, this chapter will demonstrate that the choices individuals made were formed through a process of continual negotiation between individual and audience because these labels had to be recognisable to those who those who interacted with them. As Penelope Corfield put it, people in the eighteenth century 'ultimately named themselves as they thought fit and as the world would

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[529] *Ibid.*

[530] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[531] Fiona Williamson, 'Introduction: Space, Popular Politics and Agency' in Williamson (ed.), *Locating Agency*, p. 1.

[532] Keith Wrightson, 'The Social Order of Early Modern England: Three Approaches', in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard Michael Smith and Keith Wrightson (eds), *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure*, (Oxford, 1986), p. 201. For similar arguments also see Henry French, 'Social Status, Localism and the 'Middle Sort of People' in England 1620-1750', *P&P* 166 (2000), p. 96; Moira H. Long, 'A Study of Occupations in Yorkshire Parish Registers in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Local Population Studies* 71 (2003), p. 37.

accept them'.[533] The same was true for servants. In order to examine what type of individuals the estate would be most likely to accept, this chapter will first turn to explore how the origins of the village of Edensor laid the foundation for the identity of its residents and for the servants who came to live in the village.

Naming the Land

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the estate village was not a landscape whose sole purpose was for the housing of servants or serving the country house. Before Chatsworth was built in the sixteenth century, the village of Edensor had been present on the site since at least the eleventh century when it was recorded in the Doomsday Book. The existence of a local history in which the dukes of Devonshire were absent is important when considering the extent to which language associated with the land retained its status when used by residents. Pierre Bourdieu argued that locations had their own 'spatial identity' which retained elements of their social and cultural origins and which, in turn, were a crucial factor in the dynamics of power on the site.[534] By the eighteenth century, Edensor village was part of the estate owned by the duke. However, he did not own all of the properties and lands within it and the presence of freehold properties and lands located in the centre of the village meant a connection to the village's former life when the duke had not been landowner remained. This section will demonstrate that a connection to this past still remained into the eighteenth century and can be witnessed in the naming practices used on the estate when specific areas of land were named after the individual or the family who had worked them. The practice was endorsed by the duke's officials who used the same system in their estate records and, thereby, acknowledged the work of residents on the estate lands and granted them a form of ownership over it. By examining how documents produced by the duke's stewards described the estate's land such as rental accounts, household records and the steward's order book it is possible to examine the extent to which the oral culture used by the tenants was embraced by those in managerial positions. The importance of the land to the estate's residents was reinforced by the estate's acknowledgement and will be crucial in understanding how servants described themselves to this community as this chapter will later examine.

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[533] Penelope J. Corfield, 'Lords & Ladies: Titles, Status and Precedence' in Edmund M. Green, Penelope J. Corfield and Charles Harvey (eds), *Elections in Metropolitan London, 1700-1850 Vol: 1 Arguments and Evidence* (Bristol, 2013), p. 477.
[534] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, 1991).

Estate lands have been viewed by historians mostly from the perspective of the landowner with the dual purpose of the land as a site of both production and pleasure examined for what these lands contributed to the country house and their owners rather than the wider community.[535] As a result, the country estate has been seen a site of amusement for its elite owners. David Stead has argued that many of the farms on country estates were run as 'not-for-profit' farms where an elite landowner could dabble in farming and the latest technologies without risk.[536] Heather Clemenson has gone further to suggest that, before the farming improvements of the late eighteenth century, landed estates were only sites of consumption and not in need of land management.[537] This approach fails to acknowledge that landowners were not the only individuals who worked estate lands: tenant farmers did too. Employing Bourdieu's spatial theory provides an approach which recognises the estate lands surrounding the country house were an active entity in the lives of those who lived and worked there. Robert Houston has acknowledged the importance of tenant farmers to the landed estate and argued that estate lands were 'not just another commodity' to landowners or their tenants as both had expectations about the running of the estate and the desire for change came from both sides.[538] At Chatsworth, the management of the lands was essential because the rents and profits from these lands provided the majority of income required to support the expenses of the house and grounds throughout the year. As well as maintaining prosperous tenants, management of the lands was also important because they provided the first impression visitors had of the family's ancestral seat.[539] For residents on the estate, maintenance of the land was vital because it was a crucial source of their livelihoods and a range of seasonal tasks required preparation throughout the year.

Alongside practical considerations, land was also used to reinforce authority and power. During the eighteenth century, land still retained its connection to power and was considered an intrinsic base for authority because, in the words of Mark Girouard, land was 'not just the

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[535] E. L. Jones and E. T. J. Collins, 'The Collection and Analysis of Farm Record Books', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3: 2 (1965), p. 86.

[536] David R. Stead, 'Delegated Risk in English Agriculture, 1750-1850: The Labour Market', *Labour History Review*, 71:2 (2005), p. 125.

[537] Clemenson, *English Country Houses*, p. 75.

[538] Houston, *Peasant Petitions*, pp. 21-22.

[539] Jonathan Finch, 'Pallas, Flora and Ceres: Landscape Priorities and Improvement on the Castle Howard Estate, 1699-1880', in Finch and Giles (eds), *Estate Landscapes*, pp. 19-38; Charles E. Orser, 'Estate Landscapes and the Cult of the Ruin: A Lesson of Spatial Transformation in Rural Ireland', in Finch and Giles (eds), *Estate Landscapes*, pp. 77-94.

main but the only sure basis of power'.[540] E. P. Thompson argued that land was an 'index of influence, the plinth on which power was erected' because of the close relationship it had to elite authority.[541] Yet, as this chapter argues, land also had the ability to provide subordinate groups with a form of non-elite authority. This was because land was a crucial factor in the concept of custom, which Thompson defined as the traditions and culture associated with a particular area and a means through which actions could be legitimised.[542] Drawing upon Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which argued that spaces held a set of inherent rules and expectations which individuals instinctively developed awareness of, Thompson argues that custom was local and related to the land with each parish, manor, park or stream with the ability to have its own traditions.[543] Crucially for the argument of this chapter, Thompson acknowledged that the concept of custom was not restricted to the elites and could be employed by those lower down the social hierarchy for their own benefit.[544] As a result, the tradition ascribed to land, which had been used by elite landowners to reinforce their authority, could also be utilised by non-elites for their own purposes. The tenants on the Chatsworth estate promoted their authority within the space by grounding it within the traditions associated with the land and which manifested itself in the naming practices present on the country estate.

On a practical level, naming the land on the Chatsworth estate was important because it provided a means to differentiate areas which allowed for clear instructions to be passed between the duke, his servants and local residents in a manner which all could understand. The names used to distinguish areas close to the country house reveal the use of a space, whether a former purpose or its current use, was a crucial means of identifying an area and can be seen in the household accounts for 1800 which recorded labourers working in the 'old park' as well as the 'park', the 'gardens' and the 'pleasure grounds'.[545] In the wider park, creating distinctions between areas relied on several factors including location, resident tenant and family legacy. Geographical location, such as references to 'Hill Top Farm' which reflected the position of the land at the top of a hill in Beeley, appeared to be the least used of

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[540] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 2.

[541] Thompson, *Customs*, p. 16.

[542] *Ibid*.

[543] *Ibid.,* pp. 97-98. On Bourdieu's concept of habitus see Introduction, pp. 18-19.

[544] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8, 101-102.

[545] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

these factors in the estate accounts.[546] By far the most common practice for place names was naming them after the individuals and families who rented and worked the land and it was a practice which continued throughout the century. The practice was not restricted based on the size of the property because both large and small farms could retain a family's name. One of the most expensive tenanted farms on the estate was rented by John Lees for £45 per annum in the first half of the century and continued to be known by his surname throughout the rest of the eighteenth century. Other, smaller properties also continued to be associated with the tenants who had previously rented them. In 1774, the innkeeper Philip Melton rented a plot for £4 per annum which was recorded in the estate accounts as 'late William Whildons', this was despite Whildon having died eleven years earlier.[547] The house and croft rented by Widow Norman for £5 10s at the turn of the eighteenth century also continued to bear her name when she left the property. After her death, the land was rented by others on the estate and by 1719, Ralph Hague was recorded as renting the property and paying the same sum of £5 10s for the annual use of 'Widow Normans: a house, barn, croft'.[548]

The connections specific individuals had to plots of land were rarely recorded in the account books for the duration of the century but family connections did continue to be recorded. Widow Norman's connection to the land did not continue throughout the century and by 1739 her name was no longer attached to the area despite Hague still paying the same £5 10s per annum for the property. However, the rental accounts still retained reference to the Norman family name more generally and, in 1762, Anthony Swift paid £23 for 'Norman's land'.[549] In the same year Alexander Simpson was recorded as renting land identified as 'part of Heywards' in 1762. The name had come from Thomas Heywards who had previously rented the plot in 1700. Thomas Heywards' specific connection to the land remained in the estate accounts where it was described as being 'Thomas Hewards' land while being rented by John Barker between 1719 and 1739.[550] These examples show the names of fields and lands on the estate were not stable and evolved with the collective memory of the estate. Land retained the full name of the individuals who had formally worked it when plots had been recently passed

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[546] For example, see DC: C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 13th May 1751; C/11/69, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1774.

[547] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800; C/11/69, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1774.

[548] DC: C/11/17, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1717.

[549] DC: C/11/57, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1762.

[550] DC: C/11/17, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1717; C/11/37, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1739; C/11/7, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1700.

into the hands of another tenant but gradually the Christian names of the individuals were dropped as the memory of them diminished with the generations. Estate families were keen for their descendants to remain working on the same plots of land as they had and wills made by tenants often requested the duke allow the tenancy for the same areas of land to be passed on to their family members ensuring the continued economic success of the family and their social legacy on the estate. This approach meant that family names remained attached to an area of land long after residents related to a family had died.

The appearance of tenants' names in the estate rental accounts reveal this form of identification had become a part of the vocabulary of the duke's stewards when they were in these spaces collecting rents. Stephen Rippon has argued that the naming of local spaces like fields and crofts required 'a great degree of intimacy with a place' as these terms were created specifically for those who lived within the local community.[551] Both residents on the estate and the duke's officials were involved in establishing this practice and maintaining it. From a means of distinction used by the local community, these naming practices became assimilated into language used by managerial officials and were recorded in documents used by the landowner. The continued use of these place names and identifiers by the duke's officials when they were away from the land and not engaged directly with the tenants who worked it highlights the extent to which these terms had become a part of the culture of the estate. The steward's order book is one example of the sustained use of these naming practices. In comparison to the rental accounts which were created as a result of a specific task undertaken in a set time frame and which would have involved engaging directly with the people who worked the land, the steward's order book was a document written intermittently. The book recorded orders sent to the steward by the duke or his London servants, and as a result was likely written away from estate residents and instead in the steward's office when attending to his correspondence. Writing in 1798, the steward recorded a direction given by the agent, Thomas Knowlton, that certain areas of the estate required thinning including 'Hacket's plantation'.[552] The use of this description by the duke's representatives legitimised personalised names and acknowledged the labour of previous tenants. The Hackett family had been residents on the estate since the seventeenth century and when Mary Hackett retired as housekeeper, at the turn of the eighteenth century, she was

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[551] Stephen Rippon, *Making Sense of an Historic Landscape* (Oxford, 2012), p. 80.
[552] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, 1796-1816, p. 29.

gifted the use of a farm in Edensor for the rest of her life.[553] The family name died out at Chatsworth upon the death of her relations in the 1740s; however, the surname remained their legacy and was still attached to the land over fifty years later. The naming practices present on the Chatsworth estate were also common features of other estates. Timur Guran Tatlioglu's study of the nineteenth-century Harewood country estate found a farm was renamed by its new tenants to reflect the name of the family who had farmed the plot previously and who had been its tenants for generations.[554] How these areas were identified reflected not only how a space was used but also the individual or family who had the responsibility of maintaining it. The recognition of these naming practices by the estate was an acknowledgement of the sense of authority and ownership which came from long term tenancy.

The practice of naming was a powerful act which prescribed a level of authority to a given person. When servants named spaces it was often in acknowledgement of the imbalance of power they experienced in their daily lives and they often referred to their working and living spaces as 'my master's house' or 'my mistress's house'.[555] The outside spaces at Chatsworth were still referred to by their relationship to an individual; however, these names were a reflection of an individual's sense of belonging rather than an acknowledgement of their restricted relationship with a space. In her work on nineteenth-century Irish farms, Katie Barclay has argued that the association of land with a family was an important part of the 'social imaginary of the Irish farmer' and, as a result, came to influence the social power dynamics of the community.[556] The naming of land after a family in this context revealed an inherent sense of belonging and ownership over a place which was strengthened over the course of generations. Although many of the lands at Chatsworth which were named after their previous occupants were rented sites rather than freeholdings, identifying these spaces by their connection to those who worked the site located individuals within the landscape and, in doing so, reinforced ideas of belonging and ownership. As Barclay argues, 'working the land was the physical manifestation of ownership' and in naming these areas after the families that worked them the estate community and the duke's representatives were

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[553] DC: C/11/17, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1717.

[554] Tatlioglu, 'Biographies of People', pp. 222-223.

[555] Jennifer Melville, 'Use and Organisation of Domestic Space in Late Seventeenth-Century London' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1999), pp. 97- 98.

[556] Katie Barclay, 'Place and Power in Irish Farms at the End of the Nineteenth Century', *Women's History Review*, 21:4 (2012), p. 575.

acknowledging a labouring family's knowledge and authority over the space.[557] It was this knowledge of the land which could also provide tenants with agency on the estate because it could be called upon by the duke to benefit him. This was the case when John Lees, an estate tenant, was paid by the Chatsworth estate in 1780 to firstly, provide evidence about the 'Boundary Betwixt Beeley & Ashover' and secondly, testify at Chesterfield court alongside five other men about the Beeley Common as the duke sought to enclose areas of land.[558] The tenants' familiarity with the history of the land in these cases was reminiscent of the practice of beating the bounds, a tradition of walking the parish boundaries in order to promote 'spatial awareness' of the parish.[559] These examples show how the tenants' knowledge of the land was further legitimised by the estate's need for their presence in legal cases.

The recognition of a tenant's knowledge of the land through the actions of the duke and his officials was a final acknowledgment of what tenants would have known from their daily routines: that their physical presence within the landscape on a daily basis granted them an expertise in the land that few could match. While Donald Woodward found that for many craftsmen and labourers there was a separation of work and home because they travelled to different locations away from their home in order to undertake work, this was not the case for the majority of those residing on the country estate.[560] The working lives of servants and labourers on the country estate took place in close proximity to their own households and often in overlapping spaces. Tradesmen and shop owners also conducted their business in the village with their shops and workshops often attached to their homes rather than existing as separate structures. As a result, the country estate encompassed both home and work for these individuals and it was this focused awareness of the estate which meant these tenants would have seen their own labour changing the landscape. The varied work completed by a tenant on a country estate may have seen him check on his own animals in the parkland, help construct a house in the village and work in the duke's house all within a short space of time. In 1739, Robert Coulson and his son William were paid for working at Chatsworth to make green furnishings which they balanced alongside their other upholstery jobs and the property and land they rented on the estate. In the same year John Gardom was paid to repair the

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[557] *Ibid.*, p. 575.
[558] DC: AS/1333, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1780.
[559] Steve Hindle, 'Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory, and Identity in the English Local Community, c. 1500-1700' in Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (eds) *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2008), p. 211.
[560] Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 118.

pineapple house in the gardens and provide thatch coverings for the haystacks formed during the harvest alongside his work as the village blacksmith.[561] As a consequence of these varied tasks, tenants would have been able to identify that it was their labour that was changing the appearance of the country house and the wider estate landscape.

Furthermore, many of the tasks that residents completed had the benefit of creating a better environment for the estate's residents. The payment to labourers in 1720 for 'repairing the park walls and roads' was a regular entry in the annual household accounts throughout the century as the duke paid for the maintenance of the estate's roads and boundaries.[562] Similar entries recorded the tenant John Hawkesworth being paid in 1753 for 'repairing a cottage house in Beely that widow norman lives in' and labourers being paid for 'removing a hill above the new inn by road side' in 1777 in order to improve mobility through the village.[563] In these instances the needs of the duke and the estate residents were not dissimilar: the duke required the village and parkland to present a suitable approach for visitors to the country house and reflect his role as a paternal landlord while villagers required suitable accommodation, functional roads and areas for animal livestock. In these instances, residents on the estate were benefitting from the tasks they were completing for the duke. These actions may highlight the subordination of the estate tenants who could be called upon by the duke to undertake these orders. However, in choosing to undertake these tasks, villagers were not necessary engaging with Scott's concept of the 'public transcript' which viewed deference as a deceptive act concealing an individual's true self.[564] Instead, Andy Wood has argued that subordination and defiance were not separate experiences but rather 'intertwined', and by undertaking these tasks residents were able to capitalise upon the paternal responsibilities of the landowner.[565] After all, it was their knowledge of the land and houses on the estate which would have brought about these changes as they shared requests for repairs and alterations with the duke's stewards.

The previous chapter highlighted the importance of being a freeholder when it came to holding an office like the overseer of the poor but landownership, or at least management of land in some form, was a meaningful basis of power for those below the estate community's

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[561] DC: C/13, William Barker's accounts, 1739.

[562] DC: AS/440, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1719-1720.

[563] DC: L/95/9, Chatsworth vouchers 1776-1790; DC: AS/79, Chatsworth Household Accounts 1752-1753.

[564] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pp. 1-4.

[565] Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity', p. 44.

principal tenants.[566] Land was a central social and economic component of the lives of the estate's tenants providing an income, an occupation and an identity for many. The estate's naming practices maintained the individual's connection to the land by placing them firmly within the landscape and acknowledging the authority they had over a space which came from their daily presence within it. The practice was a practical solution to the difficulties which could be encountered while working on a large estate but it also provided an acknowledgement of the history of working families. Much like E. P. Thompson's concept of custom, the naming of estate lands in this way may have been tolerated by the duke because he had overall authority of the land and could promptly show his authority over a space if anything went against his wishes. These naming practices became a part of the custom of the estate as the oral traditions of the local tenants became part of the official language used in the courts and the documents created for the duke's use. By accepting this practice both sides benefited: those in a managerial role on the estate were able to use this knowledge for their own means while tenants were able to take advantage of the duke's paternalism when it came to maintaining and improving the estate villages.

Defining Oneself

The estate's naming practices show that when servants became residents on the estate they entered a community which valued the possession of land. This emphasis had an impact on the terms the Chatsworth servants chose to use when they defined themselves to this community which this chapter will now turn to explore. The occupational descriptors servants chose to use in their wills were influenced by both the purpose and the audience of these documents and it is the social context of these documents that reveals how servants and the estate community understood the position of service. Wills provide an opportunity to examine how a servant approached defining themselves when away from the patriarchal structures which determined their position within the duke's household. By the eighteenth century the making of a will had become a more private activity then it had been during the Reformation when the practice for writing wills on the testator's deathbed surrounded by family, friends, servants and clergy declined.[567] The previous chapter showed the duke did not act as witness or executor to any of his servants' wills and, in his absence from this process, servants were not required to show deference to their master. More generally, the practice for bequeathing goods to a master was also in decline by the eighteenth century and

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[566] See Chapter Two, pp. 137-141.
[567] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, pp. 89-107.

at Chatsworth the housekeeper John Phillips was the only servant to leave the Cavendish family anything his will, written in 1734.[568]

Although servants made their wills away from the scrutiny of their master, the process of writing a will was not entirely private as the presence of witnesses and a scribe could influence the content of a will.[569] For the Chatsworth servants the practice relied on their network of friends and acquaintances beyond the duke's household because they chose to forgo their fellow servants in order to choose estate residents to act as their witnesses.[570] It was this audience, largely comprised of estate residents, which would have heard the labels servants chose to use when describing themselves during this process. While John Patten has argued that because the occupations listed in wills were chosen by the testator they were 'far from objective', this chapter argues these descriptions had to be believable to the witnesses of the will.[571] Although individuals may have been able to embellish certain aspects of these details, the terms they chose had to be truthful to an aspect of an individual's life because they were witnessed by friends and family. Alexandra Shepard's work on the identifiers used in early modern court testimonies similarly argued that the 'scope for witnesses creating fantasy personae for themselves was limited by expectations of plausibility'.[572] Because the majority of servants at Chatsworth were presenting themselves to other residents on the estate when they were writing their wills, the labels they chose in this context were a reflection of how they viewed themselves as part of the estate community rather than their place within the servant hierarchy. While a servant's will was detached from the sphere of the duke's power, external factors such as the environment in which a will was written and social perceptions of status still influenced the terms used by servants within these documents. The timing of when a will was written could also influence the identity an individual chose.[573] Despite the association between the death bed and will-writing in decline over the course of the early modern period as individuals increasingly wrote their wills when they first noticed a deterioration in their health rather than in the final stages of illness, the majority of wills,

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[568] Susan E. James, *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485-1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (Abingdon, 2015).

[569] Goose and Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source', pp. 47-49; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, pp. 91-95.

[570] See Chapter Two pp. 126-131.

[571] John Patten, 'Changing Occupational Structure in the East Anglian Countryside 1500-1700' in H. S. A. Fox and R. A. Butlin (eds), *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England 1500-1900* (London, 1979), p. 105.

[572] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 26.

[573] Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge, 1997).

including those at Chatsworth, were still written within the year of an individual's death. The close relationship between will-writing and the end of life meant the identity an individual chose to record in their will was both a personal reflection of their legacy, which showed how they wished to be remembered, and a public statement on how they perceived their place within the local hierarchy.

The use of the term 'servant' is notably absent in the wills of the Chatsworth servants. None of the twenty-nine wills which survive for the Chatsworth servants who worked between 1712 and 1811 and which includes an occupational description use this term. While all of these individuals were listed in the household accounts under the heading 'Servants Wages and Board', none chose to use this generic term. This was possibly because it was a descriptor which did not convey the status of their master or the specialised nature of many of their roles and, as a result, the term failed to acknowledge an individual's skill. As an occupation, service had connotations of dependency and subordination which were viewed as irreconcilable with early modern expectations of the livelihoods of men when they had passed adolescence.[574] Many other lower status groups such as labourers were keen to distance themselves from servants and drew upon their self-sufficiency in order to distinguish themselves and their work from the dependency associated with service.[575] While Chatsworth servants avoided using this generic term, six of the 29 wills did define themselves using the same specific titles they were recorded with in the household accounts. The servants who chose to describe themselves in these terms were all male servants but they did come from a range of positions in the servant hierarchy. The highest paid of these six men was Ralph Travis, the gardener, who earned £40 a year, while other servants using these terms included another gardener, a groom, the brewer, and two keepers and whose annual wages ranged between £12 and £20. Specific job titles such as gardener or keeper conveyed a level of skill and status to an individual which the general term 'servant' did not because they were suggestive of the size of the household these servants worked at as these roles would have been limited or non-existent in smaller households.[576] These titles were not necessarily synonymous with service and could have been ambiguously interpreted as roles undertaken by a labourer. Because these servants personally knew those acting as witnesses to their wills it is unlikely that they were attempting to distance themselves from service; however, that

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[574] Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies,* p. 138.

[575] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 189.

[576] Marcy L. North, 'Household Scribes and the Production of Literacy Manuscripts in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern Studies,* 4 (2015), p. 139.

specific job titles were used in only a minority of servants' wills suggests that many individuals desired to define themselves through a means which did not invoke connotations of dependency and subservience.

The wills of servants reveal they had access to a range of labels which they could use to define themselves. By choosing terms which differed from how they were recorded in the duke's household accounts, servants were making a conscious decision to present themselves in a certain way. Beyond their work as servants, living on the estate meant their days were also occupied with other forms of employment, including the keeping of animals and maintenance of their croft. As a result, servants, and in particular male servants, did undertake labour which meant they could claim a label which referenced the land rather than their service. The probate records of John Hutchinson, the keeper, reveal the range of employments an individual could undertake on a daily basis. The inventory for his estate lists a brew house and cellar which housed seven barrels and a stable which accommodated a male horse, a young foal and a filly.[577] The horses were by far the most valuable goods Hutchinson owned, accounting for £5 of the £16 5s 6d total value of his property, yet the small quantities in which these goods appear suggest that these items were not part of a profitable by-employment for Hutchinson and were instead used mostly for the household's own consumption. Further to these labours, Hutchinson's will reveals that he was involved in business away from the estate as he owned a house and croft in nearby Litton, less than ten miles away from Chatsworth, which was being leased to a man named James Oldfield. Although Hutchinson's ownership of land provided him with the opportunity to present himself as a yeoman or even gentleman in his will; Hutchinson chose to define himself as 'a keeper'. By presenting himself in this way, Hutchinson chose to the occupational label which reflected how he spent the majority of his time. The rent from the property he owned would have been an important supplement to his annual wage of £12 and was a sign of his economic status which enabled him to own property but his work as a keeper was the form of employment through which Hutchinson would have been able to see the results of his daily exertions. In an approach which has sought to move beyond the nouns people used to describe their occupations, the Gender and Work Research Project conducted at Uppsala University has defined work as the 'use of time with the goal of making a living'.[578] This

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[577] SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Hutchinson, 21st April 1743.

[578] Rosemarie Fiebranz , Erik Lindberg , Jonas Lindström & Maria Ågren, 'Making verbs count: the research project 'Gender and Work' and its methodology', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 59:3 (2011), p. 276.

definition appeared to be the favoured by Hutchinson who chose to emphasise the time he spent working in the label he chose.

John Hutchinson was one of many servants who had the opportunity to choose their occupational label for their wills from a range of responsibilities and employments they undertook throughout the day. Hutchinson's approach, which prioritised the employment which occupied the majority of his time, was used by only a minority of Chatsworth's servants in their wills. Instead, many chose to utilise their employments outside of service when they described their occupation. The two most popular terms used by servants to describe themselves were 'Gentleman' and 'Yeoman': seven servants described themselves as gentlemen and a further seven described themselves as yeomen. The terms 'Husbandman' and 'Farmer' were also used within servant wills and altogether these four terms accounted for the descriptions used in 17 of the 23 male wills. The choices of these terms differed from John Hutchinson's approach to his occupational identifier because the decision these servants made distanced themselves from the act of serving and their relationship with the duke. Rather than being subordinate to a master, these terms emphasised the independence of these individuals but, more than this, they also invoked a certain status. These servants chose not to define themselves as labourers, a term which would have dissociated them from service but would have retained a connection to their subordinate position; instead, they defined themselves by a label which was independent from, although evidently not incompatible with, service.

In turning to these titles, servants benefitted from their nebulous definitions which, much like the definition of servant, were ambiguous and could encompass individuals from a range of social backgrounds.[579] Although the law defined a yeoman as a freeholder who was enfranchised, the term was widely used to describe those who worked, rather than owned, large areas of land.[580] Similarly, a husbandman could refer to an individual who worked a farm which they leased from a landowner as much as it could refer to an individual who worked on someone else's tenanted land. With no legal definition, the term 'gentleman' did not have a specialised meaning and instead, understandings of the term were constructed in a social context. The term, which denoted an individual of higher status than a yeoman, was increasingly used in the century by men from a variety of occupations to express that they

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[579] Wrightson, 'Social Order of Early Modern England', pp. 187-189.

[580] J. V. Beckett, 'The Peasant in England: A Case of Terminological Confusion?', *Agricultural History Review* 32:2 (1984), p. 113; Houston, *Peasant Petitions*, p. 4.

earned their living independently.[581] Penelope Corfield has argued that from its first uses the term 'gentleman' was 'eclectic' and adaptable to the interpretation of society; the flexibility of the term was highlighted in a 1719 anonymously published work which claimed there were nine subdivisions to the term gentleman.[582] As well as being influenced by society's understandings, these terms could also be influenced by the life stage of an individual as the terms 'yeoman' and 'husbandman' could be applied to the same person at different points in their life and as their fortunes changed.[583] With the ability to live outside of the country house and in tenanted properties on the estate, male servants had access to these terms because they worked the land for their own benefit and separate to the duke's orders. The adaptability of these terms and their popularity with many meant they could be easily adopted by servants who leant into facets of their identity which equated with aspects of these terms. The broad definitions of these terms meant a diverse range of men who occupied a variety of positions within the servant hierarchy came to inhabit these titles: grooms and porters who earned £10 a year used the same descriptors as the duke's stewards, the highest servant position at Chatsworth. This is also reflected in spectrum of assets owned by the individuals who used these titles as they ranged from goods valued at under £20 for the 4th Duke's husbandman Joseph Higginbotham who described himself as a yeoman to Thomas Burgoine, the gamekeeper, who described himself as a gentleman and was listed as having goods worth under the value of £2000 in his will.[584] The value of property also varied within the individual terms of 'yeoman' or 'gentleman' with Thomas Burgoine's son, who was also a gamekeeper, worth only a tenth of what his father had been although he still chose to describe himself as a gentleman, the same as his father. Burgoine Junior possessed the same worth as Ralph Trotter, the upholsterer, but, in comparison to Burgoine, Trotter described himself as a farmer.[585]

At Chatsworth, servants were the first on the estate to use the term 'gentleman' in their wills during the eighteenth century. The term was rarely used in estate wills in the first half of the

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[581] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 271; Linda Hall, 'Yeoman or Gentleman? Problems in Defining Social Status in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth- Century Gloucestershire', *Vernacular Architecture* 21:1 (1991), pp. 16-17.

[582] Penelope J. Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen' in N. B. Harte and R. Quinault (eds), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in honour of F. M. L. Thompson* (Manchester, 1996), p. 23; Corfield, 'Lords & Ladies', pp. 463-464.

[583] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself,* p. 233 fn. 5; Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts* (New Haven, 1942), p. 32.

[584] SRO: Will of Thomas Burgoine the Elder, 20th April 1820.

[585] SRO: Will of Thomas Burgoine Junior, 26th September 1850; SRO: Will of Ralph Trotter, 2nd November 1830.

century and was not employed by any tenants before 1772, who instead chose terms such as 'husbandman' and 'yeoman' which had deeper associations with the land. Corfield has argued that despite its broad and ambiguous definition, the term gentleman did require an individual to have a level of 'social status and wealth' in order for them to claim the title.[586] The first use of the term 'gentleman' in the wills made on the estate was from housekeeper John Phillips in his 1734 will. His choice of the term was a means of conveying his social status and economic power in the absence of ownership of land; his probate inventory recorded him owning over £1000 in money and the total sum for his probate was appraised at £1588 but it also showed Phillips had no property or goods relating to animal husbandry.[587] In comparison, the duke's steward and most senior servant on the estate, William Barker, chose to use the label 'yeoman' in his will made in 1737, a term more in keeping with those used by the rest of the residents on the estate.[588] As the century progressed, the ownership of land increasingly featured in wills of the servants who defined themselves as gentleman and the use of the term yeoman declined. The will of gamekeeper Thomas Burgoine, who used the term 'gentlemen' to describe himself, reveals that he had freehold lands in Oldcotes in the county of Nottingham the 'Rents Issues Profits and Proceeds' of which he bequeathed to his wife. Similarly, Thomas Roberts, a servant in the stables who was also described as a gentleman in his will, had freehold property in Elton, near Derby, property in Bakewell and a copyhold estate in Ashford.[589] Unlike the minority of servants who chose to identify themselves with the position given to them by the duke, these servants chose to define themselves by a role which did not assume the majority of their time. Work on their own plots of land would have formed part of the daily routines of these servants alongside their employment for the duke, although the labour of their wives and other members of their household also would have been crucial in this task.[590] Servants would have been less directly involved in the properties listed in the wills above as they were physically distanced from the Chatsworth estate. In choosing to define themselves by these terms these servants were not claiming an occupation, instead, they were claiming a social status.

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[586] Corfield, 'Lords & Ladies', p. 464.
[587] SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, 17th July 1735.
[588] SRO: B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737.
[589] SRO: Will of Thomas Burgoine, 20th April 1820; SRO: B/C/11, Will of Thomas Roberts, 14th October 1762.
[590] Nicola Verdon, 'The rural labour market in the early nineteenth century: women's and children's employment, family income, and the 1834 Poor Law Report', *Economic History Review* 55:2 (2002), pp. 299-323; Nicola Verdon, *Rural women workers in nineteenth-century England: gender, work and wages* (Woodbridge, 2002).

