



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

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

Hannah Wallace

Vol. II

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
Department of English Language

June 2020

Conclusion

This thesis has set out to assess the extent to which servants' lives at Chatsworth can be reconstructed through the surviving historical record. It has analysed the experiences of these individuals through their interactions with the social, economic and material world in which they lived and worked and, in doing so, has sought to examine some of the factors which influenced their lives in service. The status of the country house as a rural retreat influenced the size and composition of the servant body and the location of the house on a country estate placed servants firmly in the local community. By examining how servants interacted with the estate community as well as the duke's household, this thesis has taken a different approach to previous studies which have solely focused on a servant's experiences in their master's house. This thesis has shown that servants' lives were not confined to their master's house; instead they were neighbours, friends, and relatives to people in the local area and could rise to positions of authority recognised by the parish. Through this approach this thesis has aimed to place servants themselves, rather than their place of work or their master, at the centre of its analysis. While the nature of the majority of records which pertain to servants, many of which this thesis has drawn upon, emphasise a servant's relationship to work and their master, this thesis has attempted to take as broad a view as possible of the lives of the servants who worked on the Chatsworth estate. In doing so, it has shown that there were many factors which affected an individual's experience of service, not least the aspirations, motivations and relationships of the servants themselves, which have only been possible to suggest at in this thesis. These connections have revealed the agency of servants within their own lives and shown that there were influences on these servants' lives which came from beyond the walls of the household in which they worked.

From my research, a complex image of servants as a group has emerged from the individual lives it has explored. At Chatsworth, the term 'servant' encompassed a multitude of experiences and brought together individuals of different gender, social status and economic ability who were united by their particular contractual relationship with the duke such as the calculation and payment of yearly wages. The experiences of these individuals once they were employed at Chatsworth also varied: where a servant resided, if they received board wages, and what forms of perquisites the duke provided them with, could depend on a servant's gender, status, or personal circumstances. The range of experiences servants had, especially on the country estate, has meant many of them shared more in common with

tenants and casual labourers than the early modern legal definitions of these terms suggest. The introduction to this thesis included F. M. L. Thompson's argument that 'a distinctive culture' existed for country house servants.⁹⁹² My findings have failed to find a singular servant culture at Chatsworth and instead have shown how their work, leisure, social relations and economic status varied. This thesis has shown the complexities and, at times, contradictions of an individual's working life in service.

This study of servants in a single elite household has not been a study about the lives of the majority of servants in eighteenth-century England. However, many of the experiences examined in this thesis were not unique to servants employed in the country house. Male and female servants were present in the middling-sort household and long-serving or married servants also formed part of the workforce outside of elite families. The nature of the elite household has enabled this thesis to examine in more detail the servant experiences of contrasting groups such as male and female servants, life-cycle servants and life-long servants, single dependants and married heads of households, in one environment. The circumstances in which many individuals turned to the occupation of service were similar whether they worked in country house or as a maid of all work. This was particularly the case for female servants and my findings support the emphasis historians have placed on how gender affected an individual's experience of service.⁹⁹³ Even in the country house, which offered more opportunities for women, the majority of female servants still chose to use domestic service as an occupation which they left upon marriage. The later marrying age of several of the female servants at Chatsworth shows that Kussmaul's definition of life-cycle servants as aged between fifteen and twenty-four does not include all individuals who followed this path.⁹⁹⁴ Male servants benefitted from the environment of the country estate which, with its close proximity to an estate village largely owned by their master, enabled them to reside outside of the duke's house and with their own family units. As a result, many chose to remain in the duke's service for many years. This thesis has argued that individuals chose to remain in service because the occupation was adaptable and could comply with various stages of an individual's life, rather remaining because of the desire for promotion. This enabled servants to fulfil their aspirations for a household of their own alongside their contracted labour for their master. In this context, the environment of the country estate

⁹⁹² Thompson, *Rise of Respectable Society*, p. 248. See Introduction p. 28.

⁹⁹³ Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*; Chynoweth, 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space'.

⁹⁹⁴ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*.

provided a site which made this transition more accessible because servants were still residing in houses owned by their master. By examining the details of individual servants' lives this thesis has argued that while gender is an important category of analysis it needs to be considered in association with other factors. An individual's experience of service was affected by how this form of employment intersected with other aspects of their lives and their personal circumstances which are often not visible in the records kept by the master.

A key aim of this thesis has been to examine how the environment of the country house estate had an impact on the lives of servants. The ability for certain servants to live outside of the duke's house was another factor which had a great impact on the lives of servants. At Chatsworth, its commonplace occurrence was possible as a result of the gendered nature of the servant body, as well as the family's absence and the duke's ownership of properties on the estate villages. For male servants, the country estate was a site which enabled their individual ambitions for marriage, family and a household of their own to be achieved concurrent to their occupation as a servant. In this environment, these servants were able to take on additional by-employments and create alternative sources of income. In turn, this enabled them to present themselves in the masculine role of head of the household, rather than the subservient place traditionally associated with servants. In contrast, the living arrangements of female country house servants shared many similarities with servants in smaller households. Examining the interactions of female servants alongside their male counterparts on the country estate has shown the contrast in experiences which could exist between male and female servants. Female servants were disadvantaged in a patriarchal society which viewed unmarried women as dependants and, as a result, many of their networks remained closely tied to their parental home and the duke's household. However, this did not mean these women were isolated. Their involvement in the community has been seen in Chapter Two which revealed they were quickly accepted into the estate's credit networks while their choice of witnesses for their wills also showed they had connection outside of the duke's house. Similarly, Chapter Five has argued that their place in the house did not mean they were without agency; instead their residency at Chatsworth meant their labour was recognised as essential and these women had access to material furnishings usually reserved for upper servants. The country estate was a site where servants experienced hierarchy as they entered a household with numerous servant roles and a house which place great emphasis on status, yet it was also a site which allowed some servants to experience greater independence than might have been possible in other households. The lives of

servants at Chatsworth has emphasised the range of experiences servants could have. Much like work in smaller households, service at Chatsworth could provide short-term contractual security for adolescents before they married, economic support for older individuals at different stages of their lives, and contribute to the social networks that individuals had access to.⁹⁹⁵

The rural setting of the country estate did not mean servants were isolated and this thesis has shown servants had a variety of interactions with the local community. The household accounts reveal that servants moved around the local area in order to complete errands for the family. Their appearances in parish registers are suggestive of the connections which individuals built and maintained during their time in service and reveal that the vast majority of married individuals were not employed as servants in the duke's household. The comparison between the wills of Chatsworth servants with their London counterparts in Chapters Two and Three revealed that the wider country estate provided a concentrated site where servants were able to move between their various employments and be servants, farmers, gentlemen, and family members in the presence of the same individuals. A servant's ability to use several different occupational descriptors to identify themselves on the estate, as analysed in Chapter Three, shows that the estate community was not necessarily isolated but was, in some aspects, 'self-contained' and continued to look inwards as the landscape around them industrialised over the course of the century.⁹⁹⁶ Yet this did not mean the rural community was stagnant. Instead, the duke's appointment of new servants meant the estate continually had to adapt and evolve in order to accommodate these new individuals. Servants benefited from the close ties between country house and country estate but this was not enough to secure their place in the estate hierarchy, nor their status in the duke's household. Instead, the varying status of servants in different hierarchies on the estate reveal that age, gender, long-term residence, skill, and morality all intersected to varying degrees depending on the estate's priority, and that servants made conscious decisions which would affect their place in the estate community.

Another key question this thesis has aimed to answer is to what extent servants' experiences can be uncovered in the archives. This thesis has presented servants' lives from three

⁹⁹⁵ Simonton, 'Birds of Passage'; Simonton, 'Earning and Learning'; Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 128-183.

⁹⁹⁶ Ian Whyte, 'The rise of industrial society and the end of the village, 1760-1900?' in Christopher Dyer (ed.), *The self-contained village?: The social history of Rural Communities, 1250-1900* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 114-138.

perspectives, their master, the local community and servants themselves, and this range of outlooks is both suggestive of the ubiquitous nature of servants in archives and the scarcity of documents produced which record servants' own voices. My research has struggled to present the experiences of servants from their own perspective because documents written from their perspective rarely survive in the country house archive. Only a limited number of manuscripts written by servants remain in the country house archive and the majority of these documents were written for the benefit of the duke with the purpose of maintaining order in his household. The household and estate accounts have been essential sources in this thesis and created the foundation for the database of servants used by this study. They have provided glimpses of servants' personal lives such as the names of their wives and children and the dates of their death, as seen in Chapter One. Similarly, Chapter Two highlighted how these documents can be used to trace servants' social interactions and relationships. These connections have been important for ascertaining how the relationships seen in servants' wills may have formed and in exploring how servants met their marriage partners. However, these sources remain limited in what they can reveal about servants' experiences of employment in the country house because they were produced to document the economic management of the country estate and cannot provide evidence of this experience from the perspective of the servants.

The limitation of these documents has led this thesis to attempt to read against the grain in an archive curated for the elite, in order to uncover the experiences of servants. In the absence of family correspondence which references the servants at Chatsworth and the very limited survival of steward correspondence for the period of this thesis, both of which would have been more revealing about servants' interactions and experiences, this thesis has sought to approach the sources which do survive in the Chatsworth archive by a means which looks beyond the managerial, ordered lens through which they were produced. This approach has led this thesis to explore the processes through which these documents came to be created and has sought to understand the place of servants in these practices. This method has been most successful when examining the household inventories. By recognising the practicalities which went into the process of appraising a property, and the place of managerial servants in guiding inventory appraisers around the house, this source has been used to suggest the knowledge servants developed about the objects they worked alongside on a daily basis. While suggestive of the familiarity and awareness servants had about the spaces in which they worked, this approach remains limited in what it can reveal about how servants

experienced space and the extent to which they were able to influence the material world of the country house because servants' voices in these documents remain absent or mediated through a more elite voice. In the absence of explicit servant voices and the limited number of documents produced from their perspective which remain in the country house archive, surviving elite records provide only a suggestion of how servants experienced the physical space of the country house.

Through the use of archives beyond the country house, this thesis has sought to find sources which enable the study of servants from an alternative perspective than that presented by their master and the documents produced for him. The study of parish records and probate documents has allowed for exploration about the interactions that servants had on the country estate and enabled further tracing of the relationships hinted at in documents kept in the country house archive. Church registers and overseers accounts have made it possible for this study to examine the extent to which certain servants, most often male servants, were integrated into the estate community and how they may have maintained relationships and connections outside of the servant hierarchy. Chapter Three utilised wills and probate documents to examine how servants presented themselves in formal, public environments. These documents have provided this thesis with its closest insight into how servants conceptualised their own position, although the occupational identifiers servants chose to use in their wills were witnessed by only a small number of close friends and family and, therefore, not a reflection of how they presented themselves in larger, more public environments. The time-consuming nature of reconstructing individual lives through multiple sources has meant that this thesis has been unable to utilise all aspects of the sources it has drawn from. Most notably, time constraints have meant it has not been possible to explore the bequests servants made in their wills and further research in this area will enable a greater understanding of servants' relationships and their material lives. Similarly, this thesis has focused mostly on local, regional archives which has meant sources such as consistory court testimonies, which may provide further insight into servants' experiences from their own perspective, have not been studied. The parish records and probate documents examined in this thesis have meant evidence of servants' experiences have been mostly glimpsed at key stages in their life cycles. These sources have enabled this study to weave together aspects of individual servant lives, however they are limited about what they can reveal about wider servant experiences beyond these life stages and, without the study of sources with more detailed accounts which record servants' perspectives, this thesis has not been able to

examine how the servants themselves understood these moments. These sources are also limited in what they can reveal about servant experiences throughout the household hierarchy. The practice of finding records around an individual's birth, marriage and death favours the experiences of upper, male servants over the lives of lower, female servants and, as a result, the servants' experiences this thesis has uncovered were not shared by all those employed in the duke's household.

Steven Lubar has argued that archival documents should be understood in two ways: the first is the objective meaning of a document and the second is the meaning of the document for an individual or a particular purpose.⁹⁹⁷ This second meaning is subjective but provides a means of examining manuscripts beyond how they have been catalogued in archives in order to find subaltern voices. Historians searching for the lives of minority groups have often approached their absence in the archives by trying to 'read' the lives of these individuals into existing records.⁹⁹⁸ In this context, this thesis has emphasised the place of upper servants in maintaining and managing the country house for their master. It was these servants who wrote the household bills and accounts, who issued instructions to the rest of the household and to casual labourers, and who cleaned, repaired and purchased objects for the house. Uncovering the experiences of lower servants remains more difficult in the surviving sources because they were not the ones documenting the household for their master and were often absent from the stages of discussion present in documents like the steward's order book. Evidence of their perspective and ability to influence their experiences of service are more difficult to read in the sources which survive in the elite archive because their voices remain hidden. As a result, the Chatsworth archive is limited in what it can reveal about the household employed by the duke, particularly from the perspective of the servants themselves and it favours the experiences of upper, managerial servants. Through the supplementation of material from other archives and an approach which has emphasised the knowledge servants could gain from their daily routines, this thesis has been able to suggest other contexts in which aspects of servants' experiences can be uncovered. The nature of these manuscripts favours a focused study of servants in specific households or geographical regions yet they are suggestive of the possibilities which exists for researching servants in local archives,

⁹⁹⁷ Steven Lubar, 'Information Culture and the Archival Record', *The American Archivist* 62:1 (1999), pp. 10-22.

⁹⁹⁸ Honor Sachs, 'Reconstructing a Life: the archival challenges of women's history', *Library Trends* 56:3 (2007), pp. 650-666; Gabriele Griffin 'Introduction' in Gabriele Griffin (ed.), *Research Methods for English Studies* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 33.

online depositories, and country house archives. It is only through the piecing together of these documents that a more detailed understanding of servants' lives can be reached. This approach is time-consuming but this thesis has shown that it is worthwhile for our understanding of service as well as community, family and gender.

The title of this thesis has pointed to three themes present in the experiences of the servants at Chatsworth during the eighteenth century: community, conflict and change. Placing servants in context of the wider country estate has revealed that community was a meaningful notion in the lives of these individuals. This thesis has shown that the servants at Chatsworth belonged to several different communities. While the household has most commonly been identified as the site where servants formed a sense of community, the disparity in servants' experiences of board wages and residency at Chatsworth has led this thesis to argue that the estate community was as important to the lives of these servants as the household community was.⁹⁹⁹ A servant's involvement in the local community was influenced by the geographical setting of the country house and its place as part of a larger estate. Servants entered into this estate community based on their place of residence and the shared similarities which existed because of the similar obligations that servants and tenants had to the duke. On this basis, all servants were part of this community, but the extent to which they were able to take on active roles in it was restricted by a servant's gender. Living-out was not a practice restricted by a servant's place in the household hierarchy, both upper and lower servants were able to live on the estate; however, it was restricted by gender. The practice was based upon the principles of patriarchal society which associated independence with masculinity and dependency with women.¹⁰⁰⁰ As a result, the female servants at Chatsworth were only able to live outside of their master's household if they had a second master in the form of a husband, and as the practice of employing married female servants declined in the first half of the century so too did their residential presence on the estate. The quantitative findings of this thesis have shown that for the majority of women, service remained part of a life stage undertaken before marriage, and marriage registers and household accounts reveal female servants remained closely tied to their master's home and their parental home. Despite their transitory relationship with the house and estate, female servants were still able to form part of this community. While the occupation of service did suggest subservience, through their work these individuals could also express their moral worth, dependability and honesty which was

⁹⁹⁹ See the descriptions of service examined in Chapter One, pp. 49-51.

¹⁰⁰⁰ McCormack, *Independent Man*, pp. 4-5.

reflected in the inclusion of female servants in the economic networks of credit and trust on the estate.

This thesis has also shown that country house servants interacted with the local community for their own purposes as well as on their master's behalf. Their interactions as part of the economic, social and moral hierarchies on the estate showed that individuals in service were not viewed by the community as indistinguishable from 'the personalities of their masters or mistresses' as Laslett has previously argued.¹⁰⁰¹ Credit networks, marriage proposals and election to parish office meant servants were judged by the local community on their own characters and qualities. While domestic service has been associated with traits such as subservience and inferiority, Chapter Two has demonstrated how the occupation of service could act as a visible show of an individual's characteristics of loyalty, trust and hard-work. Although many positions in service did not come with obvious economic status, individuals were able to exhibit the characteristics in their roles which were manifest in parish or church officers present in the estate community. These traits could be further shown from the by-employments they undertook and which have been suggested at by the terms used by servants to present themselves in their wills discussed in Chapter Three. Farming, property ownership and economic investments provided alternative ways individuals could present themselves, and which linked them to sources of status, such as the land, which were recognised by eighteenth-century communities. Employment on a country estate was not an experience shared by the majority of servants; however, my research has shown more consideration needs to be given to servants as individuals rather than understanding them solely through the limiting terms used by their employers. As Chapter Three has shown, individuals did not solely define or present themselves using the titles given to them by their masters. Examining servants in the context of the wider community has shown that servants benefited from the flexibility of both the institution of service and the comparative nature of the social order.

The findings of this thesis support Charmian Mansell's call to examine the 'life-stories' of individuals in order to create a more nuanced understanding of service.¹⁰⁰² Focused study of individual lives reveals that domestic servants were a diverse group and more work is required to show how work in service could be used by individuals as part of an 'economy of

¹⁰⁰¹ Laslett, 'Institution of Service', p. 57. Also see Introduction p. 2.

¹⁰⁰² Mansell, 'Variety of Women's Experiences'.

makeshift'.¹⁰⁰³ More research is also required to show how individuals at different stages of their lives could use service for their own means: as a strategy to navigate the uncertainty of early modern society, as an alternative to marriage, or as a form of security which could still provide a form of independence when other institutions looked less favourable. The range of servants employed on the country estate has allowed for an examination of servants at various stages of their lives and has suggested that, for many, the desire to remain in service was driven less by the possibility of working their way up the hierarchy, and being what historians have termed 'a career servant', and more about how service became part of a working life. This thesis has argued that the long-term service of many on the estate was not always related to Gerard's concept of the 'career servant', where individuals remained in the same household in the hope of advancing up the hierarchy, because the nature of the Chatsworth household did not allow for a great deal of vertical progression.¹⁰⁰⁴ This thesis argues that this description has limited the lives of servants to their relationship with their master's household.¹⁰⁰⁵ Instead, I have argued that many male servants remained in their roles because service was adaptable to other aspects of an individual's life and worked alongside the expectations of society: marriage and the creation of a nuclear family unit were still possible during employment at Chatsworth as was a form of independence through the expression of patriarchal control over the household and the farming of lands attached to their properties. By examining a wide range of servant experiences, historians are able to analyse how working as a servant went beyond fulfilling the needs of the master and instead, went some way to achieving an individual's own requirements. In doing so, this approach places a servant's ability to make their own decisions about their life alongside the power and authority of their master, which often dominates work on servants, as a factor which influenced an individual's time in service.

