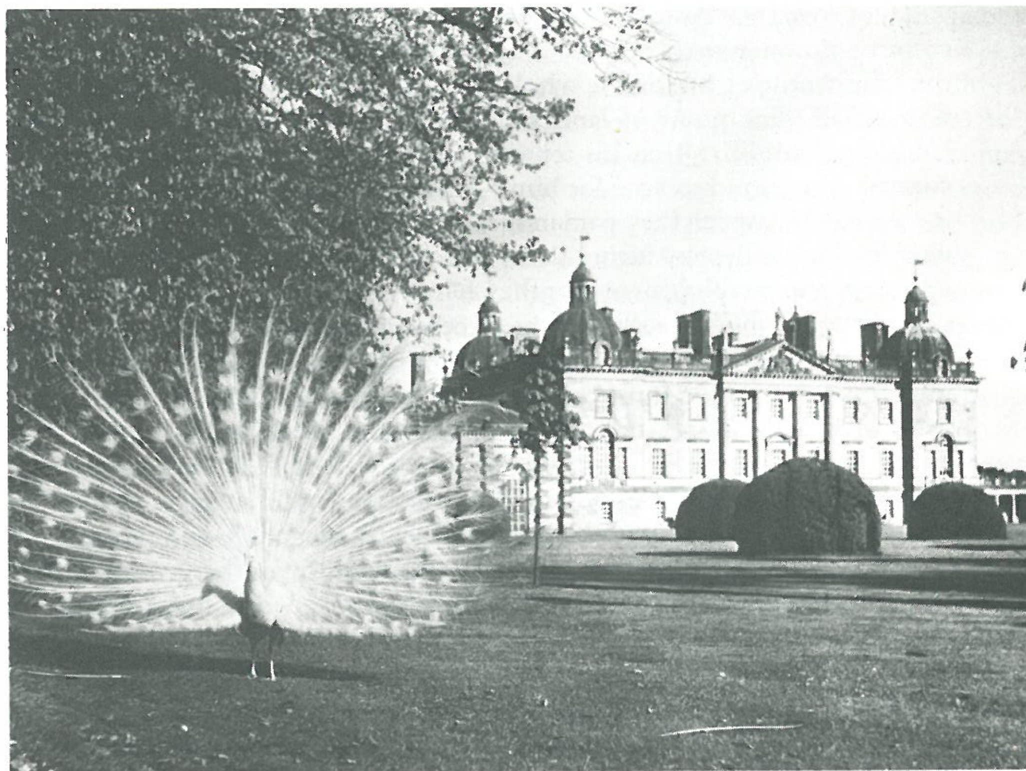
LIFE IN THE ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSE

MARK GIROUARD

'Mr Girouard has enriched my life and will do the same for countless others'
– Philip Ziegler in *The Times*



1 The Power Houses

WHAT were country houses for? They were not originally, whatever they may be now, just large houses in the country in which rich people lived. Essentially they were power houses—the houses of a ruling class. As such they could work at the local level of a manor house, the house of a squire who was like a little king in his village and ran the county in partnership with his fellow J.P.s at quarter sessions. They could work at a local and national level as the seat of a landowner who was also a member of parliament, or of a great magnate who was king in his own county but also had his gang of tame M.P.s and spent more than half the year in London, running the country in association with his fellow magnates. But basically people did not live in country houses unless they either possessed power, or, by setting up in a country house, were making a bid to possess it.

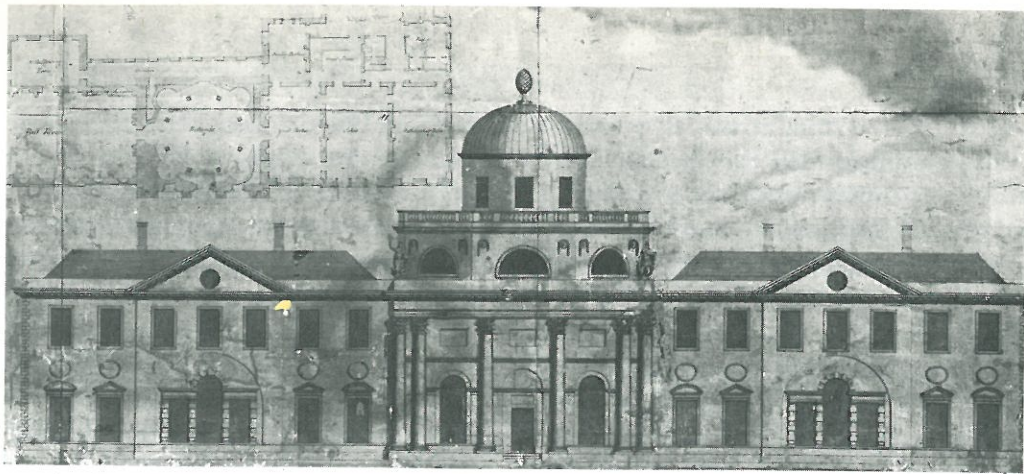
This power was based on the ownership of land. But land was not important to country-house owners because they were farmers. There were many exceptions over the centuries, but on the whole they did not farm for profit and often did not farm at all. The point of land was the tenants and rent that came with it. A landowner could call on his tenants to fight for him, in the early days of the country house, and to vote for him—or his candidate—in its later ones. He could use the money which they paid in as rent to persuade even more people to fight or vote for him, either by hiring them to do so, or by keeping up so handsome and impressive an establishment that they felt it was to their interest to come in on his side. Anyone who had sufficient resources and followers, and displayed them with enough prominence, was likely to be offered jobs and perquisites by the central government in return for his support. Acceptance produced money, which could be turned into more land, more power and more supporters. The more a landowner prospered, the more anxious his fellow landowners were to be connected with him. Through good connections and marriages with heiresses he or his descendants acquired the leverage for still more jobs and perquisites. Such, at any rate, was the ideal route to power; and although there were many pitfalls on the way, it was a route that led often enough to broad estates, a peerage, and the establishment of a dynasty.