The wills of female servants were similar to those of male servants because they did not define themselves using the term 'servant' nor did they choose to use the specific titles listed in the household accounts; instead all of the female servants who worked or had worked at Chatsworth defined themselves by their marital status. Of the six wills which survive for female servants, three described themselves as widows and a further three as spinsters.[591] These wills reflected the convention in wider eighteenth-century society to describe women by their marital status rather than by any occupational status they had which, in turn, further distanced them from their economic activities.[592] The focus on marital status was a result of restrictions placed upon female will writing. Married women were only able to write a will with the permission of their husband, therefore, the inclusion of a material descriptor in the wills of these servants made their status as women who were free to make a will known from the outset.[593] The age of these women may also have influenced how they chose to describe themselves. As Alexandra Shepard has noted, women were more likely to describe themselves as a servant during their youth before going on to describe themselves by marital status as they became older.[594] The will of the Devonshire House housekeeper, Sarah Dunks, showed that these two identities were not incompatible because she described herself in her will as a 'Spinster now living as housekeeper to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire'.[595] Recording two employments remained uncommon in the wills relating to the Chatsworth estate and the only individual to do so was the tenant Thomas Bland who defined himself as a 'farmer and painter'.[596] While male servants chose identities which conformed to social expectations of them, the dependency of service was closely linked to the subordinate position expected of women in wider society. Charmian Mansell found that women did not always reveal their employment as servants straightaway in court depositions and it was only after revealing where they lived that it became clear that they were servants.[597] Like the work of women more generally, the employments of female servants remain largely hidden behind descriptions of their marital status.

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[591] NA: PROB11/1638/43, Will of Sarah Dunks, 4th January 1821; NA: PROB11/1295/108, Will of Mary Griffiths, 14th August 1797; NA: PROB11/1479/55, Will of Ann Grove, 6th May 1808; SRO: P/C/11, Will of Jane Hackett, 27th April 1744; SRO: P/C/11, Will of Eleanor Potter, 18th May 1753.

[592] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 234.

[593] Goose and Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source', p. 46.

[594] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 237.

[595] NA: PROB11/1638/43, Will of Sarah Dunks, 4th January 1821.

[596] SRO: Will of Thomas Bland, 13th October 1803.

[597] Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community'.

These examples have shown that occupational labels did not exist separately to social and cultural hierarchies. The decision these servants made when they defined themselves in their wills suggests that showing themselves as financially and socially independent was central to their public presentation in this formal setting. This was not an unusual tactic for men with multiple by-employments. Robert Shoemaker has suggested that men in nineteenth-century census returns were more likely to describe themselves by the occupation which brought them the highest social status even if it was not their primary occupation.[598] By choosing labels like gentleman or farmer, the Chatsworth servants were conforming to social expectations of manhood by proving their ability to live autonomously. Even the duke's stewards, the highest position in the Chatsworth household and one increasingly recognised as a skilled occupation, chose not to define themselves by this title but instead labelled themselves through the terms 'yeoman' and 'gentleman'.[599] The occupational descriptors chosen by the Chatsworth servants echo the findings of Alexandra Shepard's work on descriptions of occupational status in court depositions. Of the 937 men in her study who stated they had additional employment she found that almost a fifth of them later identified themselves as servants.[600] Furthermore, the occupations they chose to primarily identify themselves with were also similar to those at Chatsworth with high proportions of husbandmen and yeomen revealing themselves in later statements to be servants. Farming and working the land were common by-employments of many individuals involved in a range of occupations in the early modern period which suggested that investment in land was easier than learning an additional trade and also brought with it a form of recognisable authority.[601]

Presenting oneself through a connection to the land and, more specifically, control or ownership of it was also a display of power. This was important particularly for the servants who wrote their wills towards the end of their lives and contemplated an occupational description which would define them after their death. Age shaped the relationship an individual had with their servant occupation and Shepard's study found that men who described themselves as servants straight away in depositions were often younger than those

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[598] Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 148.

[599] On the skilled role of the steward see Beardmore, 'Landowner, Tenant and Agent', p. 183.

[600] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 238.

[601] Sebastian A. J. Keibek and Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'Early modern rural by-employments: a re-examination of the probate inventory evidence' *Agricultural History Review* 61 (2013) p. 248; Craig Muldrew, 'Class and Credit: Social Identity, Wealth and the Life Course in Early Modern England' in French and Barry (eds), *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, p. 150.

who described themselves primarily through another occupation.[602] This reinforces Mark Hailwood argument that occupational identities did not exist isolated from other forms of identity.[603] The stage of the life cycle at which individuals were making their wills therefore had an impact on the definitions they presented in their wills. Service, with its associations with dependency, went against broader concepts of masculinity and was not considered a desirable occupation for men at the end of their lives. As these individuals contemplated their whole lives and faced their mortality they turned to their alternative employments in order to choose a label by which they wished to be remembered and show that they had accomplished cultural expectations of them.

Choosing to associate themselves with the land rather than the titles given to them in the duke's household accounts was a conscious choice which showed how these servants desired to be seen by the estate community. The importance of the social aspect of these definitions is summarised in Peter King's definition of identity which he described as 'our vision of ourselves in the context of others'.[604] How an individual chose to present themselves to an audience was an act of persuasion; an individual could shape and manipulate it to an extent but the version which was displayed had to be believable and accepted by those around an individual. To this end, Craig Muldrew has described social status as 'a process of continual achievement' rather than a destination.[605] Writing a will surrounded by a small audience of witnesses and executors comprised of household members and local men and women who knew the individual meant that the occupation recorded in a will also had to be realistic. As the last chapter showed, the wills of the servants on the estate were mostly witnessed by members of the estate community who were outside of the duke's household rather than by other servants.[606] Therefore, the terms servants used had to be recognisable to those witnessing their wills as credible occupational identifiers which could be attached to the will-maker. The regular use of terms like 'gentleman', 'yeoman' and 'farmer' by servants demonstrates that the local community knew service was only one aspect of an individual's livelihood and would have recognised their ability to have other employments. Terms like 'gentlemen' were also what Henry French defined as 'an identity that faced inwards';

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[602] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 238.
[603] Hailwood, 'Honest Tradesman', p. 82.
[604] Peter King, 'Inequality, Identity, and the Labouring Poor' in French and Barry (eds), *Identity and Agency*, p. 62.
[605] Muldrew, 'Class and Credit', pp. 148-149.
[606] See Chapter Two, Table 6, p. 130.

therefore, a servant's use of it reflected their position in the local community and allied themselves within this community rather that the duke's household.[607]

The importance of audience is further highlighted when the wills of the Chatsworth servants are compared to the wills of the duke's London servants. In contrast to the Chatsworth servants, London servants were more likely to identify themselves by the position assigned to them in the household accounts. Of the eleven wills which survive for the family's London servants, three will-makers described themselves simply as 'servant to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire' and a further four used their specific roles such as 'coachman' or 'butler'.[608] When a London servant did not directly associate their occupation with service they appeared to be limited in their options of other possibilities. Three servants recorded their status as being 'of Devonshire House' and a further one was recorded as being 'of the parish of St George Hanover Square', the location of Devonshire House. The choice of these descriptions was not a result of these servants being limited in alternative employments because the content of the wills show they did have subsidiary employments which could have been used to support an alternative label. Francis Barker, the butler, was in possession of two 'messuage dwelling houses' in the county of Middlesex and also has a stake in various plots of land while porter Thomas Tawney had stocks in the South Sea Company.[609] Instead, it was the urban environment which influenced the approach these servants took when describing themselves in their wills. As Chapter Two showed, the wills of London servants were dissimilar to the Chatsworth servants' wills because they were more likely to be witnessed by their fellow servants.[610] This suggests their wills were written while the servants were present in the duke's house and in a space which required them to embody the role of servant. When writing their wills London servants were stating their occupations to their fellow servants which meant the employing of an alternative description may not have been successfully received.

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[607] H. R. French, ''Ingenious & Learned Gentlemen': Social Perceptions and Self-Fashioning among Parish Elites in Essex, 1680-1740', *Social History* 25:1 (2000), p. 48.

[608] NA: PROB11/1638/43, Will of Sarah Dunks, 4th January 1821; NA: PROB11/1295/108, Will of Mary Griffiths, 14th August 1797; NA: PROB11/1150/144, Will of Thomas Tawney, 10th February 1787; NA: PROB11/1332/165, Will of Bryan Hodgson, 15th November 1799; NA: PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, 7th August 1798; NA: PROB11/1521/480, Will of Toussaint Ambroise Bertrand, 4th May 1811; NA: PROB11/1650/21, Will of William Rhodes, 3rd November 1821; NA: IR 26/383/688, Abstract of Administration of Edward Ridgway, 29th November 1809; NA: PROB11/1420/171, Will of Stephen Beeston, 14th February 1805.

[609] NA: PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, 7th August 1798, NA: PROB11/1150/144, Will of Thomas Tawney, 10th February 1787.

[610] See Chapter Two, Table 6, p. 130, pp. 134-136.

The distinctions between the wills of servants in London and those employed at Chatsworth suggest that where an individual made their will had a considerable impact on how an individual chose to present themselves. While this distinction was partly a reflection of whether or not a will was written in their master's home, the circumstances which influenced this decision was suggestive of wider differences between urban and rural environments. Male servants in London were allowed to marry and have families like their Chatsworth counterparts but the absence of an estate village attached to the family's house in Piccadilly meant servants' families were more scattered than those at Chatsworth. Evidence suggests that the families of London servants were dispersed throughout London and the surrounding areas; the wife of confectioner William Mason lived in a rented room above a silversmiths close by in Marylebone, the family of coachman Francis Beeston lived near to Chiswick villa while the wife and children of butler Francis Barker lived miles away in Edensor.[611] As a result, a servant's identity as a head of household existed in a separate location to their role as a servant in London. This created a different environment to the experiences of the servants at Chatsworth who were able to move between servant, tenant, householder and neighbour all within the sphere of the estate village. Although the use of tenants as witnesses in the wills of Chatsworth servants indicates they were writing their wills in their own houses rather than the duke's, a servant's ability to balance their occupation as a servant or a householder, farmer, or landowner revealed the connectedness of these spaces.

The urban environment did not create the same experience of unified spaces. For the duke's servants in London the multiple versions of their selves were attached to specific locations which were more diversely spread through the capital. While Carl Estabrook has argued that localism still remained important in the urban context, the mobility of individuals also created a transient dimension to identity which is reflected in Peter Clark's description of London as like 'revolving doors' with different people migrating to work in different areas of the capital.[612] Dror Wahrman has argued that the urban environment led to 'increasing awareness of the mutability – indeed transience – of forms' as individuals moved through urban spaces and engaged with a wide variety of sites which required ever-shifting versions of their

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[611] Old Bailey Online: Trial of William Mason (t17880910-62), September 1788, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online,* www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2 (last accessed 16th November 2015); NA: PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, 7th August 1798; LMA: DL/C/0467/101/001-002, Will of Francis Beeston, January 1818.

[612] Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660-1780* (Manchester, 1998), pp. 22-35; Peter Clark, 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries' in Peter Clark and David Souden (eds), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), p. 232.

identity to be presented to a continually changing audience.[613] Multiple spaces would have been open to servants: Amanda Flather has observed male servants were customers, as well as workers, in locations such as 'alehouses and taverns, coffee houses, theatres, pleasure gardens and bawdy houses'.[614] These sites were characterised by 'fleeting contact' as they formed only aspects of an individual's routine and reflected temporary versions of the self.[615] In comparison, the estate village was a place of work, leisure and community for individuals and incorporated many of the variations of the self into one location. Here the servants would have moved between the different activities which formed their daily routines, which meant they presented their various employments to a largely stable audience. The stability of this audience allowed servants to seamlessly transition between differing versions of their publicly stated labels. This was also supported by the range of trades, occupations and employments the servants came into regular contact with on the estate, which enabled servants to form a more comprehensive understanding of the range of occupational identities available to them. In his work on seventeenth-century broadside ballads and alehouses, Mark Hailwood similarly found the importance of sociability to the creation of occupational identity. In the alehouse individuals were more likely to mix with other trades rather than segregate themselves, which, in turn, informed their occupational identity and created one which was broader in nature than one focused on only one trade.[616] The environment at Devonshire House was more restricted than the country estate and the limited range of occupational descriptors present within this space is represented in the similar and restricted occupations used by this group in their wills.[617] In comparison to the servants at Chatsworth who moved from their work as servants to their role as farmers or householders throughout the day, seamless transitions did not exist so readily for the London servants whose family life and work life were in two distinct spheres.

The use of the term 'servant' was viewed as both an occupation and a comment on an individual's status. By describing themselves through other forms of employment, the servants at Chatsworth presented their social and economic position in the most advantageous manner. As the witnesses and executors of their wills were mostly tenants this meant

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[613] Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, pp. 202-207, quotation at p. 207.

[614] Flather, 'Male Servants, Identity and Urban Space', p. 96.

[615] E. A. Wrigley, 'A simple model of London's Importance in Changing English Society', *P&P* 37 (1967), p. 51.

[616] Mark Hailwood, 'Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Cultural and Social History* 8:1 (2011), p. 17.

[617] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

identifying themselves primarily through their relationship to the land as this was a recognised source of authority and status on the estate. Recognising that servants were able to present themselves through their alternative by-employments has a considerable impact on how historians understand the wider social order. In their study of probate inventories, Keibek and Shaw-Taylor argue that the material goods listed within the households of yeomen and farmers firmly show these occupations to be their primary ones. They argue that 90 per cent of the yeoman and farmer inventories they studied reveal a 'strong to indisputable' indication of the deceased's occupation while husbandmen inventories were also high on this scale with 84 per cent showing a 'strong to indisputable' indication.[618] This led them to conclude that there is 'clear evidence for the reliability of the occupational descriptors in these probate documents'.[619] The wills of the Chatsworth servants, when used in conjunction with household accounts, reveal these descriptions were not always reliable. Keibek and Shaw-Taylor define the occupation of labourer as a 'trace-poor' one as it did not produce a specific material culture.[620] Service was a similar occupation: as a servant's work usually took place in the household of their master where goods were provided for them, they rarely leave behind items associated with their work. Analysis of these wills has shown that it was possible for servants to have more than one form of employment and one source of income. Occupational labels were chosen because they were also suggestive of an individual's social status. When servants had the opportunity to choose how they would present themselves, the majority favoured labels which focused on fulfilling wider social expectations and showing their status in the most advantageous way open to them. Mark Hailwood has argued that occupational identities are more useful when considered as a 'broader 'work-based'' identity rather than a specific single trade or craft identity.[621] It was these broader terms that the servants at Chatsworth often employed and which they used to align themselves with the status these terms encompassed.[622]

Generational Work

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[618] Keibek and Shaw-Taylor, 'Early modern rural by-employments', pp. 253-254.

[619] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[620] *Ibid.*

[621] Hailwood, 'Honest Tradesman's Honour', p. 82.

[622] Construction of identity in relation to the local environment has also been seen by linguists who have defined the anchoring of the individual within the social and spatial contexts in which they spoke as the concept of social deixis. For more about social deixis and the other forms of deictic language see John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge, 1968); Charles J. Fillmore, 'Towards a theory of deixis', *The PCCLLU Papers* 3:4, (1971), pp. 219-241.

The disassociation with service witnessed in the wills of Chatsworth's servants was also reflected in the limited amount of generational work present within the Chatsworth household. From the 189 servants listed in the database created for this thesis, 124 different surnames have been recorded. Only 29 of these 124 servant surnames appear more than once in the household accounts listed under the heading 'Servants Wages and Board' between 1712 and 1817.[623] Many children of servants did not follow in the footsteps of their parents, which suggests that the Chatsworth servants viewed their employment in a similar way as wider society as an unattractive, subordinate occupation and desired their children to seek improved circumstances. Although the size of the servant body and the types of roles it contained was relatively stable over the course of the century, the country estate did provide roles which acted like apprenticeships for a future as a groom or coachman such as stables hands and assistants. Several of the servants employed by the duke in the stables began their employment for the family in this way and over the years had worked their way up the hierarchy to postilions and, eventually, coachmen.[624] These roles provided the opportunity for fathers and sons to work alongside each other on the Chatsworth estate. However, many servants had a complex relationship with the practice and often chose to find alternative employment for their sons and, in particular, their first-born sons. While the privileged position held by eldest sons was more marked in elite families, the practice was also seen within families lower down the social hierarchy. Eldest sons had a greater responsibility to the family and, in particular, to the care of their parents when they reached old age and so were more likely to receive greater sums of money or goods in their parents' wills than their siblings, and benefit from investment in their futures from an early age.[625] As a result, parents worked to support their eldest sons into positions which would help the social status and economic ability of the entire family. The absence of servants' first-born sons, and sons in

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[623] See Chapter Two, p. 120-121 for the importance of siblings working for the same master. There is a large gap in the household accounts after 1817.

[624] DC: C/166/A, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1776-1779; DC: C/166/B, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1780-1789; DC: C/166/C, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1789-1796; DC: C/166/D, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1797-1804. Stephen Beeston began working as a groom's boy at Devonshire House in 1778, by 1782 he had become a groom in their stables. Francis Beeston also began his career as a helper in the Devonshire House stables in 1773, by 1777 he had become 2nd coachman and by 1786 was 1st Coachman; DC: L/91/8/5-17, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth accounts, 1800-1813. Thomas Newton was an assistant in the stables at Chatsworth in 1800 and went on to become a groom there in 1813.

[625] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Human bonding: parents and their offspring in early modern England* (1997), p. 17; Margaret Spufford, 'Peasant Inheritance Customs and land distribution in Cambridgeshire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries' in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E. P. Thompson (eds), *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 159-60, 174-175.

general, from roles within the duke's household suggest that country house service was not a favoured occupation.

Of eleven named labourers employed assisting in the stables in 1800, I have found only two were directly related to the servants employed at Chatsworth.[626] Both were not the first sons of servants: Edward Slow was the second son of George Slow, a groom, while George Pleasance was the eighth child and sixth son of stallion groom, William Pleasance. George Pleasance was the only one of William's ten children to follow in his footsteps and work as a servant for the duke. James Loton, the undergardener at Chatsworth between 1720 and 1742, saw two of his sons follow in his footsteps to work for the duke of Devonshire; however, neither was his eldest living son. Servants in lower status roles were less likely to encourage their children into similar positions. Instead their children took on positions where they could become their own master and trade was a popular route for many, a choice made possible by the many trades- and crafts-men who lived and worked in the villages surrounding the country house. The son of groom Thomas Newton was recorded as a plasterer in the estate village of Pilsley in the 1851 census.[627] The eldest son of brewer Robert Marsden and the second son of the duke's farmer David Hawkins were both listed as carpenters in estate villages.[628] Robert Marsden's third son also remained close to Chatsworth, becoming a shoemaker who employed one man in the nearby hamlet of Wensley and similarly, the fifth son of William Pleasance was listed as a shoemaker living in Edensor in the 1851 census.[629] The sons of upper servants could also find alternative routes to their fathers who remained in service for the majority of their lives. The gardener's son, Thomas Travis, was listed in 1841 as living on independent means with a household of four servants while, the upholsterer's son, Ralph Trotter, was listed as a clerk in an office in Leicestershire in the 1851 census.[630] While this chapter has already shown the difficulties which can arise with occupational

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[626] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

[627] 'Sampson Newton' (1851), *Census return for Pilsley, Bakewell Registration District, Derbyshire,* HO107/2149, folio 331, p. 19. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[628] 'Robert Marsden' (1851), *Census return for Pilsley, Bakewell Registration District, Derbyshire,* HO107/2149, folio 328, p. 13. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019); 'James Hawkins' (1851), *Census return for Pilsley, Bakewell Registration District, Derbyshire,* HO107/2149, folio 328, p. 13. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[629] 'William Marsden' (1851), *Census return for Brimington, Chesterfield Registration District, Derbyshire,* HO107/2147, folio 782, p. 27. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019); 'James Pleasance' (1851), *Census return for Edensor, Bakewell Registration District, Derbyshire,* HO107/2149, folio 310, p. 3. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

[630] 'Thomas Travis' (1841), *Census return for Crich, Belper Registration District, Derbyshire,* HO107/188, folio 39, p. 29. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019); 'Ralph Trotter' (1851), *Census return for St Mary's, Leicester Registration District, Leicestershire,* HO107/2090, folio 681, p. 23. Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed 31st July 2019).

descriptors, what is important in these instances is that these servants did not appear in the list of servants in the duke's household accounts, confirming they were not servants.

The sons of skilled or upper servants were more likely to be employed by the duke, often inheriting the positions of their fathers. The son of Thomas Burgoine followed his father's footsteps acting first as a gamekeeper's assistant and then taking over the role of gamekeeper when his father retired in 1816. The position of gamekeeper was important to the estate as it oversaw the security of land from poachers and was a role which would have involved a close personal relationship with the duke during the shooting season. The role of steward was likewise a crucial role on the estate; as the duke's representative on the country estate and the local area, it would have been the responsibility of the steward to maintain order in the absence of the duke and to oversee the running of house, estate and local villages. At the turn of the century William Barker was acting as the steward at Chatsworth and upon his death the role was inherited by his son Alexander who continued in the position until his own death in 1784. These positions were both taken up by eldest sons because they were coveted roles which were able to convey an individual's skill and authority in a way that other service roles did not. Therefore, it was desirable to keep these higher status positions within the family. This was seen in the case of Alexander Barker, who had no living issue but upon his retirement asked the 5th Duke to name his nephew George Barker as his successor.[631] Upper servant roles provided these servants with an authority over others in the servant hierarchy and, in certain circumstances, authority over the local community. These roles were coveted for the status they conveyed to members of the local estate community but also because of the opportunities they provided outside of service. Despite the status these positions conveyed, these individuals chose to distance themselves from these servant titles in their wills, with William Barker choosing to describe himself as a 'yeoman' while his son and the two Burgoines chose the term 'gentleman'.[632] The social strata from which many of these men were recruited, combined with the economic capabilities with which these roles came, allowed the men in these positions to own property and land in their own right, and this, in turn, influenced how they chose to present themselves to the world.

Agency on the Estate

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[631] Diary of William Gould 1783-1795, 7th November 1783.

[632] SRO: B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737; B/C/11, Will of Thomas Burgoine, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 20th April 1820; B/C/11, Will of Thomas Burgoine Jr, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th September 1850.

This chapter has so far demonstrated that a servant could use their alternative employments to present a description to their friends and neighbours which remained truthful while also expressing a higher social status than the subordinate position suggested by the term 'servant'. A will provided a space which allowed servants to reflect upon their personal assessment of their position largely separate from the close scrutiny of their master or the wider community. The label they presented here had to be believable but it was one which would have been witnessed by only a small group and therefore was unlikely to have been contested while they were alive. There were other occasions during their lives when the labels a servant used to describe themselves would have been scrutinised by a wider group of people and, in these instances, the descriptions they chose to present needed to appeal to a wider range of social and cultural factors than those used in their wills. One way in which this has been witnessed previously by historians is in the differences which could occur between the occupation recorded by an individual in their will and the occupation recorded by the appraisers of an individual's probate inventory. Overton *et al* argue that this distinction shows the conflict between the identity an individual wished to portray and how this manifest in the local community.[633] While my research on the wills made by the Chatsworth residents largely echo the results of Craig Muldrew and Keibek and Shaw-Taylor's studies which saw the discrepancy in only a small handful of cases, the inconsistency in the labels used to describe an individual can be found in other manifestations on the Chatsworth estate.[634] Through an analysis of official documents created for the estate and the descriptions on servants' tombstones in the parish church graveyard, this chapter will now turn to examine how an individual's occupational label varied depending on the purpose and audience of a document and the impact these identities had on the power relations on the estate.

The majority of documents which survive in the Devonshire Collection were created for the purpose of managing the country estate and therefore present the estate from the perspective of the landowner. Comparing the terms used in these documents to describe individuals with the terms an individual used to describe themselves in their will reveals that the presence of the duke, whether physically or through an official proxy, influenced how a person's occupation was described. A survey taken of the estate village of Edensor in 1788 was completed for the 5th Duke at a time when he had started to purchase the remaining freehold

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[633] Overton et al., *Production and consumption*, p. 34.
[634] Keibek and Shaw-Taylor, 'Early modern rural by-employments', p. 251; Muldrew, *Food, energy and the creation of industriousness*, p. 166.

properties in the area.[635] The survey was compiled by J. Dowland, a surveyor who had previously worked closely with the Cavendish family and their stewards, and it recorded all the households in the village, the names of each head of house, their occupation and the composition of each household.[636] The level of detail in the survey, which recorded the households who had children at school in different parishes or the health of the village's more senior members, would have required face-to-face interaction with the survey maker. Therefore, it is likely individuals would have been asked their occupation when they were in the process of describing their household arrangements to the duke's representative. One of the most notable differences between this manuscript and the servants' and tenants' wills is the absence of the terms 'yeoman', 'gentleman' and 'husbandman' in the occupations listed in the survey. No Edensor resident was described in the survey in these terms despite seven men who were resident on the estate at this time describing themselves using these terms in their wills. This absence was not only present in the case of the duke's servants but also extended to the tenants on the estate. Two residents were recorded as 'farmers' in the survey yet these individuals were not the same men who described themselves as 'farmers' in their wills. The survey recorded Barker Blockley, who in his will described himself as a 'gentleman', and George Cowley, who in his will was described as a 'yeoman', as farmers. While the wills of the servants had shown the popularity of terms like these amongst the duke's household, in the survey all the servants were described in the same way as they were recorded in the household accounts: Thomas Holderness was recorded as 'Stud Groom' rather than the term 'gentleman' which Holderness had used in his will to describe his own occupation, while David Loton was described as 'Porter', again the same as his description in the household accounts but different from his will where he was recorded as a 'yeoman'.

The labels recorded in the survey defined an individual from the perspective of the 5th Duke and emphasised the role they played which was most useful to him. For some these descriptors were the same as the terms used in residents' wills with trade identities more stable than servant identities, for example men like Robert Bampton, a tailor, and Richard Littlewood, a blacksmith, were described in the same way in both the survey and their wills.[637] For servants, the titles used in the survey were often in contrast to how they chose to describe themselves in their wills. However, their use of these specific servant titles in this

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[635] DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788.

[636] Diary of William Gould, 1783-1795.

[637] DC: AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788; SRO: Will of Robert Bampton, 26th October 1789; NA: IR26/361/51, Abstract of Will of Richard Littlewood, 16th March 1811.

context reveals that servants did know these terms and understood them to be one of several possible valid descriptors they could use in formal contexts. As a document created for the duke, servants and other tenants presented themselves in a way which showed deference to the duke's superior status. While the creation of this document was mediated through individuals who were closer in status to those on the estate than the duke, the 'cultural rules', which James C. Scott describes as the 'public transcript', between the duke and his servants were still present.[638] The absence of terms which defined tenants in relation to the land in this document showed the importance of the audience when constructing descriptive labels. Terms such as 'gentleman' and 'yeoman' were ambiguous and did not specifically identify an individual as a subordinate renter and, as a result, the use of them in a document made for the duke would have been in conflict with the duke's landed power. When servants defined themselves using these terms, they did so in order to place themselves in a context specific in the local community but the estate terrier produced for the duke did not exist within this locality. Corfield argues that the popularity of the term 'gentleman' was a non-elite 'intrusion' into the culture of honours which deprived the traditional landowning elite of their monopoly as social status became recognised by wealth and success as well as birth.[639] The absence of these terms within the duke's accounts suggests they were perceived as a threat but also that the estate community conceived its social hierarchy through a different language to how it was understood by the landowner.

Audience was central when an individual was deciding how to describe themselves in a formal setting. The range of ways an individual presented themselves is reflected in Scott's theory which shows that multiple versions of the public and hidden transcripts existed in an individual's life. His study of slave interactions showed exchanges and meetings individuals had with different groups were all on a spectrum of public and hidden transcripts. At one end of the spectrum were harsh masters and overseers who slaves engaged with using the public transcript. White individuals who had no direct authority over a slave were also in this half of the spectrum, although not to the same extreme as a slave's master, because they were a group which shared similar characteristics with a slave's owners that resulted in a slave still engaging with this group using a version of the public transcript. At the other end of the spectrum was a slave's immediate family with whom they were able to share their uncensored thoughts and with whom they engaged using hidden transcripts. Other groups

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[638] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p. 2.
[639] Corfield, 'Rivals', p. 12.

existed between these two ends of the spectrum such as other black individuals who did not work for the same master but with whom they shared more in common. This interaction would have shared elements of the hidden transcript but interactions would not been as unrestrained as with a slave's family members.[640] The duke's servants also experienced a similar situation and had multiple transcripts in their lives. The nature of the household hierarchy meant managerial servants could form part of the public transcript when they were acting as the duke's representative like in the creation of estate survey. While estate residents were able to influence certain aspects of the estate such as the naming of the land, presenting themselves in ambiguous terms which did not clearly show their subordinate position and which presented them as independent of the duke's support separated them too much from the duke's authority.

There were occasions when the 5th Duke did recognise the position of his servants as tenants although these usually focused on when it was of benefit to him. This was the case when Thomas Burgoine, the 5th Duke's gamekeeper, applied to the steward in 1795 for a small building to be built behind the house he rented in Edensor for £6 10s a year. The purpose of the building was changed several times by Burgoine, who first described it as a kennel for his dog, then as a place to store his gamekeeper's nets, and finally as a stable for his horse. All three purposes were attached to his role as gamekeeper and, by appealing to the steward by linking his requests to the work he completed for the duke, Burgoine probably expected his request to be met with sensitivity. However, this was not the case and the response of the steward noted that 'proper places are already provided for the Gamekeepers use in the Dukes Buildings, to deposit and preserve netts and every thing else the Gamekeeper can have occasion for'.[641] The foundation for this argument focused on the separation between the duke's home and the servant's home, a theme which this thesis has shown could bring servants greater freedom but in this instance was used to limit their control.[642] The duke did not reject the request altogether; however, he demanded that the steward make it clear to Burgoine that the conditions for any building works were that they were 'independant [sic] of his present employment as the Dukes Gamekeeper'.[643] The duke showed his authority by placing firm boundaries on where his material goods could be stored and in doing so

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[640] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pp. 25-26.

[641] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book.

[642] See Chapter One, pp. 60-72.

[643] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book.

restricted the actions of Burgoine.[644] The order separated work undertaken for the duke and work undertaken for the benefit and profit of a servant's own household and showed how they occupied two different spaces and material worlds. If Burgoine desired a stable for his horse or a space for his equipment he needed to present the case that it was for the benefit of his own work. By reinforcing the separation between the spheres of work on his own terms, the duke showed his overall command of the estate. The duke's response drew upon the very foundation of the servants' limited agency on the estate and, therefore, showed how structures of authority were not simply enforced by elites but were defined through engagement between different social orders.[645]

While this chapter has shown how individuals chose to distance themselves from service because it was widely perceived as low status employment, the estate's churchyard was one location which attached status to a specific form of service. Long term service was a currency which transcended certain aspects of the negative perception of service and the prestige in which it was held can be seen by the recording of servant occupations on gravestone in the graveyard of Edensor Church. A will may have shown how an individual desired to be remembered but a gravestone provided their lasting legacy and a means through which their memory was narrated. Gravestones often documented an individual's name, their age at death, family networks, their occupation and place of residence and therefore provided a concise history of a person. The majority of these details were included on gravestones in the Edensor churchyard; however, they rarely listed an individual's occupation. Service was the exception to this absence and being a servant was the most common occupation recorded in the parish graveyard. Besides the duke's servants, the only other individuals recorded with an occupation in the graveyard during the eighteenth century were a mason and three schoolmasters. The inclusion of a servant's occupation was infrequent, appearing only four times for the period of this study, but in each case it was listed in reference to an individual's long term service: Jane Hart's gravestone, a plate maid who had served at Devonshire House, read 'servant to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire 53 years' while Jonathan Littlewood's gravestone was suggestive of the length of time he had worked on the estate when it noted, 'He was Groom to the late and present Duke of Devonshire'.[646] The graveyard on the

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[644] Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle, 'Introduction' in Griffiths, Fox and Hindle (eds), *Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, p. 1.
[645] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[646] For a list of the gravestones and grave inscriptions in churchyard of Edensor Parish Church seewww.thrower.org.uk/edensor/frames.htm (last accessed 1st August 2019).

Chatsworth estate was not unusual and Harold Mytum's work on monuments on the Castle Howard estate similarly found that an emphasis was often placed on the connection an individual had to the country house with servants' roles and years of service often recorded on the inscriptions.[647]

While servants had chosen to identify themselves through by-employments in their wills and distance themselves from service, their memorials in the village church were more closely related to how they were recorded in the household accounts. These were public memorials which would have been visible to the wider community and, therefore, the choice of description on the gravestone was a form of identity mediated through public expectations. As a result, the labels chosen for this communal space were often different to how servants described themselves in their wills. The grave of James Broussard recorded him as spending a 'full forty years as Gardener to ye D of Davanshire [sic]' but in his will he described himself as a 'gentleman'.[648] Inside the church a plaque dedicated to John Phillips described him as 'sometime Housekeeper at Chatsworth' and in the sixtieth year of his service but, similarly to Broussard, Phillips chose to describe himself as a 'gentleman' in his will.[649] It is unknown whether the individual or their family members chose the wording of the gravestones, however, the inclusion of more detail on a gravestone would have made the memorial more expensive for family members who often had to pay a mason by the letter.[650] Therefore, the messages which were chosen to be carved in stone were performing a function of remembrance. Keith Snell has argued that individuals were esteemed in death by their connection to their parish and, in choosing to promote their service rather than their other by-employments, servants ensured their connection to the estate was recognised by a variety of social groups who worked on the estate or visited the country house.[651]

Official records kept by the parish also chose to identify servants with the titles given to them by the duke rather than how the servants chose to describe themselves in the more private space of their wills. The parish burial register recorded the death of Eleanor Potter in 1754 with the description of 'housekeeper' alongside her name while her will described her as a

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[647] Harold Mytum, 'Monuments and Memory in the Estate Landscape: Castle Howard and Sledmere', in Finch and Giles (eds), *Estate Landscape*, pp. 170-171.