While this thesis has argued that the limited presence of servants working or residing in the country house for the majority of the year means a household community is more difficult to find, there was a community which the servants who resided in the country house were a part of: a taste community. While gendered difference was more present outside of the country house in the interactions servants had with the estate community, the hierarchical differences between servants were more conspicuous inside the country house. A taste community was

¹⁰⁰³ Alannah Tomkins and Steven King, *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester, 2003).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gerard, *Country House Life*, p. 11, 164-165.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Simonton, 'Birds of Passage'; Gerard, *Country House Life*, pp. 257-258.

particularly present in the rooms of upper servants which were decorated and curated to work as part of the design scheme which was present on the floors of the house where the family resided. The inclusion of upper servants in this scheme gave meaning to their rooms which could be recognised and interpreted by visitors to the room. In contrast, the servants accommodated in the garret rooms were not part of this taste group and the furnishings in their rooms supplied by the duke did not place them in the consumer community of the upper servants accommodated for at Chatsworth or the middling-sort households in the estate villages. Their slow accumulation of new goods in the eighteenth century meant that the Chatsworth servants were part of a growing consumer culture; however, the duke's gradual furnishing of these spaces meant lower servants were part of a horizontal consumer culture with labouring households. Chapters Four and Five are a reminder that the objects present in household inventories do not reflect a servant's whole material world and the material possessions gleamed in their wills show that servants did have access to goods which allied them with other social groups.

The types of sources which survive pertaining to the lives of the Chatsworth servants cannot reveal how these individuals thought of the local community and their place in it from their perspective. However, their appearance in credit networks and as witnesses to wills showed they were interacting regularly with a range of individuals to form networks of trust, respect and friendship. Servants' use of occupational identifiers such as 'gentleman' in their wills reveal that servants could conceptualise their position in relation to the local community because terms like this were relational to the local area. Keith Snell's analysis of letters written by poorer individuals to their parishes or petitions to institutions has shown that in these circumstances lower status individuals rarely associated themselves with the collective identity of a parish and rarely made reference to collective groups in their understandings of the community.¹⁰⁰⁶ The findings of this thesis have hinted that, in times that were not marked by destitution, lower sort individuals would have understood themselves to be part of the community.

The nature of the surviving sources relating to the Chatsworth household, and the absence of a significant amount of correspondence between the steward and the duke, has meant evidence of outright confrontations involving servants have remained hidden. However, the sources which have survived still show that tensions between servants and masters did exist

¹⁰⁰⁶ Snell, 'Belonging and Community', p. 21.

on the country estate. The most prevalent conflict in this thesis has been between how servants presented themselves to the duke and how they presented themselves to friends and family in their wills. Servants' choices of descriptions such as 'yeoman', 'husbandman' or 'gentleman' in their wills, rather than the titles given to them in the household accounts, showed by-employments were a crucial part of how servants conceptualised their public image. The absence of these titles from any documentation produced by the estate suggests that the by-employments of servants were in tension with the clear social order shown by their servant roles. Servants' ability to use other occupational identifiers was also in conflict with the definitions of service, seen in Chapter One, which argued that individuals relinquished all their time and labour to their master when they entered service. While servants chose not to use these terms when they presented themselves to the duke's officials and estate papers which included the occupations of tenants also avoided these terms, the use of these identifiers in probate documents demonstrates that these additional occupations were not in conflict with how a servant's friends or family on the estate understood them. The choice of overseers of the poor in the parish of Edensor, discussed in Chapter Two, similarly showed the estate did not view labour outside of service as problematic or in conflict with a servant's other work. Instead, these examples reveal servants were interacting with, and presenting themselves to, a variety of audiences during their time in service in different ways.

Multiple forms of work and employment were, therefore, crucial to servants' presentation of themselves. As a result, this thesis has agreed with Steedman that the work undertaken by servants was a crucial factor in their lives. While Steedman has argued work became a way that servants understood themselves, their place within the household, and their status in the wider social order, the sources used in this thesis have not allowed for a servant's conceptualising of their self to be examined.¹⁰⁰⁷ However, I have been able to examine the conscious choices made by servants when they were presenting themselves to a range of audiences. Unlike Steedman's belief that work encouraged servants to view themselves collectively as workers, the conclusions reached by this thesis suggest that the diverse nature of the work servants undertook on the country estate meant that work did not necessarily form a collective service identity to the exclusion of other groups. Instead, it was through other forms of work that enabled servants to find other means through which to present a public identity which could exist alongside service. This thesis argues that in order to examine a servant's 'working life', a term suggested by Humfrey, or the 'life-stories' of

¹⁰⁰⁷ Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp. 351-352.

servants, as suggested by Mansell, historians need to examine servants' lives in the context of a broader definition of work.¹⁰⁰⁸ The introduction to this thesis showed how recent studies on work have used a definition of the term which does not focus on occupational titles but instead defined the term as the act of being occupied rather than being idle.¹⁰⁰⁹ This thesis has drawn inspiration from this approach and has been careful not to limit discussions of a servant's work to the space of their employer's house or the tasks undertaken in the name of their master or mistress. Instead, I have sought to examine the range of tasks with which an individual filled their day with, as far as the records allow. Extending the definition of work is crucial to understanding how servants viewed and presented themselves, as employment in all its forms was an important aspect of selfhood and, as Shepard has argued, was increasingly becoming a defining aspect of an individual's identity in the early modern period.¹⁰¹⁰ By considering service as part of a working life rather than as a transitory occupation, and acknowledging that servants had autonomous time while also serving their master, this thesis has shown that servants also accessed the occupational plurality available to the majority of individuals in early modern society.

This thesis has shown it was in these grey areas between the definitions of servants and casual labourers, service and task-led labour, where conflict could arise. However, it was also in these spaces where servants could exert their agency. Both conflict and agency are relational concepts and, by exploring them in this thesis, I have shown that servants were interacting as part of the estate community and the household community, and were not isolated as Bridget Hill has argued.¹⁰¹¹ This thesis has been informed by Montenach and Simonton's interpretation of agency which defines the concept as an individual's 'capacity for action' and, as a result, an individual's ability for agency was not always to be found in the act of resistance but rather through the ability to choose a course of action.¹⁰¹² The sources examined in this thesis are rarely written from a servant's perspective and, therefore, evidence of servants' decisions, and the processes behind them, are seldom recorded. The nature of these sources has limited the extent to which this thesis has been able to examine servant agency on the country estate. As a result, the types of servant agency explored in this study have fallen into two categories. The first has focused on surviving evidence of limited

¹⁰⁰⁸ Humfrey, *Experience of Domestic Service*, p. 26; Mansell, 'Variety of Women's Experiences', p. 315.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For the discussion on the 'Women's Work in Rural England, 1500-1700' project and the 'Gender and Work project' see Introduction, pp. 16-17; Whittle, 'Critique of Approaches', p. 35.

¹⁰¹⁰ Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*.

¹⁰¹¹ Hill, *Domestic Servants*, p. 1. See Introduction, p. 23.

¹⁰¹² See Introduction, pp. 18-19.

servant agency, limited because it has either concentrated on the agency of specific servants or the agency of servants in particular circumstances. The second has explored the potential that servants had to act in certain environments which have been inferred by examining the country house with an awareness of servants' routines and an acknowledgement of their presence in the duke's house.

Upper managerial servants were most likely to write accounts and documents for the management of the duke's house and it is their agency which has been most evident in the environment of the country house. The steward's order book has provided a glimpse into the decisions managerial servants made on a regular basis and how they were able to sanction the prioritisation of certain forms of work which benefited servants' needs and requirements over their master's, in his absence, by completing the work which benefitted their own wellbeing first. However, this manuscript also provides evidence of the limitations of servants' ability to act in the country house. While the servants were able to complete certain tasks to suit their own schedules, the hesitancy to raise issues which affected their working and living conditions suggested there was a limit to the extent to which they pursued their own needs. As Chapter Five showed, while the order book recorded the addition of a door to block a draught in the steward's passage was completed immediately, it is unclear how long the servants had lived with the problem before it was raised with the duke. This source shows that managerial servants, such as the steward and the housekeeper, and servants who were in charge of managing specialised departments, such as the gardener or upholsterer, were involved in making decisions for the household and were consulted by the duke to share their specific knowledge about the country house. These upper servants became the family's link to their country seat when they were absent and were relied upon for their knowledge about the condition of furnishings, the types of materials used in the house and the practical function of space.

Evidence of active choices made by servants below this managerial level are limited in the country house archive but are more present in the environment of the country estate where servants had the potential to make active choices about key stages in their lives. A servant's choice of marriage partner could have important implications for their lives on the estate. As Chapter Two showed male servants who chose to marry soon after they started their employment at Chatsworth benefitted from the kinship connections they gained from choosing partners from established estate families which could help support their place in the estate community. In contrast, the majority of female servants married partners away from

the estate, a choice which highlights how individuals could use the occupation of service as a transitory period in their lives. Servants also had the capacity for choice towards the end of their lives when making a will and it has been in these sources where servant agency has been most visible in this thesis when examining their choices of occupational descriptors. As Chapter Three showed, away from the duke's sphere of influence, the majority of servants chose to describe themselves by alternative by-employments or through other forms of time-consuming labour thereby distancing themselves from the occupation of service. Although writing a will was a practice limited to individuals who had a certain level of material wealth, these documents have provided this thesis with the opportunity to engage with a wider range of servant voices than is possible in the documents produced for the country house, even if these voices were often mediated through a scribe. In doing so, this source, while still limited, has provided this thesis with the ability to examine the agency of a broader range of servants in a specific moment. By piecing together aspects of servants' lives in the estate community, this thesis has found that certain servants, most often male servants, were able to work within the structures present on the estate to benefit from a local audience which existed beyond the duke's house and which enabled them to present themselves in ways which extended beyond their position as a servant.

Sources which survive in the country house archive are limited in what they can reveal about servants' ability to act with agency in the duke's house. The limited number of manuscripts written by upper servants document the house from a perspective focused on the maintenance of household order and, therefore, are often not explicit about servants' choices. As a result, finding occasions when servants, and in particular lower servants, had the ability to act can often only be inferred from these manuscripts. While the household accounts are used in conjunction with parish registers to reconstruct aspects of individual servant's lives, documents in the country house archive can provide suggestions of how servants might have been able to work within established structures to promote their own interests. Chapter One showed how paternal perquisites were part of a bond agreed by both masters and servants, the terms of which could be negotiated by both parties. At Chatsworth, the experiences of Ann Grove, whose annual wage became a more flexible half-yearly wage after the death of her brother, is suggestive of the flexibility of the contract between master and servant which could be, to an extent, renegotiated and influenced by the experiences of both parties. Evidence of servants' ability to influence the material world of the country house, beyond the examples found in the steward's order book, is less pronounced in the sources which survive

at Chatsworth. While inventory records, household accounts and visitor descriptions of the house reveal that servants were involved in maintaining the country house and upper servants were involved in presenting it to others, the extent to which servants were able to influence the use of space through their own agency is difficult to ascertain in these records. By observing the role that practicality played in furnishing spaces and acknowledging the skills and knowledge servants acquired from regularly working in a space, this thesis has suggested that the servants who resided in the house permanently, including lower servants such as housemaids, may have had the ability to influence the use of space by drawing inferences in the inventory records. Chapter Five explored these inferences to suggest ways in which servants may have been able to influence the materiality and space of the country house, although it concluded that this was often only possible when their needs aligned with the duke's ambitions. Sources such as the inventory records are limited in what they can reveal about servant agency. Specific evidence of servants' decisions remain largely absent and when they are recorded they are restricted to decisions made by upper servants and servants with specific departmental knowledge. As a result, when this thesis has explored the contexts in which lower servants may have had the opportunity to act in the country house these have mostly been drawn from inferences read in the surviving sources.

The limitations of the sources examined by this thesis have meant this study has not been able to assess the agency of all servants employed at Chatsworth and the experiences of lower servants often remain hidden in sources produced for the purpose of maintaining order in the household. In the duke's house, the sources which show aspects of the process which went into furnishing and maintaining the country house do reveal that managerial servants and servants with specific knowledge and skills could have a limited input in influencing the design of the house because they were consulted by the duke. When these documents are considered in the context of servants' day-to-day working lives, they can provide suggestions of how other servants, particularly servants in lower-status roles, may have been able to influence the spaces in which they worked. In this context, this thesis agrees with Humfrey's findings that a servant's agency came not only from the opportunity to act but also from the knowledge that they acquired.¹⁰¹³ Beyond the household, parish records and probate documents reveal the experiences of a wider range of servants who were able to make active choices about their lives away from the duke's authority, although these moments are limited to key stages of an individual's life. Similar to the moments of conflict found in this study,

¹⁰¹³ Humfrey *Experience of Domestic Service*, pp. 28-29.

the acts of agency witnessed in this thesis have most often been small-scale, individual actions which were used by servants to pursue their own interests and have been most overt in the experiences of upper, male servants.

This study has examined the Chatsworth household during what historians have viewed as a period of transition in master-servant relations when servants changed from being viewed as a member of the family, who benefited from the paternal care of their master, to employees considered to be separate from the nuclear family unit.¹⁰¹⁴ The findings of this thesis have drawn upon work by E. P. Thompson, who found that paternal perquisites and charity were increasingly becoming detached from their origins, and the argument of Meldrum, who has shown that aspects of the master's paternal duty continued alongside the formation of a contractual relationship.¹⁰¹⁵ I argue that, at Chatsworth, both types of relationship continued to exist on the estate into the eighteenth century and the seeming decline in paternal relations was a result of them evolving to take on new forms. Chapter One showed the remunerations of coal changed, in the second half of the century, from the gift of physical coals to monetary recompense, an act which continued the tradition of perquisites but which detached the practice from its original intent to provide warmth and comfort to those servants who lived out. In other circumstances, there was a decline in the paternal relationship between master and servant which occurred along status lines. The decline in the payment of board wages showed the duke acknowledged a distinction between the servants who were dependent on the perquisites he gave and those of a higher status who could afford to pay for their own board. These assumptions followed gendered lines and also distinguished between skilled work which required a form of education or apprenticeship and work which did not required the same level of experience. This example suggests that paternal relationships were in decline for certain upper servants whose work would come to be considered professions in the nineteenth century. This thesis has shown that the relationship between masters and servants was on a scale between paternal and contractual, and that, even in the same household, not all servants were at the same point. Instead, this relationship was personal and influenced by the specific situation of both master and servant, the contract agreed between both parties, and the status of the servant.

Alongside their paternal relationship with the duke, the servants also experienced aspects of a contractual relationship. Carolyn Steedman has argued that a crucial part of the contractual

¹⁰¹⁴ McIsaac Cooper, 'From Family Member to Employee', pp. 277-296.

¹⁰¹⁵ Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp. 179-185; Thompson, 'Patrician Society', pp. 382-383.

relationship between servant and master was the recognition that a servant's ability and skills were part of them rather than an extension of their master.¹⁰¹⁶ She argues that this came to be enshrined in the servant tax legislation which specified the roles and types of work an individual had to do in order to be considered a servant. My findings have argued that this was not the only way servants could recognise their position and a servant's interaction with other workers outside of service was another way in which they could shape ideas about their position which predated the 1777 servant tax legislation. The country house estate, as an environment which relied heavily on the work of day labourers, was a site where servants were able to form notions about what their roles encompassed and the types of tasks included within them by comparing their position to the casual labourers who they worked alongside. Outside of this specified work, servants received additional payments from the duke for individual tasks they completed, in the same way the casual labourers did, which were outside of the scope of their service role. This finding complicates the idea that a master hired all of a servant's time for the duration of their contract, because it shows there was an acknowledgement that not all of the tasks completed by servants were part of their specified role. This awareness predates the transformation found by Steedman, in her work on smaller households, which she argued happened in the second half of the century.¹⁰¹⁷ It is difficult to know the extent to which servants would have conceptualised their relationship to their master in these terms, especially on country estates when paternal landowners remained a common notion. The findings of this thesis suggest that it was the duke who was more aware of these changes; the end of board wage payments to certain upper, male servants showed the duke was aware that not all of his servants were equally dependent on him, which, in turn, meant he could remove certain paternal perquisites from them.

Another change which took place during the eighteenth century was the rise in the number of female servants employed at Chatsworth, although their presence in the household accounts remained irregular and was influenced by the family's changing requirements. The increasing number of female servants in the workforce has led some historians like Bridget Hill to argue that service became increasingly associated with feminine attributes during this period.¹⁰¹⁸ At Chatsworth, even before the numbers of female servants increased, work in the house, laundry and dairy were already associated with female labour, although these departments did

¹⁰¹⁶ Steedman, 'Servant's Labour', pp. 27-29.

¹⁰¹⁷ Steedman, *Labours Lost*, p. 313.

¹⁰¹⁸ Hill, *Servants*, pp. 22-41. See Introduction, p. 13.

not completely exclude the labour of men. The wills of the Chatsworth servants, which span the eighteenth century, reveal that male servants, from the very beginning of the century, were keen to describe themselves in terms other than those associated with service thereby suggesting the increased presence of female servants did little to change how they viewed the institution of service. Although the increased presence of annually-paid female servants did not affect how male servants were described, it did change how the work of female casual labourers was recorded in the household account books. The two groups, who had been described in the same terms before the middle of the century, became distanced as the work of day labourers came to be described as ‘assisting’ while housemaid retained the label associated with their role. While Steedman has argued it ‘was not what you *called* your employee that counted, but rather, what he *did*’ that mattered, I have argued that the language used to describe the labour of workers still carried meaning for both masters and servants about status, control and authority.¹⁰¹⁹

The findings of this thesis have broader implications for the future study of servants. This study has been suggestive of what can be achieved when servants’ lives are examined in a wider context than just the household in which they served. The comparisons I have drawn between the experiences of the duke’s London servants and the servants at Chatsworth has shown the importance of recognising how the environment in which a household was located affected an individual’s experience of service. Further research on servants in rural households is required to examine how mobility, life-cycle and age affected an individual’s experience of service. While the urban experience of service has been understood to be ‘unique’, more research into rural servants will reveal more about how the majority of individuals experienced service living in rural households, the extent to which increasing urbanisation affected the institution of service, and how the lives of urban servants compared to the lives of their rural counterparts.¹⁰²⁰ This thesis has become another resource in a growing number of case studies about servants but more work is still required to examine the experiences of servants in different types of households in different locations.¹⁰²¹

¹⁰¹⁹ Steedman, ‘Servant’s Labour’, p. 27.