For many centuries the ownership of land was not just the main but the only sure basis of power. Both power and money could be acquired by other means: by trade, by commerce, by fighting, by useful services to the government or by personal services to the king and queen. But money unsupported by power was likely to be plundered, power based only on personal abilities was at the mercy of time and fortune, and the power to be won through trade or commerce was limited. Until the nineteenth century the wealth and population of England lay in the country rather than the towns; landowners rather than merchants were the dominating class, and ran the country so that their own interests were the last to suffer. Even when the economic balance began to change, they were so thoroughly in control of patronage and legislation, so strong through their inherited patronage and expertise, that their political and social supremacy continued. As a result, from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century anyone who had made money by any means, and was ambitious for himself and his family, automatically invested in a country estate.

Land, however, was little use without one or more country houses on it. Land provided the fuel, a country house was the engine which made it effective. It achieved this in a number of ways. It was the headquarters from which land was administered and power organised. It was a show-case, in which to exhibit and entertain supporters and good connections. In early days it contained a potential fighting force. It was an image-maker, which projected an aura of glamour, mystery or success around its owner. It was visible evidence of his wealth. It showed his credentials—even if the credentials were sometimes faked. Trophies in the hall, coats of arms over the chimney-pieces, books in the library and temples in the park could suggest that he was discriminating, intelligent, bred to rule and brave.

The qualities at a premium varied over the centuries, and so did the people who needed to be entertained, and the kind of entertainment which they expected. A country house was an expensive piece of plant which needed constant alteration as well as constant maintenance if it were to continue to fulfil its functions. Both new and old families financed this from a wide range of sources. Many houses were built or altered from the proceeds of rents alone, but perhaps even more were subsidized or entirely paid for by other means. Well before the Industrial Revolution had created a multitude of new fortunes, the wool trade, the law, service in India or sugar from Jamaica, lending money or supplying the army, had produced the means with which to buy estates and build houses on them. Other families both new and old made money out of the court or the government. The concept of a great nobleman serving the public for duty rather than for gain is a nineteenth-century one. Both Elizabethan statesmen and Whig magnates expected to do well out of their country. A farm of the customs or a monopoly of soap or starch could double a man's income. In the sixteenth century those with the right connections lined their pockets out of the monasteries, in the eighteenth century out of sinecures. Most court or government posts brought in handsome salaries and even more in the way of perquisites. Lord Burghley made enough out of being Lord Treasurer and Master of the Court of Wards to buy huge estates and build Burghley and Theobalds in the country and Exeter House in London—all houses on the scale of palaces. At Houghton Sir Robert Walpole built the most sumptuous house of its day out of the proceeds of public service (Pl. 1). In the 1750s even the relatively junior court job of Cofferer to the Household brought in enough to enable George Lyttelton to turn his ancestral house at Hagley into a handsome Palladian mansion.[1]

The size and pretensions of such houses were an accurate index of the ambitions—or lack of them—of their owners. When a new man bought an estate and built on it, the kind of house which he built showed exactly what level of power he was aiming at. If the head of an established family was ambitious to raise its status—or simply to keep up with new arrivals—one of the most obvious means towards doing so was to rebuild or improve his house. New houses could be a cause of much local stress and excitement—as was the case with Sir Robert Walpole's Houghton in Norfolk, and Lord Verney's Claydon in Buckinghamshire.



2. Claydon House, Buckinghamshire, as enlarged to the design of Sir Thomas Robinson in 1768–72.

The Walpoles had been minor Norfolk gentry until Robert Walpole, by a combination of good connections and his own great abilities, raised himself to a dominant position in the country. He consolidated his success in the time-honoured fashion, by buying land and building. His splendid new house at Houghton was started in 1721 and he moved into it a few years later. Built by the best architects of the time, fitted out by the best craftsmen, and housing the finest picture collection in England, it was incontrovertible evidence of his power, his wealth, and his discrimination. It became a source of bitter envy to his brother-in-law and neighbour, Lord Townshend, who had been a much greater man than Walpole, and had put him on the way to success. As Lord Hervey put it 'Lord Townshend looked upon his own seat at Raynham as the metropolis of Norfolk, was proud of the superiority, and considered every stone that augmented the splendour of Houghton as a diminution of the grandeur of Raynham.' He and Walpole had both a political and a private quarrel; he felt so bitter about Houghton that whenever Walpole was entertaining there he moved out of the neighbourhood. His bitterness and anger were justified; Houghton was not just a great house, it was a hostile move in the power game.[2]

In the long run, Walpole's efforts to raise the status of his family ended in failure. He bought insufficient land to support the house in its new glory; and although he married his son to an heiress the marriage was not only a disastrous failure but produced only one child, who was more than a little mad. This grandson wasted his fortune, sold the pictures and had no legitimate children; Houghton passed through the female line to a family whose main interest lay in another part of England.