[648] SRO: B/C/11, James Brossard, 29th April 1762.

[649] DC: L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734; SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, 17th July 1735.

[650] K. D. M. Snell, 'Gravestones, Belonging and Local Attachment in England 1700-2000', *P&P* 179 (2003), p. 100.

[651] Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 492.

'widow'. For Potter, addressing her status as a woman independent of a husband's influence in her will was important because it recognised her ability to make the will, the same necessity was not required in the church burial records. Adam Smyth found in his research on early modern parish registers that those who were connected to the 'socially eminent' were more likely to have additional information recorded about them.[652] By recording Potter's role as a housekeeper in the parish registers the minister was associating her with the most socially eminent individual on the estate: the duke. This practice was not intended to distinguish her from the other residents on the estate; rather, as Smyth argues, it was used to create a sense of community because the inclusion of additional information like an individual's occupation made ministers 'draw connections between individuals'.[653] Eleanor Potter would have been known to residents on the estate in several ways: as the duke's housekeeper but also, as Chapter Two showed, as an individual who had land on the estate.[654] The reference to her as housekeeper in the parish registers identified her with the particular reason why she deserved specific community remembrance. Away from the estate, reference to an individual's connection to the duke remained important. The gravestone of Ralph Trotter, the duke's upholsterer who in his will described himself as a 'farmer', did not include an occupation; however, his obituary in *The Derby Mercury* described him as 'upwards of forty years upholsterer to the late, and present Duke of Devonshire'.[655] Similar to the gravestone, this record in the newspaper showed the social currency of long-term service, especially to a notable employee.

Long term service to an individual of social standing did make the occupation of service noteworthy. Loyalty to the same employer for many years outweighed some of the negative attributes of service which adversely coloured society's view of servants, and instead a lifetime of submission was viewed as a noble deed. The status bestowed upon servants who served the family for many years did not necessarily enhance their social status but was instead an acknowledgement of their moral status through their show of steadfastness and loyalty. Loyalty was viewed as a reflection of the paternal bond between master and servant and, therefore, descriptions of long-term service also demonstrated the good qualities of the dukes of Devonshire as masters.[656] This was an 'idealised' view of service and one which

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[652] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 168-169.

[653] *Ibid*., pp. 176-177.

[654] See Chapter Two, p. 110.

[655] *The Derby Mercury,* 17th February 1830.

[656] Hill, *Servants*, p. 89.

acted as a counterbalance to the growing tensions which appeared between master and servant as the vails and perquisites which had previously been the right of servants were in decline.[657] The wills of servants suggested service had little social currency within the local community, yet the appearance of terms like 'servant' or their specific work roles in the parish registers and on the gravestones in the parish church suggest that it did in certain circumstances. In their remembrance of the dead the local community conceptualised the estate and its occupants in similar terms to how the duke understood the estate villages. These examples reveal that servants did use the descriptions given to them in the household accounts but only in certain circumstances when they had to submit to the authority of the duke or wished to memorialise their place on the estate. In these instances, servants were appealing either to an elite audience who had authority over them or to a larger audience than the close family and friends who were present during the writing of their wills and the public setting of these documents influenced how servants chose to present themselves.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how a servant presented themselves in a variety of public settings. The labels they chose to define themselves by were influenced by the audiences they engaged with because this presentation was 'an act of persuasion' where the success and legitimacy of these terms relied on the audience's acceptance of them.[658] The servants' wills reveal localism was a crucial factor when choosing which identifier to use in both the rural and the urban context. However, it was the connectivity of the rural estate which provided a stable environment in which servants were able to explore other facets of their lives amongst the same friends and neighbours. This was in contrast to the experiences of the duke's servants in London who did not experience the same connectivity because their various roles often took place in distinct arenas. In choosing to define themselves in terms which suggested their independence and self-sufficiency, the Chatsworth servants showed they were confident that the local community would recognise their employments beyond service. Associating themselves with their by-employments rather than the form of employment which encompassed the majority of their time showed that servants desired to claim a social status which their position as servants did not convey. The choice to use terms such as 'gentleman',

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[657] Ben Crabstick, 'William Basse's Polyhymnia and the Poetry of Service', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2005), p. 109.

[658] Michael Braddick and John Walter, 'Introduction: Grids of power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society' in Braddick and Walter (eds), *Negotiating Hierarchy*, p. 13.

'yeoman' or 'farmer' was not an act of emulation because servants did have legitimate access to these roles and identities; it was instead a desire to present themselves in a way which showed they had a successful life which conformed to wider expectations. A servant's ability to successfully use these terms highlights the flexible and imprecise nature of these categories.

Audience was crucial when servants decided how to present themselves. Away from the duke's gaze servants often chose to distance themselves from service but were also aware of the difficulty of using the same terms they used in their wills in the more public setting of the estate. In documents produced for the duke, servants were presented through their master's gaze. Therefore, there was a limit to the shared oral culture between the estate's residents and the duke's advisors. The naming of land after tenants was a custom used in the management of the estate but this shared culture did not extend to acknowledging servants and tenants as yeomen or gentlemen which would have undermined the authority of the duke as the majority landowner. The parish registers and gravestone inscriptions similarly referred to servants by the terminology used in the duke's household accounts, although the inclusion of these references was motivated by a different purpose. In a graveyard where occupations were largely absent from grave inscriptions, the decision to include a servant's role meant these individuals were conspicuous and one of the most visible groups in the community which invited public remembrance. In this setting the longevity of an individual's time in service and their loyalty to a master as socially revered as the duke of Devonshire meant that the same terms servants had dismissed in other contexts became associated with a more positive characterization. Servants were able to successfully emphasise other aspects of their working lives in a public environment but their attempts to do so were most often limited to their friends and family, and away from the duke's scrutiny.

The environment of the country estate also provided a setting which made it easier for servants to move between their roles as servant, farmer and householder. Describing their place within this local environment enabled servants to benefit from the ambiguity of terms like 'gentleman' which suggested some form of status but, without the conferring of any formal status or recognition to an individual, was a description open to interpretation. The terms that servants chose to use to describe themselves were often inward facing, which required the context of the local community in order to be comprehensible. Therefore, a servant's ability to insert themselves within the local hierarchy was a reflection of their long-term engagement with the estate and their knowledge of its social order. The ability of

servants on the country estate to move between the descriptors they used in their wills and those given to them in the household accounts showed they were able to move between vertical hierarchies, like the servant hierarchy present in the duke's household, and horizontal identifiers, like their place as part of the local community which, in turn, enabled them to describe themselves through a variety of labels. While E. P. Thompson has argued that both vertical and horizontal forms of consciousness existed in communities in times of crisis, such as food riots or enclosure, this chapter has shown that an individual drew upon these dual forms throughout their lives and in times of peace and stability as well as strife.[659] The experiences of servants at Chatsworth were in contrast to their London counterparts who were largely restricted in the terms they were confident in using in their wills. The reliance on their servant positions in this context showed that the different spheres of their lives did not overlap to the same extent as the Chatsworth servants and that the audience they were trying to persuade countenanced a more limited range of occupational roles. The servants at Chatsworth had access to an immediate network of individuals who were separate to their work in the household of the duke and their daily engagement with this group bolstered the importance of by-employments within a servant's life as status within this community was developed from a relationship with the land. This was in contrast to their London counterparts who were restricted in the occupational descriptors they employed because the locality of their community was limited to the confines of the house. This highlights the importance of the country house environment in influencing the experiences of servants, a broader question of this thesis.

The servants' wills reveal that many individuals chose to disassociate themselves from their service to the duke. By promoting their self-sufficiency in other areas of their lives, servants showed they were able to support their families in other ways which were separate from a reliance on a master. These servants encapsulate the complex nature of the early modern social order and reveal that many individuals, even those who occupied the more subordinate roles within a community, could draw upon other aspects of their lives when they presented themselves to others. Servants made conscious choices to present the most appropriate and legible versions of their selves in different social contexts. The variety of roles which servants were able to draw upon shows that early modern people did not consider other forms of employments to be incompatible with service. The different occupational labels servants employed during their time on the estate showed these individuals were knowledgeable of the

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[659] Thompson, 'Patrician Society', pp. 396-397.

varying social currency their position as servants had in different situations. The choices servants made when they recorded their occupation in their will showed that the structures of the community affected servants as much as the hierarchies within the household.

Chapter Four: Objects and Space

During a time of increased tensions between the 5th Duke and his wife in 1792, an inventory of Chatsworth was produced which documented the furnishings of the house from room to room. From ornamental furniture and decorative textiles to delftware in the grand state rooms and cupboards full of plate, all were itemised in the 110 page document.[660] Many of the items marked the presence of an aristocratic family and showcased their lineage and status but others were suggestive of the amount of labour required to maintain a country house. Serving an elite family required both a significant amount of space, in order to accommodate workspaces and bedrooms, and objects, in order to complete the range of tasks required of servants.

Inventories are an important source when examining the spaces and objects servants interacted with during their daily routines because they show what was in a space and are suggestive of the types of interactions which took place within it. It is only in recent years that historians have turned to examine the country house as a domestic environment rather than for its public role as an architectural power house.[661] This chapter will consider how the country house was furnished as a domestic environment for servants. So far, this thesis has shown the mobility of servants outside of the country house; the following two chapters will turn to locate servants inside the country house. This chapter will examine how servants experienced the material world provided for them by the duke. It will explore what factors influenced how the rooms ascribed to servants were furnished and what the furnishings of these rooms can suggest about the functions of these spaces. It will pay particular attention to the extent to which status and gender influenced how the rooms of upper and lower servants were furnished. By considering the furnishings of these spaces, this chapter will situate the material experiences of servants in the growing levels of consumerism taking place in the eighteenth century. In doing so, this chapter addresses two of the overarching research questions of the thesis. Examining the material goods provided by the duke and the activities they are suggestive of will show how the environment of the country house affected an individual's experience of service and the extent to which material factors influenced the lives of servants. The subsequent chapter will build upon the findings of Chapter Four to

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[660] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1792.

[661] Judith S. Lewis, 'When a House Is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *Journal of British Studies* 48:2 (2009), pp. 336-363; Jon Stobart and Cristina Prytz, 'Comfort in English and Swedish Country Houses, c. 1760-1820', *Social History* 43:2 (2018), pp. 234-258.

examine more closely how servants were able to exercise their agency in the furnishings of the country house. It will move from examining the consumption of objects to focus on how the space of the country house worked in practice for the servants who interacted with it on a daily basis and how they engaged with the material culture of the house. Together these chapters will demonstrate how servants were able to create instances of personal control and how they negotiated space through their acquired knowledge of the house and their daily routines in the absence of the duke. These chapters will suggest that inventories can reveal more than just the physical presence of servants: they can also express the knowledge they accumulated about a house during their time in employment.

Objects provide another means of examining the lives of servants. Henry Glassie has argued that material culture provides a way to understand the experiences of groups and individuals who have not left any written documentation.[662] Objects offer a way to examine the social structures which servants had to navigate while present in the country house. Inanimate objects are part of a dialogue between the hierarchical structures present within society and the individual interacting with the item who has their own social position and motivation. Therefore, goods and spaces are not neutral but rather 'a medium through which society is reproduced'.[663] Objects contribute to the unconscious actions within the social structures Bourdieu defined in his concept of 'habitus'; however, they can also support an individual's own actions.[664] In this context, they are 'vehicles of meaning' in the physical world through which individuals negotiate their position in the immediate context of their household or day-to-day relations and in the wider context of society.[665] They also provide a means through which to examine daily interactions from the perspective of servants. Historians working on material culture have approached the items which furnished the past by acknowledging them as 'tools through which people shape their lives' and 'not simple props of history'.[666] Karen Harvey has argued that by recognising the role of objects in the lives of people it is also possible to examine how objects shaped the lives of those interacting with them.[667] This could be influenced by the 'signs' displayed by items which were interpreted by an audience

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[662] Glassie, 'Meaningful Things', pp. 29-30.

[663] Flather, *Gender and Space*, p. 2. Also see Shirley Ardener, *Women and Space: Ground rules and social maps for women* (London, 1981).

[664] See Introduction, pp. 18-19.

[665] Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2000), p. 75.

[666] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello 'Introduction: Writing Material Culture History' in Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds), *Writing Material Culture History* (London, 2015), p. 2.

[667] Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: Historians, Material Culture and Materiality' in Karen Harvey (ed.) *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London, 2009), p. 5.

to present a certain meaning, a meaning which could vary depending upon the knowledge and world view of the individual viewing or interacting with it.[668] It was through engagement with a space, and the objects in it, that hierarchies of authority, gender and status were continually being negotiated between individuals and groups.[669] Studies have previously shown how this could be used to control space or reflect an individual's or group's power. According to Bourdieu, the messages reflected in aristocratic goods were only legible with the right education and an elite perspective, which, for him, placed the elites at the top of the material hierarchy.[670] Michel Foucault has argued that all objects were objects of power enforced on society by those in authority.[671] More recently, historians have turned to examine how those further down the social hierarchy could interact with objects in order to create their own moments of agency.[672] Spaces, and the objects within them, were expressions of a wide variety of social relations which encompassed all levels of society. This approach is central to the arguments of the following two chapters. When servants interacted with the material goods at Chatsworth, they were engaging in the prescribed expectations set by their master but they were also exhibiting evidence of their own expression.

The eighteenth century is a pivotal period in the study of material goods because this period has been viewed as the time of the 'consumer revolution'. Neil McKendrick has argued that changing consumer abilities and habits throughout society meant a wider range of households were able to purchase a greater number of material goods which reached 'revolutionary proportions' in the third quarter of the century.[673] Since McKendrick's work, historians have questioned the timeline of these changing consumer habits and have suggested that this change took place gradually over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[674] Servants have been seen as central to the changing consumer habits of the eighteenth century. McKendrick argued that, because they were exposed to elite fashions and taste on a regular basis, servants acted as a 'chain of fashion and social emulation' which promoted the use of

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[668] Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery 'Introduction' in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (eds), *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (London, 1993), p. 5.
[669] Examples of this can be found in Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850*.
[670] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement and Taste* (London, 1986).
[671] Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', in H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, 1983), pp. 208-226.
[672] Hamling and Richardson, *Day at Home*; Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (London, 2016).
[673] Neil McKendrick, 'The Commercialization of Fashion', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Pumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society: Commercialization of England, (Bloomington, 1982), p. 9.
[674] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households*.

similar objects and practices lower down society.[675] McKendrick defines this as the process of 'emulation', where new goods trickled-down the social hierarchy from the elites to the middling sort and below. He has argued that servants were able to purchase goods 'above their station' because of their protection from market forces as a result of their accommodation and board in their master's household.[676] Servants' consumer habits encouraged the purchase of new goods amongst their family, friends and their communities, which Joan Thirsk has argued labouring families were able to purchase because of the money they raised from their by-employments explored in the previous chapter.[677]

Historians have since questioned the extent to which the appearance of objects in poorer households can be accounted for by McKendrick's theory of emulation. Contemporary accounts reveal many were concerned about the purchasing power of the lower sort and the consumption of servants was seen as a threat to the social order because servants were viewed to be emulating the dress of their masters and mistresses and thereby dismantling an individual's ability to read status within by an individual's appearance.[678] Reflecting the fear of several upper-middling people, Daniel Defoe complained about the elaborate appearances of some servants and described a maid who had come to his sister's house looking for prospective work as dressed 'more like a visitor than a servant-maid', thus showing servants and their masters were part of the same material world.[679] Research by historians has suggested that the fashion for new goods was instead driven by the emerging middling ranks. Lorna Weatherill's quantitative study of probate inventories has been ground-breaking in developing our knowledge of consumer behaviour. It has shown that elite society was not at the forefront of purchasing new, novelty items and, instead, it was the trades- and craftspeople, often in urban environments that were purchasing these goods.[680] Focus on the experiences of the middling sort has shown that emulation was often not the intention of these groups; instead they were purchasing certain goods in order to show they belonged to

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[675] McKendrick, 'Commercialization of Fashion', pp. 9-22.

[676] *Ibid*.

[677] Joan Thirsk*, Economic policy and projects: The development of a consumer society in early modern England* (Oxford, 1988), p. 8.

[678] See for examples: Chloe Wigston Smith, '"Callico Madams": Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31:2 (2007), pp. 41-45.

[679] Daniel Defoe, *Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business: Or, Private Abuses, Public Grievances Exemplified* (London, 1725).

[680] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.

their horizontal social group.[681] Jan de Vries defines these as 'taste groups' and emphasises the importance of individual choice in the purchase of objects.[682] Quantitative studies can show when goods entered an individual's house but they are limited in what they reveal about how an individual used these goods. Consumption was not solely an economic action; it was also imbued with social and cultural meanings and these studies reveal social meanings were more complex than the division between elite culture and popular culture. John Styles and Amanda Vickery have shown that examining a household's goods through a material culture approach provides a way to explore how objects affected as individual's daily life.[683] This approach requires an understanding of how an individual incorporated an item into their routine and how this worked in conjunction with the rest of the goods they owned. This is particularly important when considering the experiences of servants as the growth in the number of objects owned by a household had implications for their daily workload.[684] Conduct literature written for servants highlights the high level of physical engagement servants had with the material world of their master's house. A guide for servants, *The House Servant's Directory*, published in 1760, included 105 different recipes and instructions for servants on how to preserve and mend the material goods of their employees ranging from the making mahogany furniture polish, to varnishing paintings, and washing embroidery.[685]

Despite their engagement with their master's property, assessing the extent to which servants' own consumer practices were influenced by the goods they saw in their master's house is challenging. John Styles' work on clothing has revealed that servants gained knowledge of fashionable prints and fabrics from a variety of sources which ranged from their master's house to a servants' own material interactions when shopping and meetings with others at fairs and festival days.[686] Clothing was an area in which servants had more opportunity to decide upon their own goods, in comparison to the decorative schemes and goods in their rooms which were largely dictated by their employer. In this context, Styles has defined servants as 'involuntary consumers' because they had little choice over the material culture

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[681] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London, 1998), pp. 172-173.

[682] De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, p. 149.

[683] John Styles and Amanda Vickery, 'Introduction', in John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830* (London, 2006), pp. 21-22.

[684] McIsaac Cooper, 'Service to Servitude?', p. 380.

[685] Hannah Glasse, *The House Servant's Directory, or house-keeper's companion: Wherein the Duties of the Chamber-Maid, Nursery-Maid, House-Maid, Landery-Maid, Scullion, or Under-Cook, Are fully and distinctly explained* (London, 1760).

[686] Styles, *Dress of the People*, pp. 277-301; Styles, 'Involuntary Consumers?', pp. 9-21.

which furnished their living and working environments.[687] Frank Trentmann has warned that this phrase can be construed as limiting because it fails to recognise the choices individuals had within a space and 'the interactive dimensions of trust, reciprocity, and solidarity that are involved in receiving charity or handing down clothes'.[688] Chloe Wigston Smith has shown that the number of contemporary debates on the consumer power of servants revealed the agency servants had.[689] Servants are central to debates on the consumer revolution and, whether historians subscribe to McKendrick's theory or not, it is recognized that servants formed a part of this growing material culture and the social debates which surrounded it. This chapter will engage with these debates on involuntary consumption and the chain of fashion by examining how the rooms of servants were furnished at Chatsworth. It will draw upon both the probate inventories of the Cavendish family at Chatsworth and the probate inventories which survive for the servants who lived out in order to compare, where possible, the objects which furnished the servant rooms at Chatsworth with the objects found in the rooms of servants who lived in the estate village.

The three inventories made of Chatsworth in 1764, 1792, and 1811 are crucial sources for these chapters. The first and last of these inventories were made for probate purposes upon the death of the 4th and the 5th Dukes. The inventory of 1792, taken two years after the birth of the 5th Duke's son and heir, may have been made for insurance purposes as it corresponds with a period of uncertainty over the future of the Cavendish family as Duchess Georgiana was exiled in France following the birth of her illegitimate daughter. The process of creating an inventory included servants from the very start because appraising was 'often a quasi-public event' with grieving loved ones, family members and servants in attendance.[690] Indeed, in the absence of the Cavendish family, the task of recording and cataloguing the furniture, linen and plate at Chatsworth was overseen by the servants and it was their knowledge of these objects which was recorded in these inventories. Alongside the lists of objects within each room, further details about many of the pieces were included in the inventories such as alterative names for items, where in the house they had been moved from, and how long they had been there for. The 1792 inventory noted in the Armour Room that there were 'Twenty three pictures with Black and Gilt frames that was brought here from the

[687] John Styles, 'Lodging at the Old Bailey: Lodgings and Their Furnishing in Eighteenth-Century London', in Styles and Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material*, p. 62.
[688] Frank Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics', *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009), p. 295.
[689] Smith, 'Callico Madams', pp. 29-55.
[690] Spaeth, 'Orderly made', p. 430.

north front', while in the Leicester Room there was 'a small camp bed (called the Dukes camp bed)'.[691] The service areas of the house also benefited from this additional knowledge: a note about the Linen Chest recorded, 'N.B. no part of the contents of this chest has been used since the present Housekeeper came to Chatsworth', while a long list of tin and copper items in the cook's room concluded with the note that the last three items 'belong to Mr Bouvys [the groom of the chambers] Room, all the rest to the Kitchen'. These were details only a member of the household would have known and, as the Cavendish family were not present at Chatsworth at the time of making these inventories, this knowledge would have come from the servants. Even when their knowledge was not overtly recorded within the inventories, servants would have taken the appraiser around the house, opened locked doors, and supplied the names of each of the multitude of bedrooms and entertaining spaces. In the process of documenting the country house, servants were the invisible guides.

Servants' knowledge came from their daily interactions with the space. In comparison to the duke's use of his country house, which was limited to a period in the summer and autumn months, Chatsworth was a space the servants experienced every day. Their work took them around various rooms; the daily tasks of cleaning the house completed by the resident housemaids would have been a continual process because the house was open to visitors on public days held on two days each week. Repairs to the house and the objects within it also continued in the absence of the family with servants in charge of organising the necessary arrangements. The steward's order book reveals that in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century alterations took place in a variety of rooms ranging from the library to the kitchen passageway, guest bedrooms to the steward's room.[692] As a result, servants not only helped to record the country house interior they were also involved in the process of changing it. The physical presence of servants in the country house when these alterations took place provided them with an authority which meant they were able to question the practicalities of the decisions of the duke who could only imagine the space from afar. Living and working in this space all year round meant servants were knowledgeable of the interior of the country house, and it was a knowledge they were used to sharing with others.

Making an Inventory

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[691] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[692] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book.

Inventories have been an important source for historians of the country house because they are suggestive of the changing tastes of subsequent generations of a family, the survival of old goods and the influence of new styles.[693] Historians interested in tracing the rise and fall of different types of goods have examined multiple country house inventories in order to focus on specific objects.[694] This study takes a different approach by tracing periods of change and consistency in one house. Close study of a single country house across the century has rarely been undertaken and even less so with a focus on service rooms and servant experiences. Printed transcripts of inventories such as Tessa Murdoch's edited volume, *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses* (2006) and James Collett-White's work, *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses, 1714-1830* (1995) have collected together successive inventories of the same country house but historians have not used these collections to assess a single country house in microstudy.[695] By tracing Chatsworth through a series of inventories it is possible to see times of alteration and times of continuity which can then be related to specific instances in a family's life. It is from these changes that moments of agency can be read into the material culture of the country house and within which the influence of multiple hands can be found shaping the country house interior.

The inventories of the Cavendish family's properties were documents which recorded the wealth of the family and, as a result, the physical documents themselves are material objects in their own right which reveal the status of the family. The documents produced in the eighteenth century range in length from between sixty pages for the earliest account in 1764 to over a hundred pages by the end of the 5th Duke's life. By 1792, the inventories were recorded in individual hardbound volumes with each bearing the name of the house to which it related to in gold lettering. The inventories provide details of the furniture and furnishing present in store rooms, corridors and passages in the house and stables as well as the larger

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[693] Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family: New and Old in the Georgian Country House' in *Cultural and Social History* 11:3 (2014), pp. 385-406; Finn and Smith (eds), *East India Company at Home*.

[694] See for example: Kate Smith, 'Imperial objects? Country house interiors in 18th-century Britain', in Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann (eds), *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (Swindon, 2016), pp. 105-112; Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*; Marilyn Palmer, 'The Country House: Technology and Society', *Industrial Archaeology Review* 27:1 (2005), pp. 97-103; Anna Somers Cocks, 'The Nonfunctional Use of Ceramics in the English Country House During the Eighteenth Century', *Studies in the History of Art* 25 (1989), pp. 195-215. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (London, 2004).

[695] Tessa Murdoch (ed.), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses A Tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge, 2006); James Collett-White (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714-1830* (Bedford, 1995).

family rooms and servant spaces. They are suggestive of the fashions which influenced the choice of materials and objects, infer how a space was used and by whom, and provide a means of examining how the needs of a household or wider influences, such as fashion or the availability of goods, could change how a space was used and furnished. However, historians have also recognised the limitations of inventories in revealing the design and use of a space.[696] Lena Cowen Orlin has argued that inventories do not allow historians to produce a 'faithful recreation' of a space because they do not always include everything that was present in a room and, therefore, are rarely representative of an authentic space.[697] Descriptions of objects at Chatsworth often lacked sufficient detail which would enable a historian to identify specific furnishings. For example, the seating in the footmen's rooms was described simply as 'Chairs and stools very old and bad' with no further information on the number or style of chairs given. The purpose of inventories was to record goods which had a value and added to the personal wealth of a family, which in turn influenced the types of goods deemed worthy of being recorded by auditors. While the Chatsworth inventories record whole rooms dedicated to the storage of lumber, which suggests auditors included lower value items in their appraisal, it is impossible to know if objects deemed to be of very little or no value went unrecorded in the documents. Acknowledging the absence of goods within the house is particularly relevant when understanding a servant's experience of a space. Giorgio Riello has argued that inventories support the 'notion of a stable society' and can often exclude those on the margins.[698] Servants were part of this latter group and the inventories of their master and mistress cannot reveal what a servant owned, only what their master provided for them.

The contents of an inventory could also be influenced by the appraiser taking it. Donald Spaeth has shown that the act of creating an inventory was a human one with appraisers making their own decisions about what to include and exclude. As a result, an inventory was a reflection of a person's knowledge and the decisions they made during the process of

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[696] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory' in H. S. Turner (ed.), *The Culture of Capital* (New York, 2002), pp. 51-83; Nancy Cox and Jeff Cox, 'Probate Inventories: The Legal Background – Part 1', *The Local History* 16:3 (1984), p. 134; Margaret Spufford, 'The limitations of the Probate Inventory' in John Chartres and David Hey (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-174.

[697] Cowen Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory', p. 73.

[698] Giorgio Riello ''Things seen and unseen': The material culture of early modern inventories and their representation of domestic interiors', in Paula Findlen (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (Abingdon, 2013), p. 136.

appraisal.[699] The task of compiling an inventory was undertaken by impartial men who were equipped with expertise which allowed them to record and value a house's interior correctly.[700] At Chatsworth, this was a task given to trusted individuals. The 1792 inventory was completed by 'T Fletcher' whose name was recorded at the bottom of the decorative title page.[701] This was probably Thomas Fletcher, son of the Chatsworth accountant Joseph Fletcher, who would go on take over the role of accountant upon the death of his father in 1793 and, as this inventory was not taken for probate purposes, Fletcher's connection to the estate was not an issue. The 1811 inventory recorded Edward Swift of Grosvenor Place in London as the appraiser. Swift's status can be inferred from the inclusion of his death in the popular periodical *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1833 which suggests he was an educated man with an acknowledged status.[702] Appraising a house was a process which often involved several days' work before the official document was compiled. The size of Chatsworth meant this would have been a long process and Swift's visit in the autumn of 1811 to record the items in the house lasted for a period of several days as the inventory described the process as happening on the '25th day of October 1811 and following days'. The process could also be an amalgamation of inventories taken at different times: the 1764 document included an inventory of the main house completed in October alongside a list of the contents of the cellar as it stood in December of that year. The length of time it could take an appraiser to record items also meant that some corners may have been cut. In 1764, an inventory of the great library was not taken as it was 'locked up' while the list of linen included in the 1811 inventory was copied from a survey taken in 1798.[703] The mismatched nature of inventories contributes to their limitations in representing the realities of a space. However, these inventories were also working documents used by those within the house. The inclusion of red ink and pencil markings throughout these documents reveal they were used as reference guides by members of the Chatsworth household who recorded when furniture had moved or if rooms have been renamed. Although not a complete representation of what was in a room, inventories did have to be a recognisable depiction of the space to the people who knew it.

Bare Necessities

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[699] Spaeth, 'Orderly made', pp. 417-435.

[700] Cowen Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory', pp. 51-53; Cox and Cox, 'Probate Inventories: The Legal Background Part 1, pp. 135-136.

[701] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[702] 'Deaths', *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1833), p. 91.

[703] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth and Hardwick Inventory, 1764; DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

The issue of where servants slept was a matter of great concern for contemporaries and sleeping arrangements formed part of the contractual negotiations between master and servant.[704] Employing a live-in servant meant accommodating them in the house and the issue of where servants slept was tied closely to establishing the hierarchy of the household, with the family on the principal floor and servants sleeping in garret rooms or the spaces in which they worked. Previously, country house servants had slept on mattresses in workspaces, doorways and halls which would have been brought out during the night and stored away in the morning. By the eighteenth century this practice had changed and the vast majority of servants were accommodated in spaces which were permanently prepared for their use.[705] Historians have examined where early modern servants slept in to order to assess the extent to which the notion of privacy was prevalent in the organisation of a household. Work by Lawrence Stone and Mark Girouard has argued that servants in the households of the elite were first accommodated in garrets at the beginning of the eighteenth century as a result of their masters' and mistresses' desire for privacy.[706] This development was part of a series of architectural changes, including back staircases and corridors, which were introduced to elite houses in order to protect the privacy of the nuclear family unit.[707] More recently, historians have criticised this approach which has focused on the progression of privacy. Tim Meldrum has warned against reading privacy into architectural and technological developments of the house when desires other than the want of privacy may have motivated these changes.[708] Amanda Vickery has also cautioned against seeing the continued progress of privacy in the separation between masters and servants because this only explores the notion of privacy from an elite perspective. Her work on thresholds and boundaries has shown that servants were afforded little privacy of their own in their rooms because they could always be accessed by their master or mistress.[709]

Recent studies have re-examined Stone's claim that privacy was the motivation behind these changes and have instead shown how sleeping arrangements and the growing distance

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[704] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 62; Spence, *Women, Credit, and Debt*, pp. 166-167.

[705] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender,* pp. 78-80; Flather, *Gender and Space,* pp. 72-73; Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort – The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720', *Regional Furniture Society* 22 (2008), p. 44; Gowing, 'Twinkling', pp. 275-304.

[706] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, pp. 254-255; Lawrence Stone, 'The Public and Private in the Stately Homes of England, 1500-1990', *Social Research* 58:1 (1991), pp. 233-234.

[707] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 11.

[708] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 77-78.

[709] Amanda Vickery, 'An Englishman's home is his castle? Thresholds, boundaries and privacies in the eighteenth-century London house', *P&P* 199 (2008), p. 150.

between master and servant were influenced by a range of different factors. Amanda Flather has argued that the separation of servants from their masters in sleep was first driven by a desire to separate men and women. Flather's work has found this motivation existed from the seventeenth century onwards which contradicts Stone's argument that this factor only became important in the nineteenth century.[710] Meldrum has similarly found that the gendered division of sleeping happened earlier than Stone accounted for.[711] The desire to separate unmarried male and female servants was born from a need to manage the moral wellbeing of the household and its reputation in the community. As well as this moral imperative, sleeping arrangements could also be influenced by an individual's health as sickly members of the household were often separated from the rest of the family in order to contain the illness.[712] These studies have most often focused on the experiences of those sleeping within the middling-sort or lower-sort household where space was limited because it might have to accommodate the nuclear family, their servants and an apprentice.[713] This chapter will examine the bedrooms of servants in a large house where there was more space but which also had the requirement of accommodating more servants. Previous research on the accommodation of servants in the country house has used architectural plans in order to examine the concept of privacy.[714] This chapter departs from this approach, and instead has been influenced by Vickery's work on the servant's box which has shown how material objects can also be used to analyse this concept. The first part of this section will examine what factors influenced how servants were accommodated at Chatsworth, while the second part will turn to examine the servants' bedrooms through another definition of privacy: concealment. Lena Orlin has argued that the concept of privacy could also suggest a 'treacherous desire for secrecy' which would have been viewed by masters as an undesirable trait in their servants.[715] The consequences of this fear will be examined in the second part of this section which looks at the objects which furnished the rooms of servants with particular focus on how the duke provided different forms of storage to his servants depending on their place in the servant hierarchy.