¹⁰²⁰ Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p. 207.

¹⁰²¹ Butler, ‘Power at the Power House’; Clapperton, ‘Making of a Modern Estate’; Chynoweth, ‘Domestic Service and Domestic Space’; Mansell, ‘Female servants in the early modern community’; Olivia Robinson, ‘Foreign female domestic servants in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century London: understanding transnational experiences’, D.Phil (University of Oxford, forthcoming); Aimee Keithan, ‘Servants’ Passage: Cultural identity in the architecture of service in British and American country houses, c. 1740-1890’, PhD

My emphasis in this thesis on a single household in one location has been a limitation of this study; it has restricted the types of sources I have used and the types of servant experiences I have been able to research. However, this focused approach on one household has also provided this thesis with its strengths. By closely studying one community over the course of a century, this thesis has examined the relationships and connections which formed over an individual's lifetime in greater depth than is possible in a more generalised study. Because notions of community and status were formed through social interactions, having a detailed understanding of the social and economic backgrounds of the individuals who formed part of the local tenantry is crucial in order to show the nuances of a servant's interactions with, and their place in, the local community. The broad range of sources I have drawn upon in this thesis in order to reconstruct the lives of the servants at Chatsworth has demonstrated alternative ways that historians can trace aspects of these individuals' experiences. Recent studies on servants have turned to crime records and deposition testimonies in order to search for servant experiences beyond the home. These sources have either not been available for this local case study or not been explored due to time-restrictions; however, parish records, church registers and probate documents have provided another means through which a servant's relationships and interactions can be established. In doing so, this study shows the potential for further micro-level studies into specific experiences and the 'life-stories' of servants.¹⁰²²

The methodological approach of this thesis, which has brought together sources from multiple archives to reconstruct aspects of individual servant lives, encourages a re-examination of social relations in rural society. By further understanding servants' lives beyond the house in which they served, this thesis has shown that a servant's place in their master's household was not always directly echoed in their status in the estate community. Instead, there was potential for lower status individuals to benefit from the emphasis rural communities placed on locally-derived status. This has implications for our understanding of the rural social order because it shows that employment in service, an occupation which did not conform to middling ideals of independence and self-employment, did not restrict certain individuals from accessing aspects of this status nor did it restrict the status of these individuals from being recognised by the wider community. Previously, the importance of geographically-bound rank has been acknowledged by historians of the middling sort. In the

(University of York, forthcoming); Kathryn Crossley, 'Oxford college servants, 1850-1950', D.Phil (University of Oxford, forthcoming).

¹⁰²² Mansell, 'Variety of women's experiences'.

absence of the rural elite from local governance, Joan Kent and Henry French have both emphasised how the middling sort developed a collective identity from the immediate sphere in which they lived, worked and held public office.¹⁰²³ These principal inhabitants defined themselves by comparing themselves to others in the parish based on factors such as economic ability, kinship networks and moral traits. The findings of this thesis agree with Kent's research that these traits were important for status in the rural community but the experiences of the servants at Chatsworth suggest that access to these sources of reputation were not restricted to individuals who had a certain level of economic standing or who worked in particular occupations. Instead, through the presentation of certain moral attributes, their involvement in by-employments and their choice of partner at marriage, certain servants were able to strengthen and promote aspects of their lives which supported a position in the community which went beyond their place in the servant hierarchy and, in certain circumstances, enabled them to be elected to parish office. The recognition of these elements by the community was possible because these servants lived much of their economic and social lives in the immediate, local environment which enabled their neighbours and fellow parishioners to have intimate knowledge of their skills and traits.

Furthermore, the types of servants who were able to access locally-bound status were not restricted to upper servants, however, the recognition of these traits in lower servants often came with restrictions and limitations. Only a minority of servants employed in the country house experienced a level of income, education and reputation which meant they had more in common with the principal members of the community than the lower servants employed in the duke's household and, therefore, formed part of the estate's chief residents. The servants below this managerial level had a more temporary and changeable relationship with access to forms of local status. In several examples studied in this thesis, recognition of a servant's status beyond their place in the duke's household was limited to acknowledgement in small, familial groups or specific circumstances when the parish required help. For example, Henry Woodward's appointment to overseer of the poor, a position regularly held by freeholders in the parish, was supported by his years of experience and work which benefitted the wider community. Woodward's economic capabilities did not compare to that of the gentlemen and freeholders who formed the estate's chief inhabitants, instead the recognition of his character

¹⁰²³ Kent, 'Rural 'Middling Sort'', pp. 24-31; Henry French, 'Social Status, Localism and the 'Middle Sort of People' in England 1620-1750', *P&P* 166 (2000), pp. 79-99. Also see Jon Stobart, 'The Economic and Social Worlds of Rural Craftsmen-Retailers in Eighteenth-Century Cheshire', *Agricultural History Review* 52:2 (2004), pp. 141-160 for the importance of the immediate, local environment for the lives of craftsmen.

and his appointment to overseer was possible because the parish required the role to be filled. The rural parish was, for many of the servants employed at Chatsworth, the site of their family life, their place of work for the duke and their by-employments, and the site of their religious and social lives. These individuals experienced much of their multi-faceted lives in a single environment and through their engagement with the same individuals on a regular basis, servants were aware of where their circumstances placed them in the local hierarchy by comparing themselves to others in the community. This awareness was made further possible by the divergence of elite and plebeian cultures in the eighteenth century. E. P. Thompson has shown that, with the withdrawal of the elite from face-to-face community contact, a distinct and dynamic plebeian culture developed which was built on the experiences of the community and the traditions of religious and agricultural festivities.¹⁰²⁴ Servants were able to situate themselves in the ‘horizontal consciousness’ of the estate community as well as the ‘vertical’ hierarchy present in the duke’s household because of the development of a common culture which developed separate from the influence of the duke.¹⁰²⁵ The absence of servants’ perspectives in the sources studied in this thesis has meant that this study has not been able to examine the extent to which the servants employed by the duke understood themselves as being a collective group with a specific voice. Yet, evidence of servants’ lives as part of the estate community is suggestive of a means through which servants did access a form of collective understanding.

By studying the experiences of servants on the country estate, this thesis has shown that occupational titles are limited in what they can reveal about an individual’s status when not examined in a wider context. In a society where many individuals were involved in by-employments alongside their recorded occupations, this finding has important implications for our understanding of who was able to project attributes and characteristics which were suggestive of status and have them recognised by others in the community. While the retreat of the rural gentry from offices of governance in the parish has emphasised the important role local middling sort households played in the maintenance of law and order in a community, the place of servants on the Chatsworth estate suggests that the relatively stable nature of rural communities did not necessarily result in involvement in local governance being restricted to an oligarchy of middling men chosen from strict conditions. Instead, elements of an individual’s status could be informed by aspects of their life which were not always

¹⁰²⁴ Thompson, ‘Patrician Society’, pp. 385-387.

¹⁰²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

quantifiable, in contrast to the measurable nature of their wealth. Alexandra Shepard's work on witness testimonies has shown that, by the eighteenth century, individuals understood and defined their own worth by their employments rather than their material worth.¹⁰²⁶ The findings of this thesis suggest that the wider community, and the principal residents in charge of electing offices, also recognised the value of their residents beyond their economic capabilities which had an impact on how law and order was maintained in a community. This study has examined only one rural community which lived in an environment dominated by a country house, an experience not replicated in every rural parish. However, its focus on the experiences of individuals who did not conform to ideals of social prestige has shown how localism could provide a means through which individuals from lower stations could be recognised. The knowledge which came from living multiple aspects of their lives in close relation to the same individuals enabled a broader base for participation in the community and the maintenance of order within it. This has implications for our understanding of social order in rural society because it suggests how the social status of working people could extend beyond the confines of their economic ability to access, even if only temporarily or in certain circumstances, a form of standing which exceeded what their wealth or material lives suggested.

The focus on a single household in a community has demonstrated the importance of conveying the complexities of the notion of hierarchy. Previous studies, which have traditionally distinguished between upper and lower servants, convey only one of the hierarchies which existed in servants' lives and which was specific to the site of the household.¹⁰²⁷ As this thesis has shown, the household hierarchy is limited in its usefulness when examining a servant's position in the local community. Instead, the lives of the Chatsworth servants have shown that social prestige could come from other sources of income beyond an individual's main occupation such as their social connections, their skilled and industrious work, and their experience which developed with age. An individual's place in hierarchies beyond their master's or mistress's household did not always correlate to their status in the servant hierarchy, and gender, age and experience could intersect in different ways in the community hierarchy than they did in the household. Beyond their relationship with their master, servants were also family members, neighbours and friends and they had additional incomes as farmers, landowners and investors. Amy Erickson has argued that

¹⁰²⁶ Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*.

¹⁰²⁷ Hecht, *Domestic Servant Class*; Field, 'Domestic service, gender, and wages'.

service can be difficult to conceptualise as a 'single occupation' because of the number of different tasks a servant was expected to complete as part of their role.¹⁰²⁸ This thesis has demonstrated that servants could also perform a number of other roles and participate in other employments beyond service, therefore, more consideration needs to be paid to the roles these individuals performed away from their service work and a servant's life beyond the domestic setting of their master. By using Humfrey's concept of a 'working life', this thesis has aimed to present servants as individuals who had experiences and lives beyond their definition as servants.

For historians of the country house, the findings of this thesis have shown that further attention needs to be paid to the mobility of elite families and the impact this had on the country estate. While landowners had more regular interaction with their ancestral homes than their subsidiary estates which dealt with absentee landowners, these properties were still often only occupied for short periods of time by the family. Further research into the relationships elite families had with their many properties, how they were furnished, and the types of workers employed there, will allow for a more detailed understanding of how life was experienced in these locations for all residents. The survival of country houses has meant that these properties remain in the public consciousness, in comparison to London townhouses whose numbers have declined alongside the fortunes of many elite families, and, as a result, these properties have appeared more in the work of historians. The volume of materials and the detailed record-keeping which went into the management of elite properties, which still survive in many country house archives, means it is possible to compare the experiences of workers at different properties owned by a single family in order to better understand the impact that the location of a house and the needs of the family had on the household and the experiences of servants. This thesis has shown that aspects of servants' lives remain in these historical records and researching the experiences of these servants provides an interesting comparison to studies on urban service and a necessary counterbalance to them which it is hoped will encourage more studies on rural service more generally.

This thesis has not been the only output from my research and I have produced several public engagement activities based on the findings of this project. These have included exhibition panels, room guides, and a storytelling exhibition which have developed from the CDA

¹⁰²⁸ Amy Louise Erickson, 'Review: What Shall we Do about the Servants?', *History Workshop Journal* 67 (2009), p. 282.

partnership with Chatsworth. CDA doctoral projects were introduced by the Arts and Humanities Research Council to show the possibilities and benefits of collaborative work which extended beyond the academy, a theme which has increasingly become part of the outcomes of university departments as public impact has become a measurable entity in the Research Excellence Framework (REF). The inclusion of public engagement in the REF has meant emphasis has often been placed upon the end result of these collaborations rather than the process of collaboration itself. I researched this thesis and developed interpretation for visitors to Chatsworth concurrently and the process of collaboration was integral to the shaping of both of these projects. The focus on the everyday lives of servants, both in their roles at work and beyond it, became an important theme in outputs presented to the public and a concept crucial to the aims of this thesis. The findings of the three PhD theses on this project have informed a new approach to servants and workers in the curatorial interpretation at Chatsworth which now presents servants as mobile individuals who worked throughout the house and who had lives which existed beyond their relationship with the duke.¹⁰²⁹ Importantly, this collaboration has not been a one-way transfer of knowledge and the forming of this project in partnership with Chatsworth has stimulated questions I have explored in the archives which have further shaped the approach that this thesis has taken. King and Rivett have argued that the process which goes into creating an outcome is often the aspect of the collaboration which leaves the greatest impression on academics and members of their partner institution.¹⁰³⁰ This has been the case for this CDA PhD. The close collaboration with Chatsworth during this project has shaped the approach this thesis has taken and the conclusions it has reached.

From the beginning of this collaboration it was clear that any interpretation of servants at Chatsworth would not be able to follow the traditional route taken by country houses which places servants in ‘below stairs’ areas separate from the family’s ‘above stairs’ rooms. At Chatsworth, the traditional ‘below stairs’ spaces are not on the visitor route because these areas are used as offices and workshops by the variety of departments needed to maintain the country house in the present day. Therefore, any interpretation on servants would need to be presented in spaces already open to visitors. While restricted access to what have been traditionally viewed as servant areas could have been seen as a limitation, the task of making servants more visible in Chatsworth’s interpretation presented an opportunity to use the

¹⁰²⁹ See Appendix Four on public engagement, pp. 319-321.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*

archives to examine the realities of servants' daily routines and explore their interactions with the spaces that are on show to the public, often areas the public would not necessarily associate servants with. When undertaking research for a costumed interpreter who would be presented to visitors in the role of Mary Hackett, the 1st Duke's housekeeper, in the State Rooms, I needed to examine why she would be in this space and what activities visitors might have interrupted her doing. Archival research showed that the housekeeper at this time would have been involved in overseeing the finishing touches to the rebuilding of Chatsworth while also preparing the house for the arrival of the family. As a result, the costumed interpreter was presented to visitors with a set of bills in her hand which showed the housekeeper to be a servant who had mobility in the house and knowledge of its material and economic dealings.

This form of interpretation offers one way to challenge the traditional presentation of servants in country houses which usually presents them in spotless kitchens and workspaces where their labour remains hidden.¹⁰³¹ Laurajane Smith has argued that the presentation of servants in clean, ordered environments with little interpretation has perpetuated the belief that servants were largely absent from spaces beyond these domains as visitors are expected 'to read' the inherent meanings' present in these spaces.¹⁰³² The archival research I completed for this project has shown servants were not confined to these areas and these findings have informed the approach this CDA project has taken. Away from the country house, other heritage sites have begun reinterpreting the lives of servants and workers in a way that shows how these individuals occupied spaces which have traditionally been read by visitors as sites of intimate domesticity used only by the family. The Geffrye Museum of the Home, in collaboration with PhD students Tessa Chynoweth and Laura Humphreys, reinterpreted their period rooms to place servants in the living spaces of the middling-sort family resulting in the 2016 exhibition *Swept under the carpet? Servants in London households, 1600-2000*. Exhibitions like this demonstrate that there are other ways to present servants in these rooms which still remain authentic. At Chatsworth, the work undertaken by the 'From Servant to Staff' project implemented a similar approach through the creation of room cards which

¹⁰³¹ Lucy Delap, *Knowing Their Place: Domestic service in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 201-235.

¹⁰³² Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London, 2006), p. 126; Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London, 1985), p. 22; Laurajane Smith, 'Deference and Humility: The Social Values of the Country House' in *Valuing Historic Environments* (Surrey, 2009), pp. 47-48.

guides can use to link the experiences of servants to the space and objects visitors see in the family's spaces they visit.

This project culminated in a pop-up storytelling exhibition entitled *House of Stories* which was held at Chatsworth on the 13th June 2018. As part of this one-day event, visitors could engage with several different means of interpretation including viewing the archival documents used during the research for this project and reading information banners about individual servants and wider themes which had been prominent in the project. The main part of the event was the performance of twenty-minute stories written and told by myself, Lauren Butler and Fiona Clapperton, the two other PhD candidates on the project, which brought to life the individuals we had traced in the archival manuscripts. Throughout our discussions on how to share our research with the public, one of the greatest challenges was how to convey research which spanned 250 years of Chatsworth's history. The layers of individual lives which existed on the Chatsworth estate and which we had unearthed during our research encouraged us to include present-day visitors in the narrative we wished to tell. The *House of Stories* exhibition invited visitors to engage with the idea of place and, in particular, the layers of time, meaning and individual stories which an estate like Chatsworth can encompass. Visitors were asked to reflect on the question 'What's your Chatsworth story?' and to place themselves within the landscape of the estate, the same site experienced by the servants they were learning about, by sharing their memories. Answers to this question revealed Chatsworth to be a site of leisure where visitors came to see plays and concerts, a place of frustration where plans were put on hold in order to find lost siblings who had wandered off in the park, a place of excitement at being able to spend pocket money in the shop, and a place of remembrance for family members who had previously experienced the estate and shared their own memories of Chatsworth with younger generations. This approach also ensured our public engagement was not 'one-way dissemination' but rather a conversation between ourselves and visitors.¹⁰³³ Laura King and Gary Rivett have warned historians that public impact can be problematic because it can present a 'paternalistic approach' to an otherwise 'passive public'.¹⁰³⁴ The *House of Stories* exhibition valued the stories which visitors were sharing as much as those that were being told. The event showed that the estate remains a place which encapsulates many different facets of life, just as it did for the servants who lived there during the period of this thesis. Alongside the exhibition,

¹⁰³³ Laura King and Gary Rivett, 'Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus', *History Workshop Journal* 80:1 (2015), p. 3.

¹⁰³⁴ *Ibid.*

speaking at public talks held for visitors to Chatsworth and local history groups over the course of this project has also offered the opportunity for the two-way sharing of knowledge.

Overall, this project has provided Chatsworth with a wealth of information to draw upon about the servants and the estate community in a variety of forms including three PhD theses as well as reports and visitor information sheets written with a non-specialist audience in mind. At the Powering the Powerhouse Conference organised by the project and held at Sheffield and Chatsworth in June 2018, Kate Brindley, the Head of Collections at Chatsworth, argued that historically the country house has been at the forefront of innovation and present-day interpretation needs to reflect and maintain this focus in the choices heritage professionals make about the narratives and stories they tell and the way they present them.¹⁰³⁵ It is hoped that the findings of this project have gone some way to achieving this at Chatsworth.