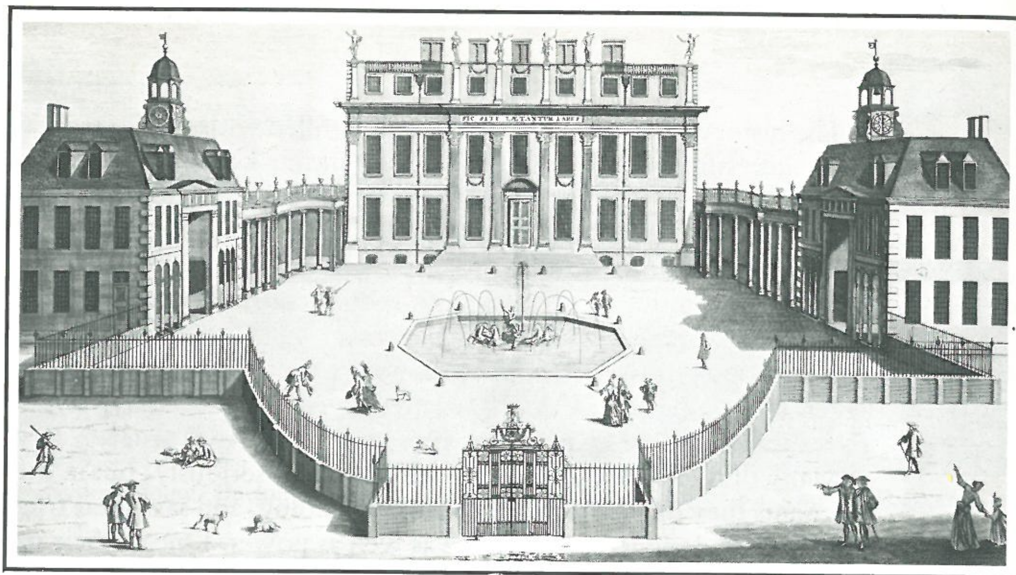
But at least the house survived; the Verney ambitions ended in even greater disaster. In the 1760s, when Lord Verney decided to challenge the Grenvilles of Stowe for the political leadership of Buckinghamshire, an inevitable part of his campaign was the rebuilding of Claydon on a palatial scale (Pl. 2). But he out-reached and overspent himself; the only result of his ambition was bankruptcy, followed by the demolition of most of his new building. The Verneys sank back to the level of Buckinghamshire gentry from which they had emerged a few decades previously.[3]

The history of English country houses is filled with similar stories of ambition, some successful and others not. Cautious families kept clear of such ventures. Few country house owners played the power game all the time and few, even of those that did, were entirely motivated by self interest. In every century parents admonished their sons, and moralists admonished both of them, that power brought responsibility. The amount that could be made out of office was regulated by standards which varied from generation to generation but were taken seriously, however lax they may seem today. Landowners were expected to foster their inheritance, look after their dependants, play their part in local government and be loyal to the interests of their own order.

Many of them took their responsibilities very seriously; but in their less serious moments they did the things they enjoyed doing, and saw their friends. Country houses were designed for pleasure as well as power. One of their main functions was to fill the leisure hours of their owners as agreeably as possible; and the less ambitious families had a great many leisure hours to be filled. Certain types of country house, such as hunting lodges in the sixteenth century or Thames-valley villas in the eighteenth, were designed almost entirely for pleasure. But although both duty and pleasure played a large part in the lives of their owners, the keeping up of their position lurked at the back of everything. Abusing power was one of the ways to lose it. There were friends and amusements which were suitable for a gentleman, and others which were unsuitable; they harmed his image, and so lessened his power and status, and the status of his class as a whole.

Pursuit both of pleasure and power was not confined to country houses and the property which surrounded them. Many landowners spent long periods away, fighting, hunting, staying with their friends, serving in the entourage of a great man, or attending parliament or the court. Although in the early Middle Ages court and parliament travelled round the country with the king, parliament seldom left London after the fifteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth century the court spent almost all the time either in London or close to it, mostly at Greenwich, Richmond or Hampton Court. Since monarch, court and government were all interconnected, the court had to be within easy reach of parliament, government offices and government officials in London.