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[710] Stone, *Broken Lives*, p. 220.

[711] Flather, *Gender and Space*, pp. 72-73; Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 79-80.

[712] Tom Crook, 'Norms, Forms, and Bed: Spatializing Sleep in Victorian Britain', *Body & Society*, 14:4 (2008), pp. 17-21.

[713] Gowing, *Common Bodies*; John, 'At home', pp. 27-51.

[714] See Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

[715] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford, 2007), p. 3; Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (London, 2003), p. 5.

Sleeping Arrangements

The sleeping arrangements for the servants who were accommodated in the house show that where a servant slept was closely tied to their status and the type of work they performed. Personal and managerial servants slept in spaces on the first two floors, while lower servants slept in garret rooms at the top of the house. The use of garret rooms was a practice also used by other households of varying sizes because it separated servants from the family on the lower floors.[716] A small number of personal servants, such as the duchess's lady's maid, slept in rooms which adjoined the bedrooms of their master and mistress so they could be easily called upon during the night, while managerial servants such as the housekeeper and butler occupied rooms on the ground floor which were often close to their workspaces or slept within the workroom itself. The division between these servants emphasised their place in the servant hierarchy and a similar desire to separate upper servants from lower servants was present in architectural manuals at the time. Manuals encouraged employers to create areas for 'servants of the meaner kind' which were distinct from those used by upper servants in order to separate the unsanitary conditions, such as odours and pests, associated with lower servants from the public front of the house.[717] In order to best achieve this, architects promoted the building of a separate wing to accommodate lower servants away from the family and their principal servants. When this was not possible, as was the case at Chatsworth, architectural plans encouraged servants to be separated by floor.[718] These manuals also show that architects acknowledged that upper servants needed to be accommodated close to their master and mistress in order to receive instructions which was possible because their work was 'cleanly and quiet', and thus unthreatening to the family's space.[719]

Laura Gowing has argued that servants were the 'most mobile sleepers in the early modern household' and the Chatsworth inventories reveal sleeping arrangements for servants were

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[716] Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', p. 116.

[717] Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture. Adorned with plans and elevations, from original designs. By Isaac Ware, Esq. of His Majesty's board of works. In which are interspersed some designs of Inigo Jones, never before published* (London, 1767) p. 413.

[718] Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 354, 414; William Chambers, *A treatise on the decorative part of civil architecture. Illustrated by fifty original, and three additional plates, engraved by Old Rooker, Old Foudrinier, Charles Grignion, and other eminent hands* (London, 3rd edn., 1791), p. 132; John Carter, *The builder's magazine: or monthly companion for architects, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c.* (London, 1774), p. 252.

[719] Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 413; Also see Thomas Rawlins, *Familiar architecture; consisting of original designs of houses for gentlemen and tradesmen, parsonages and summer-retreats; With Back-Fronts, Sections, Etc.* (London, 1768), p. 23.

not static.[720] The 1764 inventory recorded twenty-nine servant bedrooms in the house: fifteen located in the garrets, ten on the ground floor, and a further three adjoined family rooms on the first floor.[721] By 1792, there were thirty-one servant bedrooms in the house with an additional bedroom created in the garrets from repurposing the lumber room.[722] The greatest difference between these two inventories was the increase in the number of rooms for named servants, which had risen from three in 1764 to ten by 1792. This reflected the change in the family's circumstances as they need for rooms ascribed to the nurses and nursery maids for the 5th Duke's young family. By the end of the 5th Duke's life in 1811, another bedroom had been created in the garrets to form seventeen separate rooms and the total number of servant rooms in the house had increased from thirty-one to thirty-three.

The number of bedrooms present in the house does not necessarily correspond to the number of servants that were accommodated for in each room. The sharing of rooms and beds was a common practice in the early modern household and it was widely used by the Cavendish family.[723] While the sharing of bed space was common, architectural manuals did offer guidance on the practice and gender was considered an important way to group sleepers because it was seen as immoral to have unmarried individuals of different genders sleeping in the same bed.[724] Chatsworth followed advice written for employers which suggested that if a suitable number of garret rooms could not be created to accommodate servants, then the instruction of 'a bed for one man, or two maid-servants' should be followed.[725] The inventories infer that the majority of beds were arranged for individual use because most bedsteads were equipped with only one pillow and three blankets. Caution must be shown in this approach; Jennifer Melville has demonstrated the 'shiftability' of a servant's sleeping arrangements and the mobility of blankets and pillows made it possible for servants to share any bed.[726] It is likely that lower male servants would have shared rooms when residing at Chatsworth. The footman's garret comprised seven rooms which accommodated a total of fifteen bedsteads. While these rooms would have comfortably lodged the 5th Duke's six footmen, the house would also need to accommodate any other male servants the family's

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[720] Gowing, 'Twinkling', p. 291.

[721] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

[722] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[723] Loudon, *Encyclopædia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture*, p. 821.

[724] Gowing, 'Twinkling', pp. 292-295.

[725] Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 346; Rawlins, *Familiar architecture*, p. 26.

[726] Melville, 'Use and Organisation of Domestic Space', p. 227.

guests brought to the house.[727] The housemaids' garret was also furnished for sharing. In 1792, the housemaid's room was equipped with three bedsteads, five pillows and nine blankets which meant the space would have been suitable for the three housemaids employed that year. When the number of housemaids increased to four in 1793, the room would still have been able to accommodate all of them because of the additional pillows present there. The practice of female servants sharing a bed followed the advice given to employers about servant accommodation but, at Chatsworth, the practice may have also been desired by the maids themselves. Sharing a bed acted as a protective measure against the sexual advances of their master or other servants and could offer companionship and security which the female servants at Chatsworth may have desired in an otherwise empty house.[728]

The servants' accommodation at Chatsworth suggests that there was a decline in the privacy of servants as the Cavendish family tried to maintain their own. While the 'privatisation of sleep' has been viewed as part of the 'civilising process', a process which encouraged the separation of sleeping and bodily functions from the view of others in the household like servants, masters were not expected to approach the accommodation of their servants in the same way.[729] Yet, the desire of householders to separate themselves and their family from servants did have an impact on the accommodation of servants. At Chatsworth this was especially the case as the number of servants the household needed to accommodate grew over the course of the century. Receipts for the family's journey from Devonshire House to Chatsworth in 1800 recorded travel expenses were paid for twenty-two servants.[730] This did not include the family's personal servants who travelled with the family and therefore did not receive travel expenses. When these servants were combined with the increasing number of servants employed at Chatsworth who were resident in the house, the accommodation for

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[727] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764. These servants were used to sharing as at Devonshire House the footmen were accommodated for in one room which contained six bedsteads, six pillows and eighteen blankets. DC: CH36/5/5, Inventory of Devonshire House, 1811.

[728] Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', pp. 108-115; Flather, *Gender and Space*, pp. 71-72; Gowing, *Common Bodies*, pp. 62-67; Gowing, 'Twinkling', p. 299; Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 100-110; Margaret Ponsonby and David Hussey, *The single homemaker and material culture in the long eighteenth century* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 163-164.

[729] Crook, 'Norms, Forms, and Beds', p. 17; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford, 1976).

[730] DC: DE/CH/3/11/44, Vouchers, 1800. This included payments to the duke's valet, the groom of the chambers, a butler, four footmen, two cooks, a confectioner, two coachmen, three grooms, a postilion, a chairman, and four maids to make the journey from London to Chatsworth.

servants came under increasing pressure.[731] The increase in the number of servant bedrooms from twenty-nine in 1764 to thirty-three in 1811 showed there was a growing need for more servant accommodation, but space was a finite resource, even in an elite house, and the creation of additional servant bedrooms could only extend so far in the family's property. As a result, the privacy of servants declined as additional bedsteads were added to rooms which had previously been furnished for single occupancy. Laura Gowing has similarly noted that the need to accommodate servants in separate beds to their employers may have resulted in an increase in bed sharing elsewhere in the house in the seventeenth-century household.[732]

In the second half of the eighteenth century there was an increase in the number of servants sharing rooms at Chatsworth. In 1764, there were fifteen more bedsteads than servant bedrooms; by 1792 this had increased to twenty-eight, and by 1811 there were twenty-nine surplus beds. The increase in the number of beds in general also resulted in the number of bedsteads in a single room increasing. In 1764, there were seven servant bedrooms which included two bedsteads and one room which accommodated three beds. By 1792, the practice of furnishing a room with two beds was largely confined to the better-furnished garret rooms while the five lower quality garret rooms each contained between three and five bedsteads per room. The practice created another way in which the sleeping arrangements of upper and lower servants varied. Eight of the nine bedrooms used by upper servants sleeping on the first two floors of the house were furnished with only one bedstead. The exception to this was the housekeeper's room which contained an additional bed which accommodated the housekeeper's sister who sometimes resided in the house. This instance shows that the duke and his steward did extend aspects of the 'privatisation of sleep' to the upper servants who were not expected to share a bed with other members of the household.

The furnishing of the servant rooms suggests that the amount of privacy servants were granted was dependent on their place in the hierarchy. The increase in the number of beds in garret rooms over the course of the century meant sleeping increasingly became a communal activity again. However, these servants could still find aspects of privacy in these spaces. For those sharing a room, the bed curtains which hung from the half-tester bedsteads provided a sense of privacy while for the servants sharing a bed, facing away from their bed partner

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[731] DC: AS/440, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1719-1720; DC: C/107, Alexander Barker's accounts Derbyshire rental accounts, Chatsworth disbursements, gardens, household wages, stables, taxes; DC: DE/CH/3/3/6, Chatsworth household accounts, 1811-1816.

[732] Gowing, 'Twinkling', p. 279.

became a means of creating distance in a confined space.[733] Similar to other households, the rooms ascribed to named servants such as the cook, the butler, and the steward were furnished with only one bedstead and enough pillows and blankets to accommodate one individual.[734] The distinction between upper and lower servants was shown not only by the location of their accommodation but also by whom they shared it with. The names of rooms for servant accommodation such as the 'Housemaids Room' or the 'Seven garrets belonging to footmen' showed sleeping arrangements in the household were arranged by both the type of work an individual did as well as along gender lines. The decision about where in the house to accommodate servants highlighted that space for servants was considered limited, even in the country house, and the need to accommodate an increasing number of servants meant the duke had to adapt space to meet demand. While the sleeping arrangements of servants away from the family provided the duke with privacy, the requirements of the servants and the practicalities of accommodating them did influence and interrupt the duke's use of his house. The lumber room and armoury, which had previously been located in the garret rooms, were moved further down the house in order to create further servant accommodation. Accommodating servants was a necessity which impacted on the duke's own space within the country house.

Furnishing the garret

A servant's room was not only used for sleep, it also had to accommodate them as they prepared for sleep and in quiet moments away from their work. When assessing how a servant's room was furnished, inventories provide a limited view of these spaces because they do not record the items which belonged to a servant and, therefore, do not provide an exact record of how a room would have been furnished. However, inventories can reveal what a master provided for their servants' use. Debates on privacy have resulted in historians' focusing on where a servant slept while less attention has been paid to the types of goods which furnished their rooms. Hecht overlooked the furnishing of servants' rooms in his study on eighteenth-century servants because he argued that the objects in these rooms were a 'matter of indifference to servants at the time'.[735] However, just as a servant's work was reliant on the material objects which surrounded them, these objects could also be important in the moments of respite a servant found during their day. The Chatsworth inventories reveal

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[733] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

[734] Sasha Handley, 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England, 1660-1760', *History* 98:329 (2013), p. 94.

[735] Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*, pp. 102-109.

that all servant bedrooms received a basic level of furniture with a bedstead with bed hangings, a feather bed, a bolster, three blankets recorded in all rooms. The inclusion of a feather bed suggests that a conscious decision was made to provide servants with a more comfortable option than the straw or flock beds used in workhouses.[736] Servants working in smaller houses were also used to a similar level of comfort with middling-sort masters often providing bed furnishings such as curtains, pillows, quilts, blankets and bolsters.[737] A form of seating, a mattress, pillow, and table also featured in the vast majority of servant rooms at Chatsworth. In 1764, sixty-eight chairs were listed in the bedrooms of servants alone and all the garret rooms were furnished with more than one chair or stool.[738] By 1811, the number of chairs in servants' rooms exceeded one hundred.[739] In the majority of cases, tables also accompanied seating and provided servants with a surface other than their bed where shoes could be removed, letters could be written, cards could be played or items could be placed.

This section will examine the presence of one particular item of furniture in the rooms of servants: the chest of drawers. This object is suggestive of the other material interactions servants had and the extent to which their own material culture was growing because storage was only important when an individual had goods to stow. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the chest of drawers was becoming increasingly present in households lower down the social order.[740] Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darren Dean and Andrew Hann have described the chest of drawers as the 'most popular new item of furniture' in the Kent household inventories they examined from the first half of the eighteenth century. They found the ownership of chests of drawers increased from less than one per cent of households during the first three decades of the seventeenth century to almost 60 per cent of households by the period 1720 to 1749.[741] Previously, chests and cupboards had been the more prevalent forms of storage; however, these objects were limited in size, which restricted the types of goods they could accommodate. The growing popularity of chests of drawers came from the practical solutions they offered to individuals who owned an increasing number of goods

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[736] Joseph Harley, 'Material lives of the poor and their strategic use of the workhouse during the final decades of the English old poor law' *C&C* 30:1 (2015), p. 86.

[737] Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', p. 119; DC: DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764; DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792; DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[738] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764. In this year a garret room furnished with only one bedstead contained three different types of seating: an arm chair, a cane chair and one 'very old long stool'. The five other garret rooms equipped to sleep one servant all contained more than one chair or stool.

[739] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[740] French, *Middle Sort of People*, pp. 146–148.

[741] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 92.

which required storage. For servants, access to this object would have been useful for several reasons. They enabled goods to be stored safely away from public display and they provided servants with the ability to create an area of privacy for themselves within a shared room which was open to other servants and checks by the master or mistress. In this context, research by Vickery and Margaret Ponsonby and David Hussey has shown that storage objects like chests or boxes provided servants with 'an element of self determination', however small.[742] Researching the consumer habits of servants, John Styles has shown that servants were purchasing goods with their wages, with the majority of their funds often spent on the purchase of clothing, both practical and fashionable pieces.[743] The wills of the duke's servants also recorded the material goods they owned included personal effects, such as jewellery and watches, and small household goods which could be accommodated for in this type of storage.

The Chatsworth inventories reveal that chests of drawers were slowly introduced to servants' rooms in the second half of the century. Despite the chest of drawers being described by Margaret Ponsonby and David Hussey as 'ubiquitous' in records after 1750 in middling-sort households, the inclusion of these items during the same period at Chatsworth was gradual.[744] The 1764 inventory recorded limited furniture for storage in the rooms of servants despite being common in the family's rooms. In this year only one chest of drawers was recorded in a servant's room, which was the upper servant's room adjoining the Queen of Scot's bedchamber.[745] As a result, servants were reliant on the box they brought with them for storage and which they had used to transport their goods to the duke's house. The physical interactions servants had with these objects are revealing. Tessa Chynoweth has argued that the nature of the servant's box required an individual to kneel on the ground in order to open and close it, a movement which reflected the lower status of servants.[746] This was in contrast to the standing position used for chest of drawers or cupboards which was more convenient and comfortable for the body's movements. The ease of use of the chest of drawers in comparison to a chest on the floor reflected the difference in the types of servants who were granted use of these objects. The inventories of other country houses suggest that chests of

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[742] Ponsonby and Hussey, *Single Homemaker,* p. 98. Also see Vickery, 'Englishman's Home', pp. 147-173.

[743] Styles, 'Involuntary Consumers?', pp. 9-21.

[744] Ponsonby and Hussey, *Single Homemaker*, p. 97.

[745] DC: CH/36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

[746] Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', p. 166. On the subject of objects demanding certain postures also see Kate Smith, 'In Her Hands: Materializing Distinction in Georgian Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 11.4 (2014), pp. 439-506.

drawers were first given to upper servants. At Drayton House, it was the steward's bedroom which first received the item in the 1724 inventory and, by 1760, the Earl of Leicester's house, Holkham Hall, recorded chest of drawers in the rooms of upper servants including the lady's maid, housekeeper and steward as well as in the rooms of the housemaids and footmen.[747] At Chatsworth, chests of drawers were present in the rooms of the housekeeper, the chef, the valet de chambre and the duchess's lady's maid by 1792. When this inventory was taken, the number of them had increased in service areas in general; by 1792, eighteen servant bedrooms included a chest of drawers which increased to twenty-four by 1811. Use of these objects was not limited to the rooms of managerial servants; in 1792 nine of the sixteen garret rooms included a chest of drawers, however, these were restricted to the better-equipped garrets above the Steward's Hall and on the North front, which were furnished to a higher standard.

The link between chests of drawers and status is further highlighted when compared to the other of storage the duke provided for his servants: shelves and pegs. The 1811 inventory recorded thirty-seven rows of pegs and twenty-four rows of shelves in the rooms of servants. They were a practical solution to the issue of storage, however, the open nature of pegs and shelves meant servants' belongings would have been on display to those who shared the space with them which created a very different impression of a room to the use of closed storage. Pegs and shelves were only present in the rooms of lower servants located in the garrets or above the laundry or stables, the only time shelves were included in the rooms of upper servants was when they were hidden in closets and cupboards. Vickery has shown that closed storage, such as closets or chest of drawers, was often advertised by furniture suppliers as 'neat' or 'very neat'.[748] She argues that the concept of neatness brought with it connotations of 'spare elegance' which showed that those purchasing these goods had taste without the 'ostentatious grandeur' associated with the elites.[749] These goods were an appropriate design for the rooms of upper servants because they showed these spaces to be suitable for their status without being showy. Ponsonby and Hussey have argued that storage in the home was closely linked to the idea of creating order within the household because it provided a place where goods were stored and kept protected from damage.[750] The neat, ordered storage of the chest of drawers created a clear hierarchical distinction in the concept

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[747] Murdoch (ed.), *Noble Households*, p. 138, p. 182.

[748] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 180.

[749] *Ibid*.

[750] Ponsonby and Hussey, *Single Homemaker*, p. 91.

of display in the rooms of lower and upper servants. The unadorned rooms of lower servants reflected their lower positions and the display of their goods on pegs and shelves removed areas of secrecy and the prospect of hiding goods from their masters. In contrast, the role of upper servants as managers of the household was echoed in the inclusion of chests of drawers in their rooms. The order which they maintained in the household was reflected in the order encouraged by this piece of neat furniture.

By the time the chest of drawers was included in the rooms of the Chatsworth servants, they were no longer the 'new' item discussed by Overton.[751] This is also reflected in the materials these objects were made from which suggested these pieces were old, second-hand objects or were made specifically for furnishing the rooms of lower-status individuals. Eight of the nine chests of drawers listed in the garrets in 1792 were made of oak, a wood which was increasingly viewed as old-fashioned towards the end of the century, while the family were favouring mahogany chests in their own rooms. The appearance of these objects in servant rooms may also have coincided with a period when the family were replacing several of the chests of drawers in their rooms with wardrobes, and unwanted chests of drawers may have been repurposed in the servants' rooms. Others appeared to be made specifically for the purpose of furnishing these rooms as one chest of drawers was described as being made of deal wood in 1792, which had risen to five by 1811. Deal wood was inexpensive and deemed suitable by contemporaries for furnishings in the rooms of dependants like servants.[752] The household accounts reveal that deal objects were also made on site by the local carpenter who may have been responsible for these items.[753] Although not of the same quality as the possible second-hand oak or mahogany examples, the appearance of deal chests of drawers showed that the duke recognised that his servants needed an object which granted them additional space to store their goods. Although a chest of drawers was not included in every servant's bedroom, by the end of the 5th Duke's lifetime their increased number suggested they were becoming an expected part of a servant's room.

The expectations of the Chatsworth servants were in line with the growing expectations of other 'involuntary consumers' about what should be provided in the rooms in which they

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[751] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 92.

[752] Christopher Gilbert, *English Vernacular Furniture, 1750-1900* (London, 1991)*,* p. 83.

[753] DC: DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800. Carpenter, John Booth, received £18 of deal wood in 1800. DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 19 recorded deal wardrobes should be made to furnish the rooms of the steward's room servants; DC: L/91/8/2, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth Accounts, 1798. The carpenter Peter Furniss was paid for making a deal wardrobe.

resided. John Styles has shown that those who rented out rooms were similarly compelled to furnish spaces with new objects and decorative items as lodgers came to expect a certain level of material comfort.[754] In these cases, subordinate groups were able to demand more from their accommodation and influence the materiality of the space. At Chatsworth, a servant's expectations of the items which would furnish their rooms may have changed as the material comfort available in their parental homes increased. The probate inventories of the tenants on the Chatsworth estate reveal chests of drawers formed part of the goods in several homes before they were present in the servants' rooms at Chatsworth. Of the forty-nine inventories made on the estate before the 1764 inventory at Chatsworth was written, nine recorded a chest of drawers.[755] The small number was, in part, a reflection of the nature of many probate inventories which did not provide explicit details of the types of goods in an individual's house and instead presented only a total valuation of all the goods in the house. It also reflected the agricultural employment of many of the households on the estate as Weatherill's research found that households in the country were less likely to own new objects or luxury goods.[756] The inventories reveal that three of the nine chests of drawers were owned by the duke's servants, two of whom lived out and the other, housekeeper John Phillips, furnished his room in the house with his own chest of drawers.[757]

The example of Phillips shows there were ways in which servants could actively participate in the furnishings of their rooms if they could afford these objects, were able to transport them and had the space to keep them. Therefore, the majority of live-in servants were not permitted the same level of participation and instead influenced the furnishings of their rooms from their expectations, which came from the material knowledge they developed outside of Chatsworth. The absence of chests of drawers from servants' rooms in the 1764 inventory was not a rejection of servants' engagement with all new, luxury goods at the duke's expense. Other luxury items were included in the rooms of lower servants. For example, the 1764 inventory recorded all that the garret rooms, apart from those assigned to the footmen, were equipped with looking glasses. In contrast to the presence of chest of drawers in the servants'

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[754] Styles, 'Lodging at the Old Bailey', pp. 61-80.

[755] SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, 17th July 1735; SRO: B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737; SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Lees, 31st October 1739; SRO: B/C/11, Will of Henry Melton, 21st October 1736; SRO: B/C/11, Will of Constantine Sheldon, 3rd January 1742; SRO: Will of Allen Vickers, 17th May 1750; SRO: B/C/11, Will of Jonathan Twigg, 22nd April 1702; SRO: B/C/11, Will of Thomas Potter, 31st October 1733; SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Hacket, 24th October 1698.

[756] Weatherill, *Consumer* Behaviour, pp. 172-177.

[757] DC: L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734; SRO: B/C/11, Will of John Hackett, 16th October 1735; SRO: B/C/11, Will of William Barker, 28th April 1737.

rooms, which did not benefit the Cavendish family, looking glasses did because they ensured servants were neatly presented to the family and their guests. Accommodation for servants was still the paternal responsibility of the master who had to provide suitably furnished rooms for his servants yet servants did have some ability to shape this environment by questioning the material standards of their accommodation. If the duke and duchess wished to attract suitable candidates to work in their properties, they first needed to provide suitable lodgings.

The increasing number of chests of drawers over the course of these three inventories reveals there were changing expectations of how a servant's room should be furnished. The changes taking place at Chatsworth were indicative of broader trends in the eighteenth century as other groups, such as lodgers, began to expect more from the material surroundings they were provided with.[758] By the end of the century the 5th Duke had responded to the expectations of his servants and provided them a similar level of material culture that they may have experienced in their paternal homes. The change in a servant's material culture at Chatsworth in the second half of the century reflected the increase in material goods present in the homes of people of lower status. However, the type and quality of the furnishings in a servant's room often remained dependent on their place in the servant hierarchy. The difference between placing a shelf in a servant's room and placing a chest of drawers in a servant's room showed the importance of the status of a room's occupant and its audience. Upper servants were provided with an additional form of privacy by the duke through the closed storage given to them, while the absence of these objects in lower servants' rooms forced these servants to keep some of their goods on display. The probate inventory of John Phillips is a reminder that servants owned more than clothes and brought with them a range of goods and objects. Phillips' inventory, made in 1735, reveals he kept a teapot, two chocolate pots, three clocks and a parcel of prints in frames in his room at Chatsworth.[759] It also reveals the limitations of the Chatsworth inventory in revealing the objects present in servants' rooms as these items were Phillip's own possessions and would have been absent from an inventory of his room completed for the duke's purpose. What these objects do suggest is that servants had access to changing ideas of sociability and taste beyond the furnishings given to them by their master. The material goods which furnished the rooms of servants were influenced by both masters and servants. Masters provided many of the objects for a servant's room, either by purchasing goods specifically for the purpose or recycling the goods they already owned, and

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[758] Styles, 'Lodging at the Old Bailey', pp. 61-80; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 180.

[759] DC: L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734.

had their own assumptions of how a servant's room should be furnished. However, this did not mean servants were unable to influence the materiality of the spaces assigned to them. The inventory of John Phillips is a reminder than servants were able to achieve this even without the goods given to them by the duke.

<u>Status, Gender and Audience</u>

While the location of servant rooms changed little in the second half of the century, the furnishings of these rooms did undergo change, and the increase in material goods in the eighteenth-century house more generally benefitted servants as more goods came to furnish their workrooms and bedrooms.[760] While similar categories of furniture were found in all of the servants' bedrooms, there were variations in the style, quality and materials of these objects which meant that the items in each room were not identical. The distinctions which made a room suitable for a duke rather than a servant would have been obvious to residents and visitors to the house in the same way that the differences between the rooms of upper and lower servants would have been prominent to those in these spaces. Unspoken rules informed the decisions that individuals made on the style, colour and material of the objects and soft furnishings they used and it was from these rules that individuals gained an understanding of how goods reflected status. Because the majority of furnishings in servants' rooms were chosen or controlled by their employer, the objects in these rooms were part of a wider dialogue of status and hierarchy present in the house.

So far, this chapter has shown that the sleeping arrangements of servants were closely associated with their place in the servant hierarchy and their gender. Amanda Vickery has argued that the placement and furnishings of servant bedrooms often conformed to certain material expectations in order to maintain the household hierarchy and to prevent 'social confusion'.[761] Amanda Flather has similarly linked the status of a room's occupant with the material goods within the room. She has argued that the rooms of lower servants were 'less comfortable' and in 'less exclusive circumstances' than those of upper servants which were characterised by better quality goods in more comfortable surroundings.[762] Work by John Cowley has shown that gender also played a crucial role in the decoration of a room with

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[760] A similar trend was found over the course of the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century at Cannon Hall. Rosa Sadler, 'The Stuff of Status: the material culture of servants ta Cannon Hall, Yorkshire, c. 1750-1823' (University of Sheffield, History BA dissertation, 2011), p. 9.

[761] Amanda Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference in Georgian England', in Findlen (ed.) *Early Modern Things*, p. 343; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 38.

[762] Flather, *Gender and Space,* p. 69.

women more likely to reside in more comfortable spaces, a theme also present in Tessa Chynoweth's study of domestic service in London households which found the rooms of female servants were furnished with more mattresses and blankets than male servants.[763] At Chatsworth, gender appeared to have little impact on how many blankets a servant received. The rooms of the nursery maid, the steward and the lady's maid, as well as the garrets and the room above the stables all included three blankets.[764] This lack of distinction between rooms may have been because the majority of the servants' garrets were not assigned to specific servants or roles in the inventories, because many of the individuals who used them formed part of a mobile group. In contrast, a servant's status in the household could be read in these basic furnishings because lower servants, like the maids and footmen, received one pillow each while upper servants like the housekeeper, lady's maid and steward received two.[765] The concept of comfort was in tension with the lack of privacy afforded to servants. Research by Jon Stobart and Cristina Prytz has shown comfort was not only associated with physical relaxation but was also linked to ideas of physical and mental 'informality and ease'.[766] For servants who were contracted to work for a master the concept of informality was in contrast to the nature of their role. Being at ease in the working and living spaces provided for them in the house may also have been difficult for servants because these rooms were not furnished solely for their purposes, they were also spaces which conducted business, meetings and social interaction relating to their master's household. Therefore, furnishings were chosen because they fulfilled a purpose either for the servant or for the reputation of the family they served.

The intersection between status and gender was a prominent feature in contemporary debates on female consumption and luxury. Eighteenth-century commentators often presented women of all statuses as addicted to luxury goods and labelled the desire for goods as a 'female vice' which placed their family at risk from neglect and debt.[767] While contemporaries often viewed female consumers with hostility, historians of women's consumer habits have argued that women's role in purchasing for the household showed their knowledge and expertise of

[763] John Cowely, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, 2001); Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', p. 124.

[764] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[765] *Ibid*; DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

[766] Stobart and Prytz, 'Comfort in English and Swedish country houses', p. 235.

[767] Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, 'Introduction' in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (ed.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 19.

material goods as well as the accounting process.[768] This was also true for maids who were expected to be able to purchase suitable goods for their employer's household and contribute to keeping the household's accounts. The marketing practices used by manufacturers and suppliers in eighteenth-century advertisements also employed a range of gender and status specific vocabulary in order to attract a certain type of customer to purchase their wares.[769] Goods which emphasised gendered attributes were not restricted to female consumers and Margot Finn's research has also shown that men also purchased goods for the household, although the types of goods they were associated with often related large, luxury items such as horses and carriages.[770] Quantitative studies of household inventories have further complicated notions of gendered consumption and furnishings. Research by Weatherill and Carole Shammas has shown the inventories of male and female householders differed little in their ownership of goods. Instead, Weatherill concluded that it was an individual's form of employment which influenced how their house was furnished rather than whether they were male or female.[771] Maxine Berg's research on wills has suggested that while ownership of goods was not necessarily gendered, attitudes towards them were.[772] While inventories show how a household's consumption worked together to create a domestic environment which supported all members of the household, studying individual rooms associated with servants reveals how a servant's involuntary consumption was conceived through understandings of gender and status.[773] This chapter will now turn to examine the extent to which the furnishings of the servants' rooms were used to reflect a servant's status in the household hierarchy and the extent to which gender intersected with this.

Colour Schemes

Although conduct literature showed concern over the gendered sleeping arrangements of servants and offered advice on how best to accommodate male and female servants, there was

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[768] Rebecca Connor, *Women, accounting, and narrative: keeping books in eighteenth-century England* (Abingdon, 2011); Alexandra Shepard, 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *History Workshop Journal* 79:1 (2015), pp. 1-24.

[769] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* pp. 279-287; Jon Stobart, 'Selling (Through) Politeness: Advertising Provincial Shops in Eighteenth-Century England', *Cultural and Social History* 5:3 (2008), pp. 309-328.

[770] Margot Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History* 25:2 (2000), pp. 133-155.

[771] Lorna Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behavior in England, 1660-1740' in *Journal of British Studies* 25:2 (1986), pp. 154-155; Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer.*

[772] Maxine Berg, 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth-century England', *Journal of Social History* 30: 2 (1996), pp. 428-429.

[773] Lesley Hoskins, 'Reading the Inventory: Household Goods, Domestic Cultures and Difference in England and Wales, 1841-81' PhD thesis (Queen Mary, University of London, 2011), pp. 41-42.

little advice offered on what items should furnish a servant's room. Work by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson has shown the importance of the bed chamber in revealing the status of an individual because it catered to their specific needs.[774] The inclusion of tables, chairs and chest of drawers reveal that masters and mistresses understood that these rooms were required to be furnished to an extent which accommodated a servant's needs beyond sleep. The price of accommodating servants and furnishing their rooms with even the most basic of furnishings could be expensive; beds and bedding were often the most costly items individuals owned.[775] Therefore, accommodating tens of servants in the country house could be a great expense to their master, especially when bed furnishings needed to be replaced because servants were feared to contaminate linens with bedbugs.[776] The Chatsworth accounts reveal the cost of individual furnishings could quickly add up; the purchase of two beds for servants in 1775 cost £7 8s for the bedsteads themselves and an additional £6 1s was spent on the blankets, bolsters and coverlids which accompanied them.[777] The cost of furnishing these rooms to a basic standard meant any additional expense was undertaken only with good reason. Therefore, examining the decorative items which furnished these rooms reveals the impact a servant's place in the household hierarchy had on their material experiences within the house.