This thesis has been driven by an ambition to reconstruct the lives of servants as far as it is possible from the fragmentary sources which survive. The majority of these documents were invariably created by those who managed them and on behalf of their master. Nevertheless, this thesis has, I hope, shown the potential, however limited, to not only reconstruct aspects of servants' lives but to uncover their limited agency. This thesis agrees with Sarah Maza's assessment of service as 'first and foremost a relationship'; however, by placing servants in the context of their own life-stories and in the estate community, this study has gone further to suggest that an individual's experience of service was created through a variety of relationships, not solely that which existed between master and servant.¹⁰³⁶ This thesis has been about individuals like the housekeeper, Eleanor Potter, who was first a wife and widow before she was a servant and Molly Marple, the housemaid, who acted as a witness to her will. It has been about Jane Hackett, the dairy maid, who was paid an annual wage of £3 but received additional money from the duke for killing rats, selling corn and keeping the duke's greyhounds, and about Ralph Travis, the gardener, who received a coal allowance but did not receive board wages during his forty-nine years of service. It has been about Thomas Burgoine, gamekeeper, gentleman, and overseer, and his wife, Katherine Ridgeyard, who worked as a housemaid for six years before leaving her position to marry him. The servants themselves and the local community did not view any of these circumstances to be at odds

¹⁰³⁵ Kate Brindley, 'Roundtable: Inclusion and Diversity in Country House Interpretation', Discussion at Chatsworth as part of the *Powering the Power House conference* (26th June 2018).

¹⁰³⁶ Maza, *Servants and Masters*, p. 6.

with the institution of service, therefore, neither should historians. By exploring in detail the diversity of individual experiences of service, this thesis has argued that the lives of these individuals are better understood when examined as a whole rather than as the individual sum of their parts.

Appendix One: Length of Time the Family resided at Chatsworth

The account books reveal the family usually spent time at Chatsworth between the months of June and October. The timing coincided with the period of the summer when the London Season had ended and before it began again at the end of October.

The length of time the family spent at Chatsworth has been calculated from the household accounts by two different means. In a minority of instances, accounts listed the weekly expenses the family incurred while resident at Chatsworth and, in these instances, this has been used to calculate the length of time the family were at Chatsworth for. In the absence of these records, the payment of board wages to servants has been used to calculate the length of the family's visit. Board wages were paid to servants when the family were not in residence in order that they could purchase food in the absence of the family's housekeeping expenses which usually kept them in food during their residency. They do not necessarily offer a precise means of calculation; board wages may not have begun immediately after the family left or may not have commenced if the family only remained in the house for a handful of days. However, they provide the most regular approximation of the Cavendish family's residency in the absence of routine family correspondence. The housekeeper's board wages have been taken to show the amount of time the family spent at Chatsworth. The housekeeper was the one position found at each of the family's houses; therefore, she would have remained at the same house all year round, unlike other servants who were more mobile.

In 1800, the female servants at Chatsworth changed from receiving board wages to receiving a sugar allowance. From 1803 this sugar allowance was paid to the servants all year round and, as a result, it cannot be used as an indication of how long the family remained at Chatsworth. From this year onwards, the period of time certain casual workers were paid to work in the house has been used as an estimate for the family's residence in a given year. Positions such as usher of the hall and slaughter-man were jobs that were required when the family came to stay at Chatsworth and were not performed by servants. The exact method through which the length of time the family stayed at Chatsworth has been found has been noted in the following table.

Manuscript Source	Year	Number of weeks	Source
C/10/A	1718	15 weeks	Casual labourers
AS/440	1719-1720	6 weeks	Servant board wages
AS/452	1720-1721	6 weeks 6 days	Servant board wages
AS/451	1721-1722	10 weeks 3 days	Servant board wages
AS/447	1722-1723	10 weeks 2 days	Servant board wages
AS/449	1723-1724	7 weeks 5 days	Servant board wages
AS/439	1724-1725	8 weeks 1 day	Servant board wages
AS/446	1725-1726	11 weeks 1 day	Servant board wages
AS/450	1726-1727	2 weeks 5 days	Servant board wages
AS/448	1727-1728	5 weeks	Servant board wages
AS/1087	1728-1729	5 weeks	Servant board wages
C/4	1732	8 weeks	Family expenses
C/6, C/4	1733	18 weeks	Family expenses
C/4	1734-1735	18 weeks	Family expenses. This was also the year of an election in Derbyshire.
C/13, C/4	1735-1736	19 weeks 1 day	Family expenses
C/13; C/5	1736-1737	7 weeks	Family expenses
C/13, C/5	1737-1738	17 weeks	Family expenses
C/13, C/5	1738-1739	12 weeks	Family expenses
C/13, C/5	1739-1740	10 weeks	Family expenses
C/13, C/5	1740-1741	9 weeks	Family expenses
C/5/B; AS/1061	1742	23 weeks	Family expenses
C/5/B	1743	14 weeks	Family expenses
C/5/B	1744	14 weeks	Family expenses

C/5/B	1745	29 weeks	Family expenses. Year of the Jacobite Rebellion
C/5/B	1746	30 weeks	Family expenses
C/24 C/18	1747	23 weeks / 18 weeks 2 days	Family expenses
C/25 C/18	1748	23 weeks	Family expenses. 12 th June-15 th November; +various dinners
L/91/1/3, C/18	1749	33 weeks	Family expenses: 18 th June-4 th February
C/24, C/18	1750	29 weeks	Family expenses: 16 th May-7 th December
C/24, C/18	1751	20 weeks	Family expenses: 23 rd June-10 th November
C/25, C/18	1752	20 weeks	Family expenses: 26 th July-14 th December
C/18	1753	22 weeks	Family expenses: 2 nd July-25 th November
C/18	1754	26 weeks	Family expenses: 7 th July-29 th December
C/107	1756	14 weeks	Family expenses
C/107	1757	18 weeks	Family expenses
C/19	1758	21 weeks	Family expenses: 9 th July-20 th November
AS/1063	1759	30 weeks	Family expenses
AS/1064	1760	25 weeks	Family expenses: 11 th June-3 rd December They went to Hardwick from the 9 th June
AS/1065, C/19	1761-1762	32 weeks	Family expenses: 13 th June - 16 th January
C/19	1763	16 weeks	Family expenses: 3 rd July to 13 th November
C/22	1766	13 weeks	Family expenses: 3 rd July to 2 nd October
C/22	1767	2 weeks	Family expenses: The expenses for this year are not as clear as other years. An election year
C/22	1768	3 weeks	Family expenses: The expenses for this year are not as clear as other years. 3 rd

			August to 3 rd October
C/22	1769	4 days	Family expenses: The expenses for this year are not as clear as other years. 25 th -28 th September
C/22	1770	14 weeks	Family expenses: 4 th July to 9 th October
C/22	1771	11 weeks	Family expenses: 14 th July to 28 th September
C/22	1772	12 weeks	Family expenses: 26 th July to 11 th October
C/22; C/14	1773	11 weeks	Family expenses: 1 st August to 6 th October [board wages recommenced for the servants on the 18 th October]
L/95/9	1777	9 weeks 2 days	Servant board wages
AS/1005	1778	0 weeks	Servant board wages
AS/1066	1784	12 weeks 3 days	Servant board wages
AS/1067	1785	7 weeks 6 days	Servant board wages
AS/1068	1786	5 days	Servant board wages. The family spent 6 weeks at Hardwick this year.
AS/1069	1787	19 weeks	Servant board wages
AS/1070	1788	8 weeks 4 days	Servant board wages
AS/1071	1789	5 weeks 5 days	Servant board wages
AS/1072	1790	0 weeks	Servant board wages
AS/1073	1791	3 weeks 3 days	Servant board wages
AS/1074	1792	4 weeks 6 days	Servant board wages
AS/1075	1793	2 weeks 1 day	Servant board wages
C/16	1794	9 weeks 2 days	Servant board wages
AS/1076	1795	1 week 5 days	Servant board wages
C/16	1796	0 weeks	Servant board wages
C/16	1797	6 weeks	Servant board wages

L/91/8	1798	7 weeks 1 days	Servant board wages
L/91/8	1799	11 weeks 4 days	Servant board wages
L/91/8	1800	13 weeks	Casual labourers: October-December
L/91/8	1801	19 weeks	Servant board wages: The maids received a sugar allowance for 33 weeks of the year.
L/91/8	1802	19 weeks	Servant board wages: The maids received a sugar allowance for 33 weeks of the year.
L/91/8	1803	0 weeks	The servants were on board wages and sugar allowance all year. There were also no payments to a slaughter man or an usher of the hall this year, jobs which usually mean the family had been staying.
L/91/8	1804	0 weeks	The servants were on board wages and sugar allowance all year. There were also no payments to a slaughter man or an usher of the hall this year, jobs which usually mean the family had been staying.
L/91/8	1805	0 weeks	The servants were on board wages and sugar allowance all year. There were also no payments to a slaughter man or an usher of the hall this year, jobs which usually mean the family had been staying.
L/91/8	1806	-	The servants were on board wages all year. The Marquis was at Chatsworth this year for an unknown length of time.
L/91/8	1807	9 weeks 3 days	The servants were on board wages all year. The Marquis of Hartington did spend 9 weeks and 3 days at Chatsworth this year.
L/91/8	1808	-	The servants were on board wages all year. The Marquis was at Chatsworth this year for an unknown length of time.
L/91/8	1809	>12 weeks	The servants were on board wages all year. The Marquis was at Chatsworth this year

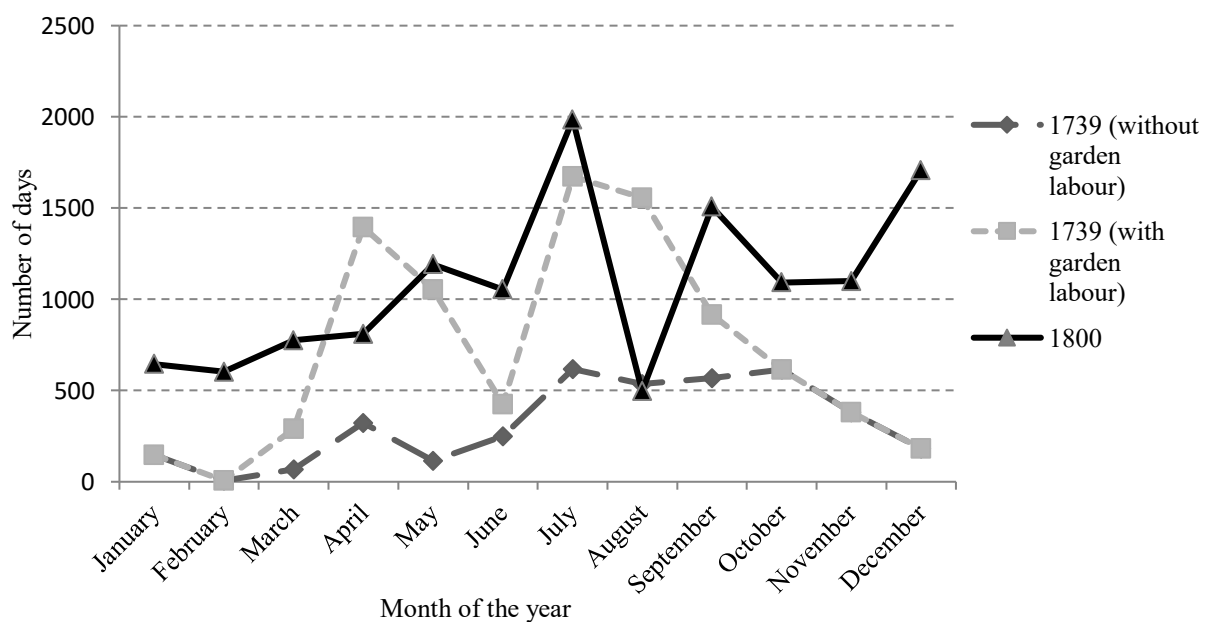
			for at least 12 weeks.
L/91/8	1810	Around 13 weeks 4 days	Casual labour. The servants remained on board wages all year although the family were at Chatsworth for part of the year. Taken from how much assistants in the house were paid this year we can estimate it was around 13 weeks 4 days.
L/91/8	1811	-	The servants were on board wages all year although the Marquis was at Chatsworth this year for an unknown length of time.
L/91/8	1812	-	The servants were on board wages all year although the Marquis was at Chatsworth this year for an unknown length of time.
L/91/8	1813	-	The servants were on board wages all year although the Marquis was at Chatsworth this year for an unknown length of time.
L/91/8	1814	Around 21 weeks 3 days	London servants board wages. The servants permanently at Chatsworth remained on board wages all year, although estimates from the length of time Devonshire house servants were paid to be at Chatsworth suggests the 6 th Duke was at Chatsworth for around 21 weeks and 3 days.

Appendix Two: Seasonality of Work

The seasonality of work on the Chatsworth estate was influenced by two factors: the farming year and the Cavendish family's visits. Much of the work at Chatsworth followed a similar pattern to other arable farms: opportunities for work were less over the winter months and peaked in July, when haymaking and sheep shearing required the hands of many. The family were most likely to be in residence at Chatsworth after the London Season and usually stayed in the house between July and November. Figure 7 shows this trend because the number of days worked by casual labourers slowly increased around June and peaked in July in both the 1739 and 1800 accounts.

The timings of casual labour on the estate have been estimated from the receipts and bills produced for their work.¹⁰³⁷ These bills were rarely written on the day a labourer completed their task or in the immediate days following and instead they were usually written a number of weeks after the event. In order to assess the seasonality of work on the estate, vouchers that were dated after the 20th of each month have been included in that same month and when a voucher has been dated before this time it has been included in the work of the previous month. This division has been followed for all vouchers, unless they otherwise give a direction on when the work took place.

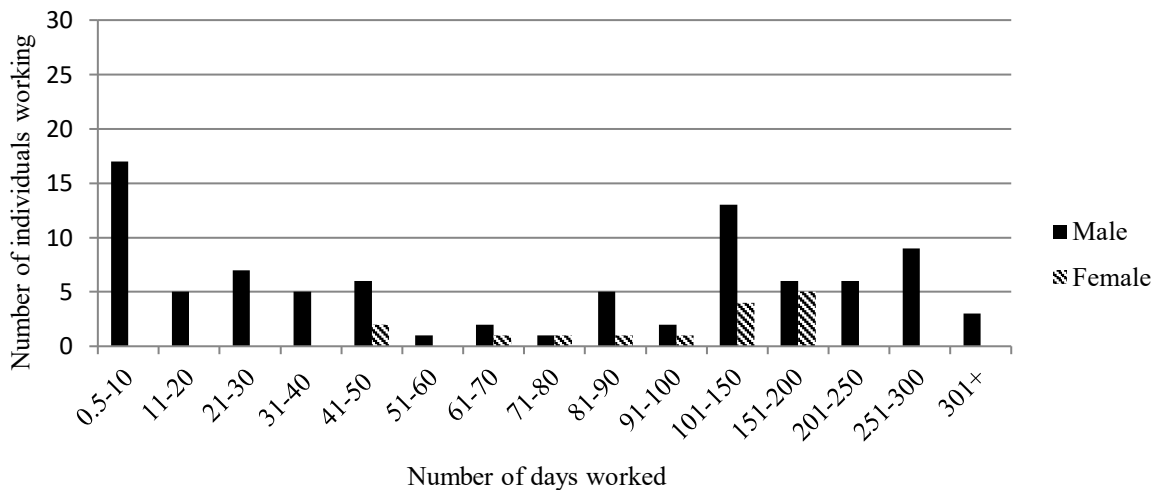
Figure 7: Number of days worked at Chatsworth by casual labourers



¹⁰³⁷ DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1739-1743; DC: DE/CH/3/11/44, Vouchers, 1800.

Casual work on the estate relied on two groups of workers, those who worked only during its busiest periods and those who laboured for longer, more regular periods throughout the year. Men and women took on both types of labour throughout the century. In Figure 7, the two lines for the year 1739 show the year both with the inclusion of garden labourers and without their labour. The garden labourers voucher series remains only for the year 1739 and not 1800, therefore, the line showing the number of days worked in 1739 without the garden labourers allows for a direct comparison with the data from the 1800 accounts. These accounts compare the labour undertaken in the husbandry department, the stables, household and certain garden tasks over the course of the year. The divergence between the two graphs in October highlights the effect the arrival of the duke and his family had casual labour. In 1739, the 3rd Duke arrived at Chatsworth on the 3rd July and remained for ten weeks until the middle of September. By the end of the century, the family were choosing to spend the later months of the year visiting Chatsworth. In 1800, the 5th Duke and his family spent thirteen weeks from October to December at the house and this difference in time accounts for the maintenance of work towards the end of the year in 1800 and the decline of it in 1739.

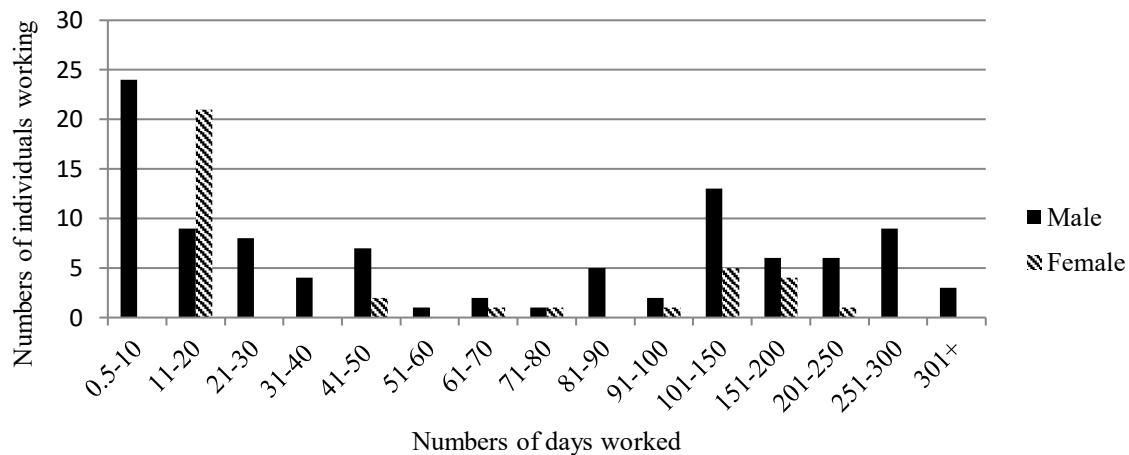
Figure 8: Number of days worked by day labourers in 1739



The seasonality of work was also highly gendered. Men were more regularly employed on the estate because many departments required their manual labour. Figure 8 shows the number of days worked by male and female day labourers in 1739 where it has been possible to assign time periods to their work and demonstrates the dominance of male labour. The graph also suggests that there were two groups of casual labourers: those who took on only one or two tasks for the estate, working between half-a-day and ten days, and those who took on multiple labouring tasks on a more permanent basis, working over one hundred days.

Figure 10 showing the number of days worked by male and female day labourers in 1800 suggests that this pattern remained at the end of the century.