Most people think of the English upper classes as having always been country-based—unlike corrupt French aristocrats, perpetually hanging around Paris or Versailles. But although poets like Jonson, Marvell or Pope and moralists like Addison constantly urged landowners to live on their estates, and praised and glamorized the lives of those who did,[4] from the sixteenth century onwards the upper classes were spending more and more time in London—or the area round London in which the court rotated. They were drawn there partly by the increasing power of the court and central government, and the profits to be won by standing well with them, partly by the pleasures of city life. The richer families acquired permanent houses in London, the less rich took lodgings. Even when landowners were in the country they were often longing to get out of it. In about 1590 Sir Henry Unton complained from the country that 'my clownish life doth deprive me of all intelligence and comfort'. Lord Pembroke, down at Wilton in

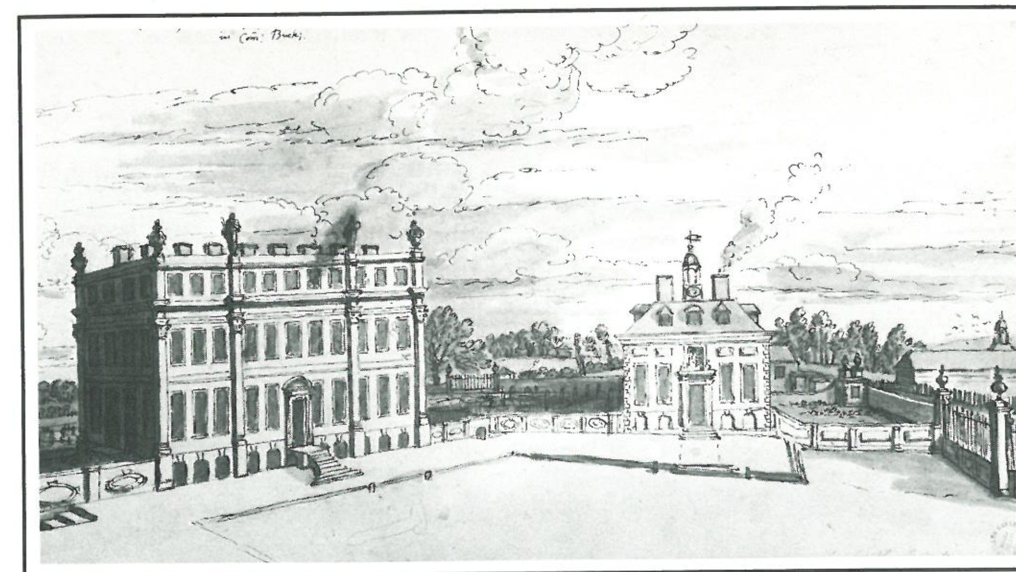


3. Buckingham House, London (William Winde, 1705).

1601, wrote 'I have not yet been a day in the country, and I am as weary of it as if I had been a prisoner there seven year.' Edmund Verney at Claydon a little later was 'weary of this deep dirty country life'. Lord Clifford, at Skipton Castle, had 'banished myself from all my friends and recreations'. Sir James Poulett at Hinton St George in Somerset felt 'tied to this dull dirty place'.[5]

William Cavendish, third Earl of Devonshire, is described in the histories of his family as a man who disliked London. Nevertheless his account books show that over a twelve year period in the 1660s and '70s he and his family were spending, on an average, a little under four months of the year in Derbyshire, where his main properties were, a little over a month at Latimers, the house in Buckinghamshire where he normally stopped on his way to and from London, and about seven months a year in London.[6] A hundred years or so later, in the time of the beautiful Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, the family were seldom more than three months a year in Derbyshire.[7] The rest of the year was spent mostly at Devonshire House in London, at Bath or at Chiswick. Chiswick was just outside London but conveniently in reach of it. It was part of the Thames-side zone which gradually filled up with the villas of rich people who wanted a rural retreat within a few miles of Westminster. The resulting landscape could reasonably be described as suburban, even if grander and more spacious than the suburbia of today.

Not all families were as London bound, even among the aristocracy. But a proportion of four months in London, a month at Bath or some other spa, a month travelling and six months at home was nothing out of the ordinary for a prosperous gentry family. The Georgian period was probably the age at which the upper classes as a whole were most addicted to living in towns—and best at creating them, as Bath, Clifton, Edinburgh, Dublin and Brighton still bear witness. Moreover, in this period it was more than the upper half of the upper classes that was involved. Towns like Nottingham, Newcastle, York, Norwich and Exeter filled up with the substantial town houses of county families, and



4. Wotton House, Buckinghamshire (1720).

acquired an assembly room, a theatre and a racecourse to provide recreation for those whose ambitions did not extend to London.

The absentee landlord, who dissipated his time and fortune in living it up in the city, became a stock figure in contemporary satire. But so did the boozy illiterate hunting squire, the Sir Tony Lumpkin or Sir Tunbelly Clumsy, who never left the country at all, or if he did only made himself ridiculous. For the ruling classes the sensible course was somewhere between the two. Their power was the result of a cross fertilisation between town and country. The roots of their power—their land, their tenantry and their neighbours—were in the country. They neglected it at their peril. But to neglect the town was equally perilous. The town provided jobs, contacts, and ideas. Those fully involved in court or government inevitably had to spend most of their time in London. Walpole, in spite of all the money, pride and affection that he lavished on Houghton, could only pass a month a year at it. Members of either house of Parliament, or those with a peripheral job at court, could get away more often. But the city was the place to meet friends from other parts of the country, make new contacts, arrange marriages, prosecute law suits, borrow money, hear the latest news, and catch up with the latest fashions.