As some of the most expensive items in a room, beds and their furnishings were listed in great detail in inventories, with the material and colour of the curtains, mattresses and bedding all documented. The inventories of Chatsworth recorded the colours and fabrics used for the bed furniture in each room. These details reveal that the servants who occupied the garret rooms and the servants who slept in their workspaces had a very different experience of colour to upper servants such as the housekeeper, steward and lady's maid. It was not the choice of colour itself that was the distinguishing feature between the rooms of upper and lower servants but rather the creation of a uniform colour scheme which informed ideas of status. The importance of the uniformity of colour in conveying notions of status and taste can be easily seen in the naming of rooms in country houses; the 'Yellow Room' and the 'Blue Room' were identified as spaces suitable for the family's guests at Chatsworth because

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[774] Hamling and Richardson, *Day at Home*, p. 29.

[775] In smaller households the bed was often the most expensive piece of furniture a family owned. See Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* p. 216.

[776] J. Southall, *A Treatise of Buggs: Shewing When and How They Were First Brought to England*, (London, 1730), p. 34; Chynoweth, ''Domestic Service and Domestic Space', pp. 112-113.

[777] DC: CH36/7/1, Payments for furniture and furnishings for Chatsworth and Devonshire House, 1774-1784, 12th April 1774, 1st January 1775.

of their consistency in design.[778] Country house guidebooks similarly focused on colour as a defining feature of elite rooms.[779] The use of colour in this way was not restricted to elite houses although the practice is more difficult to trace in probate inventories further down society and descriptions of colour were largely absent from inventories of the estate residents. This should not be mistaken for the absence of colour in their houses but rather the lack of need to distinguish spaces in this level of detail in small properties. The only inventory on the Chatsworth estate which mentions the presence of colour in the bedchamber belonged to the yeoman Henry Mather and was written in 1736. In it the sleeping quarters in his house were distinguished by the fabric used for the bed furnishings and included 'The yellow chamber', the 'Blew Roome' and 'the new stripe chamber'.[780] Therefore, the prevalence of colour in a variety of households meant it would have been a recognisable means of differentiating status. As the servant bedrooms at Chatsworth each contained bed curtains, all servants would have experienced colour in the material surroundings of their rooms, therefore, colour could become another means through which the household hierarchy between the family and their servants and amongst the servants themselves could be distinguished.

The origins of a servant's bed hangings were also suggestive of the status of the room's occupant. At Chatsworth, there were two different methods used to ensure the rooms of lower servants were furnished with bed curtains. The first was to repurpose material from other unwanted furnishings in the house. In 1764, the bed curtains in one garret room were described as being made from 'very old black velvet lined with yellow satin' and were probably recycled from material which would have once been on the bed of a guest or family member as the 'remains of the old Black Velvet Bed Lined wth yellow Satten' were still stored in a closet close to the nursery on the floor below.[781] Like the black velvet, several other types of fabric and designs only appear once in the servants' rooms, such as the 'Blue silk Burdett' bed curtains found in one room in 1764 and the 'flowered cotton' bed furnishings used in 1811, which suggests that these fabrics were remnants of material used for a different purpose or were second-hand furnishings.[782] The second method used by the household was to purchase a large quantity of the same textile to produce curtains for the

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[778] Simon Swynfen Jervis, 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides', *Furniture History* 42 (2006), p. 75.

[779] Cynthia Wall, 'Approaching the Interior of the Eighteenth-Century English Country House', *Style* 48:4 (2014), p. 552.

[780] SRO: B/C/11, Will of Henry Melton, 21st October 1736.

[781] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764, p. 2, 4.

[782] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764, p. 14; DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811, p. 8.

majority of servant rooms. In 1792, 24 of the 56 bed curtains present in the servants' rooms were described as being 'Green China' hangings, a further six were made of brown, buff and white material and four were described as 'blue check with white'.[783] Many of the same hangings appeared to still be in place in 1811 and the 1811 inventory listed twenty-four curtains being made of 'Green Harrateen' and five beds still furnished with brown, buff and white hangings. The choice of a green fabric was a fashionable one and suggests that, although this material was bought in bulk, consideration was still given to taste. While the red fabrics used in the state rooms represented the nobility of the family, green was second in the colour hierarchy and was a popular choice for bedrooms due to its associations with love.[784] The choice of this colour placed the decorative schemes used in servants rooms within the material culture of the whole country house and tied the decisions made for these marginal rooms into the aesthetic choices made for the house more generally. Evidence of further purchases of large quantities of fabric can be seen throughout the house. The brown, buff and white cotton material used in six servant bed hangings in 1792 and five in the 1811 inventory performed other functions in the house including as covers for the two state chairs in the State Drawing Room.[785] When purchasing a large quantity of material choosing a fashionable and tasteful design which could be used throughout the house was important to ensure the expense was not wasteful. It was a practice the house adopted on several occasions and was made easier by the presence of a permanently employed upholsterer. The importance of recycling fabrics in the house is further seen in the instructions given by the steward to the upholsterer in 1797 which directed him to make the curtains for four beds from 'any remnants in his possession'.[786] The material used in the rooms of lower status servants reflected their place in the hierarchy because these fabrics were often not purchased or chosen specifically for them.

In contrast, the fabrics and colours used in the rooms of upper servants reveal specific decisions were made concerning each individual space and a conscious effect was made to present a uniformed scheme which coordinated the bed furnishings with other fabrics and colours in the room. Mrs Dennis, the duchess's lady's maid, slept in a room furnished with two 'chairs with mahogany frames stuffed back and seat with loose cotton covers same as the

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[783] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[784] Amanda Vickery, '"Neat and Not Too Showey": Words and Wallpaper in Regency England', in Styles and Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, pp. 209-210.
[785] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[786] DC: AS/3239, Steward Order Book, p. 15.

bed furniture'.[787] The room belonging to the duchess's chamber maid was similarly furnished with two window curtains in the same fabric as her bed curtains, three 'mahogany chairs stuffed backs and seats with loose covers same as the bed hangings' and a 'mahogany stool covered the same as the cut velvet bed'.[788] The practice was not restricted to the rooms of upper female servants and attention was also paid to the rooms of upper male servants to ensure they also experienced uniformity of colour. For example, the duke's agent slept in a room with a green and white Manchester striped bed curtain and a mahogany stool 'covered with green damask'.[789] Upper servants experienced a uniformity of colour in a single room which was in contrast to lower servants who experienced uniformity of colour across their rooms as a result of the bulk purchasing of material. Even when it was not possible to decorate each item in a room in the same fabric, there were attempts to maintain the room's unity with fabrics chosen because they were in keeping with the room's colour scheme. In 1792, the housekeeper's room was decorated in a blue and white theme. While not all items were made from the same material, the room was able to maintain this scheme with a mahogany stool 'covered with blue damask' and two 'draw up cotton window curtains of Blue and White Manchester stripe'.[790] In the same year, the steward's room included a similar mix of materials and was furnished in blue with blue silk bed curtains and blue damask seating. Maintaining the colour scheme of a room was important even when pattern or material varied between furnishings. This was in contrast to the rooms of lower servants where the practice of furnishing them with off-cuts and castoffs meant they often experienced a clash of colours and materials, as was the case in the nursery maids' bedroom which contained red and white cotton bed hangings alongside a stool covered in green silk.[791]

A uniformed scheme was a mark of status because, as Mimi Hellman has argued, 'sameness was an achievement' when it came to designing and executing an interior in the eighteenth century.[792] It was difficult to accomplish because it required the foresight to imagine what a room would look like once complete and involved the consistency of skilled craftsmen to

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[787] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[788] *Ibid.*
[789] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[790] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[791] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[792] Mimi Hellman, 'The Joys of Sets: The Uses of Seriality in the French Interior', in Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (eds), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past* (Abingdon, 2007), p. 140.

construct the original planned vision. [793] Alongside a show of taste and wealth, Hellman has argued that the purchasing of a uniform set of furniture was 'central to the construction of elite identity' because it was a visual representation of the order and control they had over the space.[794] Unity of colour was also a practice employed in the family's rooms at Chatsworth and can be seen in a suite of rooms occupied by the duke and duchess in 1792 which were dressed in a green and white theme. The duchess's dressing room included 'four cabriole chairs with stuff'd Backs and Seats covered with Green Silk same as the Hangings of the Room' and the window curtain was again the 'same as the Hanging of the room'.[795] The theme continued into the bedroom, which contained bed curtains lined in green silk, a white quilted coverlid and 'two sliding window curtains same as the Bed with Green Tammy linings'. The skill and cost which went into the purchase and crafting of such furnishings meant that these items were made to be put on display. As any imperfections would have been obvious, the mastering of this practice would have recognised by visitors to the space.[796] The conscious choice to decorate the rooms of upper servants in this style showed these rooms had been designed and decorated from an elite perspective which reinforced the notion that these spaces were decorated for an outsider's gaze. Constructed for this reason, these rooms formed part of, what Goffman termed, the frontstage of the house which required individuals to perform a version of the self in order to present a certain image to the public.[797] While the master's bedroom, the backstage area in Goffman's terms, was increasingly conceptualised as a private and intimate space in the eighteenth century, the same was not true for the duke's servants who performed multiple roles in their bedrooms and required these spaces to be set up for socialising, conducting business and sleeping. The rooms of upper servants became part of a 'shared decorative vocabulary' with their masters' rooms and from which visitors would have read their managerial status.[798] The inclusion of upper servants like the housekeeper, steward, and personal servants within the house's visual identity was also a reflection of the place of these servants within the chain of command. Although upper servants had control over the lower servants who came into these spaces to

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[793] Donna Bohanan, 'Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes in the Noble Houses of Old Regime Dauphiné', in Goodman and Norberg (eds), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, p. 119.

[794] Hellman, 'Joys of Sets', p. 146.

[795] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792, p. 35.

[796] Hellman, 'Joys of Sets', p. 144.

[797] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1959), p. 78, 112.

[798] Hellman, 'Joys of Sets', p. 147.

receive instruction, they were still answerable to the duke whose control over the room was represented through the uniformed scheme.

Uniformity of colour was also a crucial way the status of the family's London servants could be shown at Chatsworth even when the size and the furnishings of their rooms in the country house were inferior to their lodgings in the family's other properties. The duchess's lady's maid experienced varying levels of style and comfort when she stayed in the family's other houses. At Chatsworth, her accommodation comprised of a single room which had to be adaptable for the actions of sleeping and socialising. This room was in contrast to her accommodation at Chiswick where she had an apartment of two rooms, one dedicated to sleeping and one furnished for social activities.[799] Despite her Chatsworth accommodation being smaller, attempts were still made to decorate the room in a style which reflected her status. Much like the rooms of other upper servants in the house, a unifying colour scheme was used to show the status of its occupant. The furnishings of this room accentuated the pink colour which was present in the chair cushions with 'ruff and pink stripe' cases and 'pink figured cotton cases'.[800] The theme even extended to the 'round dog cushion in ruff and pink' which was made to match the upholstery in the room. Travelling servants would have experienced a variety of different styles and fashions in each of the family's properties but the use of colour was one means through which ideas of status could be maintained and incorporated into each of the family's properties.

The fabrics used in their rooms were not the only way servants experienced the unity of colour in material encounters with their masters; liveries and uniforms created a colour scheme distinct to a family and would have been a common experience for many servants employed by the elite.[801] The buff-coloured liveries wore by the dukes of Devonshire's footmen, coachmen and postilions made these servants visible and recognisable to the public. Their purpose was not only to show the family's status in a public setting but, as Nathan Joseph argues, to 'present a desired image to outsiders'.[802] The wearing of a livery was restricted to certain servants and, therefore, the reason for wearing one was not only concerned with controlling what a servant wore but was also focused on creating a 'portable

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[799] DC: CH36/5/4, Inventory of Chiswick, 1811.

[800] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811, p. 35.

[801] See Chapter One, p. 71.

[802] Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing through Clothing* (London, 1986), p. 116.

identity that was specifically constructed for public consumption'.[803] The wearing of livery was intended to be a visible display for an audience rather than for the servants themselves. The uniformity of the colour schemes in the upper servants' rooms was likewise curated for an outside viewer. While upper servants did not wear their master's livery, the same principle of public consumption was crucial when understanding the decisions behind the decorative schemes in their rooms. The position of the lower servants accommodated for at the top of the house meant that their rooms were in places that were not regularly encountered by the family or visitors and, as a result, the decoration in these rooms remained inconsistent. The rooms of the upper servants on the principal and ground floors did form part of the spaces that the family encountered often. Therefore, these rooms were not only a representation of the status of these servants, they were also meant to be displayed to tradesmen and tenants as well as other members of the household. The conscious choice made to create a united colour scheme within these rooms and the dedication which went into ensuring this scheme was used across furnishings meant these rooms were not only places of rest, they were also places of work and socialisation: they were rooms on display.

Social Spaces

Whether a servant occupied a room in the garrets or a room adjoining the duchess's bedroom, these spaces were never completely private. The act of being visible played a crucial role in how these spaces were furnished and the types of people who visited a room influenced the quality and condition of these objects. While the garret rooms were open to inspection from the Cavendish family at any time, these spaces were most likely to be viewed by fellow servants. The types of servants occupying these rooms also meant that these spaces would not have been used to conduct the family's business and were unlikely to be visited by anyone outside of the household. In comparison, the rooms of the upper servants, located on the same floors occupied by the family, were more likely to have been visited by the duke, guests, tradespeople and other servants. This chapter has so far argued that a room's audience, alongside the status of the servants occupying these rooms, influenced the types of the goods present in these spaces. Servants in garret rooms used older, second-hand objects and displayed their personal effects on the pegs and open shelves provided for them. In contrast, the personal effects of upper servants were hidden away in drawers and cupboards and the

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[803] Amy Miller, 'Clothes make the man: naval uniform and masculinity in the early nineteenth century', *Journal for Maritime Research,* 17:2 (2015), p. 147.

higher quality furnishings in their rooms were chosen in colours which matched their bed curtains.

The interactions servants were expected to have in these spaces also influenced the types of objects in these spaces because certain objects suggested certain types of behaviours. The social role upper servants played in their master's household has been acknowledged by historians. Stewards and agents acted as their master's representative in his absence and were the first point of communication between the tenantry and the country house.[804] Managerial servants' consumption for the household was important for maintaining networks of patronage for their masters, a theme which will be further examined in the next chapter.[805] Jon Stobart's study of the housekeeper at Charlecote Park and her role as correspondent for her master has shown that servants were also involved in maintaining their master's or mistress's social networks.[806] The objects recorded in the rooms of upper servants can further show how servants were involved in socialising in the country house, both for the duke's benefit and for their own. The type of socialising this section will focus on is specific, planned occasions such as the taking of tea or the playing of cards which required particular objects and rituals and were therefore more restricted to upper servants rather than the interactions which happened during an individual's working routine. Examining these forms of social occasions shows that servants did engage with forms of polite sociability, although not all servants were able to engage in these activities because they often required time and specific objects. As Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson have shown, the period between 'the end of work and the end of the day became a period of leisure for the middling sort and above'.[807] While the presence of tables and chairs in the garret rooms suggests that servants were able to socialise in their leisure, the inclusion of specific objects in the rooms of upper servants showed the duke promoted their sociability and encouraged it through particular channels.

Sociability in the eighteenth century has most often been examined by historians along gender lines. The cultural expectations of the social practices of men and women placed men in homosocial public spaces, such as the club or tavern, and women in the domestic setting

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[804] See Introduction, p. 5, footnote n. 12.

[805] See Chapter Five, pp. 244-255.

[806] Jon Stobart, 'Housekeeper, correspondent and confidante: the under-told story of Mrs Hayes of Charlecote Park, 1744–73', *Family & Community History* 21:2 (2018), pp. 96-111.

[807] Hamling and Richardson, *Day at Home*, p. 179.

around the tea table.[808] Coffeehouses were sites of political discussion, scientific debates and commerce all of which were seen to be the domain of middling and elite men while the alehouse similarly catered to male sociability.[809] The domestic sphere was viewed as the place for female sociability with the taking of tea acknowledged as part of the 'cultural definition of womanhood', which further highlighted a woman's place in the domestic economy.[810] These sites, which placed men in the public sphere and women in the private, domestic sphere, have been seen by some historians to contribute to an ideology of 'separate spheres' which formed part of an emerging middle-class culture, and which distinguished between the domesticity of the home and the public sphere of work.[811] Amanda Vickery has warned historians to be more sceptical of this notion and has argued that the distinction between male and female spheres was not a revolutionary concept created during this period but instead had its foundations in previous centuries. She has also shown that the experiences of lower status groups, particularly working-class women, did not conform to these notions and the concepts of work and home continued to overlap for them.[812] The working women in service did come from low-status families during the eighteenth century, although the individuals in upper roles, especially in elite households, could originate from more educated backgrounds; however, the house remained central to their understandings of work and rest. The distinction between work and home was more marked for male servants, although the by-employments discussed in Chapter Three showed a servant's own house remained a site of their labour, because the majority of them lived separately to the duke's house. As a result, there were more leisure opportunities provided to men outside of the duke's house because they returned to their own homes at night; on the country estate male servants had more opportunities to socialise away from the country house with their family and neighbours in their own domestic environment. In comparison, female servants were accommodated for in the duke's house where they remained at night. Where a servant lived influenced where they socialised. While the duke's steward, who lived in a property in the estate village of Edensor with his wife and children, had more opportunity to socialise in the estate villages, the housekeeper who lived inside the house was more restricted.

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[808] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* p. 273.

[809] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005); Hailwood,' Sociability, Work, and Labouring Identity', pp. 9-29.

[810] Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 23 (1994), p. 132.

[811] See for example Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*. Also see Introduction, pp. 13-14.

[812] Vickery, 'Golden Age', pp. 383-414. Also see Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 207.

A difference in the social habits of men and women can be suggested by the furnishings of the rooms of the steward and the housekeeper. Besides their individual bedrooms, the steward had two rooms for his personal use, an office and a sitting room, and the housekeeper had one room which acted as both her office and sitting room. The steward's work rooms were more sparsely furnished than the housekeeper's room. In the 1792 inventory, the steward's office appeared an austere and sober space of business furnished with only five chairs, a 'large writing desk', a fire screen, fire furniture, and a pair of brass candlesticks.[813] The steward's sitting room, which adjoined the office, was a space which could be used for more informal social engagements and was furnished with five leather chairs, a tea table and a dining table. This room was decorated in a similar manner to his office and the small number of decorative pieces which furnished these areas were practical items which facilitated group socialisation and added to the comfort of the room, rather than to draw the eye of the room's occupants from the business at hand. The absence of more objects may have been a result of the room only being occupied by the steward for some of his work; the steward's role required him to travel around the local area to the villages and hamlets owned by the duke which meant he was not always present at Chatsworth. This also meant that many of his social interactions would have taken place outside of the country house in inns, clubs and his own house which may also have accounted for the absence of decorative goods.

The sparsity of objects in the steward's rooms was in contrast to the furnishings of the housekeeper's room. The 1792 inventory mentioned only thirteen individual items in the steward's office and twelve in his sitting room but forty in the housekeeper's room. Her room was furnished to accommodate more guests and contained ten chairs; five more that the steward's office and sitting room, which suggested she was able to host personal events separate to the rest of the household. The decorative touches in this space were also in contrast to the minimal furnishings of the steward's rooms. In 1792, the housekeeper's room contained seven 'china ornaments upon mantle', an 'oval print of Duchess of Devonshire by Bartolozzi' and a copy of the Vandyke's painting of Charles I's three children and, by 1811, the mantelpiece was decorated with three 'green and white square flower pots and saucers'.[814] The mobility of the steward and the permanency of the housekeeper influenced the furnishings of their respective rooms and the decorative touches in this room may have reflected the housekeeper status a live-in upper servant. Her role was essential to managing

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[813] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792, p. 67.

[814] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792, p. 54; DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811, p. 58.

the daily running of the house which meant she was physically present within the house itself and the socialising she did mostly took place in her rooms in the duke's house. The diary of William Gould, the agent at Welbeck Abbey, reveals he attended social gatherings in the housekeeper's room at Chatsworth on several occasions. His diary also shows that the housekeeper and the steward hosted their own separate social events. When Gould was at Chatsworth in January 1784 he chose to dine with the housekeeper, Ann Grove, although he had also received invitations from the steward and the village minister for the same day.[815]

The decorative nature of many of the objects in the housekeeper's room also reflected her gender. Amanda Vickery has shown how small decorative purchases, like the china objects in housekeeper's rooms, were strongly regarded as feminine items.[816] Maxine Berg has also shown the importance of decorative furnishings to women who often described them in great detail when they bequeathed them to friends and family in their wills.[817] Objects like these were particularly common in the areas of the house which were on display to guests such as the parlour where family and close friends would have been entertained.[818] In the middling-sort home, the parlour was the main living space where a range of activities would have taken place, from socialising to eating.[819] This was the type of environment architects encouraged masters and mistresses to create for a housekeeper's room. One architectural manual published in 1832 wrote that the housekeeper's room in an elite home 'should be a spacious comfortable apartment, furnished as a respectable parlour' and the furniture 'should comprise all that is necessary for use and comfort'.[820] The inclusion of decorative trinkets and paintings in the housekeeper's rooms showed that the Cavendish family recognised this space needed to be furnished in line with the principles of the middling sort and the growing material goods at their disposal, in order to accommodate the expectations of servants and visitors to this room. These items reveal this was a room furnished for spending time in; there was the opportunity to have food and drink while the fire screens protected guests from the heat of the flames and decorative objects could pique moments of interest or discussion. Therefore, the objects within the room were not solely for the material experience of the housekeeper; they were also objects chosen to present a specific image to visitors to this space.

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[815] Diary of William Gould 1783-1795, 18th January 1784.
[816] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 276-278.
[817] Berg, 'Women's Consumption', p. 424.
[818] Karen Lipsedge, *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 147-148.
[819] Hamling and Richardson, *Day at Home*.
[820] Loudon, *Encyclopædia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture*, p. 803

Paintings and images were also used to create a certain atmosphere in a room. The paintings chosen for the housekeeper's rooms were of well-known and important figures and were in contrast to the landscape pieces present in the rooms of the family's other servants, which placed people in the background. The subjects of these images would have been instantly recognisable to guests and were chosen to have an impact on those in the room. It was not uncommon for images of a servant's master or mistress to be included the rooms of servants and inclusion of a portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire alongside an image of royalty was a reminder of the viewer's sense of duty and their place within the social hierarchy in comparison to the Cavendish family. The paintings selected for the rooms lower status visitors would have occupied reveal that the placement of paintings and the messages they would display were considered even in working areas of the house. Two paintings hung in the waiting room which was located on the ground floor of the house; an image of sixteenth-century Chatsworth and a large painting of Flying Childers, the 3rd Duke's undefeated race horse. These paintings represented the history and the longevity of Chatsworth and the Cavendish family and showed the family's desire to present an image of tradition and permanence to a lower-status audience.

The housekeeper's rooms also included items which encouraged the space to be used as a social environment outside of more formal meetings about the family's business. One such item was an 'old walnut card table', the only one in a servant's room at Chatsworth, which was suggestive of group activity.[821] It was an object most likely to have been engaged with when the housekeeper had completed her tasks for the day, as was suggested by the diary of Welbeck's agent William Gould who recorded spending an evening at Chatsworth playing cards in the housekeeper's room.[822] A card table was also recorded in the housekeeper's room at Devonshire House, reflecting the ability of these women to have the time and means to socially engage with others in this way. It also reveals the importance of their employers' house for the evening interactions of these women who, unlike the steward, were limited in social environments where they could spend their evenings.[823] The absence of a card table in the housekeeper's room at Hardwick may have been a result of her different living situation: Ruth Cottingham's role as a wife and mother, alongside her role as housekeeper, meant that her social experiences would have varied from her counterparts in the family's other

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[821] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[822] Diary of William Gould 1783-1795, 17th January 1784.
[823] DC: CH36/5/5, Inventory of Devonshire House, 1811.

properties and would have been influenced by her marital status.[824] Gaming tables were not unusual in service rooms of other country house; at Ditchley Park, the Earl of Litchfield's Oxford house, the steward's room contained a pair of backgammon tables along with boxes and dice.[825] The presence of the card tables in the housekeeper's room at Chatsworth, rather than the steward's, was perhaps also comment on her position as a woman. Amanda Vickery has noted that card parties were particularly associated with women, especially in the satirical imagery which depicted gossiping women ignoring their duties and gambling away the family funds.[826] However, when placed alongside the other decorative elements in her room and considered alongside her social position, the presence of the card table was perhaps included for the reason that she and her guests were more likely to have use of it, in contrast to the steward who socialised away from Chatsworth more often and had his own house.

A comparison of the rooms furnished for the housekeeper's use with those furnished for the steward's use reveals that the duke was responsible for providing more of the material furnishings and decorative touches in a space for female servants than those intended for his male servants. As already noted, previous studies have shown female servants were provided with a higher level of basic comfort in the form of blankets and pillows than their male counterparts, although the same distinction was not seen at Chatsworth.[827] The same desire to furnish these rooms to a more comfortable standard with objects which had feminine associations may have resulted in an increased number of goods in the rooms of upper female servants. However, domestic socialisation was not restricted to female servants and references to the material goods needed for drinking tea, coffee or hot chocolate were also found in the probate documents of housekeeper John Phillips, the butler and the cook who all owned goods which formed part of this ritual.[828] The probate inventory of Phillips, mentioned earlier in this chapter, showed the numerous objects a servant could own, from small trinkets and crockery to large pieces of furniture, which furnished their rooms alongside the items provided for them by the duke. These inventories suggest that male servants owned more goods than their female counterparts, who were more reliant on their master to provide appropriate goods for their use. The higher wage of male servants, their ability to live outside of their master's household, and their increased mobility meant that they had the opportunity

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[824] DC: CH36/5/6, Inventory of Hardwick Hall, 1811.

[825] Murdoch, *Noble Households*, p. 150.

[826] Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 208-209.

[827] Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', p. 124. Also see Chapter Four, p. 212.

[828] DC: L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734; NA: PROB11/1521/480, Will of Toussaint Ambroise Bertrand, 4th May 1811; NA: PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, 7th August 1798.

to purchase and collect a wide range of goods. This is also reflected in the bequests made by servants in their wills. While the duke's cook, who lived within the duke's household at Devonshire House, left a bed in his will, the bequests made by female servants often focused on smaller, easily transportable items such as clothing or jewellery.[829] Female servants were more reliant on their employers to provide them with material goods required in their daily lives. As a result, female servants may have retained paternal connections to their master for longer than male servants, a trend is echoed in the findings of Chapter One which established that male servants were first to lose their board wages and coal allowances.[830]

Gender was not the only concept which influenced the furnishing of these rooms. The inclusion of a bureau, a notably masculine piece of furniture, in the housekeeper's room highlights how idealised notions of gender distinctions were often subordinate to the practicality of furnishing servant rooms. The bureau would have been the place where the housekeeper wrote bills, accounts and correspondence on behalf of the duke's household. Dena Goodman has argued that the bureau was a display of authority over work 'that a growing body of men and few women could claim'.[831] The gendering of writing spaces at Chatsworth can be witnessed in the 1792 inventory which recorded a bureau present in the duke's dressing room while the duchess had 'a small inlaid Japan Ladies Writing Table' in her room.[832] The physical characteristics of these two pieces showed the purpose of the duke's writing was perceived to be quite different from the duchess's. Like the delicately decorative nature of the inlaid table, women's writing activities were viewed to be for genteel personal matters which could be accomplished on a smaller writing table. In comparison, men required additional space granted by a bureau for items of business such as day books and ledgers.[833]

The housekeeper was not the only servant to have a bureau in their room; in 1792 the valet and the steward were also listed as having one, however, the housekeeper remained the only female servant. On the one hand, the presence of a bureau in the housekeeper's room was a reflection of her economic responsibilities to the duke which were consistent with other, male, upper servants. John Loudon, in his architectural encyclopaedia published in 1836,

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[829] NA: PROB11/1521/480, Will of Toussaint Ambroise Bertrand, 4th May 1811.

[830] See Chapter One, p. 70, pp. 74-76.

[831] Dena Goodman, 'The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century self' in Goodman and Norberg (eds) *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 186-187.

[832] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[833] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* p. 280.

recommended the use of a bureau for a housekeeper 'in which to keep account-books'.[834] The recommendation of this substantial piece of furniture for the housekeeper's use shows her position as a managerial servant in charge of the social and economic order of the household was recognised and taken with sincerity. On the other hand, its presence at Chatsworth also reveals the unmethodical and, at times, accidental nature of the furnishing of rooms. These rooms were not blank canvases; instead, they were furnished over a period of time through an amalgamation of new items, bought specifically for these rooms, and old items, repurposed from elsewhere. The housekeeper's bureau was not a piece of furniture which was purposefully given to her; instead, it had been present in the room before it was converted for the housekeeper's use sometime between the 1764 and 1792 inventories. In the 1764 inventory, the housekeeper's room was listed as the 'Stag Parlour' and furnished for the family's use with the bureau recorded as a 'new mohogony Buroe'.[835] The continued presence of the bureau in the room nearly thirty years later was presumably because it was considered a suitable piece for the housekeeper's use. The inclusion of a bureau in the housekeeper's room, or at least the willingness to leave it in the room when it became the housekeeper's space, highlighted the importance of practicality when it came to furnishing a room: practical for the family as they did not need to find another space for the bureau or purchase a new writing desk for the housekeeper, and practical for the servant as the object reflected the tasks she had to undertake as part of her role.

A further influence on the furnishings of servants' rooms was the location of these spaces in the house. This factor has already been witnessed in this chapter to some extent by the dramatic difference seen between the furnishings of the garret rooms and the rooms occupied by servants on the first two floors. However, the location of a room did not only affect the decorative schemes used in lower and upper servants' room, it also had an impact on the rooms of servants of a similar status. While the rooms of the housekeeper and the steward were both located on the ground floor of the house, their rooms were located in separate areas of this floor. The steward's office and sitting room were in the service wing, an addition to the house built by the 4th Duke in the 1750s, while the housekeeper's room was located in the main house itself. The former was an area built specifically for the purpose of containing work spaces for servants and were rooms built without the grandeur of those in the main house. Therefore, the location of the steward's rooms did not hold the same history as the

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[834] Loudon, *Encyclopædia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture*, p. 803.
[835] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

housekeeper's room which was located in the seventeenth-century property and had been repurposed from family-used rooms. The housekeeper's room in the main house benefitted from the large windows, high ceilings and decorative walls designed for the family's use. Therefore, the furnishings used in this room were chosen to be appropriate for its setting, not only as the housekeeper's room but its location in the wider context of the house. The architect Isaac Ware encouraged owners to continue a similar style and decorative scheme between the rooms on the family's principal floors. He wrote in his book, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, published in 1767, that these rooms 'must have a conformity with one another'.[836] In contrast, the steward's office was located in an area of the house made for servants where design was encouraged by Ware to be 'plain'.[837] The limited items present in the steward's office reflected its location in the service wing, a space it shared with the uncleanliness of the kitchen, stables and coal store, and which were accessible to lower servants. The division in the two areas is further suggested by the decoration in the Steward's Hall, a room located in the main house rather than the north wing and where the upper servants dined. This room was furnished in a more decorative style to the other rooms named after the steward and was furnished to include leather-cushioned seating for twenty and was decorated with a painting of cattle by seventeenth-century French artist Claude Lorrain, a weather glass and three fire screens.[838]

Despite the care which went into designing them, country houses could not function solely on architectural models which promoted social ideals, and the practicalities required by households' daily routines also influenced how these houses functioned. The layout of the house created at the end of the seventeenth century was not always ideal for the use of eighteenth-century Cavendish family and their servants, and the balancing of the concepts of gender, status, and environment, was essential in deciding where servants' rooms should be located and how they should be decorated. Upper servants' rooms were distinguished not only by their presence on the lower floors of the house but by the careful consideration and conscious decision making which went into the furnishings and colours used in these spaces. These rooms were created for an audience to display not only the status of the servant occupying the room but also the status of the Cavendish family; the importance of the outsider's gaze was crucial in deciding which rooms received uniform colour schemes,

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[836] Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 421.
[837] *Ibid.*
[838] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1792, p. 51.

entertaining spaces and decorative features. The means through which this was achieved was a variation of the same design features used to decorate the family rooms and their use in the servants' rooms ensured there was a shared decorative scheme between the principal areas of the house. Tim Meldrum, in his research on the middling-sort households, has argued that the 'idea that servants led a liminal existence between the privileged world of their employers and the plebeian world...was not supported by the evidence'.[839] In the context of the country house, upper servants did experience a material culture which existed between how they would have been able to furnish their own rooms and the family's material world. While historians have questioned McKendrick's theory of emulation as a motivation for consumption from lower social groups, the rooms of upper servants decorated by the duke and his stewards were furnished, in part, to emulate a higher, more elite style. However, it was not servants choosing to decorate their rooms in this way but the duke who controlled how these spaces were designed. These rooms, in particular the rooms of upper female servants, were presented as an elite family's interpretation of a middling-sort individual's room. These rooms occupied this dual place because they were also used as the site of business and socialisation on the family's behalf and had to present a specific message of status to an audience.