Figure 9: Number of days worked in 1739 with the inclusion of the days from the 1742 harvest vouchers



The majority of women’s casual work on the estate can be divided into three categories: garden labour, household help, and harvest work. The records of women working during the harvest season do not survive in the 1739 voucher series; however, drawing on the 1742 harvest vouchers can suggest what day labour might have looked like during the year. The combination of these results, seen in Figure 9, suggests that the importance of these three areas of work for women. Like male casual labour, female workers on the estate fell into two categories: those who worked only at the time of the harvest and those who worked for extended periods in the house and garden. The harvest season on most farms lasted for around three weeks, or twenty-one days, and female workers at Chatsworth only appear in the 11-20 day category when the harvest records are included.¹⁰³⁸ The estate required more female workers during this period of the farming season than it employed throughout the year, but regular work could still be found on the estate for a select number of women. Figure 8 shows that most women worked between 41 and 200 days of the year at Chatsworth. In 1739, the family stayed ten weeks at Chatsworth, a total of 70 days and for many women the family’s appearance at Chatsworth marked an important moment in their relationship with the estate because they were often brought in to help with their stay. Women’s work extended beyond the number of days the family were actually present at Chatsworth in order to prepare the house for their arrival: Alice Barker was paid for 37 days washing ‘before his Grace was

¹⁰³⁸ David Stead, ‘Delegated Risk in English Agriculture, 1750-1850: The Labour Market’, *Labour History Review*, 71:2 (2005), p. 128.

at Chatsworth’, 84 days washing ‘when his Grace at Chatsworth’ and 21 days washing ‘since the family left’.¹⁰³⁹ Alice Wheeldon also worked during the period of the family’s stay spending 82 days helping in the kitchen and 36 days cleaning the house and the chimneys in preparation for their arrival.¹⁰⁴⁰ The pattern of women’s work around the house as they prepared for the family and served them accounts for the trend seen in Figure 8 for the correlation between women’s work and the time the family spent at Chatsworth.

Figure 10: Number of days worked in 1800

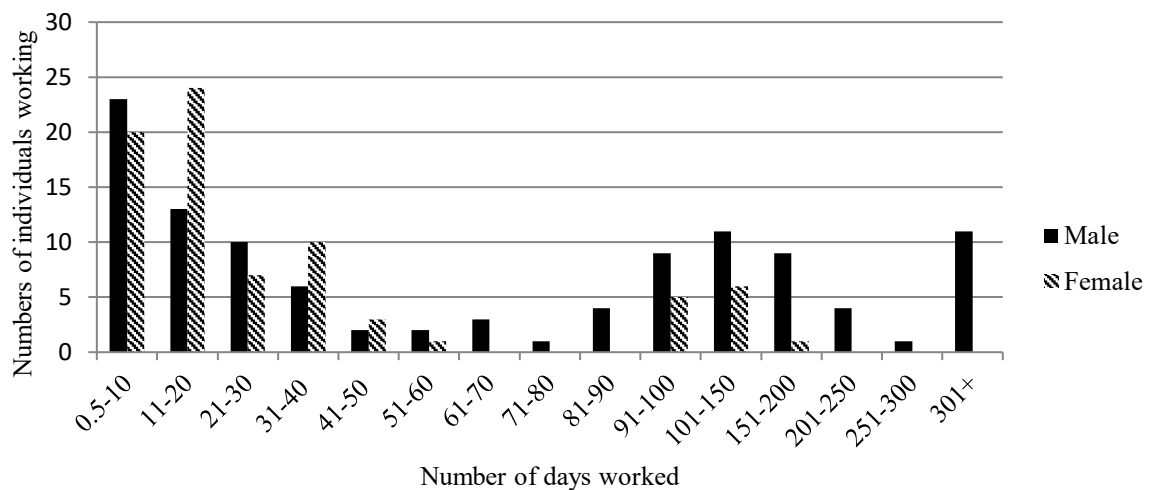


Figure 10 suggests that by the end of the century female casual labour followed a similar pattern as it did in 1739, although, by 1800, there was an increase in the number of women who worked for forty days and under. This length of time was a result of the agricultural labour expected of women. The vast majority of these women were involved in the maintenance of the estate’s parkland at important moments in the farming year: spreading fertiliser on the ground in April, weeding the corn in May and hay making in July. Out of the sixty-one women recorded working less than forty days, only five were listed as undertaking work on the estate in addition to these husbandry tasks. Therefore, the majority of this short-term employment was based on the farming calendar and undertaken by women who only worked for the estate during this period.

¹⁰³⁹ DC: L/95/6, Washing at Chatsworth, 19th October 1739.

¹⁰⁴⁰ DC: L/95/6, Chatsworth Vouchers, Work in the house, 8th November 1739.

Appendix Three: Database of Servants

The database of servants created for this PhD project was collated from a variety of manuscript sources. The names, role and wages of individuals were drawn from account books for the house and estate, rental accounts, and voucher receipts listed in the bibliography. Personal information such as servants' baptism, marriage and burial dates and locations were compiled from church registers and the monuments which survive in Edensor churchyard. The database includes 638 servants who started working for the Cavendish family between 1712 and 1811 at several of their properties: Chatsworth, Devonshire House, Hardwick Hall, Chiswick, Londesborough and Burlington House.

An edited version of this database can be found on the Chatsworth website at: <https://www.chatsworth.org/art-archives/access-the-collection/archives-and-works-of-art/historic-servants-and-staff>. This database also includes the names of servants found by the two other PhD students on wider 'Servants to Staff' project.

The headings for this database were chosen to record the mobility of servants in the household hierarchy, between the duke's households and around the country at different points in their life cycle. Not all of this information could be found for each individual.

The subject headings used in this database include:

1. Surname	16. Age when started service
2. First name	17. Age when left service
3. Gender	18. Baptism date
4. House	19. Place of baptism
5. 1 st Position	20. Burial date
6. 2 nd Position	21. Place of burial
7. 3 rd Position	22. Marriage data
8. 1 st Wage	23. Place of marriage
9. Paid half-yearly or yearly	24. Marriage partner
10. 2 nd Wage	25. Marriage by banns or licence
11. Board wage	26. Age at marriage
12. Year first recorded	27. Number of children
13. Year last recorded	28. Literacy
14. Reason for leaving (as stated in the household accounts)	29. Additional Information
15. Length of service to duke	

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
	Surname	First name	Gender	House	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position	1st Wage	2nd Wage	Board wage	Year first record	Year last record	Reason for leave	Length of service	Age when started	Age when left	Birth year	Birth date	Birth place	Burial	
52	Beaumont	Mary	F	Devonshire	Kitchen maid						1782	1783		2	1782	1783					
53	Bed/Bee	George	M	Devonshire	Footman						1770	1771		2	1770	1771					
54	Beeston	Mary	F	Devonshire	Laundry maid						1779	1779	Discharged	1	1779	1779					
55	Slow	John	M	Chatsworth	Roughrider			£25	Half yearly		1811	1816		6	32	37	1779	18-Apr	Edensor		
56	Beeston	Robert	M	Devonshire	Stables						1809	1809		1	1809	1809					
57	Beeston	Stephen	M	Devonshire	Groom's boy	1782: Groom					1778	1782		5							
58	Beestone		M	Devonshire	Helpers in the coach stable						1797	1797		1	1797	1797					
59	Beestone	Samuel	M	Devonshire	2nd Postilion	1797: 1st Postilion		£5 10s	Half yearly		1793	1798		6	1793	1798					
60	Beestone	Francis	M	Devonshire	Helper	1777: 2nd Coach	1786: 1st Coach	£20	Yearly		1773	1814		42	1773	1814					
61	Bellwood	Richard	M	Devonshire	Steward						1750	1752		3	1750	1752					
62	Trotter	Ralph	M	Chatsworth	Upholsterer			£80	Half yearly	1805: £60	1785	1816		32	27	58	1758	12-Mar	St Nicholas,		
63	Benton	D	F	Devonshire	Kitchen maid						1774	1774	Discharged	1	1774	1774					
64	Berry	E	F	Devonshire	Housemaid			£5	Half yearly		1803	1803		1	1803	1803					
65	Berry	Richard	M	Devonshire	Chairman			£13	Half yearly		1793	1794	Discharged	2	1793	1794					
66	Bertrand	Tousaint	M	Devonshire	1st Cook			£75	Half yearly		1784	1805		22	1784	1805					
67	Betson	John	M	Devonshire	Stable helper						1762	1762		1							
68	Bierdal	John	M	Hardwick	Looking after the Garden			£7			1756	1757									
69	Turner	Elizabeth	F	Chatsworth	Housemaid			£10	Half yearly		1804	1808		5	27	31	1777	27-Oct	Bakewell		
70	Bird	William	M	Devonshire	Groom's helper						1781	1781		1	1781	1781					
71	Blackmore	Edward	M	Chiswick	Tailor						1782	1783									
72	Blanchard	Robert	M	Chiswick	Porter						1772	1777	Death	6	1772	1777					
73	Blow	Ann	F	Devonshire	Laundry maid			£10	Yearly		1782	1784		3	1782	1784					
74	Blunden	Mary	F	Devonshire	Kitchen maid			£5	Half yearly		1789	1802		14	1789	1802					
75	Hage	William	M	Chatsworth	Gamekeeper at Haddon			£10 10s	Yearly		1789	1796		8	51	58	1738	14-Aug	Baslow		
76	Hall	Ann	F	Chatsworth	Dairymaid	1766: Housemaid		£3	Yearly	£5 [1762]	1755	1768		14	20	33	1735	15-May	Edensor		
77	Littlewood	Jonathan	M	Chatsworth	Stables	1778: Groom	1803: Horsebre.	£5 in 1770	Half yearly	£12 [Paid Y 7/	1770	1816		47	15	61	1755	May	Bakewell		
78	Booth	Thomas	M	Devonshire	Under butler						1773	1773		1	1773	1773					
79	Marple	Molly	F	Chatsworth	Maid?					3s a week	1752	1752		1	1752	1752					
80	Bourne	F	F	Devonshire	Kitchen maid						1788	1789	Discharged	2	1788	1789					
81	Bovey	R	M	Devonshire	Chairman			£13	Half yearly		1794	1794		1	1794	1794					
82	Bovey	David	M	Devonshire	Groom of the Chambers			£20	Half yearly		1774	1801		28	1774	1801					
83	Bowen	Elizabeth	F	Devonshire	Kitchen maid						1788	1788		1	1788	1788					
84	Bowen	Hannah	F	Devonshire	Kitchen maid			£5	Half yearly		1788	1792	Unknown	5	1788	1792					
85	Othen	Abraham	M	Chatsworth				£10	Yearly	6s a week	1766	1768		3	1766	1768					
86	Woodward	Henry	M	Chatsworth	Looking after C 1808: Attending Calton Pasture			£8	Yearly	£7 [1778]; £6 [1808]	1755	1814		60	9	68	1746	16-Jun	Edensor		
87	Bowring	G	M	Devonshire	Chairman			£13	Half yearly		1804	1805		2	1804	1805					
88	Scaif	John	M	Chatsworth	Stables			£31 10s	Half yearly	£15 15s	10.6	1784	1796		13	46	58	1738			
89	Dennis	William	M	Chatsworth	Helper in stables						1741	1741		1	28	28	1713	25-Oct	Carsington, Derby		
90	Bradley	Mary	F	Devonshire	Housemaid			£5	Half yearly		1777	1803		27	1777	1803					

Screenshot from the database

Sample entries in the database:

Surname	First name	Gender	House	1st Position	2nd Position	Wage	Yearly/ Half-yearly Wage	Board wage	Year first recorded	Year last recorded
Slow	George	M	Multi: Chatsworth/ Devonshire House	Stable hand	1796: Footman at Devonshire House	£12, 1796: £20	1784-1796: Half-yearly 1796-: Yearly	7s a week	1784	1801
Calton	Sally	F	Chatsworth	Housemaid		£3	Yearly		1761	1763
Trotter	Ralph	M	Chatsworth	Upholster		£80	Half-yearly	N/A	1785	1816
Pearce	Ann	F	Chatsworth	Housemaid		£10	Half-yearly	4s a week	1794	1798
Clark	Thomas	M	Chatsworth	Groom		£12	Half-yearly	9s a week	1786	1806
Davies	Ann	F	Chiswick	Housemaid					1776	1776
Slow	Edward	M	Chatsworth	Hunting groom		£40	Half-yearly	10s-10s 6d a week	1771	1814
Bradley	Henry	M	Chatsworth			£4 1723: £5	Yearly	4s – 4s 8d a week	1720	1724
Broom	Abraham	M	Chatsworth	Husbandman		£8 10s	Yearly		1719	1752
Bunting	Hannah	F	Devonshire House	Duchess's chambermaid	1794: Her Grace's Woman	£20	Half-yearly		1780	1806
Thomas	Elizabeth	F	Chatsworth	Housekeeper		£15	Yearly	7s a week	1765	1778
Alsop	Esther	F	Chatsworth	Housemaid		£11	Yearly	6s a week	1810	1810

Reason for leaving	Length of Service	Age when first employed	Age when left service	Baptism Date	Baptism Location	Burial Date	Burial Location	Marriage Date	Marriage Location	Marriage Partner
	18 years	16	33	1768	Hemel Hempstead, Hampshire	1817	Edensor			
	3 years	18	20	1743	Baslow, Derbyshire					
	32 years	27	58	12 th March 1758	Durham	1830	Edensor	1784	Bakewell	Ann Ripley
	5 years	18	22	13 th October 1776	Chesterfield, Derbyshire			1798	Crich, Derby	Henry Marsh
Death 11 th April 1806	21 years	28	48	31 st December 1758	Glossop, Derbyshire	1806	Edensor	1787	Edensor	Sarah Bowles
Discharged 25 th November 1776	<1 year									
Death 15 th July 1814	44 years	29	72	1742	Edensor	1814	Edensor	30 th June 1793	Edensor	Sarah Bonsall
	5 years									
	34 years					1760	Edensor	1733	Bakewell	Hannah Harris of Ashford
	26 years							n/a	n/a	n/a
	14 years									
	<1 year	23	23	7 th July 1787	Darley Dale, Derbyshire			14 th November 1813	Darley Dale	William Rogers

Banns or Licence	Age at Marriage	Number of Children	Literate?	Additional Information
Licence	26	6	Yes	
Licence			Yes	
Banns	29		Yes	
Banns	51		Yes	
				In receipt of a £5 annual pension in 1755
n/a	n/a		Yes	See CS5 series for mentions of Hannah in the duchess's correspondence. In particular see CS5/258 on Lady Spencer's assessment of Hannah's character
Licence	26	3	Yes	

Appendix Four: Examples of Public Engagement

House of Stories Pop-up Exhibition Event

In June 2018, Lauren Butler, Fiona Clapperton and I held a one-day pop-up exhibition and storytelling event at Chatsworth. The event invited the public to read banners inspired by individuals and themes researched by the project, view manuscripts used in our research and explore the servants' database created from the project which records over 4000 individuals. The public were also invited to listen to ten-minute storytelling performances which presented aspects of individual servant lives pieced together from our research in an accessible and engaging way.



Storytelling. Picture credit: Lauren Butler



The event held at the stables. Picture credit: author's own

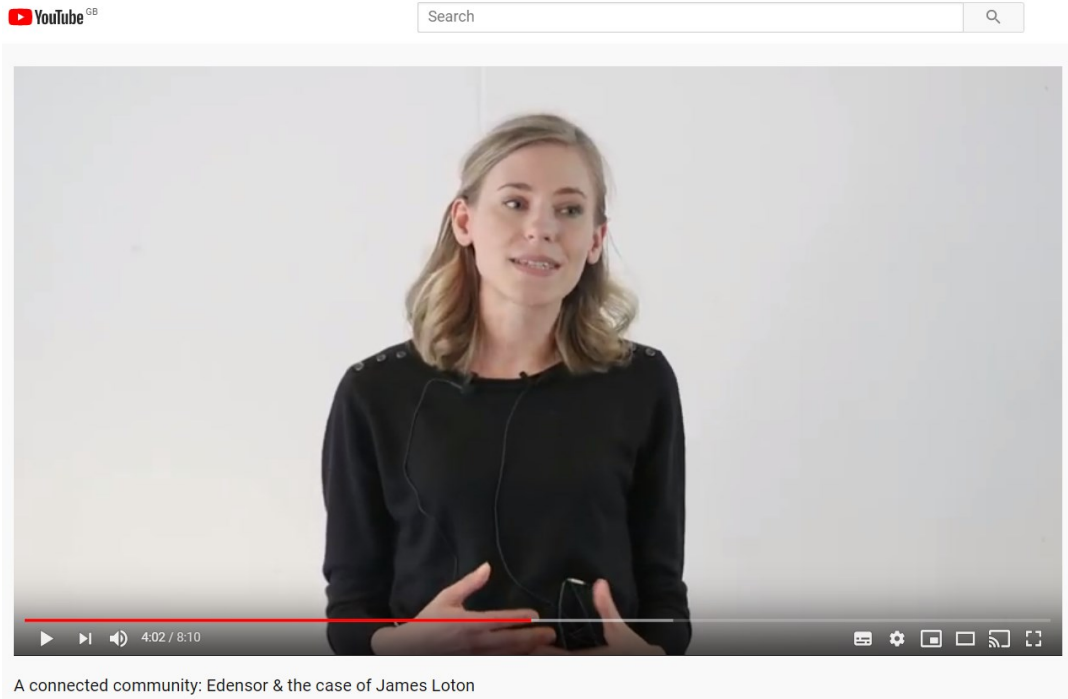
The day of the event was filmed by the University of Sheffield and can be viewed at:

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q8mbjfkzuWA&t=16s>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=POwjzyDhYg&list=LLFdKvFomuIKta5TFpYPF3YA&index=3&t=0s>

Storytelling:

I worked with storyteller Tim Ralph as part of the *Tales From The Ivory Tower* project to present an aspect of my research to a public audience through the medium of storytelling and public performance. The results were filmed by the University of Sheffield and can be viewed at:

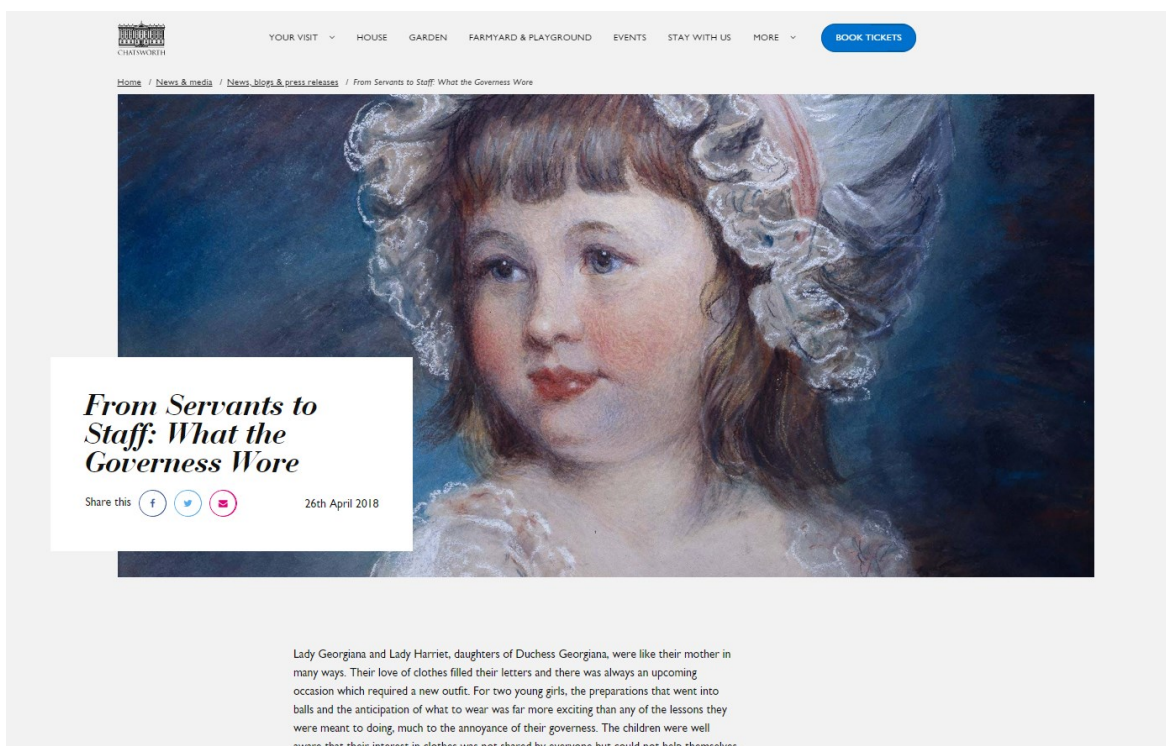
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H6THiI-Z-xU>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JuuZmfp6vUQ>



A Connected Community Storytelling uploaded to the *Arts Enterprise at University of Sheffield* YouTube channel

Example Blog Post:

As part of the collaborative nature of this project with Chatsworth public engagement took several forms including a monthly blog post published on the Chatsworth website and promoted on social media.