The country benefited from all this flocking to the towns, to London and to the court. It is almost impossible to envisage how remote the country was until the arrival of railways—let alone the arrival of motor cars, radio and television. Country areas were almost completely isolated. The majority of the people living in them had never travelled more than a few miles to their local country town. But there was one great exception—the families at the big houses. Their annual migration to and from London involved not just the immediate family, but perhaps thirty or forty dependants as well. When they returned they brought strange and exotic figures in their train—servants from distant countries, poets, like Ben Jonson, brought by Lord Leicester to Penshurst, philosophers, like Thomas Hobbes, brought by the Earl of Devonshire to the wilds of Derbyshire or Jeremy Bentham, brought by Lord Shelburne to Bowood. They brought new

methods of transport, new forms of lighting, new furniture, new fashions, and new forms of building. All this contributed to their aura and therefore to their power; but it also made them agents of civilisation.

In the mid sixteenth century the building of Somerset House in the Strand brought the first strong taste of the Renaissance to the streets of London. It was quickly copied at Longleat in Wiltshire; and Longleat in its turn was copied at Sherborne Park in Gloucestershire. In the early seventeenth century Sir Charles Cavendish sent his surveyor up to London to make drawings of the latest buildings by Inigo Jones and others; and over the next ten years little nuggets of London detail were incorporated into his new house at Bolsover in Derbyshire.[8] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century two great London houses, Clarendon House in Piccadilly and Buckingham House on the edge of St James's Park, were so much admired by visiting country gentlemen that they were copied all over England (Pls 3 and 4).

These and countless other country copies of London fashions must have seemed strange enough when their balustraded parapets, classical detail or hipped roofs first appeared among the gables and battlements of older houses. But as local squires copied what the grander families were doing, and the yeomanry copied the squires, they were gradually absorbed into the local vernacular. The same kind of acclimitization affected parks and gardens. The straight avenues and canals with which the later Stuarts embellished their palaces in and around London were soon being installed all over England, until even modest manor houses and rectories had their miniature formal gardens. Then fashion changed, and fashion-conscious great people started to remodel the gardens that were only just beginning to mature.

In 1734 Sir Thomas Robinson reported that 'there is a new taste in gardening just arisen which has been practised with so great success at the Prince's gardens in Town, that a general alteration of some of the most considerable gardens in the kingdom is began.'[9] The new type of garden had been pioneered by Alexander Pope at his Thames-side villa at Twickenham and made fashionable by William Kent, in the London garden which he designed for the Prince of Wales at Carlton House (Pl. 5). Its attraction lay in its complete contrast to the formal garden; it 'had the appearance of beautiful nature'. Trees were planted round the periphery, to shut out the neighbouring houses, and enclose an arcadian world of grassy glades and winding paths and water. These exquisitely artificial slices of nature in the midst of civilization were soon being copied on a larger scale all over the country. At first their encircling belts of trees, and the secret landscapes within, struck an exotic note in the surrounding context of commons, open fields or orchards. But their influence spread over the countryside and gradually changed it. A city garden on the site of the future Lower Regent Street had developed into what is now taken for granted as part of the English landscape.

In bringing town fashions into the country the upper classes had no sense of doing something controversial. Until the end of the eighteenth century there was little feeling that what was suitable for the town was unsuitable for the country. Even towards the end of the eighteenth century a rich landowner building in

5. The garden at Carlton House, London, designed by William Kent in 1734.

Piccadilly would build a square brick box with a pediment, while another rich landowner, building in Suffolk, would build another square brick box, with another pediment. If someone saw furniture or hangings in a London house which took his fancy, he had no qualms about ordering the same thing for himself, and sending it down to the country. Rich people dressed with considerable formality in London, but with almost equal formality in the country. The Duke of Newcastle wore his garter-star in Piccadilly, and he also wore it when he was out shooting at Clumber, as his portrait by Francis Wheatley shows.

The portrait was painted in 1788. It is perhaps significant that when it was engraved in 1803 the garter-star was omitted.[10] Around 1800 a feeling began to grow among the upper classes that country life required a different set of fittings to town life. By the middle of the nineteenth century the feeling had become something more like a rule. In the 1840s one finds, for instance, the Earl of Ellesmere building a symmetrical Italian palazzo in Mayfair and an irregular Tudor-style mansion on his property in Lancashire—and, a few years later, Robert Stayner Holford doing the same kind of thing at Dorchester House in Park Lane and Westonbirt in Gloucestershire.

One of the reasons for this change was a change in the power structure. During the nineteenth century the upper classes lost their monopoly of power. They were increasingly ruling in partnership with the middle classes from the towns. They saw themselves, and were seen by others, as representing agriculture and the country, as opposed to industry and the towns. They were country landowners, living in country houses, built in a country style. This role has continued to the present day. When the first Duke of Devonshire, in retirement from London for political reasons, turned Chatsworth into a sumptuous palace in the midst of what Defoe described as a 'howling wilderness' he was introducing country folk to the

latest fashions from the city and the court. Today Chatsworth teaches city folk the ways of the country; little Brownies from Midland cities come there to watch demonstrations of milking, and gaze with amazement at milk spurting from a live cow instead of a bottle.