Appraising the Old and New

Country houses, as the ancestral seat of elite families, were furnished with a range of goods which spanned from the very old, showing a family's lineage and history, to the very new, which reflected the family's fashionable taste. State apartments represented the 'established status' of a family who could boast of links back to previous generations when monarchs toured the country.[840] As representations of a family's heritage, the furnishing of these rooms changed little over the course of the century at Chatsworth and other country houses. Old objects were kept to show the status of the family, or for sentimental reasons, even when these objects did not reflect the most fashionable styles. At Chatsworth, the 'very old' bed in the State Rooms was a representation of the family's history rather than an item kept for practical purpose.[841] This chapter has also shown that servants' rooms were often furnished with old, second-hand items from the family's collection and these objects were interspersed with goods which were made or purchased especially for their use. Therefore, new and old

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[839] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender,* p. 124.
[840] Stobart and Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family', p. 394.
[841] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

items were part of the experiences of both masters' and servants' in the country house which meant the terms used to describe these objects had to encompass notions of an occupant's status as well as the condition of these goods. Comparing how an appraiser used the term 'old' in his descriptions of objects in the family rooms and the servants' rooms further shows the characteristics of objects which were deemed suitable for a servant's use. The descriptions which survive for these items were chosen by the inventory appraisers and the choices they made about the languages they used to describe these goods conveyed the value the appraiser placed on an item, which ultimately affected his assessment of the individual's overall wealth. As Jon Stobart has argued, language was 'central to the ways in which luxury was understood, communicated and valued' and the more description attached to an object made it easier to recognise and value, a factor which was of particular importance in a house the size of Chatsworth.[842] Examining how an individual who did not belong to the household viewed these items places the furnishings of the country house in a wider system of values which reflect how the position of servants in the household was regarded more generally.

While appraisers used the term 'old' in all three of the Chatsworth inventories to describe items in both the rooms of the family and their servants, the term declined in use over the course of the century when describing items in the family's rooms. In the 1764 inventory the term was used most often to describe items in the family rooms. Of the eighty-two uses of the word recorded in this inventory, it appeared thirty-nine times to describe objects in the family's rooms, twenty-eight times to describe items within storerooms and chests, and fifteen times to describe items in rooms occupied by servants. In 1792 inventory this ratio had changed significantly and the word was used in only twelve instances to describe objects in the family rooms in comparison to the fifty-seven times it was used to describe objects in the servants' rooms. By 1811, the application of the term to describe objects in the family's rooms had further declined and was recorded only five times in these spaces compared to the thirty-two times it appeared in descriptions of servant rooms. The inventory for Devonshire House for the same year showed a similar distinction and the word 'old' was only used twice to describe items in the family's rooms in comparison to twenty-four times it referred to objects in the servants' rooms.[843]

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[842] Jon Stobart, 'The language of luxury goods: consumption and the English country house, c. 1760-1830', *Virtus: Yearbook of the History of the Nobility* 18, p. 90.

[843] DC: CH36/5/5 Inventory of Devonshire House, 1811.

The change in the use of the term suggested it had become to be understood in a more specific context than just in reference to an object with some age. While the increasing use of the term 'old' to describe servant rooms may have partly reflected the increase in the number of items which furnished these spaces, the decrease in the use of the term to describe objects in the family rooms suggests that the word had also taken on different connotations for appraisers. In 1764, the word 'old' was used to describe a wide range of different types of goods in the family's rooms but the meaning of the term was largely separate from notions of style or fashion with the separate term 'old fashioned' used to describe fabrics and furniture which were considered to be outdated. For example, Indian cabinets and Japanned chests were described as 'old' but a 'Large old fashioned Look[in]^g Glass' kept in the Blue Damask dressing room and 'three old fashioned armed Chairs' in the Stag Parlour received different treatment.[844] The use of this separate description suggests that quality and taste were assessed in different ways by the appraiser in the mid-eighteenth century. The largest category of objects in the family's rooms which were given the descriptor 'old' was delft pottery and chinaware; the large pots and tulip vases kept in the State rooms were all described in terms of their age and recorded as 'fine old China Jarrs' and 'old Delfth in the chimney'.[845] The blue and white delftware did have a history at Chatsworth spanning several decades having arrived at the house around 1695 after it had been purchased by the 4th Earl (later 1st Duke of Devonshire).[846] The use of this term and the location of these objects show that these were items which represented the family's heritage and wealth in the rooms built for an anticipated visit from King William and Queen Mary. As the largest category of objects which were described by the term, the use of the word 'old' in the 1764 inventory encompassed the concept of inherited wealth as well as items which were in an inferior condition.

By the 1792 inventory, the description of these same pieces had changed and there was no comment on the age or quality of the items; instead, the objects were solely recorded by their purpose as 'Blue & White China Ornaments for flowers'.[847] In her analysis of eating and drinking vessels, Mary Beaudry has shown how use of the term 'old' had 'diminished considerably' by the middle of the eighteenth century.[848] The change in the descriptors used for these goods and the decline in the use of the term 'old' for items within the family's

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[844] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

[845] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

[846] Hannah Obee, 'Baroque Exuberance: Delft Flower Vases at Chatsworth', in *Apollo* 167 (2008), p. 93.

[847] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[848] Mary C Beaudry, 'Words for things: linguistic analysis of probate inventories', in Mary C Beaudry (ed.), *Documentary archaeology in the New World* (Cambridge 1988), p. 46.

rooms showed the connotations the word had had in 1764 were no longer as prominent towards the end of the century. In later inventories the term 'old' was used to indicate the condition of an object rather than being a comment on its age. Instead, when notions of inherited wealth or family history were described in later inventories they were done so using different terms such as an 'antique alabaster vase' recorded in the 1811 inventory of Devonshire House which invoked the quality and age of the item.[849] The types of goods which were described as 'old' by appraisers in inventories made after 1764 reveal that these men were observing physical signs of age and wear. Textiles and seating were the two largest categories which were described as 'old' in both the duke's and the servants' rooms. Textiles were a category which showed their age more overtly and an appraiser would have been able to see the fraying, holes, or discolouration at a glance which could all indicate the age of a piece. Other country house inventories reveal textiles were a common category to be described as 'old' by appraisers and were often found in the rooms of servants: the lady's maid's room at Southill Park House contained a 'Quilt very old and much worn' while the maids' room at Ditchley Park in Oxford in 1772 numerous old items including '4 old quilts & 16 old blankets'.[850] The upholstery on seating was also a reason why chairs were another common group often described as 'old'. In the 1764 inventory, only seven of the 63 chairs and stools located in the servants' rooms were described as 'old' while a further one was described as 'broken'. The limited number of old chairs in the servants' quarters may have been a result of the 4th Duke's updates to the house which may have prompted the duke to refresh the spaces for his servants alongside his own rooms. However, by the 1792 inventory, there was a significant increase in the use of the term 'old' to describe the seating in the servants' rooms and 37 out of 93 pieces were described as 'old', a similar number was also recorded in 1811 when 30 out of 96 pieces were described as 'old'.[851]

Textiles and bed furnishings were also a category of objects which were commonly described as 'new' in the inventories: the 1764 inventory recorded four feather beds with 'new Feathers' and several sets of new sheets and towels in the linen closet.[852] These items would have been difficult to spot without the help of a servant or a knowledgeable member of the household. The types of goods the inventory listed as 'new' were also practical items which the servants would have purchased or made for the house themselves. These two descriptors

[849] DC: CH36/5/5, Inventory of Devonshire House, 1811.
[850] Collett-White, *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses*, p. 225; Murdoch, *Noble Households*, p. 153.
[851] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[852] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764.

showed appraisers were reliant on both visual clues and the knowledge servants shared with them in order to form their judgements on an object. There were some items, such as those which did not show such obvious signs of age as textiles did, that were not described as 'old' by appraisers even if they had been in the house for a number of years. Large wooden furniture such as bedsteads were rarely described as old, even though the prevalence of oak, the fashion for which had declined in the last half of the seventeenth century, suggested many of these items had been in the house for many years.[853] The absence of detailed descriptions of these objects was similar to their absence in eighteenth-century country house guides. As Simon Swynfen Jervis has shown, wooden furniture was often overlooked in these guides in favour of describing paintings and sculpture in the texts written for visitors.[854] Wooden items were often cumbersome but essential objects which fulfilled a function and, therefore, their practicality may have outweighed comment on their form. The condition of a bedstead may also have been hidden to an appraiser by the bed furniture which received the most attention.

Appraising the condition of objects was reliant on visual indicators; however, an inventory maker may also have been influenced by the location of an object and the assumptions and expectations which came with certain spaces. Amanda Vickery has shown that householders paid great attention to how their rooms were furnished in order that they conformed to their social status; from wallpaper to furniture, items were chosen because they were in keeping with the rank of the purchaser and did not exceed their means.[855] Inventory appraisers could also interpret status from the location of a space and its furnishings because eighteenth-century architectural manuals encouraged a clear division of space between masters and servants.[856] An appraiser may have expected servants' rooms to have been furnished with older, less fashionable and well-worn items because these spaces were on the margins of the family's material relationship with the country house.[857] The reoccurring use of the word 'old' for objects in servants' rooms, and its increased use over the course of the century to describe items in servants' rooms, as the term became more focused on recording the poor condition of an item, reflected the pre-owned nature of several items in these spaces as well as the expectation that these types of goods would have been present in these rooms. To the

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[853] Michael L. Wilson, *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977), p. 40.

[854] Jervis, 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides', p. 80.

[855] Vickery, 'Neat and Not Too Showey', pp. 215-216; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 279-286.

[856] See for example: John Carter, *The Builder's Magazine: or, a universal dictionary for architect, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c As well as for every Gentleman who would wish to be a competent judge of the Elegant and Necessary Art of Building* (London, 1788); Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, p. 417.

[857] Stobart and Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family', pp. 397-401.

inventory appraiser, the servants' rooms would have been seen as suitable places for old furnishings and by conforming to expectations of servant materiality, these rooms ensured that the social hierarchy within the house was maintained and thus avoided 'social confusion'.[858] While the public rooms still included several pieces of old furniture after the 1764 inventory was produced, these were rarely recorded as such. Alongside the changing use of this term, the decline in the use of the word 'old' for the family rooms may have been because the appraisers were not as predisposed to look for old furnishings in these rooms as they were in the servants' rooms.

Old objects could be further identified by the inclusion of additional descriptors. Mary Beaudry has argued that the adjectives chosen in probate inventories to distinguish between goods 'provide valuable clues' to show how these objects were 'perceived and evaluated'.[859] Descriptions of goods throughout the inventories of Chatsworth followed the traditional pattern of describing items by opinion, size, age, material, and, finally, purpose, such as the description given to 'a very small looking Glass' in a garret room or 'Two Large Black Leather Chairs' in the family's breakfast room.[860] Descriptions for the goods in servant rooms were more likely to be negative with common descriptors including 'old', 'small' and 'broken'. The order in which adjectives were placed was important when deciding which characteristic of an item to stress,[861] and by examining the additional adjectives used to describe 'old' objects located in the rooms of servants, it is possible to see how an appraiser could confer the status of the room's occupant onto these objects using certain descriptors. The garret rooms, which accommodated the lower servants, accounted for 22 of the 37 'old' pieces recorded in servants' rooms in the 1792 inventory and 18 of the 32 'old' items listed in the 1811 inventory.[862] These pieces were plainly described and stated only the type of item and its condition. For example, one room included 'three old chairs [,] two old stools [,] an old table'.[863] When 'old' furniture was in the rooms of servants of a higher status the appraiser used additional adjectives to distinguish the quality of these items. The groom of the chamber's room contained two 'old easy chairs with leather bottoms black japan frame', the housekeeper's room had an 'old walnut card table' and the steward's office included 'an

[858] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 343.
[859] Beaudry, 'Words for things', p. 44.
[860] *Ibid*., p. 45; DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.
[861] James W. Ney, 'Optionality and Choice in the Selection of Order of Adjectives in English' in *General Linguistics* 23:2 (1983), p. 94.
[862] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792; DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.
[863] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

old D° [chair] ornamented with Gilt leather'.[864] The inclusion of further details drew the attention to the quality of the piece, not just its condition, and a similar practice was also used to describe items in the family's rooms. When choosing these descriptors, an appraiser emphasised the materials and craftsmanship of an item such as a 'comode chest of Drawers inlaid and varnished with a Leather damask cover bound with Gilt Leather' and 'a very fine Large Look[in]g glass w[i]th the arms a marble stab under it'.[865] These findings echo those of Jon Stobart, in his research on eighteenth-century guides written for country house sales, who has argued that the level of description given to an item showed the difficulty of 'succinctly describing the luxury of material objects'.[866] Additional details were rarely used to describe objects in the rooms of lower servants which suggested these items were plain with few qualities worthy of note. However, care was taken to always include more information about the items included in the rooms of upper servants which reflected the better-quality objects included in their rooms which visually identified their place in the family's decorative scheme.

The use of the word 'old' by the inventory appraisers at Chatsworth changed from a descriptor used to identify an object which had been in the duke's collection for a number of years to instead categorising the visible condition of an object. This shift in association meant this language increasingly became used to describe the rooms of servants and reflected the presence of second-hand items in these spaces. The regular use of this term to describe objects in the servants' rooms also suggests that appraisers were predisposed to associate older goods with the rooms of servants rather than the duke. This approach was further supported by the location of many servant rooms in the garrets, which placed them on the periphery of the household, away from the correlations which could be drawn between the rooms of upper servants and the family due to their spatial links. Away from the garrets, the choices made by appraisers in their descriptions of objects located in the rooms of upper servants had more in common with the rooms used by the family. Objects in these spaces were recorded with additional descriptive adjectives which were used to show the skill and craftsmanship behind a piece. The terms used to describe these spaces placed upper servants firmly within notions of polite taste because their rooms were seen to be suitably furnished according to their place in the hierarchy in a similar way that the colour scheme of a room

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[864] *Ibid.*
[865] *Ibid.*
[866] Stobart, 'Language of luxury goods', p. 92.

also did.[867] The inclusion of terms like 'new' and 'old' within the inventories suggest the importance of the role of servants as guides to the country house. It was their knowledge of the furnishings which was encapsulated in these documents and, as a result, the descriptions focussed on the practical goods in the house which they knew best.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown a servant's material experiences during their employment in the country house were influenced by a range of factors. The status of an individual often determined the location of their room in the house and influenced the quality, uniformity and condition of the objects which furnished their space. Upper servants received higher-quality furnishings and were provided with objects which allowed them to store and conceal their goods from visitors. The material goods in these spaces reflected the taste for neat designs which were appropriate to their status as middling-sort individuals. However, these rooms were also decorated in a certain way in order to present the status of both the servants and the family to the visitors of these rooms. While country houses had more space than the vast majority of early modern homes, the centuries' old nature of these buildings meant the number of rooms or spaces dedicated to accommodating servants were limited. This chapter has shown that in these circumstances certain factors were prioritised over others when it came to accommodating servants. The location of a servant's room was prioritised over the amount of space given to servants, and travelling servants often had to be accommodated for in the space which enabled them to best complete their role rather than in a room which would have best reflected their status. In these instances, practicality was favoured over making a room an idealised version of a servant's space.

Gender was also a crucial factor in how servants experienced space. In lower servants' rooms gender did little to affect the decorative scheme of the space but was a factor which did influence sleeping arrangements because it was only housemaids whose room was furnished to accommodate more than one individual to a bed. Lower servant bedrooms were rarely furnished to distinguish between female and male residents; Chatsworth did not appear to give additional blankets to lower female servants, as was the practice in some households. Instead, the comfort provided by additional blankets and pillows was a luxury only present in the rooms of upper servants. Gender was, however, an important concept in the materiality afforded to upper servants. The housekeeper's room benefitted from a rising number of

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[867] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

material goods over the course of the century. The inclusion of paintings and ornaments in her room showed her decorative space was a social one while also reflected her femininity in the choice of these objects. The use of a card table and a tea table showed the housekeeper could use this room as a space for domestic sociability. Her rooms were in contrast to the sparsely furnished spaces occupied by the steward who often socialised away from the country house. However, the material goods recorded in the probate inventory of the housekeeper John Philips, and which furnished his room at Chatsworth, are a reminder that many servants were not simply 'involuntary consumers' of their rooms and did possess the ability to influence their material surroundings without the help of the duke. The wills and probate inventories which survive show several servants were engaging with new, fashionable items long before they were included in the servants' rooms at Chatsworth. These examples suggest that servants were not emulating their master in their purchases but were instead were part of a consumer culture attached to the farmers, landowners and tradespeople who could afford these types of goods.

Audience was a crucial factor which influenced the decisions made by the duke or his steward about how a servant's room was furnished. The rooms of lower servants in the garrets would have been rarely visited by people, other than the servants themselves, which meant the mismatched furnishings and the use of pegs and shelves, which forced a servant to display their material lives, was of little consequence to the family. The rooms of upper servants on the principal floors of the house were more likely to be visited by a range of guests including the Cavendish family, tradesmen and other servants. These rooms needed to accommodate a servant while also providing a suitable location for the duke's business and, therefore, these rooms had to present an image of status and respectability to tradespeople and guests. As a result, these spaces were designed to be in dialogue with the rest of the house because they would have been viewed through a similar gaze as the family's rooms by individuals who would have seen the material relationship between these spaces. This was particularly evident in the materials and colours used in the rooms of upper servants, which were considered carefully in order to create a universal scheme that reflected both the status of the servant and the status of their master.

This chapter has shown that servants were part of a culture of changing standards in interior goods which created expectations that the duke was willing to satisfy. The duke was slow to increase the level of comfort and number of material possessions in the rooms of his servants in comparison to when several households on the estate started to purchase these goods for

themselves. This chapter has shown that domestic space for servants was imbued with layers of meaning which were decoded by the gaze of servants, their master and visitors. In doing so, this chapter has shown the complexities of a servant's position in negotiations of gender and status. Inventories reveal that servants had intimate knowledge of the material world in which they lived and worked which developed from their continued presence in the property and which they sometimes shared with appraisers and visitors. As documents, the house inventories reveal some of the expectations the duke had of his servants. When used in conjunction with surviving probate inventories, inventories reveal that servants possessed and exercised limited agency in decisions of how areas of the house were used and furnished, a topic which will be considered in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Servants and Material Agency

The previous chapter has shown that a close examination of the three Chatsworth inventories can reveal the extent to which servants benefited from the increasing number of material goods present in the lives of lower status individuals. However, inventories alone cannot reveal the process of change within the household; as Giorgio Riello has argued, inventories 'are fixed in time' because they are documents created at a specific moment.[868] These documents can be suggestive of the mobility of objects and the implementation of changing fashions in a property, yet the dynamic movement of people is often lost. Through an examination of account books, parish registers and probate documents, this thesis has already argued that the movement of people between the estate and the country house was a crucial factor in how an individual experienced service. Their ease of movement between these two sites, as many servants moved between their work for the duke and their own houses on the estate, had an impact on the types of social interactions servants had, their place in the estate hierarchy, and the descriptors they chose to present themselves to others. This chapter will now turn to consider the mobility of individuals in the duke's house as suggested by their engagement with material goods and will consider how the daily working routines of servants influenced the use and furnishings of spaces in the country house. Work by anthropologists and human geographers have shown the importance of interactions and motion in a space for the creation of meanings within a site. Anthropologist Hannah Moore has argued that a space is shaped by the 'activities of social actors' which could transform the meanings ascribed to a space.[869] For geographer Nigel Thrift, space is in 'constant motion' with meanings continually constructed depending on who is present in a site.[870] Thrift concluded that considering space as a dynamic environment has a further implication for how we consider the concept of power. He has argued that power cannot be defined 'as simply command and control' in this context but instead requires a more nuanced approach where powers of different sorts can be recognised.[871] At Chatsworth, the importance of interaction meant the

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[868] Riello, 'Things seen and unseen', p. 136.

[869] Moore, *Space, Text and Gender*, p. 8.

[870] Nigel Thrift, 'Space', *Theory, Culture & Society,* 23:2 (2006), p. 141; Nigel Thrift, 'Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Human Geography', in S. L. Holloway, S. P. Rice, and G. Valentine (eds), *Key Concepts in Geography* (London, 2003), pp. 95-105. Also see John A. Agnew 'Space and Place', in John A. Agnew and David N. Livingstone (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* (California, 2011), p. 316.

[871] Thrift, 'Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Human Geography', pp. 104-105. Also see John Allen, *Lost Geographies of Power* (Oxford, 2003).

dynamics of power changed according to various factors such as who was in a space, the actions being performed within it and who was policing the boundaries.[872]

The importance of considering power in a specific geographical setting was recognised by Foucault in his work on institutional environments. He argued that power came from a range of places and could be accessed at different levels, rather than ascribed from a single outside body. Foucault's definition of power as a concept which was exercised through social relations, rather than possessed, meant power was also reinforced by the same people whose behaviours it controlled.[873] The focus on social interactions has emphasised the importance of being physically present in an exchange; John Allen has argued that because power was created and maintained through social interactions it could not be stored up for an individual's use at a later occasion, instead it 'takes effect through distinctive relations of proximity'.[874] The idea of proximity, and the affect it had on a space, is important when considering how servants interacted with the country house and how power dynamics were shaped in the absence of the Cavendish family. Yet there are other ways in which space has been conceptualised as imbued with meanings in the absence of face-to-face interaction. Bourdieu's theory of habitus provides a concept which recognises how the Cavendish family could still influence the use of space in their absence. He defined habitus as a set of beliefs which are learned over time and which enable an individual to understand the culture of their social or cultural group. In turn, these beliefs influence the decisions and actions an individual or group take in certain environments or the approach they take when engaging with others.[875] Although many servants did not have personal interactions with the family, especially in the family's absence, servants were still guided to act in a certain way in the country house because of the cultural structures which permeated the site and made it a visible representation of the family's power.[876] However, Bourdieu also acknowledged that

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[872] See for example Vickery, 'Englishman's home', pp. 156-158; Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London' in *The Historical Journal* 53:3 (2010), pp. 623-645.

[873] Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1977), p. 86. A similar focus of power as exercised through relationships can be seen in Max Weber defined power as 'one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance' while Roger Brown and Albert Gilman similarly defined power as the degree an individual was 'able to control the behaviour of the other' and as 'a relationship between at least two people' quoted in Stefania Biscetti, 'Power, (Im)Politeness and Aggressiveness in Early Modern Master-Servant Relations (1660-1750)', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2015), p. 299.

[874] Allen, *Lost Geographies*, p. 2.

[875] Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory*, p. 16, 78-87. Also see Introduction, pp. 18-19.

[876] For examples of the country house as a site of power see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 1-5; Kari Boyd McBride, *Country House Discourse In Early Modern England: A cultural study of landscape and legitimacy* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 6-7.

these notions were not fixed. As Amanda Flather has described, while habitus 'sets boundaries' or constructs 'parameters' for an individual it does not 'preclude the possibility of agency or change'.[877] As a result, authority within the country house was not restricted to the structures imposed by the duke. This concept enables historians to move beyond examining the prescribed use of space as it was presented in architectural plans to instead explore the different ways in which space allowed for the construction and the subversion of power and assigned positions.

In the country house, interactions were not only defined by moments of exchange but also periods of lengthy absence. While the authority of the duke remained present in the site of the country estate, his absence also enabled servants to interact with the country house in a different way from when the family were present. This chapter examines how the permanent residency of servants on the country estate and in the country house was able to influence the use and furnishings of space, particularly in the absence of the duke. It will approach this question in two ways. The first part of this chapter will examine if servants were ascribed authority by the duke to purchase goods for the house. It will build on the work of historians who have shown how servants were involved in the purchase of foodstuff for the household to examine the extent to which servants were able to purchase more substantial items. The second part of this chapter will then consider how the work routines of servants influenced the furnishings of spaces and the extent to which objects reflected the practical needs of servants or the duke's desire for control. This focus leads this chapter to also question the extent to which servants were able to exercise agency which enabled them to made a physical impact on the country house during their working lives. In this chapter, agency is defined as an individual's ability to shape their social and, in this instance, material lives.[878] This definition of agency implies an individual had self-awareness of their actions and this chapter argues that an individual's interactions with material goods provide one way to examine this awareness. This approach has been informed by the work of Henry Glassie who has argued that material culture 'incorporates intention' because objects require a certain level of awareness and knowledge in order to engage with them.[879] In doing so, this chapter will demonstrate that servants negotiated their use of space within the boundaries set by their

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[877] Flather, *Gender and Space*, p. 3.

[878] Williamson, 'Space, Popular Politics and Agency', p. 2; Also see Introduction, pp. 18-19.

[879] Glassie, *Material Culture*, p. 44.

subordinate position and these negotiations succeeded when they intersected with the desires of the duke.

In the absence of correspondence, this chapter uses alternative sources to examine servants' engagement with the country house. It draws upon the steward's order book, kept between 1795 and 1816, which acted as the steward's personal record of the duke's instructions about alternations to be made at Chatsworth. This manuscript will be used to examine the extent to which servants were involved in the process of change at the country house because it provides evidence of the different stages involved in these developments, from the arrival of instructions from the duke and his stewards, to their implementation in the house. Using this document alongside inventories, household accounts and receipts, reveals further evidence of the decision-making process behind the furnishing of the house. These documents also place servants at the centre of change in the country house because these manuscripts were created and compiled at Chatsworth throughout the year either by servants or with their assistance. At Chatsworth, it was servants' book-keeping which recorded the process of change and their actions in hiring tradesmen, delegating tasks to labourers and through their own conduct that produced change. This chapter demonstrates that the use of a combination of contemporary records for the same property reveal a diachronic study of the country house.

If the dynamics of an environment were partly created through the interactions which took place within these spaces, then the daily routines of those in the household are essential to understanding how hierarchies could be negotiated.[880] Evidence of the particularities of these routines rarely survives but the routines of the Chatsworth servants would have been affected by the mobility of the elite family. While little work has been done on how mobility impacted those in the aristocratic household, more work has been done on how mobility affected those lower down the social hierarchy. The work of archaeologists Alastair Owens and Nigel Jeffries has examined how the movement of the poor and their belongings in Victorian London influenced understandings of ownership.[881] The goods shared between individuals and families living communally or the items which were left behind when a household moved were not ascribed to an individual but instead became a shared good, a process Susan Strasser has defined as 'stewardship'.[882] This research highlights the fluidity of the concept of

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[880] Flather, *Gender and Space*, p. 3.

[881] Alastair Owens and Nigel Jeffries, 'People and Things on the Move: Domestic Material Culture, Poverty and Mobility in Victorian London', in *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20 (2016), pp. 808-818.

[882] Susan Strasser, *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* (New York, 1999).

entitlement and the role the mobility of people and items had in creating alternative relationships to goods and spaces. At Chatsworth, the mobility of the Cavendish family meant there was a division between the duke's imagined vision of his country house and the actual physical space. In the duke's absence, alterations continued to be made to Chatsworth through written, rather than verbal, instructions which meant change in the country house was conducted through the meeting of the duke's imagined vision, built from memory, and the servants' knowledge of the house, informed from the physical space. This chapter will demonstrate that the disparity which could appear between these two realities granted servants a level of authority over the space of the country house which, in turn, had implications for how the duke experienced the space when he resided at Chatsworth. Acknowledging the role mobility played within the country house, whether it was the duke's months-long absences or part of a servant's daily routine, provides an alternative means through which to think about power relations. By recognising that country houses were properties owned by mobile masters, we can re-examine the country estate through a lens which focuses on the interactions, experiences and knowledge of servants in this space and, in doing so, suggest new ways to approach the lives of servants, a group for which few personal records survive.

The Origins of Objects

Masters and mistresses did relinquish control to their servants in certain situations, most commonly when servants were placed in charge of purchasing goods for the household. Eighteenth-century household manuals show that servants were expected to be involved in the purchasing of goods for the family they served, although they did warn mistresses about the problems which could arise from allowing servants to do so.[883] There were limitations to the circumstances in which servants were granted this authority; it was a role usually given to trusted managerial servants and the types of items servants were sent to purchase for their master's household were usually mundane and routine items the household used on a daily basis such as foodstuff.[884] At the country house, studies have shown that servants were also important in the consumption practices of the house. Work by Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery has shown that servants were used to maintain networks of patronage with local trades- and

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[883] *The Matrimonial Preceptor. A Collection of Examples and Precepts Relating to the Married State From the most Celebrated Writers Ancient and Modern* (London, 1760), quoted in Walsh, 'Shopping at First Hand', p. 23.
[884] Walsh, 'Shopping at First Hand', pp. 21-26; John Stobart, Andrew Hannan and Victoria Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c. 1680-1830* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 151-152.

crafts- people.[885] These networks were developed and sustained through more than just the purchase of foodstuffs. This chapter, therefore, moves away from examining how servants engaged with small, routine purchases, to assess the extent to which servants were involved in more expensive, singular purchases for the household, and more specifically for their own rooms in the house. It will approach this by charting the extent to which servants were involved in consumption in different geographical spheres: the Chatsworth estate, the local area, and London, in order to assess what factors enabled servants to be part of the consumption habits of the country house.

Chatsworth

Chatsworth was well-equipped to support and supply the country house with material goods, foodstuffs and labour. The 1811 inventory recorded workshops for an upholsterer and a carpenter in the stables, while the 1788 survey of Edensor reveals the village was home to three blacksmiths, two joiners and a painter.[886] The account books and surviving receipts show it was the task of managerial servants to employ, direct, and pay these workers. The absence of the duke did not impact the decision to use estate craftsmen but it did place more prominence on the roles of servants, such as the housekeeper and the steward, who would have been in charge of organising and overseeing this work. Servants did not only delegate work, they were also involved in the process of making goods. The estate was involved in the country house's consumption of goods in two ways: firstly, it helped to repair items the family already owned in order that they could be reused and recycled in the house, and secondly, the estate produced new items.

Like households up and down the social strata, Chatsworth took care to be thrifty and repair their household goods in certain circumstances.[887] Good management and the practice of oeconomy characterised a landowner's running of his house and estate and this extended to the practice furnishing the country house.[888] In some cases, repairs were done by skilled craftspeople who worked outside of the house, such as George Close who was paid £11 13s 4d in 1773 for 'linning ye Kitchen pans', and again in 1775 when he was paid a bill of £57 2s

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[885] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, pp. 195-196.
[886] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811; DC: AS/1078 Edensor resident survey, 1788.
[887] Ponsonby, *Stories from Home,* p. 79.
[888] Stobart and Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family', p. 397.

for 'new kitchen furniture new lining the old'.[889] In other instances, servants themselves were involved in repairing household items, such as in 1798 when the housekeeper, Hannah Gregory, was paid for repairing furniture with the help of local workers.[890] For more complicated upholstery, the full-time upholsterer Chatsworth employed from 1785 onwards was crucial. As one of the greatest costs of new furniture was the expense of upholstery, his presence negated much of this expense by making and mending items on site.[891] The upholsterer repaired goods in both the family's and servants' rooms and his work ranged from the re-stuffing and recovering of the steward's room leather chairs to the making of curtains for the billiard room.[892] The 1811 inventory of Chatsworth is suggestive of the extent of his work because the description of the upholsterer's supplies ran to four pages and documented the different fringe, tassels, cottons and silks he kept in his workshop.[893] These instances reveal servants were actively part of furnishing the country house and their skills in these areas were crucial to the maintenance of objects in both family rooms and servant spaces.

Servants and estate workers were also involved in the creation of new goods. The steward's order book reveals an occasion when the upholsterer was asked 'to make <u>four</u> small Beds as such a size and sort as will pack up and may be easily removed'.[894] Peter Furniss, the local carpenter, is also recorded in the household accounts for making new goods for the house. His name was recorded year after year in the annual books for making and repairing furniture for all of the departments on the estate.[895] The majority of goods he made performed a practical purpose which assisted servants and labourers in their work, such as the wheelbarrows and carts he regularly made for the gardens.[896] Other payments to Furniss were objects he had made for the interior of the house such as in 1798 when he was paid for

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[889] DC: C/14/4, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 12th October 1773; DC: C/14/6, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 2nd November 1775.

[890] DC: L/91/8/2, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth accounts, 1798. Hannah Gregory continued to repair items in her role as housekeeper at Hardwick Hall. The household accounts recorded in 1798 Mrs Gregory was paid £12 2s 10d for 'making and repairing furniture'. Also see DC: C/184, William Bromehead Hardwick Household accounts, 1797-1811.

[891] Hannah Chavasse, 'Fashion and 'affectionate recollection': material culture at Audley End, 1762-1773', in Stobart and Hann (eds), *Country House*, p. 68.