Bibliography

1. Unpublished Primary Sources

Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

- ARC/14, Plan of the Third Floor at Chatsworth, 1715-1725
ARC/15, Plan of the Second Floor at Chatsworth, 1715-1725
ARC/17, Plan of the First Floor at Chatsworth, 1715-1725
AS/1005, Accounts of Alexander Barker, 1778
AS/1053, Account book, 1774-1776
AS/1054, Account book, 1790
AS/1061, Alexander Barker's account for Chatsworth, 1741-1742
AS/1062, Chatsworth accounts, 1757
AS/1063, Chatsworth accounts, 1758
AS/1064, Chatsworth accounts, 1759
AS/1065, Chatsworth accounts, 1762
AS/1066, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1784
AS/1067, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1785
AS/1068, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1786
AS/1069, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1787
AS/1070, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1788
AS/1071, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1789
AS/1072, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1790
AS/1073, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1791
AS/1074, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1792
AS/1075, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1793
AS/1076, Account of Joseph Fletcher for Chatsworth and Hardwick, 1795
AS/1078, Edensor Residents Survey, 1788
AS/1079, Account of household disbursements, 1744-1745
AS/1080, Account of household disbursements, 1745-1746
AS/1081, Account of household disbursements, 1746-1747
AS/1082, Account of household disbursements, 1750-1751
AS/1083, Account of household disbursements, 1751-1752
AS/1084, Letter book of John Heaton, 1764-1768
AS/1087, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1728-1729
AS/1088, Account of William Barker, 1730-1731
AS/1333, Chatsworth vouchers, 1780
AS/1527, Account of Alexander Barker, 1777-1779
AS/26, Abstract of Servants' Wages and Tradesmen's accounts, 25th March 1766
AS/3239, Steward's Order Book, 1796-1816
AS/439, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1724-1725
AS/440, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1719-1720
AS/446, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1725-1726

AS/447, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1722-1723
 AS/448, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1727-1728
 AS/449, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1723-1724
 AS/450, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1726-1727
 AS/451, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1721-1722
 AS/452, Account of William Barker for Chatsworth, 1720-1721
 AS/506, Gifts to his Graces Servants, 1720
 AS/630, Edensor Assessment, 1691
 AS/79, Chatsworth Household Accounts 1752
 AS/80, Chatsworth Household Accounts 1755
 AS/836, London accounts, 1693-1699
 AS/953, Edensor removal notices, 1759-1777
 C/10/A, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1713-1732
 C/10/B, Chatsworth Memoranda and Account Estate, gardens and household accounts, 1732-1759
 C/107, Alexander Barker's accounts, 1755-1757
 C/11/1-77, Chatsworth, Edensor, Beeley, Baslow Rental accounts, 1693-1698, 1700-1704, 1714-1783
 C/128, Chatsworth, Edensor, Baslow Rental accounts, 1810
 C/13, William Barker's Accounts, 1729-1741
 C/14/1-13, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 1770-1782
 C/16, Accounts of Michal Hall and Thomas Fletcher; Chatsworth Housekeeping, 1794, 1796-1797
 C/166/A, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1776-1779
 C/166/B, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1780-1789
 C/166/C, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1789-1796
 C/166/D, Household accounts for Devonshire House and Chiswick, 1797-1804
 C/17, William Barker's Accounts, 1733-1734
 C/18, Chatsworth Household Expenses, 1747-1754
 C/184, William Bromehead Hardwick Household accounts, 1797-1811
 C/22, Chatsworth Household, Husbandry, Stables and Domain Account, 1766-1774
 C/24, Chatsworth and Hardwick Gardens, Household and Estate Accounts, 1745, 1750-1751
 C/25, Chatsworth and Hardwick Gardens, Household and Estate Accounts, 1747-1748, 1752
 C/27/1-13, Rents and Profits for the Chatsworth collection, 1794-1816
 C/36, Devonshire House Household Expenses, 1750-1766
 C/5, Chatsworth and Hardwick Kitchen accounts, 1708-1712, 1718, 1739-1745
 C/5, Chatsworth House Expenses, 1737-1747
 C/6, Chatsworth Cash Book, 1739-1745
 CH14/7/2/1-3, Wages paid to staff and accounts settled for Chatsworth Gardens 1777-1780
 CH36/5/3, Inventory of Chatsworth, 1811
 CH36/5/4, Inventory of Chiswick, 1811
 CH36/5/5, Inventory of Devonshire House, 1811
 CH36/5/6, Inventory of Hardwick Hall, 1811

CH36/7/0, Chatsworth and Hardwick Inventory, 1764
CH36/7/1, Payments for furniture and furnishings for Chatsworth and Devonshire House,
1774-1784
CH36/7/1A, Inventory of Chatsworth House and Hardwick, 1792
CH36/7/2, Inventory of Household furniture and other Effects at Chatsworth and Hardwick,
1792
CH36/8/0, Inventory of Chiswick House, 1770
CS5 series, Correspondence written during the time of the 5th Duke, 1764-1811
DE/CH/3/11/44, Vouchers, 1800
DE/CH/3/3/1-6, Chatsworth Day Books 1798-1801, 1804-1813
DF3/1/6, Summary of Accounts, 1773-1810
H/164/30, Counterpart of lease between Robert Marsden and the Duke of Devonshire, 1st
November 1734
H/373-375, Documents relating to Edensor, 1595-1711
L/114/51, Household Establishments, 1795-1801
L/13/23, Will of the 5th Duke of Devonshire, 1809
L/91/8/1-21, Thomas Knowlton and Joseph Fletcher's Chatsworth accounts, 1793, 1798-1817
L/95/10, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1780-1810
L/95/6, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1739-1743
L/95/82, Will of John Phillips, 1734
L/95/9, Chatsworth Vouchers, 1776-1790
M/2581, Map of Edensor, c. 1785

National Archives

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
IR26/359/250, Abstract of Will of David Loton, Yeoman of Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th
September 1809
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
IR26/361/486, Abstract of Will of Ralph Travis, Gardener of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 12th
May 1811
IR26/361/51, Abstract of Will of Richard Littlewood, Blacksmith of Edensor, Derbyshire,
16th March 1811

IR26/383/688, Abstract of Administration of Edward Ridgway, Widower of Devonshire House Piccadilly, Middlesex, 29th November 1809
PROB 11/1986/370, Will of Hannah Gregory, Spinster of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 27th October 1843
PROB11/1149/58, Will of Edward Duffee of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex, 8th January 1787
PROB11/1150/144, Will of Thomas Tawney, Servant to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire of Chiswick, Middlesex, 10th February 1787
PROB11/1175/221, Will of Richard Holden, Brewer of Bakewell, Derbyshire, 12th February 1789
PROB11/1290/60, Will of John Barker, Gentleman of Edensor, Derbyshire, 6th May 1797
PROB11/1295/108, Will of Mary Griffiths, Servant to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire of Chiswick, Middlesex, 14th August 1797
PROB11/1310/231, Will of Francis Barker, Butler of Devonshire House Piccadilly, Middlesex, 7th August 1798
PROB11/1332/165, Will of Bryan Hodgson, Servant of Devonshire Piccadilly, Middlesex, 15th November 1799
PROB11/1420/171, Will of Stephen Beeston, Groom of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex, 14th February 1805
PROB11/1479/55, Will of Ann Grove, Spinster of Bakewell, Derbyshire, 6th May 1808
PROB11/1521/480, Will of Toussaint Ambroise Bertrand, Gentleman of Devonshire House Piccadilly, Middlesex, 4th May 1811
PROB11/1638/43, Will of Sarah Dunks, Spinster, Housekeeper to the Duke of Devonshire of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex, 4th January 1821
PROB11/1650/21, Will of William Rhodes, Gentleman of Saint Clements Danes, Middlesex, 3rd November 1821
PROB11/1743/234, Will of Jonathan Littlewood, late Groom to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire of Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th July 1828
PROB11/1967/87, Will of Reverend James Peake, Clerk of Edensor, Derbyshire, 10th August 1842

London Metropolitan Archives

DL/C/0467/101/001-002, Will of Francis Beeston, January 1818

Staffordshire Record Office

B/C/11, Affidavit of the will of William Pleasance, 12th October 1815
B/C/11, Will of Alexander Barker, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1688
B/C/11, Will of Allen Vickers, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th May 1750
B/C/11, Will of Ann Plant, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th October 1722
B/C/11, Will of Anne Marsden, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794
B/C/11, Will of Anne Mercer, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1711
B/C/11, Will of Anthony Holmes, Edensor, Derbyshire, 28th February 1806

B/C/11, Will of Constantine Sheldon, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd January 1742
 B/C/11, Will of Edward Cowley, Edensor, Derbyshire, 2nd April 1700
 B/C/11, Will of Edward Whildon, Edensor, Derbyshire 6th October 1715
 B/C/11, Will of Elijah Trout, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th April 1724
 B/C/11, Will of Francis Pickering, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1776
 B/C/11, Will of George Baken, Labourer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1774
 B/C/11, Will of George Barker, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 1774
 B/C/11, Will of George Cowley, Carpenter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 19th April 1704
 B/C/11, Will of George Cowley, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794
 B/C/11, Will of Gervas Patrick, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1729
 B/C/11, Will of Grace Gibbon, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1808
 B/C/11, Will of Hannah Girdom, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1731
 B/C/11, Will of Hannah Stevenson, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 16th October 1783
 B/C/11, Will of Henry Bessick, Gardener, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 16th October 1794
 B/C/11, Will of Henry Dakin, Husbandman, Calton, Edensor, 3rd October 1711
 B/C/11, Will of Henry Melton, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st October 1736
 B/C/11, Will of Henry Sheldon, Tailor, Edensor, Derbyshire, 9th April 1712
 B/C/11, Will of Henry Woodward, Farmer, Calton Houses, Edensor, Derbyshire, 6th May
 1824
 B/C/11, Will of Henry Woodward, Husbandman, Calton Houses, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th
 May 1789
 B/C/11, Will of Hugh Wheeldon, Carpenter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1731
 B/C/11, Will of James Allen, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd November 1809
 B/C/11, Will of James Booth, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 11th April 1728
 B/C/11, Will of James Brossard, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 29th April 1762
 B/C/11, Will of James Gibbon, Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th October 1807
 B/C/11, Will of James Loton senior, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 28th April 1726
 B/C/11, Will of James Loton, Gardener, Edensor, Derbyshire, 25th April 1744
 B/C/11, Will of James Peak, Clerk, Edensor, Derbyshire, 19th April 1804
 B/C/11, Will of James Wheeldon, Painter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 10th May 1768
 B/C/11, Will of John Bampton, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1763
 B/C/11, Will of John Barker, Edensor, Derbyshire, 7th April 1727
 B/C/11, Will of John Bossley, Butcher, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd May 1794
 B/C/11, Will of John Bowring, Pilsley, Edensor, 17th April 1766
 B/C/11, Will of John Gibbon, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 20th May 1791
 B/C/11, Will of John Hackett, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1735
 B/C/11, Will of John Holme, Farmer, The Lees, Edensor, 16th October 1740
 B/C/11, Will of John Hutchinson, Keeper, of Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1743
 B/C/11, Will of John Lees, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 31st October 1739
 B/C/11, Will of John Merrill, Edensor, Derbyshire, 19th October 1752
 B/C/11, Will of John Patrick, Farmer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1760
 B/C/11, Will of John Rivers, Edensor, Derbyshire, 5th October 1721
 B/C/11, Will of John Rivers, Edensor, Derbyshire, 7th May 1772
 B/C/11, Will of John Sheldon, Edensor, Derbyshire, 5th May 1725

B/C/11, Will of John Wilson, Baker, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1763
 B/C/11, Will of John Woodhouse, Edensor, Derbyshire, 6th October 1701
 B/C/11, Will of John Woodhouse, Pilsley, Edensor, 6th October 1703
 B/C/11, Will of John Woodhouse, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 21st October 1737
 B/C/11, Will of Jonathan Triggs, Clerk, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702
 B/C/11, Will of Jonathan Twigg, Clark, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702
 B/C/11, Will of Joseph Dale, Labourer, Pilsley, Edensor, 21st April 1763
 B/C/11, Will of Joseph Higginbotham, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th October 1781
 B/C/11, Will of Joseph Marsh, Park-keeper, Edensor, Derbyshire 20th April 1820
 B/C/11, Will of Margaret Bowering alias Greensmith, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd July 1724
 B/C/11, Will of Margery Hartley, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702
 B/C/11, Will of Maria Roberts, Edensor, Derbyshire, 17th October 1785
 B/C/11, Will of Martha Heward, Pilsley, Edensor, 3rd October 1711
 B/C/11, Will of Martha Heyward, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1711
 B/C/11, Will of Mary Harrison, Widow, Pilsley, Edensor, 17th October 1757
 B/C/11, Will of Mary White, Edensor, Derbyshire, 5th October 1726
 B/C/11, Will of Matthew Colson, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1723
 B/C/11, Will of Matthew Coulson, Edensor, Derbyshire, 3rd October 1723
 B/C/11, Will of Michael Plant, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1766
 B/C/11, Will of Michael Sherratt, Webster, Pilsley, Edensor, 2nd May 1734
 B/C/11, Will of Nathaniel Woodhouse, Yeoman, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 17th October 1793
 B/C/11, Will of Peter Furniss, Yeoman, Pilsley, Derbyshire, 14th October 1808
 B/C/11, Will of Philip Melton, Innkeeper, Edensor, Derbyshire, 18th October 1792
 B/C/11, Will of Priscilla Twigg, Matlock, Derbyshire, 12th December 1856
 B/C/11, Will of Ralph Penistone, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 26th March 1718
 B/C/11, Will of Ralph Trotter, Farmer, Rufforth, Derbyshire, 2nd November 1830
 B/C/11, Will of Richard Drabble, Husbandman, Pilsley, Edensor, 21st April 1743
 B/C/11, Will of Richard Harrison, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 15th October 1761
 B/C/11, Will of Robert Bampton, Tailor, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th October 1789
 B/C/11, Will of Robert Holme, Labourer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 12th November 1701
 B/C/11, Will of Robert Kirke, Schoolmaster, Edensor, Derbyshire, 14th May 1767
 B/C/11, Will of Robert Lees senior, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 24th April 1765
 B/C/11, Will of Robert Lees, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th April 1707
 B/C/11, Will of Robert Pennistone, Husbandman, Pilsley, Edensor, 23rd April 1742
 B/C/11, Will of Rowland Harrison, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 19th September 1717
 B/C/11, Will of Rowland Mather senior, Weaver, Edensor, Derbyshire, 16th October 1729
 B/C/11, Will of Ruth Cottingham, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 15th October 1857
 B/C/11, Will of Samuel Coulson, Upholsterer, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th April 1744
 B/C/11, Will of Samuel Dongworth, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1785
 B/C/11, Will of Samuel Peniston, Yeoman, Pilsley, Edensor, 27th March 1735
 B/C/11, Will of Sarah Plant, Widow, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th April 1775
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Bland, Farmer and painter, Edensor, Derbyshire, 13th October 1803
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Burgoine Jr, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th September 1850
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Burgoine, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 20th April 1820

B/C/11, Will of Thomas Hartley, Edensor, Derbyshire, 22nd April 1702
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Holderness, Edensor, Derbyshire, 26th June 1837
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Hutchinson, Edensor, Derbyshire, 2nd May 1811
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Potter, Curate, Edensor, Derbyshire, 31st October 1733
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Roberts, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 14th October 1762
 B/C/11, Will of Thomas Sales alias Patrick, Husbandman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 11th April 1705
 B/C/11, Will of William Barker, Yeoman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 28th April 1737
 B/C/11, Will of William Cowley, Joiner, Edensor, Derbyshire, 21st April 1763
 B/C/11, Will of William Mather, Edensor, Derbyshire, 27th April 1709
 B/C/11, Will of William Mather, Edensor, Derbyshire, 4th April 1722
 P/C/11, Will of Alexander Simpson, Gentleman, Edensor, Derbyshire, 18th October 1776
 P/C/11, Will of Eleanor Potter, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 18th May 1753
 P/C/11, Will of James Hewett, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 26th May 1718
 P/C/11, Will of Jane Hackett, Widow, Derbyshire, 27th April 1744
 P/C/11, Will of John Hackett, Keeper, Chatsworth Park, Derbyshire, 24th October 1698
 P/C/11, Will of John Phillips, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 17th July 1735
 P/C/11, Will of John Sadler, Yeoman, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 14th October 1773
 P/C/11, Will of Robert Hackett, Yeoman, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 17th April 1741
 P/C/11, Will of Sarah Holt, Widow, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 18th May 1754