Country-house owners have survived owing to their ability to adapt to different situations over the centuries. The way in which they adapted, and the effect which this had on their way of life and therefore on their houses, makes a fascinating subject for study. Attraction to the central government in London, reaction back to the country as a result of the growth of the towns, and the resulting unity and then contrast between town and country architecture, is only one of many developments. Perhaps the most obvious and important change in country houses between 1400 and 1900 was that in 1400 they were designed for one community and in 1900 for two. In the Middle Ages (and indeed up till the early eighteenth century) when someone talked about his family he meant everyone living under his roof, including his servants; by the nineteenth century he meant his wife and children.[11] The early type can be epitomized by the great hall, in which the whole household ate together with its guests, and the later by the green baize door, dividing the servants' wing from the very different world of the gentry. By 1900 the gentry end of the house was made up of a complicated series of morning room, dining room, billiard room, smoking room and conservatory, designed for week-end parties drawn from all over the country. It accommodated a far more complex social life than had been found in the Middle Ages.

The decay of the single community and the elaboration of social life were in fact related. A great household of the Middle Ages contained members of all classes, spreading out in a hierarchy under the apex of baron or earl at their head. Its members cohered together for mutual protection in an age when force was more powerful than law. Households of this kind were formidable and largely closed groups. Their relations with other groups varied from caution, through suspicion, to hatred. Even in the late sixteenth century rural power groups such as the Talbots and Stanhopes in the Midlands could pursue a vendetta with a fury which must have made Shakespeare's portrayal of Capulets and Montagues entirely familiar to Elizabethan audiences.[12]

As a stronger central government produced a more law-abiding country, and as society grew more complex and full of opportunities, there was less and less reason for any but the lower social ranks to put themselves under the protection of the great by entering their service. Great households in the old style began to crumble; and as they crumbled society tended to reorganize on the basis of classes containing different groups rather than groups containing different classes. The mediaeval gentlemen who enrolled under the leadership—and often actually in the household—of a great lord had no feeling of solidarity with the gentlemen serving other leaders. Their loyalty was to their lord. But as they became more independent they began to live, work, visit and eat together as gentry, conscious of their identity with other gentry.

Once society began to reorganize on a class basis, the victory ultimately lay with the largest class. The centre of power began to move down the social scale. First the gentry, then the middle classes, and ultimately the working classes grew in power and independence. This posed the upper classes with a dilemma. Should they fight the movement or accept it? The most successful families were those who accepted it, and, on the basis of their inherited status and expertise, set out to lead the classes below them rather than to fight them. But leadership of this kind involved association; as a result, first the gentry and then the middle classes disappeared from great households as employees or subordinates, and reappeared as guests. Mediaeval dukes were unwilling to sit at table with anyone of lower rank than a baron; Victorian dukes were prepared to meet even journalists at dinner.

A Victorian duke would have found it inconceivable to be waited on by servants who served him on bended knee; but he would have been equally appalled by the idea of playing poker dice in the drawing room with his butler. This, transposed into contemporary terms, was the habitual practice of Henry, Lord Berkeley, who continued the mediaeval life-style deep into the sixteenth century. His biography mentions, in passing and as nothing out of the ordinary, that he used to play 'at the Irish game at tables' with his yeoman of the chamber in the great chamber at Berkeley Castle.[13] Mediaeval-style households combined ceremony with familiarity in a way which is difficult to grasp today, but was the result of the close weave of their social structure. Once the intermediate ranks in their hierarchy had disappeared, the gap between their upper and lower strata was bound to divide them into two sharply differentiated groups.

The division was accentuated by a growing feeling for privacy which became noticeable in the seventeenth century. Households in the old style had the disadvantages of all tightly-knit communities. Everyone knew what everyone else was doing, and quarrels and intrigues were endemic right across the hierarchy. As soon as families began to value their privacy they inevitably started to escape from their servants. But it would be a mistake to see country-house history in terms of greater and greater privacy. Separation between family and servants certainly grew steadily greater, but privacy on the family side of the baize door had to be reconciled with growing sociability. Privacy was perhaps at its greatest in the early eighteenth century, when servants had been moved out of the way, and individuals among both family and guests enjoyed the security of private apartments, each containing two or even three rooms. By the early nineteenth century apartments were shrinking and a German visitor, Prince Pückler-Muskau, complained of the social pressure which forced guests to leave their own rooms and spend the whole day in the communal life of the public rooms downstairs.[14]

Pückler-Muskau also commented on the independence of German servants, compared to the 'slavish reverence in the presence of their masters' to be found among English ones.[15] His comments underlined the fact that, in terms both of social life and of relations between employer and servants, Germany and the

continent were (for better or worse) about a hundred years behind England. Differences in habits between one country and another are often more the result of differences in the chronology of their development than innate racial or national characteristics. The formal circle, for long the accepted vehicle for general conversation in country-house drawing rooms, started to disappear from England in the 1780s but still flourishes in old-fashioned *châteaux* in France. Poor relations still form (or formed until recently) an element in the upper strata of maharajahs' households, just as they did in great English households of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The time lag can work down the social scale as well as across national boundaries. The extravagantly elaborate funerals which were common to all the European aristocracy in the seventeenth century began to be imitated by the Victorian middle classes in England just as they were going out of fashion in the top layer of society; and the best place to get some feel of this kind of funeral pomp today is in the slums of Naples.