[892] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 15; DC: CH36/7/1, Payments for Furniture, 12th April 1774, 1783.

[893] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[894] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 15.

[895] DC: L/91/8/1-17, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth Accounts 1793, 1798-1817; DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800. In 1800, Furniss was paid for 455 days carpentry work in the house and gardens.

[896] DC: DE/CH/3/11/44, Vouchers, 1800, Peter Furniss, Carpentry work, 31st December.

making a deal wardrobe for a servant's bedroom, the low quality wood suited to the space.[897] The absence of receipts or records for the majority of goods recorded in the servants' rooms suggests that many of these furnishings were second-hand or came from estate suppliers who were often paid in a single lump sum which concealed the range of items they had produced for the house. The range of new goods commissioned from estate workers shows the importance of the estate community to the material culture of the house. Alfred Gell has argued that it was in the process of creating an item that the ideas of the individual who commissioned the piece were mediated through the interpretation of the maker.[898] Henry Glassie has similarly argued that 'things tell us of their creators' rather than their patrons.[899] The creation of objects for the house by local individuals provided a means through which the material culture understood by lower status individuals intersected with the elite house. The wheelbarrows, wardrobes and beds created by these individuals reveal more about the knowledge of the craftsmen rather than the Cavendish family who purchased. Yet they do suggest that the goods created by the provincial craftsmen were deemed suitable to occupy the spaces used by servants.

The purchase of new items from individuals residing on the country estate mostly focused on practical, inexpensive objects which were required by workers or were placed in the rooms of servants. These networks of consumption were important to the house throughout the year and, in the absence of the Cavendish family, it would have been the responsibility of the managerial servants to maintain these connections. Alongside management of the duke's consumer networks, servants were also involved in the time-intensive work of repairing objects for the household's use. The inclusion of goods in the house which were made by servants and craftsmen who resided on the estate reveals that these individuals not only had knowledge of aspects of the material goods in the house but could also claim authorship of them.

Local

Beyond the market present in the immediate vicinity of the country house, elite families used patronage to form close relationships with the local area and through the consumption of

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[897] DC: L/91/8/2, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth Accounts, 1798.

[898] Alfred Gell, *Art and agency. An anthropological theory* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 15-18.

[899] Glassie, *Material Culture*, p. 79.

goods they created bonds which could continue for generations.[900] Provincial towns, patronage networks and local crafts- and trade-people were used at all of the family's properties to provide a range of goods and services.[901] Servants have been acknowledged to play a crucial role in an estate's local networks of consumption and, in the absence of the family personally making these purchases, it was the servants' responsibly to maintain these relationships.[902] In contrast to the items bought from the immediate estate, the household accounts show that items purchased from the local area furnished the rooms of the family as well as their servants, although the types of servants who benefitted from this consumption reveal there was a hierarchical distinction in who received goods from external suppliers.

The previous chapter argued that the rooms of upper servants were decorated from an elite perspective which placed them in conversation with the decorative scheme of the house.[903] This meant items chosen for these rooms required the purchaser to have knowledge of the room's style and how its location formed part of the wider design of the house. The connection between styles favoured by the family and the decoration of the rooms of upper servants who lived in the main house is suggested by the use of the same suppliers to furnish both of these spaces. Thomas and William Brailsford of Sheffield, upholsterers and dealers whose other clients included the Cutler's Hall in Sheffield, supplied the family with a number of items.[904] A bill from the supplier in 1775, the year after the 5th Duke's marriage, revealed the extent to which their wares furnished Chatsworth as the family paid the sum of £1026 2s 10d for items for 'Her Graces's dressing room, new chairs for dining room, carpets etc'.[905] As well as items for the new duchess, this supplier also provided the house with servants'

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[900] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, pp. 196-200; Styles, 'Involuntary Consumers?', p. 18.

[901] The majority of servant bedsteads at Chiswick House were made out of beech. It was a weaker wood susceptible to wood worm which made it an interesting choice considering the belief that servants carried bedbugs which could infect the rest of the house. It was, however, a wood more prevalent in the woods of the South East of England and was largely absent from the family and servant rooms which featured no beech bedsteads. The servant bedrooms at Chiswick were also frequently furnished with an 'Essex quilt'; a type of quilt only found in the Chiswick inventories and made in the nearby county of Essex. Gilbert, *English Vernacular Furniture,* p. 11; Southall, *Treatise of Buggs*, p. 34; There is evidence that the servants' beds at Chatsworth were beaten and aired after being found 'very damp', perhaps in an attempt to stop the spread of bugs. DC: CH36/7/1 Payments for Furniture, 1st September 1781.

[902] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, esp. chapter six and chapter seven.

[903] See Chapter Four, p. 216.

[904] David Hay and Clyde Binfield, *Mesters to Masters: A History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire* (Oxford, 1997), p. 175.

[905] DC: C/14/6, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 2nd November 1775 and 13th December 1775. In the same year they had also supplied a Bath stove for the Duchess's dressing room and ten kitchen candlesticks.

bedding.[906] Similarly, the family's supplier of marble items, William Henry Watson, provided objects for both the family's and the servants' rooms. Watson supplied the black and white marble tiles used to cover the floor in the Painted Hall, the house's large entrance hall, a marble chimney piece bought for the duchess's dressing room in 1775 for the cost of £69, and a marble cistern for the housekeeper's room supplied in 1781 for the smaller sum of £2 14s.[907] While the size, use, and decorative nature of these items may have differed, the use of the same supplier suggested that quality was also an important feature of the upper servants' rooms.

The absence of detailed receipts for these items mean it is not possible to know who purchased or chose these items. The purchase of these objects was not assigned to a specific servant within the household accounts and no specific individual was reimbursed for their purchase. Although some purchases for servants' rooms were made with the same suppliers as objects for the family's rooms, these purchases were often made at different times. This may suggest that servants bought these items for the house separate from the choices made by the family. The household accounts reveal there is evidence that managerial servants were able to purchase items of a more modest value. For example, the household accounts show that the housekeeper and the steward were able to exert some influence over the purchase of furnishing, an entry in 1774 for the purchase of £34 of 'Damask irish linen and other things' was recorded as being 'ordered by the housekeeper'.[908] The responsibility of purchasing goods was given to the most trusted servants who were in charge of the house domain and accounted for it which meant any extravagant or expensive purchases were held against their names.[909] The knowledge these servants had about the material goods in the house was crucial when it came to knowing what items the house required, as well as sourcing these items and recording the costings of them for the duke or his agent. When the steward at Chatsworth purchased 'sheeting for 2nd sheets, and Maid servants sheets' he had to first ask the housekeeper 'how much will be wanted' before he could source the right amount.[910] The accounts reveal the housekeeper was also in charge of purchasing these items. The payment of £18 9s 6d made in 1772 to Mrs Thomas for items she had purchased for the house included

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[906] DC: C/14/7, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 2nd – 3rd December 1776. Thomas and William Brailsford were paid 6s for supplying a dozen breakfast knives and £482 18s 7¼d for new furniture including tables, chairs and beds; DC: CH36/7/1, Payments for Furniture, 12th April 1774.

[907] DC: C/14/9 Chatsworth Household Expenses, 1778.

[908] DC: C/14/5, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 1774.

[909] Walsh, 'Shopping at First Hand', pp. 20-21.

[910] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 15.

'linen cloth made for the use of the house' was similar to several payments which reimbursed the Chatsworth housekeeper for purchases she had made for the house's use.[911]

The types of goods servants were recorded as purchasing were items they would have been familiar with from using on a regular basis and which they would have had knowledge of the style, size and material of. These were important characteristics for eighteenth-century shoppers who were faced with a developing culture of consumerism. A new means of engaging with material goods evolved from this culture which encouraged sensory interactions with objects because the handling of goods was a means through which a customer could assess the quality of the item, from food to furnishings, and compare it to others they saw.[912] The senses, and in particular touch, became a way of acquiring knowledge of goods, the process of production behind them, and the level of craftsmanship which went into a piece.[913] Therefore, the purchase of goods often required an individual to be present in order to make an informed decision on which item would be suitable for their household. Like other households, it was the housekeeper and the steward at Chatsworth who were trusted to purchase items for the household.[914] Their position in the household meant they were trusted to act for their master and were acknowledged as having suitable knowledge about the materiality of these goods.

The act of purchasing goods was suggestive of the hierarchy of trust within the household and the location of newly purchased objects also suggested the status attached to new goods in the house. The housekeeper's room was one of the main recipients for new items. As the previous chapter showed, this room was decorated for an audience beyond the immediate household and the placement of new goods in this space would have further contributed to the performance of the room. The purchase of new goods furthered the desire to create a uniformed scheme in the rooms of upper servants.[915] Sets of matching furniture were most likely to be purchased from craftsmen beyond the country estate; in 1770, the housekeeper's

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[911] DC: C/14/3, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 3rd April 1772; C/14/11, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 30th November 1780.

[912] Kate Smith, *Material Goods, Moving Hands: Perceiving Production in England, 1700-1830* (Manchester, 2014), p. 74; Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002), pp. 375-394; Stobart, Hannan, and Morgan, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 166; Walsh, 'Shopping at First Hand?', pp. 15-16.

[913] Kate Smith, 'Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Design History* 25:1 (2012), pp. 1-10; Serena Dyer, 'Shopping and the Senses: Retail, Browsing and Consumption in 18th-Century England'*, History Compass* 12:9 (2014), pp. 694-703.

[914] Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, pp. 187-195.

[915] See Chapter Four, pp. 213-220.

room received a set of six new elm chairs for £3 12s and again in 1797 a set of ten new mahogany chairs were purchased from Glossop and Stevenson of Chesterfield for £9 17s.[916] Without detailed receipts for these items, the chain of consumption is difficult to reconstruct and it is impossible to know the extent to which the housekeeper had an influence over these purchases. While payments for these objects were recorded in the account books in November and December it is unclear if the bill was paid when the goods were purchased, when they arrived at Chatsworth or much later, thereby making it impossible to know if the family were present at Chatsworth when these goods were originally purchased.

Local goods played a significant role in furnishing the country house, both for the family and their servants. The spending patterns of the Cavendish family in the local area echoes the findings of Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery who argue that an elite family's patterns of purchase were 'rational' rather than unreasoned.[917] Goods purchased from local suppliers were bought for specific rooms and the recording of this in the account books reveal that much local spending was done with precise details in mind. When servants were included in this spending, the purchase of new goods nearly always benefited the rooms of the upper servants where the goods would have worked as part of the wider decorative scheme of the space and displayed the authority of the servant and the good taste of their master. The household accounts do not reveal if upper servants were involved in the purchase of substantial items from the local suppliers who also provided goods for the family. The purchase of goods from the same suppliers was a continued attempt to include the rooms of upper servants in the wider decorative scheme used in the house. When servants were involved in the purchase of items, they were required to have knowledge of material characteristics of these goods and these purchases show that the types of servants trusted to make choices for the household were those who experienced a similar visual culture to the family.

London

Studies of eighteenth-century consumption have often focused on the development of urban sites of shopping and, in particular, the development of London as the main source of luxury

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[916] DC: C/14/1, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 30th November 1770; DC: C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher, 1797, Payments for furniture, 1st July 1797, 31st December 1797. Wallpapering servant rooms was not unheard of. Lady Ashburton saw patterns for servant bedrooms and expected the school room and the housekeeper's room to be completed in the same pattern in Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 177.

[917] Stobart and Rothery, 'Geographies of supply', p. 47.

and fashionable goods for those who could afford it.[918] The range of goods available in the capital represented the luxury imbued in these purchases for the elites which was only strengthened by the displays of status and taste which formed part of their London houses. For much of the year, the capital was the local arena where elites purchased goods. Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery argue that the continual movement of the elite meant that the idea of what it meant to purchase items from a local supplier changed depending on where an individual was.[919] For the servants at Chatsworth, London was not a local market; however, it was a site with which they had interaction with because the goods purchased in the capital were also sent to the country house if the duke was willing to pay the carriage fare. The household accounts reveal the majority of goods purchased in London were for the family's rooms and were purchased with specific rooms or purposes in mind. The cost of the items and the cost of their transportation meant objects were chosen for specific reasons. Items ranged from delicate china bowls and tea pots sent by the Devonshire House butler to Chatsworth in 1771, to more substantial pieces such as beds, chairs and stoves sent with exacting instructions on where in the house they should be placed.[920]

The only purchase that was made in London for a servant's room at Chatsworth and that was recorded in the Chatsworth household accounts kept between 1774 and 1811 was a 'neat bath stove' purchased for the room of Duchess Georgiana's lady's maid in 1798.[921] The item was bought in the same year that another bath stove for a family room at Chatsworth was purchased and fitted.[922] The lady's maid may have been able to influence this purchase for her room at Chatsworth because she resided with the family in London and her visible presence acted as a reminder to her employers of her own needs. She may also have received the item because, as shown in the previous chapter, the lady's maid's room was a site of sociability which was used by ladies of the family as well as the guests of the lady's maid. This meant heating this room would have benefitted the Cavendish family as well as showing the lady's maid's status as an upper servant through her more comfortable surroundings.[923] The environment of the family's London house may also have influenced this purchase as the

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[918] *Ibid.*, p. 46; Ponsonby, *Stories from Home*, pp. 30-31; Jon Stobart, 'Gentlemen and shopkeepers: supplying the country house in eighteenth-century England', *Economic History Review* 64:3 (2011), pp. 890-891.
[919] Stobart and Rothery, 'Geographies of supply', p. 49.
[920] DC: C/14/2, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 24th September 1771; DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 14, 16, 35.
[921] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 14.
[922] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[923] See Chapter Four, pp. 207-208, 216-217.

1811 inventories of both Chatsworth and Devonshire House reveal that bath stoves were more prevalent in the family's London house. While the bath stove was unlikely to have been the only purchase made for the Derbyshire servants in London, the absence of other recorded items in these detailed accounts highlights how rare it was for goods to be purchased for servants away from the locality in which they resided, especially for those lower down the household hierarchy.

The Chatsworth servants were not directly involved in the purchase of goods from London and their absence further highlights the importance of being present in a location in order to engage with the materiality of prospective purchases. However, the steward's order book reveals there were other ways in which the servants at Chatsworth engaged with the purchases the family made in London. The steward recorded several instances when he sent instructions on goods which Chatsworth required replacing with purchases from London, in order that the most suitable items could be found. When the carpets needed to be changed in the Green bedroom and the Breakfast room, the Chatsworth steward recorded in his order book that he needed to 'Send Mr Jos: Fletcher [the steward at Devonshire House] an account of the Quantity of carpetting that will be wanted'.[924] The two households often worked together to find suitable goods for Chatsworth: while the steward at Chatsworth was tasked with ordering 'patent Lamps for the Billiard room', he also sent the dimensions of the billiard table to the London steward in order to research the expense of having a new one made.[925] In these instances, purchases from London were still made for the family's rooms but they were influenced by the directions given by the servants at Chatsworth. Items were reliant on the servants correctly identifying the material, the quality and the fashion of an object in order that a replacement could be found which matched these criteria. The order book also suggests why certain purchases were made in London rather than closer to Chatsworth. The words used to describe the goods coming from the capital included 'modern', 'chearful' and 'neat' which suggests the fashionable styles suitable for the house of a duke and duchess were more readily found in an urban environment where these styles could also be approved by the family.

The steward's order book reveals that the servants employed at Chatsworth were a part of the decision-making process involved in the purchases made in London. They would have engaged with the goods purchased from the capital as they worked with the objects or dealt

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[924] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 16.
[925] *Ibid*.

with the transportation of the goods.[926] However, the items purchased in London seldom furnished their bedrooms or leisure spaces because these goods were purchased in order to display the buyer's knowledge of quality, fashion and good taste. In the servants' material lives, the most common purchase they made for the house from London was foodstuff. Items such as tea, refined sugar, lemons, cider, olives and ginger were purchased and transported from London to Chatsworth, in 1800 the family's chef and the duke's gentleman were reimbursed £140 for additional 'Groceries sent from London' to Chatsworth.[927] These goods similarly reflected that purchases made in the capital were done in order to benefit the duke and his guests. The London goods which were purchased for Chatsworth formed a collection of carefully considered pieces purchased with a specific part of the house in mind. The careful consumerism of the Cavendish family for their country house while they were in London was based around the desires of those who were stationed in London. In contrast, purchases for Chatsworth's servants were made closer to home.

Whether bought miles away or made in the Chatsworth workshops, items for servants' rooms were rarely purchased in bulk and instead rooms were often reliant on the recycling of old objects as the country house accumulated new items. When new items were purchased for the rooms of servants they were carefully selected for certain spaces. While new fabrics and bedding were often enjoyed by all servants, new furniture was most often purchased for the rooms of upper servants where it would have been seen by the family or visitors. These upper servants did have some influence over material goods in the house although it could quickly be superseded by the desires of the family. The correspondence between London and Chatsworth reveals that the needs and requirements of the house was part of an ongoing conversation and in these areas, certain servants did have a voice. Upper servants may have had limited involvement in the objects bought for their rooms when objects were purchased from the local area; however, other servants contributed through their own labours to the materiality of the house. The upholsterer, housekeeper and estate workers had physical involvement in the process of making of goods which would have formed part of their daily lives. The surviving household accounts and bills do not show if the family were more reliant on the Chatsworth servants in their absence to purchase new goods for the house. However, what they do reveal is that goods for the country house came through multiple channels,

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[926] *Ibid*., p. 16. The transportation of goods could take a long time. When several bidets were ordered from Messer Wilson of London on the 29th October 1797 for Chatsworth the goods took several months to be delivered arriving at the house on the 20th June the following year.
[927] DC: DE/CH/3/3/2, Chatsworth Day Book, 1800.

which included items chosen by the family and items selected by the servants. When it has been possible to see the process behind purchases for the household this has suggested that being present in a space was important because it provided individuals with knowledge of items and their environment. While the servants at Chatsworth may not have been responsible for many of the items purchased for the house, either for the family or their own rooms, it was often their knowledge of the space which provided the duke and his servants in London with the ability to purchase suitable goods for the country house.

<u>Objects, Influence and Control</u>

Furnishing a room was only one part of a servant's experience of space but it did suggest that their knowledge of a space, which came from being present within it, was relied upon by the duke and his London servants. This is also shown in a passage from the steward's order book. In 1798, the steward noted the duke's request that 'Two Dial Dressing Tables with a Drawer in Each a coal binn with a Grated Bottom to be placed near the water closet by the chints apartments'. While the steward's book recorded 'The first done', the servants did not include the second dressing table in the room and the order book recorded 'The second not done being considered to be an improper place as it would disturb whoever slept in the chints bed'.[928] The family's purchase of goods from London for Chatsworth showed they remained aware of the materiality and space of their country seat yet this example reveals that their absence could lead to a difference between how the duke remembered his property and the actual physical space of the country house. Servants acted as the bridge between these two spheres. The order book shows servants acquired a limited authority over the materiality of the whole house, not only their own rooms, because of their knowledge of the house which came from their physical presence in it. In turn, this could influence the decisions made by the family who could defer to the knowledge of servants with specialised knowledge as shown when Ralph Trotter, the upholsterer, was asked 'to give his opinion whether the present curtains [in the Billiard room] &c cannot be cleaned – If so, they may be done and put up again with an addition of Fringe'.[929] Caroline Davidson, in her research on the early modern kitchen, questioned the extent to which servants were able to influence change in the spaces in which they worked. She argued that changes to the kitchen were not 'initiated by

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[928] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 19.

[929] *Ibid*., p. 22. Similarly, Edward Slow, the hunting groom, provided advice to the duke on which horses should be shot.

those whose workplace it was'.[930] While it might have been more difficult for servants working in smaller households where master and servants occupied the same spaces and the kitchen was a place of activity for both, the steward's order book suggests the same was not true for the country house and servants with specific, departmental knowledge did have a limited means of influencing the actions taken within certain spaces.

The duke's absence provided a means through which servants could influence the materiality of the house but it also influenced their daily routines. The order book provides evidence of the flexibility servants had in when they completed these tasks. When the duke gave instructions on the 29th October 1797 to secure the windows in the family bedrooms to exclude draughts, alongside a series of other updates which needed to be made to the house including the changing of a door and a grate in the library, the order book reveals these tasks were completed the following year, recording all were 'Done in 1798'.[931] In comparison, when the matter of the 'uncomfortable state of the steward's Room' was raised with the duke, a room which suffered from a draught described as 'dangerous in a considerable degree to his [the steward's] health when sat therein', and the duke permitted a swing door to be placed in the passage, the issue was addressed and 'Done immediately'.[932] It is unknown how long the servants suffered with the effects of the cold rooms before the issue was raised; however, once the duke permitted the servants to fix the problem the situation was resolved immediately. The urgent action servants took to improve this situation shows servants could find ways to place their own needs above the requirements of the duke. The contrast between the timings for actions which benefited the duke and those which benefited the servants was possible because the family were not present in the house at the time. This chapter will now turn to examine other ways in which servants influenced the furnishings of the house, how the space functioned in the absence of the Cavendish family, and how the duke created alternative means to display his authority in his absence.

Locating the store room

Lumber rooms and store rooms were an essential part of the country house as they contained goods which were 'not currently needed, but which might yet prove useful', from old chairs

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[930] Caroline Davidson, *A Woman's Work is Never Done: History of Housework in the British Isles, 1650-1950* (London, 1982), pp. 197-198.
[931] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, pp. 13-14.
[932] *Ibid*., p. 21.

and unused crockery to servants' brushes and buckets.[933] The garret rooms at the top of the house were one place where unwanted items could be stored; however, the use of these rooms was not always possible. As the previous chapter showed, the storage room, which had previously been located in the garrets in the 1764 Chatsworth inventory, was removed by the time of the appraisal in 1792 in order to create space for another servant bedroom.[934] The removal of one area of storage meant another space was required and, with all the rooms in the garrets converted into servant bedrooms by 1792, the only direction these items could move was downwards onto the family's principal floors. This demand on space resulted in the grotto on the ground floor becoming a place of storage. In the 1764 inventory the grotto was recorded as being furnished with only 'an old Cast off marble Chimn[e]y piece two Boxes an old screen [and] three mattress' alongside the marble cistern originally placed in the room by the 1st Duke.[935] By the 1811 inventory, the room was filled with clothes horses, eight step ladders, brushes, brooms and poles alongside a 'large Fire Engine by Richard Newsham with a suchtion pipe 26 yards of leather hose and a Brass branch; a small hand Engine by Richard Newsham with 39 ft + of leather Hose', and twenty fire buckets.[936] The original purpose of this room in the seventeenth century was a celebration of the skill and engineering present in the 1st Duke's rebuilding of Chatsworth. The inclusion of a marble fountain in this space displayed to visitors that the 1st Duke's house had both hot and cold running water. During her visit to Chatsworth in 1697, Celia Fiennes wrote of the impressive nature of the grotto, commenting that 'there is a fine grottoe all stone pavement roofe and sides, this is design'd to supply all the house with water besides severall fancyes to make diversion [sic]'.[937] The change in the room's use almost a hundred years later meant the room, which had once showcased the duke's wealth, was now used by the servants and was no longer a room on display to visitors.

The change in this space from a room on the visitor route to a place of storage was the result of servants' increased need for accessible places to store goods. While the technology for running water had become less novel in large houses by the second half of the century, which may have contributed to the 5th Duke allowing the change to the grotto as it was no longer the impressive feature it had once been, such a transformation would not have happened without

[933] Stobart and Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritance and Family', p. 398; Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, pp. 103-105.

[934] See Chapter Four, p. 201.

[935] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764, p. 25; DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792, p. 41.

[936] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811, p. 48.

[937] Christopher Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c. 1682-c. 1712* (London, 1982), p. 106.

the need for it.[938] The types of objects in this room show the space was increasingly becoming the domain of servants because these goods formed part of their daily working routines rather than only being old, unwanted items from the family's rooms. The inclusion of practical objects recorded in the 1811 inventory such as clothes horses and brushes, which were mobile in nature, suggests that certain objects in the room would have been used on a regular basis. The grotto was not the only room on the ground floor used to accommodate surplus furniture. The room, which had been the Billiard Room and was located next to the Chapel was, by 1811, the 'Furniture Store' containing a number of chairs, tables, field bedsteads and bedding.[939] Repurposing family rooms as store rooms was not uncommon in elite residences. Margaret Ponsonby has shown that John Stauton, a gentleman, used the ground floor room between his study and the dining room at his house in Kenilworth as a store room to keep tea trays, packing boxes, baskets and serving items. Similar to the rooms at Chatsworth, the items in this room suggests that it would have been a place servants had access to in order to collect items used for entertaining before replacing them.[940] The location of storage rooms was important because, as Kevin Hetherington has argued, it could have a 'strong effect upon social relations' in the household.[941] While storage could be a temporary measure, Hetherington has argued that 'temporary storage could last many years before finally the objects were sold, given or thrown away'.[942] The size of the country house and the role it played in hosting events for large numbers of guests meant furniture store rooms were an essential part of these houses and, as a result, these rooms became permanent features in the house rather than temporary spaces. Turning these areas from rooms used to display the family's status to rooms principally organised by the servants meant these spaces came under the management of the servants. Rooms like the grotto which were located on a principal floor and held brooms, old furniture and fire buckets were reminders of the work which went on backstage in the house to maintain it on a daily basis as well as to prepare it for special occasions.

The use of the grotto as a storeroom had consequences for how residents and visitors experienced the rest of the house. In particular, it disrupted the route taken by visitors around the ground floor of the property. Figure 5 shows the location of the grotto in situ to other

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[938] Girouard, *Life in the Country House*, pp. 246-256.

[939] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[940] Ponsonby, *Stories from Home*, p. 111.

[941] Kevin Hetherington, 'Secondhandedness: Consumption, Disposal and Absent Presence', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22 (2004), p. 159.

[942] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

rooms visitors would have seen on their tour of the house. Visitors entered the house through the sub-entrance hall and would likely have then moved to the Painted Hall, the house's grand entrance hall, from which they then moved to the Chapel, also located on the ground floor. In the time of Fiennes' visit, visitors would have gone through the grotto in order to reach the Chapel, but the use of this space as a store room in the second half of the century meant there was no longer a simple, direct route between the Painted Hall and the Chapel. Instead, visitors would have had to either cross the courtyard, thereby going outside, or return the way they had entered the house in order to take the parallel corridor to reach the Chapel. This was an inelegant route which failed to convey the hierarchical access to rooms the original design of the house had created and provided no sense of the connectivity of rooms.[943] The disruption of a country house's formal plan was common when creating routes for visitors in the eighteenth century. Joyce Anderson has shown that the routes visitors took around Blenheim Palace and Kedleston Hall similarly failed to match the formal plan of the house because visitors did not adhere to the route originally designed for these houses.[944] Visitors to a house also noticed the awkwardness of these routes. James Boswell, who visited Chatsworth in 1772 with his friend Samuel Johnson, observed that the house failed to meet the expectations of his party. He acknowledged the Painted Hall to be 'the grandest room' in the house but described it as 'only a room of passage' situated '*in the corner*' of the house. His description reveals visitors were restricted from understanding the complete layout of the ground floor of house, which flowed around an internal courtyard, because of the distorted route they took. The limitations of the route were also commented upon by Boswell who recorded that only a small number of rooms were open to visitors on the ground floor, noting the route consisted of 'only the chapel and the breakfast room, and a small library; the rest, servants' rooms and offices'.[945] William Bott's visit to Chatsworth in 1795 similarly suggests that visitors were increasingly restricted from touring the ground floor of the house. His printed guide described first visiting the Painted Hall before moving onto the Chapel via a 'long gallery hung with prints'.[946] His guide suggests that he visited the Chapel from the first

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[943] For details on fashionable sixteenth- and seventeenth-century floor plans see: Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 154-162; Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore, 2005), pp. 246-252.

[944] Jocelyn Anderson, 'Remaking the Space: the plan and the Route in Country-House Guidebooks from 1770 to 1815', *Architectural History* 51 (2011), pp. 205-206.

[945] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson: Volume 1* (London, 1787), p. 65; Anderson, 'Remaking the Space', p. 205.

[946] William Bott, *A description of Buxton, and the adjacent country, or, The new guide, for ladies and gentlemen, resorting to that place of health and amusement* (Manchester, 1795), p. 40.

floor rather than entering from the ground floor because Bott described this part of the tour leading 'from the stair case'.
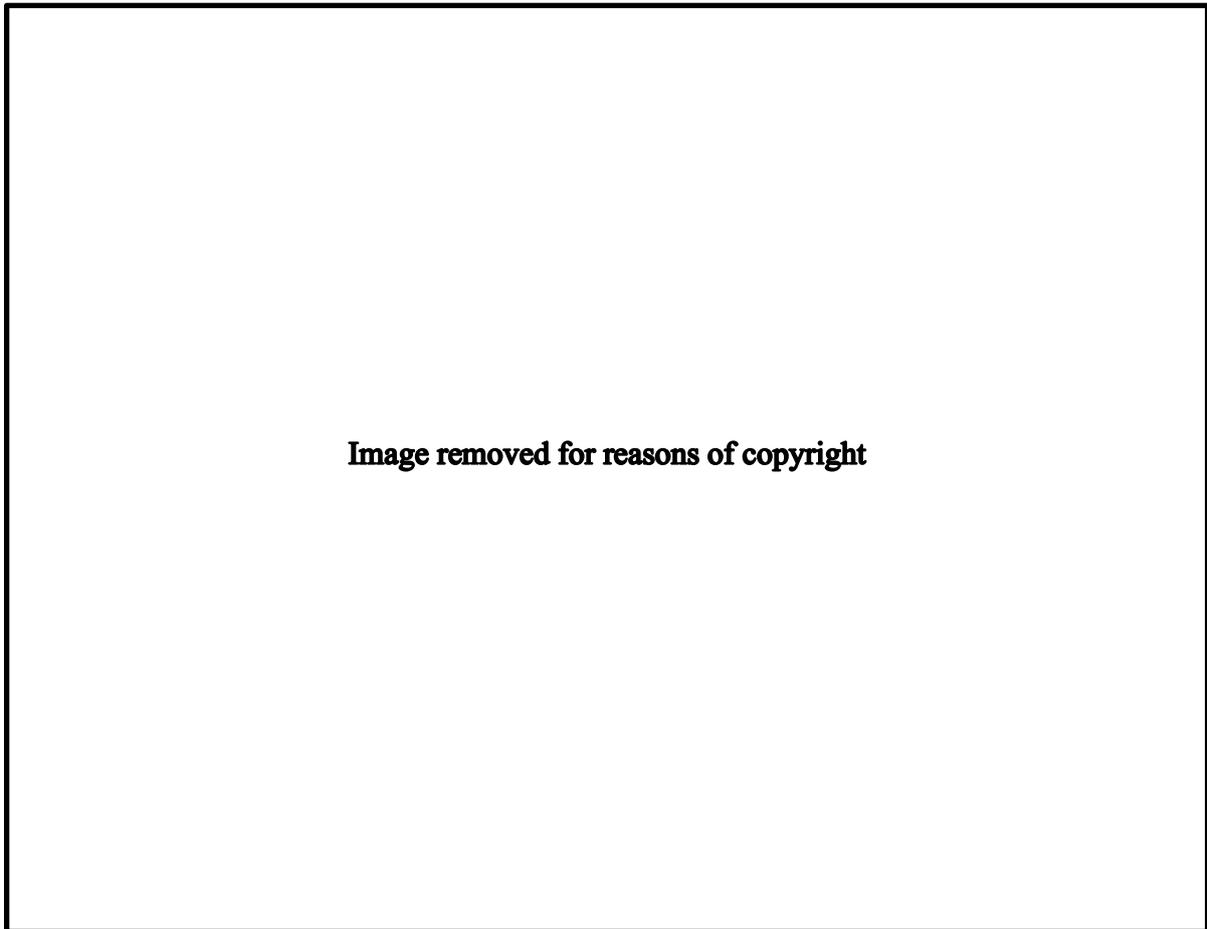
Figure 5: Ground floor of Chatsworth showing rooms on the visitor route in the eighteenth century when visitors entered via the Sub Hall. When this plan was originally made, the sub-entrance hall was the kitchen. The kitchen was moved outside of the main house when the 4th Duke commissioned a service wing which was built on the north front of house between 1756 and 1760. It was at this time the former kitchen became an entrance hall. The corridors which ran parallel with the North Wing, where the sub-hall was located, and the South Wing, where the Chapel was situated, were open to the elements when this plan was made. By the time of Boswell's visit, they were fully enclosed as corridors in the house. *Source:* ARC/17, Plan of the First Floor at Chatsworth, 1715-1725. The same plan was also published in the Vitruvius Britannicus (1725).