Derbyshire Record Office

D1192/A/PO/1 Parish account book, including overseers', churchwardens' and headboroughs' accounts 1794-1828
 M/38 vol. 10, Edensor Parish Church Registers 1539-1726
 M/38 vol. 11, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Baptisms 1726-1838, Marriages 1726-1754
 M/38 vol. 14, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Marriages 1754-1811
 M/39 vol. 1, Edensor Parish Church Registers, Burials 1726-1812
 Q/MP/1/1-41, Derby Division Petty Sessions
 Q/RV: Quarter Sessions: Vagrant Passes and Settlement Examinations, 1711-1809

Ancestry

'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)
 '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)
 '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)

- '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)
- '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)
- '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)
- '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)
- '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)
- 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)
- Marriages (PR) England. Chesterfield, Derbyshire. 18th December 1794, Hannah Pearce and 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)
- 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. 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)
- 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. 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)
- 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)
- 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)

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)

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)

UK Parish Baptism, Marriage and Burial Records, <http://ancestry.co.uk> (last accessed 31st July 2019)

2. Printed Primary Sources

Adams, S. and S. Adams, *The Complete Servant; The Complete Servant: Being A Practical Guide to the Peculiar Duties and Business of All Descriptions of Servants* (London, 1825)

Appeals Relating to the Tax on Servants; with the Opinion of the Judges Thereon (London, 1781)

Barker, A., *The complete servant maid: or young woman's best companion* (London, 1770)

Blackstone, W., *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. In four books. The sixth edition (Dublin, 1775)

Boswell, J., *The Life of Samuel Johnson: Volume 1* (London, 1787)

Carter, J., *The builder's magazine: or monthly companion for architects, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c.* (London, 1774)

Chambers, W., *A treatise on the decorative part of civil architecture. Illustrated by fifty original, and three additional plates, engraved by Old Rooker, Old Foudrinier, Charles Grignon, and other eminent hands* (London, 3rd edn., 1791)

Colquhoun, P., *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)

Defoe, D., *Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business: Or, Private Abuses, Public Grievances Exemplified* (London, 1725)

Diary of William Gould 1783-1795 (Privately printed)

Domestic management, or the art of conducting a family; with instructions to servants in general. Addressed to young housekeepers (London, 1800)

Glasse, H., *The Servant's Directory, Or House-Keeper's Companion* (London, 1760)

Loudon, J. C., *An encyclopædia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture and furniture; containing numerous designs for dwelling from the cottage to the villa* (London, 1835)

The Gentleman's Magazine Volume 153 (London, 1745)

Trusler, J., *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)

Ware, I., *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)

3. Internet Sources: Primary

Derbyshire Apprenticeship Indentures,

<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~spire/Yesterday/Apprentice.htm> (last accessed 1st August 2019)

Derbyshire Bastardy Papers, <http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~spire/Yesterday/Bastardy.htm> (last accessed 1st August 2019)

Derbyshire Transportation to Australia 1784-1788 from Quarter Sessions,

<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~spire/Yesterday/transportation-beyond-the-sea.htm> (last accessed 1st August 2019)

Monument and gravestone inscriptions in Edensor Churchyard,

<http://www.thrower.org.uk/edensor/frames.htm> (last accessed 14th June 2019)

Old Bailey Proceedings Online, trial of William Mason, (t17880910-62), September 1788, (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, last accessed 16th November 2015)

Peak District Poor Law Settlement and Removal Papers (SURNAMES A-L)

http://www.peakinthepast.co.uk/uploads/3/4/5/2/34521996/peak_district_poor_law_settlement_and_removal_papers_surnames_a-l.pdf (last accessed 1st August 2019)

Peak District Poor Law Settlement and Removal Papers (SURNAMES M-Z)

http://www.peakinthepast.co.uk/uploads/3/4/5/2/34521996/peak_district_poor_law_settlement_and_removal_papers_surnames_m-z.pdf (last accessed 1st August 2019)

Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions for Derbyshire, 1770-1828,

<http://www.wirksworth.org.uk/CRIME> (last accessed 1st August 2019)

4. Secondary Sources: books

Allen, J., *Lost Geographies of Power* (Oxford, 2003)

Amussen, S., *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York, 1988)

Arkell, T., E. Evans and N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000)

Arnold, D. (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: architecture, landscape and society* (Stroud, 1998)

Attfield, J., *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2000)

Baigent, E. and R. J. Mayhew (eds), *English Geographies 1600-1950: Historical essays on English customs, cultures, and communities on honour of Jack Langton* (Oxford, 2009)

Baker-Jones, L., *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in Their Community* (Gomer, 1999)

Barker, H., *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 2017)

Barnatt, J., *Chatsworth: a landscape history* (Bollington, 2005)

Beardmore, C., *Financing the Landed Estate: Power, Politics and People on the Marquis of Anglesey's Estate, 1812-1854* (London, 2019)

- Beckett, J.V., *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986)
- Ben-Amos, I. K., *Adolescence & Youth in Early Modern England* (London, 1994)
- Ben-Amos, I. K., *The Culture of Giving, Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011)
- Berg, M. and E. Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement and Taste* (London, 1986)
- Bourdieu, P., *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, 1991)
- Bourdieu, P., *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, 1977 (Cambridge, 1995)
- Braddick, M. and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating Hierarchy in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy, and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001)
- Burnette, J., *Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain* (Cambridge, 2008)
- Buxton, A., *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2015)
- Cavallo, S. and S. Evangelisti (eds), *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2009)
- Christie, C., *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 2000)
- Clemenson, H. A., *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (London, 1982)
- Collett-White, J. (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714-1830* (Bedford, 1995)
- Cowen Orlin, L., *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford, 2007)
- Davidoff, L. and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, 1987)
- Davidson, C., *A Woman's Work is Never Done: History of Housework in the British Isles, 1650-1950* (London, 1982)
- De Vries, J., *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London, 1984)
- De Vries, J., *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge, 2008)
- Delap, L., *Knowing their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2011)
- Earle, P., *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650-1750* (London, 1994)
- Elias, N., *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford, 1976)
- Elton, A., B. Harrison and K. Wark, *Researching the Country House: A Guide for Local Historians* (London, 1992)
- Estabrook, C. B., *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660-1780* (Manchester, 1998)
- Fairchilds, C., *Domestic Enemies: Servants and their Masters in Old Regime France* (London, 1984)
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (ed.), *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity, Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th-21st Centuries* (Bern, 2004)
- Finch, J. and K. Giles (eds), *Estate landscapes: design, improvement and power in the post-medieval landscape* (Woodbridge, 2007)
- Finden, P. (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800* (London, 2013)

- Finn, M. and K. Smith, *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London, 2018)
- Flather, A., *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk, 2007)
- Foreman, A., *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London, 1998)
- Foucault, M., *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1977)
- French, H. and J. Barry, *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2004)
- French, H. and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford, 2012)
- French, H. R., *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600–1750* (Oxford, 2007)
- Gell, A., *Art and agency. An anthropological theory* (Oxford, 1998)
- Gerard, J., *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 1994)
- Gerritsen, A. and G. Riello (eds), *Writing Material Culture History* (London, 2015)
- Gilbert, C., *An exhibition of back-stairs furniture from country houses* (Leeds, 1977)
- Girouard, M., *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 1978)
- Glennie, P. and N. Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800* (Oxford, 2011)
- Goffman, E., *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1959)
- Gowing, L., *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth- Century England*, (Cambridge, 2003)
- Gowing, L., *Domestic Dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London* (Oxford, 1996)
- Griffiths, P., A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (London, 1996)
- Hainsworth, D. R., *Stewards, Lords and People: The estate steward and his world in later Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1992)
- Hamlett, J., *At Home in the Institution; Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Basingstoke, 2015)
- Hamlett, J., L. Hoskins and R. Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1724-1970: Inmates and Environments* (London, 2013)
- Hamling T. and C. Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (London, 2016)
- Hamling, T. and C. Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (London, 2017)
- Hammond, P. and C. Hammond, *Life in an Eighteenth Century Country House* (Stroud, 2013)
- Harris, B., *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002)
- Harvey, K. (ed.) *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London, 2009)
- Hecht, J.J., *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1956)
- Hill, B., *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996)
- Hindle, S., A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2013)

- Hindle, S., *On the Parish? The micro-politics of poor relief in rural England, c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004)
- Hitchcock, T. and R. Shoemaker, *London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of a Modern City, 1690-1800* (Cambridge, 2015)
- Houlbrooke, R., *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998)
- Houston, R. A., *Peasant Petitions: Social Relations and Economic Life on Landed Estates, 1600-1850* (Basingstoke, 2014)
- Humfrey, P., *The Experience of Domestic Service for Women in Early Modern London* (Farnham, 2011)
- Hunt, M., *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London, 1996)
- James, S. E., *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485-1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (Abingdon, 2015)
- Jowitt, J. A. (ed.), *Model Industrial Communities in Mid-Nineteenth Century Yorkshire* (Bradford, 1986)
- King, S., and A. Tomkins, *The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester, 2003)
- Kussmaul, A., *A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538-1840* (Cambridge, 1990)
- Kussmaul, A., *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1981)
- Laslett, P. and R. 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)
- Laslett, P., *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977)
- Laslett, P., *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965)
- Lemire, B., *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c. 1600-1900* (Manchester, 2005)
- Lipsedge, K., *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels* (Basingstoke, 2012)
- Macdonald, J., *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman* (Abingdon, 1927)
- Mandler, P., *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997)
- Mascuch, M., *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge, 1997)
- Massey, D., *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Maza, S. C., *Servants and Masters in 18th Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, 1983)
- McBride, K. B., *Country House Discourse In Early Modern England: A cultural study of landscape and legitimacy* (Aldershot, 2001)
- McCormack, M., *The Independent Man: citizenship and gender politics in Georgian England* (Manchester, 2005)
- McDonagh, B., *Elite Women and the Agricultural Landscape, 1700-1830* (London, 2018)
- McKendrick, N., J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: Commercialization of England* (London, 1982)

- Meldrum, T., *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, 2000)
- Meyer Spacks, P., *Privacy, Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago, 2003)
- Mingay, G. E., *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963)
- Moore, H., *Space, Text and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya* (Cambridge, 1986)
- Morris, C., *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c. 1682-c. 1712* (London, 1982)
- Muldrew, C., *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2011)
- Muldrew, C., *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998)
- Murdoch, T. (ed.), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses A Tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge, 2006)
- Overton, M., J. Whittle, D. Dean and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households: 1600–1750* (Abingdon, 2004)
- Pennel, S., *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London, 2016)
- Phythian-Adams, C. (ed.), *Societies, cultures and kinship, 1580-1850: cultural provinces in English local history* (Leicester, 1993)
- Pinchbeck, I., *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (London, 1930)
- Ponsonby, M. and D. Hussey (eds), *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Aldershot, 2008)
- Ponsonby, M. and D. Hussey, *The single homemaker and material culture in the long eighteenth century* (Farnham, 2012),
- Ponsonby, M., *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Aldershot, 2007)
- Retford, K. and S. Avery-Quash (eds), *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display* (London, 2019)
- Richardson, R. C., *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2010)
- Sambrook, P., *A Country House at Work: Three Centuries of Dunham Massey* (London, 2003)
- Sambrook, P., *The Servants' Story: Managing a Great Country House* (Stroud, 2016)
- Scott, J.C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London, 1990)
- Shammas, C., *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990)
- Sharpe, P., *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700-1850* (Basingstoke, 2000)
- Shepard, A. and P. Withington (eds), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000)
- Shepard, A., *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015)
- Shoemaker, R. B., *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The emergence of separate spheres?* (London, 1998)
- Simonton, D. and A. Montenach (eds), *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640-1830* (Abingdon, 2013)
- Smith, K., *Material Goods, Moving Hands: Perceiving Production in England, 1700-1830* (Manchester, 2014)

- Snell, K., *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985)
- Snell, K.D.M., *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006)
- Spacks, P.M., *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (London, 2003)
- Spence, C., *Women, Credit, and Debt in Early Modern Scotland* (Manchester, 2016)
- Steedman, C., *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009)
- Steedman, C., *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge, 2007)
- Stewart, R., *The Town House in Georgian London* (London, 2009)
- Stobart, J. and A. Hann, *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (Swindon, 2016)
- Stobart, J. and M. Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford, 2016)
- Stobart, J., A. Hannan and V. Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c. 1680-1830* (Abingdon, 2007)
- Stone, L., *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce in England, 1660-1857* (Oxford, 1993)
- Stone, L., *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977)
- Straub, K., *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore, 2009)
- Styles, J. and A. Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830* (London, 2006)
- Styles, J., *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2008)
- Tadmor, N., *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001)
- Tinniswood, A., *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London, 1998).
- Thomas, K., *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2009)
- Thompson, E. P., *Customs in Common* (London, 1993)
- Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963)
- Thompson, E. P., *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978)
- Thompson, F.M.L., *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1988)
- Verdon, N., *Rural women workers in nineteenth-century England: gender, work and wages* (Woodbridge, 2002)
- Vickery, A., *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London, 1998)
- Vickery, A., *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, 2009)
- Voth, H-J, *Time and Work in the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 2010)
- Waddell, B., *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, 2012)
- Wahrman, D., *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2006)

- Waterson, M., *The Servants' Hall: A Domestic History of Erddig* (London, 1980)
- Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1988)
- Whittle, J. (ed.), *Servants in Rural Europe, 1400-1900* (Woodbridge, 2017)
- Williamson, F., (ed.), *Locating Agency: Space, Power and Popular Politics* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010)
- Wilson, M.L., *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977)
- Wilson, R., *Creating paradise: the building of the English country house, 1660-1880* (London, 2000)
- Wrightson, K. and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling 1525-1700* (London, 1979)
- Wrightson, K., *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000)
- Wrigley, E. A., and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871* (Cambridge, 1989)

5. Secondary Sources: chapters in books

- Agnew, J.A., 'Space and Place', in J. A. Agnew and D. N. Livingstone (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* (California, 2011), pp. 316-331
- Beaudry, M.C., 'Words for things: linguistic analysis of probate inventories', in M.C. Beaudry (ed.), *Documentary archaeology in the New World* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 43-50
- Bloy, M., 'The Trouble With Servants... Domestic Life at Wentworth Woodhouse in the Eighteenth Century', in M. Jones (ed.), *Aspects of Rotherham 3* (Barnsley, 1998), pp. 99-112
- Bohanan, D., 'Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes in the Noble Houses of Old Regime Dauphiné', in D. Goodman and K. Norberg (eds), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 117-128
- Clay, C., 'Landlords and Estate Management in England' in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume V Part II* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 217-223
- Corfield, P. J., 'Lords & Ladies: Titles, Status and Precedence' in E. M. Green, P. J. Corfield and C. Harvey (eds), *Elections in Metropolitan London, 1700-1850 Vol: 1 Arguments and Evidence* (Bristol, 2013), pp. 1-17
- Corfield, P. J., '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), pp. 1-34
- Cowen Orlin, L., 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory' in H. S. Turner (ed.), *The Culture of Capital* (New York, 2002), pp. 51-83
- Dannehl, K., "'To Families Furnishing Kitchens': Domestic Utensils and their Use in the Eighteenth-Century Home' in D. Hussey and M. Ponsonby (eds), *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 27-46

- Evans, N., 'Occupations and Status of Male Testators in Cambridge, 1551-1750' in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 176-188
- Flather, A., 'Male Servants, Identity and Urban Space in Eighteenth-Century England', in D. Simonton (ed.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience* (London, 2017), pp. 91-102
- Foucault, M., 'Space, Power, and Knowledge', in S. During (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London, 1984), pp. 134-142
- Friedman, J., 'Town and Country: The Spencers of Althorp', in K. Retford and S. Avery-Quash (eds), *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display* (London, 2019), pp. 99-118
- Goldberg, P. J. P., 'What Was a Servant?' in A. Curry and E. Matthew (eds), *Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 1-20
- Goodman, D., 'The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century self' in D. Goodman and K. Norberg (eds) *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past* (Abingdon, 2007), p. 183-204
- Goose, N. and N. Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source' in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 38-71
- Hay, D., '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
- Hellman, M., 'The Joys of Sets: The Uses of Seriality in the French Interior', in D. Goodman and K. Norberg (eds), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 129-154
- Hey, D., 'The North-West Midlands: Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Shropshire' in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume V Part I* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 129-158
- Hindle, S., 'Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory, and Identity in the English Local Community, c. 1500-1700' in M. J. Halvorson and K. E. Spierling (eds) *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 205-228
- King, P., 'Pauper Inventories and the Material Lives of the Poor in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Centuries', in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 155-191
- Maddern, P., '“In myn own house”: The Troubled Connections between Servant Marriages, Late-Medieval English Household Communities and Early Modern Historiography', in S. Broomhall and S. Tarbin (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 45-60
- Marsh, C., 'Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England', in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 158-175
- McIsaac Cooper, S., 'From Family Member to Employee: Aspects of Continuity and Discontinuity in English Domestic Service, 1600-2000' in A. Fauve-Chamoux (ed.),

- Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity: Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th-21st Centuries* (Bern, 2004), pp. 277-296
- Muldrew, C., 'Class and Credit: Social Identity, Wealth and the Life Course in Early Modern England' in H. French and J. Barry (eds), *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 147-177
- Nunn, P. J., 'Aristocratic Estates and Employment in South Yorkshire 1700-1800', in S. Pollard and C. Holmes (eds), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire* (Barnsley, 1976), pp. 28-41
- Patten, J., '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), pp. 103-121
- Riello, G., 'Things seen and unseen': The material culture of early modern inventories and their representation of domestic interiors' in P. Findlen (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 125-150
- Shoemaker, R., '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, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 144-165
- Steedman, C., 'Service and Servitude in the World of Labor: Servants in England, 1750-1820' in C. Jones and D. Wahrman (eds), *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France 1750-1820* (London, 2002), pp. 124-136
- Stobart, J., 'A settled little society: networks, friendship and trust in eighteenth-century provincial England' in E. Baigent and R. J. Mayhew (eds), *English Geographies 1600-1950: Historical Essays on English Customs, Cultures, and Communities in Honour of Jack Langton* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 58-70
- Styles, J., 'Lodgings at the Old Bailey: Lodgings and Their Furnishing in Eighteenth-Century London', J. Styles and A. Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830* (New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 61-80
- Walsh, C., 'Shopping at First Hand? Mistress, Servants and Shopping for the Household in Early Modern England, in M. Hussey and D. Ponsonby, *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 13-26
- Williamson, F., 'Introduction: Space, Popular Politics and Agency' in F. Williamson (ed.), *Locating Agency: Space, Power and Popular Politics* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010), pp. 1-18
- Wrightson, K., 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England' in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (London, 1996), pp. 10-46
- Wrightson, K., 'The Social Order of Early Modern England: Three Approaches', in L. Bonfield, R., M. Smith and K. Wrightson (eds), *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 177-202