The time lag can be observed at work even within country houses in the British Isles. The grander or remoter households tend to be more conservative. The royal household is full of survivals from many centuries. Well into the eighteenth century it was common enough in England for private orchestras to provide music during meals; Scottish lairds still circulate their pipers round the table at dinner and even at breakfast. At Blenheim in the early twentieth century the left-overs from ducal meals were still being fed to the poor in the local villages, exactly as in great households of the Middle Ages; the one change made by the Vanderbilt wife of the ninth Duke of Marlborough was to put the remains of meat, vegetables and sweets into separate tins, instead of cramming them all into the same containers.[16]

Even when the customs have gone the houses remain, enriched by the accumulated alterations, and often the accumulated contents of several centuries. Abandoned life-styles can be disinterred from them in much the same way as from the layers of an archaeological dig. Knowing how to disinter them correctly helps one to understand the architecture of houses as well as their arrangement. Although to some extent architecture follows its own rules it is also conditioned by the society for which it caters. The architects and builders of country houses were not producing pieces of abstract sculpture, but buildings designed to fit a particular way of life. This was not just a practical matter. The most successful country houses were those which managed not only to accommodate, but also to suggest and glamorize the life-styles of the people for whom they were built.

The researches of the past thirty years have thrown a flood of light on the history of the English country house. But they have mostly been devoted to working out when houses were built, who built them and how they developed stylistically. Only comparatively recently has much attention been paid to how they were used and what they were intended to do. This kind of approach no more provides a complete explanation of country houses than an art historical analysis. But it is sufficiently coherent to stand on its own; moreover, it has not been attempted before, at any rate in the form of a complete account from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.

6. (right) A mediaeval cavalcade. Members of the French royal household processing on May Day, *c.* 1410.

Courtesy H.R.	*The Booke of Courtesy* (*c.* 1420?), ed. Furnivall as above, pp. 297–327, and Rickert, pp. 79–121.
Harleian H.R.	B.M. Harleian MS. 6815. 'Orders of service belonging to the degrees of a duke, a marquess and an erle used in there owne howses'. Elizabethan copy of what appears to be late-fifteenth-century original. Only the service for an earl is in fact covered. Extremely long and detailed. Unpublished.
Northumberland H.R.	*The Northumberland Household Book*, ed. Thomas Percy (London, 1770). Immensely detailed regulations for all aspects of the household of Henry Algernon Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, at Wressel and Leconfield in Yorkshire, *c.* 1520. Much supplementary material printed in the notes.
Derby H.R.	*Stanley Papers*, II (Chetham Society, XXXI, 1853) pp. 8–10, 20–2. Short regulations of 1568 and 1572 for the household of the Earl of Derby.
Willoughby H.R.	*Manuscripts of Lord Middleton* (H.M.C., 1911) pp. 538–41. Regulations for household of Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton, *c.* 1572.
Montagu H.R.	W. H. St J. Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory* (London, 1919) pp. 119–134. Long and detailed regulations for household of the second Viscount Montagu, of Cowdray, Sussex, 1595.
Berkeley H.R.	John Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys* (1618), ed. Sir J. Maclean, (Gloucester, 1883) II, pp. 365–7, 418–20. Regulations of *c.* 1590 and 1601 for household of Henry, seventh Baron Berkeley.
Donegall H.R.	*Archaeologia*, XIII (1800) pp. 315–89. 'A Breviate touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman's House', 1605. From a MS. bought by Sir Joseph Banks from the library of the first Marquess of Donegall.
Ellesmere H.R.	Huntington Library, California, Ellesmere MSS. EL 1179 and 1180. Regulations of *c.* 1603 for household of Sir Thomas Egerton, created Lord Ellesmere, 1603, and Viscount Brackley, 1616.
'R.B.' H.R.	*Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earle*, printed for R. Triphook (London, 1821). 'Set downe by R.B. at the instant request of his loving frende, M.L.', and wrongly attributed to Richard Brathwait. Dating from *c.* 1605. Long and detailed.
Huntingdon H.R.	J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester: West Goscote Hundred* (1804) pp. 594–8. Regulations of 1609 for household of the Earl of Huntingdon, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle and Donington Park, Leicestershire.
Fairfax H.R.	Northumberland Household Book (see *Northumberland* above) p. 421. Short regulations of *c.* 1620 for household of Lord Fairfax (probably Thomas, first Baron Fairfax (1560–1640) of Denton and Nunappleton, Yorks.).
Bridgwater H.R.	H. J. Todd, *History of the College of Bonhommes, Ashridge* (London, 1823) pp. 47–55. Household regulations of John, first Earl of Bridgwater, of Ashridge, Hertfordshire, 1652, with additions 1670 and 1673.
Chandos H.R.	Huntington Library, California, Stowe MS. ST 44. Household regulations of James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos, of Cannons, Middlesex, 1721.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian* (London, 1955) p. 197, quoting Lyttelton's own estimate. In fact he was promoted almost immediately to Chancellor of the Exchequer.