The disruption to the visitors' planned route suggested that the requirements of the servants were more important than presenting a satisfying course for visitors. Jocelyn Anderson has argued that when a country house opened to the public they were often 'remade' in order to accommodate both the needs of the family and the tourists.[947] The changing use of rooms at Chatsworth shows the country house could be 'remade' for several different groups and that

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[947] Anderson, 'Remaking the Space', pp. 195-197.

the needs of servants could also be a consideration in this process. The changing use of the ground floor showed the needs of servants were able to influence space but changes on this scale were only possible with the duke's permission and because they benefitted him. By allowing servants to use these ground floor spaces, the duke was able to modernise Chatsworth's interior layout. Eighteenth-century architectural manuals encouraged the practice of *piano nobile*, influenced by the classical architecture much admired by the English Palladian style, which encouraged households to use the first floor of a house as the family's principal floor while the ground floor should be limited to offices and servants' workrooms.[948] Devonshire House followed this fashion. In contrast to Boswell's description of Chatsworth, the success of the Devonshire House floor plan can be seen by architect Samuel Ware's description of its principal floor at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he described the floor as consisting of 'a continuous range of eleven rooms equally well calculated for state as domestic use, uninterrupted by any passage or staircase' which all contributed to the house being 'one of the happiest productions'.[949] Chatsworth had been unable to conform to eighteenth-century fashionable floor plans because the house remained sympathetic to the original sixteenth-century building which centred on an internal courtyard and had principal rooms on the ground floor. This arrangement had been the height of fashion when Chatsworth was originally built and while the enduring use of this layout may have shown the family's long ownership of the house, the continued use of these rooms were uncomfortable and did not lend themselves to a fashionable use of space.[950] The servants' need for more space for storage enabled the duke to transform the arrangement of certain rooms in the house to ensure Chatsworth's layout had elements of the fashionable *piano nobile* plan.

The increasing encroachment of servants' rooms on the ground floor in the second half of the century, as shown in Figure 6, meant the family's rooms were removed from the ground floor in order to accommodate these spaces. At the time the 1764 inventory was taken, several family rooms were located on the ground floor including a breakfast room, family bedrooms, the stag parlour, a library and the billiard room.[951] By the 1811 inventory, the stag parlour and a family bedroom had been removed in order to accommodate the housekeeper's and the

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[948] Caroline Inness Hale, '"A perfect Elysium and the residence of a divinity": a social analysis of country houses and policies in late seventeenth and eighteenth century Scotland' PhD (University of Glasgow, 2006), pp. 195-197.
[949] Samuel Ware quoted in Port, 'West-End Palaces', p. 32.
[950] Lewis, 'When a House Is Not a Home', p. 345.
[951] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764, p. 25.

maids' bedrooms, while the billiard room was moved upstairs to make room first for the upholsterer's workroom and then for the furniture store.[952] The need to create areas of permanent storage which servants could easily access resulted in the requirements of servants and their work being increasingly factored into the arrangement of rooms, a process which enabled the Cavendish family to create a more fashionable floor plan for their country house. The changing organisation of these rooms led to the 1792 inventory being the first to refer to the first floor of the house the 'Principle Floor' which reflected the practice set out by the concept of *piano nobile*.[953]

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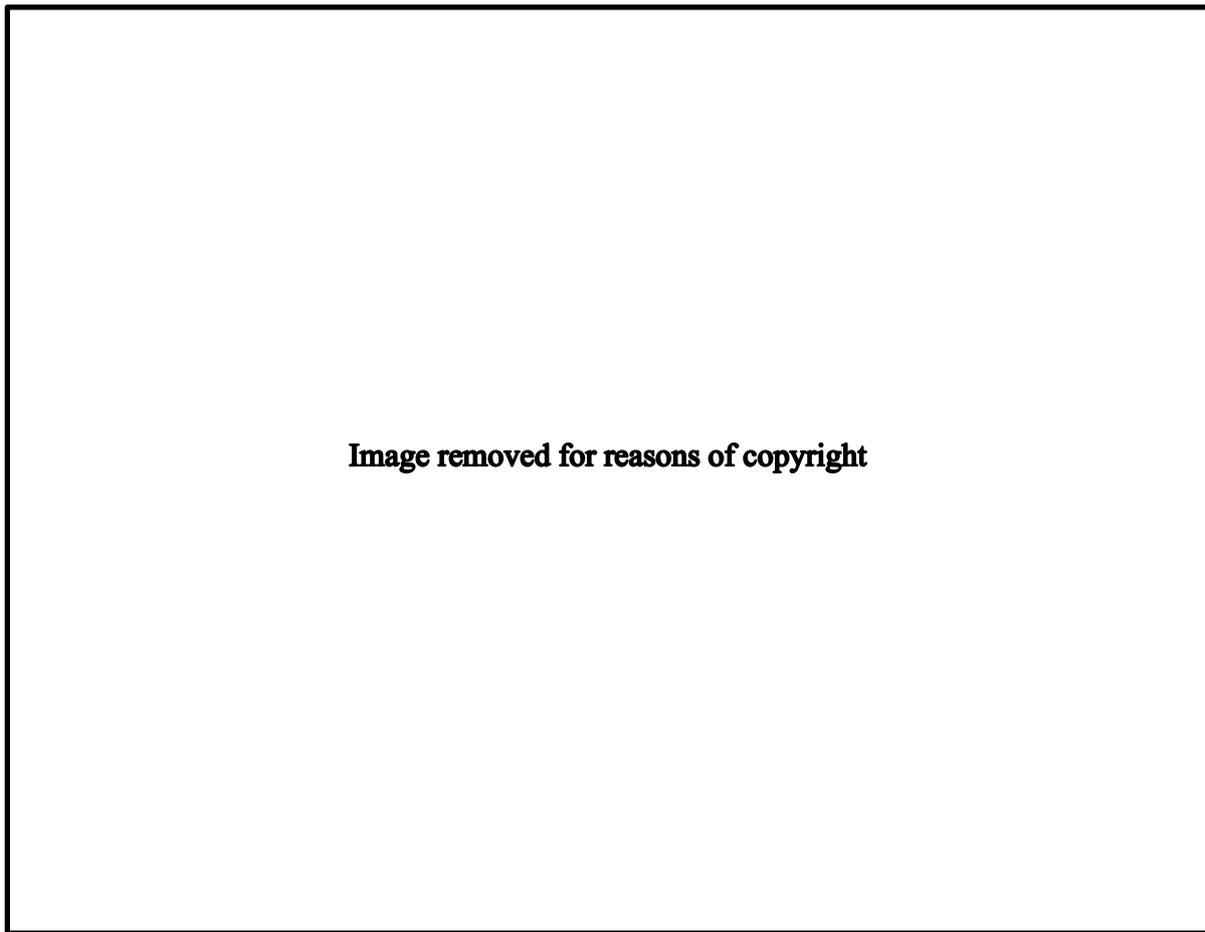
Figure 6: Ground floor of Chatsworth showing the increasing number of rooms used by servants as seen in the inventories taken of the house. *Source:* ARC/17, Plan of the First Floor at Chatsworth, 1715-1725. The same plan was also published in the Vitruvius Britannicus (1725).

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[952] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[953] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

The rearrangement of the house at Chatsworth showed servants were involved in shaping the layout of the house. The need for more bedrooms, additional workrooms and places to store items meant functionality was a crucial aspect of design and was a factor which was considered from more than just the perspective of the elite family. Adrian Tinniswood has argued that the need for a country house to function as both a home and an attraction often caused tensions between visitors and owners.[954] While historians have previously considered the impact visitors could have on the country house, the needs and routines of servants were also a factor which could influence how a house functioned. The example of the grotto at Chatsworth suggests that the requirements of servants could benefit the elite family who used the loss of this space to create a more fashionable route for the house. Although the placement of the storage rooms affected how the house was presented to his visitors, the duke accepted the solution. His absence from the house for much of the year may have influenced his decision to allow this use for rooms so close to the Chapel and the Painted Hall on the ground floor of his house. This encroachment on the duke's space meant the servant areas were closer than ever to the duke's chapel and the Painted Hall. In this case, it was the requirements of servants which were changing how the house functioned through their daily interactions in and with the space.

Timekeeping and status

The realities of daily life in the country house did not always conform to the hierarchical ideals promoted in architectural plans; instead, the house had to adapt to the practical requirements of its workforce. This was also true of the location of servants' bedrooms. While the previous chapter showed that the location of an individual's room was used as a visual representation of their status, the practical needs of those who permanently resided in the house meant these distinctions could not always be followed.[955] The changing location of the maids' bedroom in the second half of the century showed how the requirements of servants could be a more important factor than theoretical understandings of their status. Alongside the housekeeper, the maids were the only servants who permanently resided in the house. The 1764 and 1792 inventories record the maids sharing a bedroom in the garrets which placed them at a great distance from the spaces they occupied during the day and the housekeeper, the only other servant who lived-in. By the 1811 inventory, the housemaids' bedroom had moved to the ground floor of the house and was located in a room which had

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[954] Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London, 1998).

[955] See Chapter Four, pp. 211-212.

formally been the stag parlour bedchamber. This move placed them next door to the housekeeper's room which meant their habits were under closer scrutiny but also offered them additional companionship in a largely empty house. Their accommodation on the ground floor also meant that the maids slept on the same floor as several upper servants including the steward, the cook and the butler, a practice which went against plans promoted by architects who encouraged the separation of upper servants from lower servants.[956]

The change in the location of the maids' room recognised the essential role they played in the running of the house and was significant because they were the only servants who slept on the ground floor who were not considered upper servants. While maids slept in the same location as upper servants, their experience of other aspects of service varied greatly from them. For example, at mealtimes the maids would have eaten in the servants' hall while the upper servants would have dined in the steward's hall. While their social and working lives were different from the upper servants accommodated on the ground floor, the material world of the maids did change to reflect the recognition of their importance to the house and the location of their room. In particular, this can be seen by the inclusion of a clock in their room which meant the maids were one of only a handful of servants to be granted a clock by the duke. Clocks were a luxury item which appeared infrequently throughout the house. The 1764 inventory recorded only two clocks in the house, both found in the family's rooms, while the only clock present in a servant's room in the 1792 inventory was restricted to the upper servants use in the steward's hall.[957] In the 1811 inventory, the maids' bedroom was one of three servant rooms recorded as being furnished with a clock alongside the steward's hall and the butler's pantry.[958] This inventory listed the clock in the maid's room as an 'eight day table clock in an ebony frame by R Glynne on mahogany brackets'.[959] From this description it can be inferred that this was not a new item; Richard Glynne was a respected instrument maker but he has stopped trading by 1730, long before the object appeared in the housemaids' room.[960]

Examining the presence, or absence, of clocks in the service areas of the country house is suggestive of how servants worked and the extent to which their actions were required to be completed under time discipline. E. P. Thompson's seminal article from 1967, 'Time, Work-

[956] Loudon, *Encyclopædia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture*.

[957] DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764; DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[958] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[959] *Ibid*.

[960] Anthony Turner, *Early Scientific Instruments: Europe 1400-1800* (London, 1987), p. 97.

Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', linked the increasing presence of the clock in houses and workspaces to the development of industrial society. His argument focused on the time discipline present in factories and suggested that the clock came to enforce an unnatural approach to labour as time became the currency of employers.[961] For Thompson, the ever-growing reliance on clock-time was a move away from the task-orientated approach of pre-industrial society where work hours and personal time were not necessarily constitute distinct or separate periods. Anne Murphy has argued that clocks could be used to create better coordination in an environment which had workers completing different tasks. Her work on the Bank of England in the eighteenth century has shown how the presence of a clock in each office created routines which allowed for the smooth running of the institution, with the clock acting as the connection between different offices.[962] Like the Bank of England, which needed to complete actions in good time, the servants at Chatsworth could not keep the duke waiting and the clock was a tool which servants could use to ensure they met the demands of their master or mistress.

At Chatsworth, clocks were not located in communal spaces accessible to all servants; instead, they were recorded in spaces which were restricted to specific, often upper, servants. The inclusion of maids in this limited group showed their instrumental status in the daily running of the house. Sara Pennell's work on the early-modern kitchen found that clocks were not uncommon in kitchen areas and, when they were present, they were used by a wide range of individuals, even if an individual was not required to be in that space for work.[963] The ability to easily access a clock was restricted at Chatsworth and the steward's hall did not provide the same level of accessibility as the kitchen would have because it was a space dedicated to upper servants. Similarly, the table clock included in the maids' room was a small piece which would have only been readable from inside the room. The absence of clocks from larger communal spaces like the kitchen or the servants' hall, which were spaces servants congregated in or passed through several times a day, suggests that the majority of tasks undertaken by servants did not require clock-time. This was in contrast to Devonshire House where a clock was included in the kitchen.[964] As a house which entertained visitors on

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[961] E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *P&P* 38 (1967), p. 61.

[962] Anne Murphy, 'Clock-Watching: Work and Working Time at the Late Eighteenth-Century Bank of England', *P&P* 236:1 (2007), p. 99-102.

[963] Sara Pennell, ''Pots and Pans History': the Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History* 11: 3 (1998), p. 205.

[964] The clock was included in the Chatsworth accounts which record the purchase of a clock 'for the Kitchen at Devonshire House' for £4 12s in 1777. DC: C/14/8, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 6th November 1777.

a regular basis, it was essential for Devonshire House that departments communicated and this clock would have been a focal point for cooks, confectioners, maids and footmen as they prepared meals for invited guests. At Chatsworth, the absence of a clock in the kitchen may have been a reflection of the role of the house and the duke's regular absence. On the occasions when communal time keeping was required in the country house, it would have been the responsibility of an individual servant to share the time between departments or servants would have been reliant on a personal time piece.

Stefan Hanß has argued that historians need to consider whose time they are placing value on when they emphasis the growing presence of clock-time in the early modern period.[965] At Chatsworth, clocks were located in servants' rooms associated with sleeping and meal times rather than their workspaces where they completed tasks for the family. While the butler may have spent more time in his room because his workspace was his bedroom, the maids' work took them throughout the house and the upper servants, who used the steward's hall, came from a range of departments. Placing clocks within these rooms suggests that clock-time was used to manage, and limit, the servants' personal time, thereby placing emphasis and value on the work they completed for the duke. When servants were partaking of their mealtimes or evening and morning routines, they would have been aware of the time they were spending away from the duke's business. While servants may have visited the spaces in which clocks were located during the work day, their location suggested that servants should be aware of the time they spent away from the running of the house and may have resulted in servants setting self-imposed limits on their personal time. As the steward's order book has shown, much of a servant's time at Chatsworth was not controlled by the immediate needs of the family to the same extent as it was when the family were in residence. The working day was not structured by the family's meal times or social events which did require the precision of clock-time and unity between departments as suggested by the inclusion of a kitchen clock at Devonshire House. The presence of clocks in rooms associated with the servants' time away from their duties was an alternative approach to ensuring servants remained focused on the tasks they had to complete for the duke and the inclusion of housemaids' in this culture reflected their crucial status in the reduced household.

The absence of clocks from communal areas at Chatsworth suggested that many of the tasks at Chatsworth did not require a clock. Clock-time was not the only way a servant's day could

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[965] Stefan Hanß, 'The Fetish of Accuracy: Perspectives of Early Modern Time(s)', *P&P* 243 (2019), p. 284.

be structured and the presence of servants' bells at Chatsworth meant several tasks were completed based on the impulses of their masters and mistresses rather than on strict timings kept by the servants. The bells were only active when the family were in residence but the presence of them highlights the importance of task-led work to the servants' day-to-day lives. E. P. Thompson has argued that agricultural societies approached the working day with a task-orientated approach which was flexible in order to accommodate the number of tasks that needed to be done and which resulted in less distinction between leisure time and work time.[966] A task-oriented approach gave servants flexibility to undertake their tasks in the house and parkland when it best suited them. As many servants also kept livestock and had land to tend, this approach provided them with the opportunity to undertake any tasks which were required for their own families during daylight hours. The steward's order book also reflects a similar flexible approach to the order in which tasks were completed. When given the order to make improvements to the house in order to create a more comfortable, warmer living environment, it was the servants' areas which were done 'immediately' and the family rooms were left until the following year.[967] The absence of the duke and his family allowed servants to take a more flexible approach to the working day on the country estate; tasks still had to be completed, but without the sound of the servants' bells to direct their immediate attention to their master's wishes, servants themselves could be in charge of the order of tasks. The ability of servants to shape their daily work was not restricted to the times when their master was absence. Charmian Mansell has shown how servants could find moments of leisure when undertaking tasks for their master.[968] Her study of early modern church depositions reveals that when travelling on their master's orders, a servant could also find time to meet an acquaintance in a nearby field or spend time in a friend's house close by. A servant's working day could not be policed at all times and moments of flexibility could be found even when a master was in residence.

Although the duke may not have provided his servants with many clocks there were other ways the servants could come to know the time. Mark Hailwood has shown how labouring people were still knowledgeable of the time before the increased ownership of clocks through

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[966] Thompson, 'Time', p. 60, pp. 70-71.
[967] DC: AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, p. 21. See Chapter Five, p. 256.
[968] Mansell, 'Female servants in the early modern community'.

the use of church bells.[969] At Chatsworth, the Edensor church bells would have been heard by the workers outside in the gardens, while the servants up at the stables would have been able to use the large clock which was set into the front of the new stables. Others had access to their own timepieces. The family's governess, Selina Trimmer, received a watch as a gift from Duchess Georgiana while the wills of the family's other servants show servants were also able to purchase and own their own clocks and watches outside of the family's influence.[970] The will of John Phillips, the housekeeper at Chatsworth in the first quarter of the century, recorded him owning a number of watches which were bequeathed to his friends and relatives upon his death: his silver watch was left to his nephew and his 'Gold watch together with my chain & seals' were bequeathed to the 3rd Duke's eldest son.[971] The will also recorded Phillips' ownership of a repeating clock which was sent to Devonshire House where it was bequeathed to the house steward there. The ownership of watches was not restricted to managerial servants; the porter at Chiswick House was also recorded as owning a watch in his will.[972] Nor were watches recorded as only belonging to male servants. The Devonshire House housekeeper, who died in 1821, listed a watch in her will, while nursery maid Mary Griffiths, who died in 1797, left her silver watch to the wife of a fellow servant. While the material world of servants was limited, to an extent, by the goods a master provided for them, these wills show servants were able to influence their interactions with space through their own possessions.[973]

Leonard Schwarz has argued that 'the 'modern' wage is time-bounded' because work has to be completed in set working hours.[974] Servants were task-bound and the contracted nature of their labour to a master or mistress, alongside their residency in, or close to, their employer's household, meant time did not carry the same restrictions for their work. The absence of clocks in communal spaces in the house in the second half of the century suggested that servants' work was supposed to remain focused on the task itself rather than on time management. This focus could benefit servants who were able to control the order of certain task at their discretion to create a routine which best worked for them and the decisions they

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[969] Mark Hailwood, 'Time, Work and Gender in Pre-industrial England', paper given at Invisible Hands: Reassessing the History of Work Conference, University of Glasgow 17th May 2018. Also see Hanß, 'The Fetish of Accuracy', p. 277.

[970] DC: CS5/980, Duchess Georgiana to Countess Spencer, 9th August 1789.

[971] DC: L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734; SRO: P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, 17th July 1735.

[972] NA: PROB11/1150/144, Will of Thomas Tawney, 10th February 1787.

[973] NA: PROB11/1638/43, Will of Sarah Dunks, 4th January 1821; NA: PROB11/1295/108, Will of Mary Griffiths, 14th August 1797.

[974] Schwarz, 'Custom, wages', p. 164.

made in these moments enabled them the opportunity to influence an aspect of their working lives in the country house. However, the presence of clocks also provided a means through which the duke could maintain a semblance of control over the working routines of his servants in his absence. Clocks were used to suggest the imposition of time-limits on a servant's leisure time. Inventories, probate documents and account books cannot reveal how servants engaged with the clocks in these rooms. They can, however, suggest that time was viewed by the duke as high-status knowledge because the skill of time management was presented as an activity performed by individual servants in designated spaces rather than an activity taken in large, communal areas. Through the changing experience of the housemaids and their inclusion within the culture of time-keeping at Chatsworth, these documents also suggest that divisions between upper servants and lower servants could be adapted to best suit the running of a well-ordered household.

The Looking Glass

Servants were not the only individuals working in the country house and the material goods present in workrooms also intersected with the lives of day labourers. The presence of these other workers could also influence how a space was furnished. With no laundry maids employed at Chatsworth during the eighteenth century, the female day labourers who came to work in the laundry were crucial in the production and maintenance of clean linens. As Chapter One showed, these women were the wives and daughters of estate tenants and, while they did not reside at Chatsworth, they would have been familiar with the service rooms located in the North Wing.[975] Although the laundry was not an area in which servants regularly worked, the furnishing of this room showed the duke still wished to control the actions of those working within it. The laundry was one of several workrooms in the North Wing, including the pastry, bakehouse and dairy rooms, which included a looking glass.[976] Sara Pennell has argued that mirrors, as well as being a decorative item, served a number of practical functions, including acting as a means through which to reflect light within a space.[977] Architectural plans for the North Wing show these workrooms all had access to natural light through the inclusion of at least one large window in each room which suggests the placement of mirrors in these spaces was for a different reason. The North Wing was visible on the approach to the house and visitors, tradesmen and guests would have passed by

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[975] See Chapter One, pp. 85-86.

[976] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792, pp. 63-65.

[977] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 110.

the porter's lodge to walk alongside this wing before reaching the entrance to the house. The location of this wing meant that those working in this area were one of the first individuals associated with house that a visitor might have seen. The women working in the laundry would have been particularly visible because they worked both inside and outside, moving between the laundry room and the washing court. The visibility of these spaces and the people within them suggests why placing looking glasses in these rooms was important because the appearance of these workers had to create an appropriate first impression for visitors to the country house.

Eighteenth-century conduct literature encouraged a servant to be aware of the neatness of their physical appearance at all times. Maids were told to tidy themselves in order to 'appear clean and creditable' as soon as possible after they had performed dirty work.[978] During the preparation of food, the cook was encouraged to 'have a clean apron, clean hands, and clean nails, and be also clean in other parts of her person'.[979] This was also represented in prints of 'ideal' kitchens which were used on the covers of conduct literature because mirrors were depicted in these spaces, although no mirror was recorded as being present in the kitchen at Chatsworth.[980] Including a mirror in a communal space like a workroom could create tensions between a servant's awareness of their appearance for the benefit of their master and the egocentric traits this awareness could create. While cleanliness represented care and decency, vainness was not a desirable trait in a servant and it was acknowledged that viewing one's own reflection was a private act. At Chatsworth, mirrors were confined to small communal spaces such as the laundry or the bake house rather than larger shared areas like the servants' hall which would have crossed the line between encouraging cleanliness and respectability within servants and the development of vainness. The placement of a mirror within a communal space invited comparison and comment from other servants as it made the experience of examining one's reflection a shared one. Why then were mirrors included in some work spaces over others? Without the family present for much of the year additional help in the kitchens was not required, instead it was spaces like the laundry and the dairy which required the help of casual labourers. Washing in the laundry could employ local women for much of the year: in 1739, Elizabeth Bradley was paid for working there for 190

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[978] Anne Barker, *The complete servant maid: or young woman's best companion* (London, 1770), pp. 6-10.
[979] *Domestic management, or the art of conducting a family; with instructions to servants in general. Addressed to young housekeepers* (London, 1800), p. 57, 24.
[980] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen,* p. 108.

days and Alice Barker was paid for working 142 days.[981] The presence of mirrors within the spaces in which casual workers spent much of their time encouraged the same tidiness and care in appearance that was expected of the duke's servants. In the same way that looking glasses were included in many of the servants' bedrooms at Chatsworth, the inclusion of mirrors in environments in which casual labourers worked meant the duke was able to control an aspect of their lives even when he was not able to control the materiality of these women's homes.

Mirrors also provided the room's occupants with a range of other actions through which they could engage with this object. The presence of mirrors in these rooms and the expectations of cleanliness that they represented reflected the transformation of these women as they became workers for the duke. As Chapter One showed, the work of female casual labourers could be described in similar terms to female servants.[982] The mirror represented the similarities between the labour of live-in servants and casual workers because it became a way the duke could control an aspect of the lives of these casual labourers and enforce an expectation of cleanliness onto these women which he also had of his servants. Margaret Ezell has shown how seventeenth-century writers used the mirror to encourage people to look around them.[983] The transformative nature of mirrors can be seen by their use as backdrops to the stage in eighteenth-century theatres. The effect meant the division between audience and performer was blurred; the performance was reflected back at the audience and meant they became part of the performance.[984] In this context, the mirror situated these women within the laundry and showed them working alongside other labourers and servants. Through this lens, the mirror became a means of finding one's self through seeing others, and, in the laundry, it became a way that these women were able to see themselves in the workplace. While in servants' bedrooms looking in the mirror was an action undertaking on one's own, the presence of a mirror in a workspace made it a communal activity which may have gone some way to shaping a workplace identity.

The presence of mirrors in female work spaces also reflected the gendered associations with the looking glass. Conduct literature stressed the importance of cleanliness and tidiness to maids which resulted in looking glasses appearing more often in the rooms of female servants

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[981] DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1739-1743.

[982] See Chapter One, pp. 85-91.

[983] Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Looking Glass Histories', *Journal of British Studies* 43:3 (2004), pp. 337-338.

[984] Terry F. Robinson, '"The Glass of Fashion and the Mould of Form": The Histrionic Mirror and Georgian-Era Performance', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39:2 (2015), p. 36, pp. 50-52.

than their male counterparts.[985] In the 1764 inventory, the ten servant rooms which did not include a looking glass were all furnished for male servants and included the garrets for the footmen, the clerk's room, and the rooms above the stables where visiting riders might have stayed, which further distinguished the mirror as a gendered object.[986] These last two rooms were located in the newly built North Wing and were in the same part of the house as the laundry bedroom which did include a looking glass. This gender division remained in place through the rest of the century and, in 1792, the servant bedrooms without a looking glass remained associated with male servants and included the rooms over the stables, the cook's room and the butler's pantry.[987] The association between servants and the mirror was a complicated one. It represented the clean and neat presentation of the self which servants were meant to maintain during their working day while also alluding to the vice and ill morals which were a common feature of the public image of service. This uneasy relationship may have resulted in the decline in mirrors within servant bedrooms as, by the 1811 inventory, only fifteen servants' rooms had a looking glass.[988]

The presence of mirrors in workspaces performed a number of functions. They reflected the mobility of the casual day-labouring women in these spaces, both in terms of their ability to move around the laundry court and their movements between Chatsworth and their own houses, because these women were encouraged to look presentable for visitors to the house. They also reflected the close relationship between certain labourers and the household because they were held to several of the same expectations as the permanent servants. Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd have argued that the door 'represents and transcends the separation of inner and outer' in the domestic setting and, in a similar way, the mirror was a reminder of the position of these women in relation to the house and outside of it.[989] While the duke was absent during much of the year and during half of the paid time these women laboured in the laundry, the presence of the looking glass in these spaces represented his ability to control these areas and the people within them from a distance because the mirror created an expectation about the appearance and cleanliness of these women while they were working

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[985] Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space', p. 125.

[986] The 1764 Chatsworth inventory recorded 17 of the 27 servant rooms containing a looking glass and by 1792 24 rooms out of 33 bedrooms contained a looking glass; DC: CH36/7/0, Chatsworth Inventory, 1764; DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[987] DC: CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1792.

[988] DC: CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811.

[989] Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd, 'Introduction', in Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (eds), *Domestic Space: Reading the nineteenth-century interior* (Manchester, 1999), p. 9.

for the duke. Yet this object also enabled these women to see the work they were undertaking and reflected their selves back at them which allowed them situate themselves alongside their fellow workers in this space. By the end of century, female casual labourers were increasingly hidden in account books behind the names of the men who helped within the house. Their absence from the household accounts was similarly reflected the removal of the mirrors from the spaces they worked in by the end of the 5th Duke's life.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that servants were part of an ongoing exchange between the household at Chatsworth and the duke in London. Their physical presence in Chatsworth meant they played a crucial role in ensuring the duke's aspirations for his house were able to be made a reality or were modified accordingly. In these circumstances, servants were able to influence, to a degree, the materiality of the house and, as the steward's order book showed, there were occasions when the duke actively sought the knowledge of his servants and let this inform his decisions. Servants held a momentary authority over the duke's decisions because his questions to skilled servants granted them the opportunity to be involved. The daily presence of servants in the house also meant they experienced the tensions between hierarchical expectations of how the house should be run and the realities of their daily routines. The movement of the housemaids' bedroom from the garrets to the ground floor and the transition of family rooms into storerooms showed that employers acknowledged the important role servants played in maintaining a house throughout the year and that the house could be influenced by the requirements of servants. By combining multiple inventories and documents for a single household, this chapter has shown that servants did not only live and work within the spaces prescribed to them, instead their lived reality extended beyond these rooms. Space was adaptable not only to the needs of the family but also to servants who required areas which worked efficiently for them. Their influence on space was accepted by the duke because these changes benefited him by creating a well-organised household and, in some extreme cases, a more fashionable floor plan.

A crucial theme which has run throughout this chapter has been the impact existing, working and residing in an environment had on an individual's experience. Being present in a specific location influenced a servant's ability to shape the materiality of their rooms which was further demonstrated by their absence from the family's purchases in London. Instead, it was the servants who lived with the family in the capital, those who were present and visible to

the buyer, who benefitted from the purchases made in London for Chatsworth. Working in the country house was not restricted to servants and the inclusion of mirrors in the laundry was a reminder of the close relationship which existed between the house, the wider estate and the people whose lives were intrinsically linked to the materiality of Chatsworth. Mirrors provided a means through which the duke was able to extend the expectations he had of his servants on to the female casual labourers employed in the house. The inclusion of clocks in specific rooms also provided a similar means of control over a servant's time. However, a servant's presence in the country house also enabled servants to influence how space was used and they played an essential role in connecting the duke's perception of his house with its physical reality. Karin Dannehl has argued that it was through reuse and routine that objects retained their place of usefulness in a house.[990] Routine similarly emphasised the value of servants to their masters. Because they knew how activities affected various spaces within the house, how rooms functioned, and the practicalities of proposed plans, servants were authorised to express this knowledge to the duke.

Examining these interactions in the context of a single household has enabled this chapter to show that the hierarchy of power was not always a straightforward chain from duke to managerial servants to lower servants. The practical requirements of the household meant this structure could be modified depending on the circumstances. Servants had their own areas of expertise which the duke and other servants could draw upon. The absence of more permanent live-in servants at Chatsworth meant the housemaids were able to acquire a higher status than they may have done in other households. These circumstances show that a servant's gender or place in the servant hierarchy were not the only factors which determined a servant's ability to influence the space around them. Instead, routine and custom, and knowledge which developed over time, intersected with skill and status to inform an individual's significance in the household. This chapter has also examined to what extent servants were able to express agency within these circumstances. The actions of servants, their working routines and requirements did form part of the considerations on how space was used in the country house and influenced how members of the household and visitors to the country house experienced space. The information servants provided to the duke and servants in London did have an impact on the duke's decisions. Servants acquired the ability to influence the duke through their presence in the household but, in many cases, it was

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[990] Karin Dannehl, ''To Families Furnishing Kitchens': Domestic Utensils and their Use in the Eighteenth-Century Home' in Hussey and Ponsonby (eds), *Buying for the Home*, p. 39.

ultimately accepted because the duke was not present to view the object or the site himself. Geographer John Allen has argued that people experienced power 'through the rhythms and relationships of particular places not as some pre-packaged force from afar'.[991] The rhythm of life in the country house was dominated by the seasonal residence of the family and this enabled servants to exercise a form of authority. While domestic space remained imbued with the duke's authority even in his absence, servants' active occupancy of these spaces meant their knowledge was essential to the maintenance of the house and estate. However, many aspects of a servants' authority waned with this seasonality.

By examining servants' experiences of space and material goods in one house through inventories, accounts and order books, this chapter, and this thesis more broadly, has revealed the ability of servants to shape their experiences of daily life, an agency which often remains hidden. Servants were able to influence the space of the country house in numerous ways: they shaped the way the country house was experienced by others as they led visitors on public days, they guided the descriptions used by the appraisers in their inventories, and they influenced the way space was experienced by the duke as their accommodation and goods increasingly encroached on the family's space. Chapters Four and Five have worked together to show how servants' lives were affected by the material culture of the country house and how they, in turn, could influence this. The findings of these chapters answer a central question of this thesis: how did servants exert agency during their working lives? They did so by living, working and engaging with a space. The tasks they performed on a daily basis provided intimate knowledge of a space and how it functioned, which the family in London could not match. Servants' actions could be small, such as their decision to change the steward's room door before changing the window in the duke's room. But they could also be more substantial, such as changing the purpose of the grotto. Through all of these acts, large and small, servants asserted an active involvement in the material culture of the country house.

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[991] Allen, *Lost Geographies*, p. 2.