6. Secondary Sources: articles

- Anderson, J., 'Remaking the Space: the plan and the Route in Country-House Guidebooks from 1770 to 1815', *Architectural History* 54 (2011), pp. 195-212
- Barclay, K., 'Place and Power in Irish Farms at the End of the Nineteenth Century', *Women's History Review*, 21:4 (2012), pp. 571-588
- Barker, H., and J. Hamlett, 'Living Above the Shop: Home, Business, and Family in the English "Industrial Revolution"', *Journal of Family History*, 35:4 (2010), pp. 311-328
- Beardmore, C., 'Landowner, Tenant and Agent on the Marquis of Anglesey's Dorset and Somerset Estate, 1814-44', *Rural History*, 26:2 (2015), pp. 181-199
- Beckett, J. V., 'Absentee Landownership in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: the Case of Cumbria', *Northern History* 19.1 (1983), pp. 87-107
- Berg, M., 'Women's consumption and the industrial classes of eighteenth-century England', *Journal of Social History* 30: 2 (1996), pp. 415-434
- Biscetti, S., 'Power, (Im)Politeness and Aggressiveness in Early Modern Master-Servant Relations (1660-1750)', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2015), pp. 287-314
- Brown, S., 'Assessing Men and Maids: The Female Servant Tax and Meanings of Productive Labour in Later-Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Left History*, 12:2 (2007), pp. 11-32
- Chakravarty, U., 'Livery, Liberty, and Legal Fictions', *English Literary Renaissance* 42:3 (2012), p. 365-390
- Clegg, J., 'Good to Think with: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 4 (2015), pp. 43-66
- Comniel, G. C., 'English Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 27.4 (2000), pp. 1-53
- Corfield, P.J., 'Business leaders and town gentry in early industrial Britain: specialist occupations and shared urbanism', *Urban History* 39:1 (2012), pp. 20-50
- Cox, N. and J. Cox, 'Probate Inventories: The Legal Background – Part 1', *The Local History* 16:3 (1984), pp. 133-145
- Cragoe, M., 'The Parish Elite at Play? Cricket, Community and the 'Middling Sort' in Eighteenth-Century Kent', *History* 102:349 (2017), pp. 45-67
- Cressy, D., 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* 113 (1986), pp. 38-69
- Crook, T., 'Norms, Forms and Beds: Spatializing Sleep in Victorian Britain', *Body & Society*, 14:4 (2008), pp. 15-35
- De Vries, J., 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, 54:2 (1994), pp. 249-270
- Deacon, B. and M. Donald, 'In Search of Community History', *Family & Community History* 7:1 (2004), pp. 13-18
- Dyer, S., 'Shopping and the Senses: Retail, Browsing and Consumption in 18th-Century England', *History Compass* 12:9 (2014), pp. 694-703
- Earle, P., 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *The Economic History Review* 42.3 (1989), pp. 328-353
- Ezell, M. J. M., 'Looking Glass Histories', *Journal of British Studies* 43:3 (2004), pp. 317-338
- Fauve-Chamoux, A., 'Servants in Preindustrial Europe: Gender Differences' *Historical Social Research* 23:1-2 (1998), pp. 112-129

- Fiebranz, R., E. Lindberg, J. Linström and M. Ågren, 'Making Verbs Count: the Research Project 'Gender and Work' and its Methodology', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 59:3 (2011), pp. 273-293
- Field, J. F., 'Domestic Service, Gender, and Wages in Rural England, c. 1700-1860', *Economic History Review*, 66:1 (2013), pp. 249-272
- Finn, M., 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History* 25:2 (2000), pp. 133-155
- Flather, A. J., 'Space, Place, And Gender: The Sexual And Spatial Division of Labor in the Early Modern Household', *History and Theory* 52:3 (2013), pp. 344-360
- French, H. R., 'Ingenious & Learned Gentlemen': Social Perceptions and Self-Fashioning among Parish Elites in Essex, 1680-1740', *Social History* 25:1 (2000), pp. 44-66
- French, H., 'Social Status, Localism and the 'Middle Sort of People' in England 1620-1750', *Past and Present* 166 (2000), pp. 66-99
- Glassie, H., 'Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies', *Prospects* 3 (New York, 1977), pp. 1-49
- Glennie, P., and N. Thrift, 'Reworking E. P. Thompson's 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism'', *Time & Society*, 5:3 (1996), pp. 275-299
- Gowing, L., "'The Twinkling of a Bedstaff': Recovering the Social Life of English Beds 1500-1700", *Home Cultures*, 11:3 (2014), pp. 275-304
- Hailwood, M., "'The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the RHS* 24 (2014), pp. 79-103
- Hailwood, M., 'Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79:2 (2016), p. 187-200
- Hailwood, M., 'Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Cultural and Social History* 8:1 (2011), pp. 9-29
- Handley, S., 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England, 1660-1760', *History* 98:329 (2013), pp. 79-104
- Hanß, S., 'The Fetish of Accuracy: Perspectives of Early Modern Time(s)', *Past and Present* 243 (2019), pp. 267-284
- Harley, J., 'Material Lives of the Poor and their Strategic Use of the Workhouse During the Final Decades of the English Old Poor Law', *Continuity and Change*, 30:1 (2015), pp. 71-103
- Hayhoe, J., 'Rural Domestic Servants in Eighteenth-Century Burgundy: Demography, Economy, and Mobility', *Journal of Social History* 46.2 (2012), pp. 549-571
- Healey, J., "'By the charitie of good people': poverty and neighbourly support in seventeenth century Lancashire", *Family & Community History* 19:2 (2016), pp. 83-94
- Heller, B., 'Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London' in *The Historical Journal* 53:3 (2010), pp. 623-645
- Helmreich, A., T. Hitchcock and W. J. Turkel, 'Rethinking Inventories in the Digital Age: the Case of the Old Bailey', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 11 (2014), pp. 1-25
- Hetherington, K., 'Secondhandedness: Consumption, Disposal and Absent Presence', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22 (2004), pp. 157-173
- Hindle, S., 'Below stairs at Arbury Hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his household staff, c. 1670-1710', *Historical Research* 85:227 (2012), pp. 71-88

- Holderness, B. A., 'Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Period 1650-1720', *The Agricultural History Review* 24:2 (1976), pp. 97-109
- Humphries, J., and J. Weisdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, 75:2 (2015), pp. 405-477
- John, E., 'At Home with the London Middling Sort: The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720', *Regional Furniture*, 22 (2008), pp. 27-51
- Johnston, J. A., 'Family, Kin and Community in Eight Lincolnshire Parishes, 1567-1800', *Rural History* 6:2 (1995), pp. 179-192
- Jones, M., 'The Absentee Landlord's Landscape: The Watson-Wentworth Estate in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Landscapes* 1.2 (2000), pp. 33-52
- Keibek, S. A. J. and Shaw-Taylor, L., 'Early modern rural by-employments: a re-examination of the probate inventory evidence' *Agricultural History Review* 61 (2013), pp. 244-281
- Kent, D. A., 'Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 28 (1989), pp. 111-128
- Kent, J. 'The Rural 'Middling Sort' in Early Modern England, circa 1640–1740: Some Economic, Political and Socio-Cultural Characteristics', *Rural History* 10:1 (1999), pp. 19-54
- King, L., and G. Rivett, 'Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus', *History Workshop Journal*, 80 (2015), pp. 218-223
- Laslett, P., 'The Institution of Service', *Local Population Studies* 40 (1988), pp. 55-60
- Long, M.H., 'A Study of Occupations in Yorkshire Parish Registers in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Local Population Studies* 71 (2003), pp. 14-39
- Mansell, C., 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England (1548–1649): evidence from church court depositions', *Continuity and Change* 33.3 (2018), pp. 315-338
- Marshall, D., 'The Domestic Servant in the Eighteenth Century', *Economica* 25 (1929), pp. 15-40
- Marshall, D., 'The English Domestic Servant in History', *The Historical Association*, vol. 3 (1949), pp. 11-20
- Mayhew, G., 'Life-Cycle service and the family unit in Early Modern Rye', *Continuity and Change* 6:2 (1991), pp. 201-226
- McIsaac Cooper, S., 'Service to servitude? The decline and demise of life-cycle service in England', *The History of the Family*, 10:4 (2005), pp. 367-386
- Mills, D., 'Defining Community: A Critical Review of Community in Family and Community History', *Family and Community History* 7:1 (2004), pp. 5-12
- Monks, G., 'William Gould, Land Agent and the Rural Community in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire 1783–1788', *Family & Community* 21:2 (2018), pp. 67-81
- Munsche, P. B., 'The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660-1830', in *Journal of British Studies* 20:2 (1981), pp. 82-105
- Murphy, A., 'Clock-Watching: Work and Working Time at the Late Eighteenth-Century Bank of England', *Past and Present* 236:1 (2007), pp. 99-132
- Outhwaite, R. B., '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

- Owens A., and Jeffries, N., '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
- Pennel, S., 'Pots and Pans History: the material culture of the kitchen in early modern England', *Journal of Design History*, 11:3 (1998), pp. 201-216
- Port, M. H., 'West End Palaces: The Aristocratic Town House in London, 1730-1830', *The London Journal* 20.1 (1995), pp. 17-46
- Rivlin, E., 'Service and Servants in Early Modern English Culture to 1660', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2005), pp. 17-41
- Roebuck, P., '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
- Sarti, R., 'Forum: Domestic Service Since 1750', *Gender & History* 18:2 (2006), pp. 187-198
- Schwarz, L., 'Custom, wages, and workload in England during industrialization', *Past and Present* 197:1 (2007), pp. 143-175
- Schwarz, L., 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Economic History Review* 52.2 (1999), pp. 236-256
- Shepard, A., 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *Economy History Workshop Journal*, 79 (2015), pp. 1-24
- Simonton, D., 'Birds of Passage' or 'Career' Women? Thoughts on the Life Cycle of the Eighteenth-Century European Servant', *Women's History Review* 20:2 (2011), pp. 207-225
- Simonton, D., 'Earning and Learning: girlhood in pre-industrial Europe', *Women's History Review* 13:3 (2004), pp. 363-386
- Smith, K., 'Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Design History* 25:1 (2012), pp. 1-10
- Snell, K. D. M., 'Gravestones, Belonging and Local Attachment in England 1700-2000', *Past and Present* 179 (2003), pp. 97-134
- Snell, K. D. M., 'Belonging and Community: Understandings of 'Home' and 'Friends' Among the English Poor, 1750-1850', *Economic History Review* 65.1 (2012), pp. 1-25
- Spaeth, D., "'Orderly made': re-appraising household inventories in seventeenth-century England', *Social History* 41:4 (2016), pp. 417-435
- Spufford, M., 'The limitations of the Probate Inventory' in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-174
- Spufford, M., 'The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their influence', *Local Population Studies* 7 (1971), pp. 28-44
- Stead, D., 'The Mobility of English Tenant Farmers, c. 1700-1850' *Agricultural History Review* 51:2 (2003), pp. 173-189
- Stead, D.R., 'Delegated Risk in English Agriculture, 1750-1850: The Labour Market', *Labour History Review*, 71:2 (2005), pp. 123-144
- Steedman, C., 'A Boiling Copper and Some Arsenic: Servants, Childcare, and Class Consciousness in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Critical Inquiry*, 34:1 (2007), pp. 36-77

- Steedman, C., 'Poetical Maids and Cooks Who Wrote', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39:1, (2005), pp. 1-27
- Steedman, C., 'Servants and Their Relations to the Unconscious', *Journal of British Studies*, 42:3 (2003), pp. 316-350
- Steedman, C., 'The servant's labour: the business of life, England, 1760-1820', *Social History* 29:1 (2004), pp. 1-29
- Stobart, J. and C. Prytz, 'Comfort in English and Swedish country houses, c. 1760-1820', *Social History* 43:2 (2018), pp. 234-258
- Stobart, J. and M. Rothery, 'Fashion, Heritage and Family: New and Old in the Georgian Country House' in *Cultural and Social History* 11:3 (2014), pp. 385-406
- Stobart, J., 'Gentlemen and shopkeepers: supplying the country house in eighteenth-century England', *Economic History Review* 64:3 (2011), pp. 885-904
- Stobart, J., '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
- Stobart, J., 'Making the global local? Overseas goods in English rural shops, c. 1600-1760', *Business History* 59.7 (2017), pp. 1136-1153
- Stobart, J., 'The Economic and Social Worlds of Rural Craftsmen-Retailers in Eighteenth-Century Cheshire', *Agricultural History Review* 52:2 (2004), pp. 141-160
- Stobart, J., 'The language of luxury goods: consumption and the English country house, c. 1760-1830', *Virtus: Yearbook of the History of the Nobility*, 18, pp. 89-104
- Stone, L., 'The Public and Private in the Stately Homes of England, 1500-1990', *Social Research* 58:1 (1991), pp. 227-251
- Styles, J., 'Involuntary Consumers? Servants and Their Clothes in Eighteenth-Century England', *Textile History* 33:1 (2002), pp. 9-21
- Swynfen Jervis, S., 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides', *Furniture History* 42 (2006), pp. 63-152
- Tadmor, N., 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 151 (1996), pp. 111-140
- Tawny Paul, K., 'Accounting for Men's Work: Multiple Employments and Occupational Identities in Early Modern England in Early Modern England', *History Workshop Journal* 85 (2018), pp. 26-46
- Thompson, E. P. 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), pp. 56-97
- Thompson, E. P., 'Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class', *Social History* 3.2 (1978), pp. 133-165
- Thompson, E. P., 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', *Journal of Social History* 7.4 (1974), pp. 382-405
- Thompson, E. P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), pp. 76-136
- Thompson, E. P., 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present* 38 (1967), pp. 56-97
- Thrift, N., 'Space', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23:2 (2006), pp. 139-146
- Trentman, F., 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics', *Journal of British Studies*, 48:2 (2009), pp. 283-307

- Vickery, A., 'An Englishman's Home is His Castle? Thresholds, Boundaries and Privacies in the Eighteenth-Century London House', *Past and Present*, 199 (2008), pp. 147-173
- Vickery, A., '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
- Wall, C., 'Approaching the Interior of the Eighteenth-Century English Country House', *Style* 48:4 (2014), pp. 543-562
- Wall, R., 'Beyond the Household: Marriage, Household Formation and the Role of Kin and Neighbours', *International Review of Social History* 44 (1999), pp. 55-67
- Weatherill, L., 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behavior in England, 1660-1740' in *Journal of British Studies* 25:2 (1986), pp. 131-156
- Whittle, J. and M. 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
- Whittle, J., 'A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Preindustrial Economy', *Past and Present* 243:1 (2019), pp. 35-70
- Whittle, J., 'Enterprising Widows and Active Wives: Women's Unpaid Work in the Household Economy of Early Modern England', *The History of the Family*, 19:3 (2016), pp. 283-300
- Whittle, J., 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440-1650: Evidence of Women's Work from Probate Documents', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), pp. 52-74
- Whittle, J., 'The House as a Place of Work in Early Modern Rural England', *Home Cultures*, 8:2 (2011), pp. 133-150
- Wigston Smith, C., "'Callico Madams': Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31:2 (2007), pp. 29-55
- Wood, A., 'Subordination, Solidarity and the limits of popular agency in a Yorkshire Valley c. 1596-1615', *Past and Present* 193 (2006), pp. 41-72
- Wood, A., 'Fear, Hatred and the Hidden Injuries of Class in Early Modern England', *Journal of Social History* 39.3 (2006), pp. 803-826
- Woodward, D., 'Early modern servants in husbandry revisited', *Agricultural History Review* 48 (2000), pp. 141-150
- Woollard, M., 'The Classification of Domestic Servants in England and Wales, 1851-1951', *Proceedings of the Servant Project*, 2:2 (2002), pp. 43-66
- Wrightson, K., 'Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 139 (2006), pp. 157-194

7. Unpublished Secondary Sources

- Butler, L., 'Power at the Power House: Agency and Authority on the Chatsworth Estate, 1811-1877', PhD (University of Sheffield, 2019)
- Chynoweth, T., 'Domestic Service and Domestic Space in London, 1750-1800', PhD thesis (Queen Mary, University of London, 2016)
- Clapperton, F., 'The Making of a Modern Estate: Chatsworth 1908-1950', PhD (University of Sheffield, 2019)

- Holmes, J., 'Domestic servants in Yorkshire 1650-1780' PhD thesis (University of York, 1989)
- Hoskins, L., 'Reading the Inventory: Household Goods, Domestic Cultures and Difference in England and Wales, 1841-81' PhD thesis (Queen Mary, University of London, 2011)
- Inness Hale, C., "'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 thesis (University of Glasgow, 2006)
- Mansell, C., 'A New History of Female Service in Early Modern England, 1550-1650, PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2017)
- Melville, J., 'The Use and Organisation of Domestic Space in Late Seventeenth-Century London', PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1999)
- Purcell, E. F., 'Managing Aristocratic Households: Women's Agency within the Montagu Property Network, c. 1709-1827', PhD thesis (University of Leicester, 2018)
- Sadler, R., 'The Stuff of Status: the material culture of servants at Cannon Hall, Yorkshire, c. 1750-1823' BA dissertation (University of Sheffield, 2011)
- Tatlioglu, T.G., 'Biographies of People and Place: The Harewood Estate, 1698-1813' PhD Thesis (University of York, 2010)

8. Internet Sources: Secondary

- Gender and Work project at Uppsala University,
<https://gaw.hist.uu.se/what-is-gaw/research+project/> (last accessed 1st August 2019)
- Hosford, D., '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)
- Schweizer, K.W., '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)
- Women's Work in Rural England, 1500-1700 project at University of Exeter,
<https://earlymodernwomenswork.wordpress.com/> (last accessed 1st August 2019)