2. See *Lord Hervey's Memoirs*, ed. Romney Sedgwick (London, 1952) pp. 46–7, and R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *An English Country Neighbourhood* (London, 1951) pp. 97–8.

3. Hussey, *Country Houses: Early Georgian*, pp. 244–52.

4. For literary praises of country life see especially G. R. Hibbard, 'The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 109 (1956) pp. 159–74; Richard Gill, *Happy Rural Seat: the English Country House and the Literary Imagination* (New Haven and London, 1972), especially pp. 227–52; H. Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope* (New Haven and London, 1975), especially pp. 279–317.

5. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965) pp. 391–2.

6. Analysis of account books at Chatsworth, 1659–73, excluding plague and fire of London years.

7. The schedule can be worked out in some detail from e.g. Earl of Bessborough, *Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire* (London, 1955), and *Hary-o: The Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish, 1796–1809*, ed. G. Leveson-Gower (London, 1940).

8. M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era* (London, 1966) pp. 184–7.

9. H.M.C., *Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle*, 15th Report, Pt VI (London, 1897) p. 143.

10. *British Sporting Painting, 1650–1850* (Arts Council Catalogue, London, 1974) p. 63 and illustration.

11. The word derives from the Latin *Familia*, meaning 'household' or 'clan' but never 'family' in the modern sense.

12. David Durant, *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast* (London, 1977) pp. 190–2.

13. John Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys* (1618) ed. Sir J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883) II, p. 363.

14. Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France in the Year 1828 and 1829* (London, 1832) IV, p. 333.

15. *Ibid.* III, pp. 95–6.

16. Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan, *The Glitter and the Gold* (London, 1953) p. 68.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. This account of a household on the move is mainly based on *Northumberland H.R.*, especially pp. 386–91.

2. C. D. Ross, 'Household Accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick', *Trans. Bristol & Gloucester Archaeological Society*, LXX (1951) pp. 81–105; John Gage, 'Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham', *Archaeologia*, XXV (1834) pp. 318–41; E. M. Richardson, *The Lion and the Rose* (London, 1923) I, pp. 69–82; *Northumberland H.R.*, pp. 43–5, 253–5. The estimate for the Warwick household is obtained by adding the earl's riding household when returning from France to the countess's household in England.

3. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, I, p. 305; George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey*, ed. F. S. Ellis (London, 1908) pp. 22–6.

4. The organisation is listed in detail in *Northumberland H.R.*, and much information is also provided by Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*; *Nurture H.R.*; Ross, 'Household Accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley'; *Harleian H.R.* See also C. D. Ross, 'Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', *Dugdale Society, Occasional Papers, 12* (Oxford, 1956).

5. *The New Inn*, I. i. 148–59.

6. *The Babees Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, with several similar treatises and long forewords, as *Manners and Meals in Olden Time* (E.E.T.S., XXXII, 1868).

7. *Ibid.* p. VI.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey*, pp. 25, 38.

10. *Northumberland H.R.*, p. 254.

11. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, I. p. 305.

12. *Northumberland H.R.*, p. 34.

13. For retaining see especially K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XX (1965); McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Mediaeval England* (Oxford, 1963); W. H. Dunham, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers* (Newhaven, 1955).

14. J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416–1537* (Oxford, 1958).

15. *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gardner (London, 1904) III, p. 125.

16. Bacon, *Historye of the Raigne of King Henrye the Seventh* (London, 1622) p. 216.

17. The main source for mediaeval ceremony are the household regulations listed on pp. 319–20.

18. Ross, 'Household Accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley'. The original MS. is at Longleat.

19. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, I, p. 305; Gage, 'Household Book of Edward Stafford', pp. 321, 325; Richardson, *The Lion and the Rose*, I, pp. 79–80, based on the household book of the Duke of Norfolk formerly in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, but now lost or stolen.

20. *Northumberland H.R.*, pp. 340, 343–6. For the Lord of Misrule see also the introduction to *Monumenta Antiqua Anglicana* (London, 1816).

21. *Stonor Letters and Papers*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Camden Miscellany, XIII, 1924) II, p. 40.

22. Thomas Hearne, *Lelandi Collectanea*, VI (1774) pp. 2–6.

23. *Ibid.* pp. 16–34.

24. M. E. James, *The Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas* (Tenby, n.d.).

25. *Northumberland H.R.*, pp. 4–29.

26. *Northumberland H.R.*, pp. 23, 24, 253; Ross, 'Household Accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley', pp. 81–105.

27. *Northumberland H.R.*, pp. 53–4. For part-time servants in a great Elizabethan household see *Stanley Papers*, II, pp. 8, 22, 23–4.