

**UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER**

**Pursuing Patronage:**

contextualising published findings on selected Georgian great houses and art collections  
in a discussion that challenges aspects of current historiography.

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**Doctor of Philosophy by Publication**

**12 June 2023**

This Thesis has been completed as a requirement  
for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester.

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## **Acknowledgements**

While many scholars have received acknowledgements in my published work, this contextual thesis has been a solitary journey. I would like to thank my supervisors Dr Graciela Iglesias Rogers and Dr Katherine Weikert from the University of Winchester for their rigorous standards and advice and Dr Geoffrey Tyack for his encouragement. As always, I am especially grateful to my husband Peter Andreae for enabling me to have the time and space needed for the task.

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

**ABSTRACT**

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The thesis reviews three main bodies of work, namely *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830*; also *Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family* with a related article 'Richmond House II'; and 'Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury'. The prime aim is to highlight the contribution made to scholarship through originality of approach and new findings. These three bodies of work all discuss patronage of architecture and art in the period 1670-1835. The subject of the first study is the role of women as patrons of domestic architecture, mostly country houses and interiors with some town houses. The second comprises two publications, a book about the Dukes of Richmond at Goodwood in West Sussex with supporting findings about their London townhouse. The third is about another country house and family at Rookesbury in Hampshire. The patrons range from aristocratic to upper middle-class subjects, mostly in the south of England but with some mention of houses further north and in Scotland. All the work is about houses that are architecturally significant, although varying in size, and sometimes their gardens; also the commissioning of interiors and the collecting of paintings, furniture and decorative arts for them. The thesis describes the influence of each area of work on academic literature, with public impact noted in appendices. It aims to contextualise my methodology, comparing it with that of other architectural and art historians, as well as with a wider range of historiographies. Offering some questioning of the prevalent emphasis on power and status as motivation, it shows that my focus is on the artistic and design choices of patrons, backed by the broader social subjects of their families, alliances and interests.

## LIST OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page Number</b>
Declaration and Copyright Statement	1
Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
List of Contents	4
<b>Introduction</b>	5
Chapter I    Originality	8
Chapter II    Influence on Academic Literature	15
Chapter III    Where the Work stands in Current Historiography	33
<b>Conclusion</b>	57
Bibliography	58
Appendix 1    Abstracts of submitted work	69-72
Appendices 2-3	73-74
Appendix 4    Introduction to Appendices on Public Impact	75-84
Appendices 5-8	85-94

## Introduction

Three original and innovative bodies of work about artistic patronage that were published between 2003-2021 are analysed in this dissertation. Four publications are submitted to cover these, with two for the Goodwood work. Their full publication details are shown in their abstracts in Appendix 1, together with listings of the chapters and extracts selected to limit the readings to the stipulated maximum. Occasionally other areas of the works are mentioned to reinforce a point.

### **1. *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830***

London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003, reprinted 2004; Phoenix/Orion paperback 2004.

Opening chapters discussed the education, courtship and marriages of gentlewomen and what was expected of them. Two of these are submitted: Chapter 1, 'The Feminine Touch' and Chapter 2, 'Love and Strategy'. Although widely used by academic readers, Chapter 3, 'Ritual, Routine and Obligation' presented less documentary material so is not included, while from Chapter 4, 'House Beautiful', only the section on Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, is submitted. Case-study chapters 8, 10 and 11 are addressed in the next chapter.

### **2a. *Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family***

London: Frances Lincoln 2007, reprinted with small updates 2015, 2019 (2019 submitted).

The focus for attention in the thesis is Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond (1703-50). He filled five chapters (2-6) for his 'reign' of 27 years. Twenty years ago historians believed that the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke (1735-1806) was the most important for art and architectural patronage. Despite the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke's time as duke being doubly long, the aim of both book and thesis is to establish the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke's importance in this respect.

**2b.** Related to work on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond:

**'Richmond House in London – Its History: Part II: Contents and Later Developments',**

*The British Art Journal* 8:3 (Winter 2007/8), 3–14.

**3. 'Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury'** in *Hampshire Studies: Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, series 2, vol. 9, 2021. The selected chapters include the main personalities and the most interesting of the new findings.

*Mistress of the House* was published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson on 10 July 2003, in a hardback edition of 7,000 copies.<sup>1</sup> This sold out dramatically within ten weeks.<sup>2</sup> It was quickly Book of the Week in *The Week* magazine.<sup>3</sup> The volume was soon fifth in the *Evening Standard* Top Ten for sales and went from being tenth in *Living History* in October to seventh in November.<sup>4</sup> The following year it was reprinted with another 7,000 copies, including a paperback for Phoenix under the Orion mark in December.<sup>5</sup> Over the next few years it sold out completely. Sales of 14,000 copies is a large number for a book of its type.

*Goodwood* was published by Frances Lincoln in an edition of 3,000 copies in 2007.<sup>6</sup> It was reprinted with small updates, in 2015, again with 3,000 copies, and the same again in 2019. As listed above, the second of two articles in *The British Art Journal* about Richmond House, the family's townhouse, represents one of the examples where new findings were published in greater detail in a scholarly magazine.

*Huguenots* was published by Hampshire Field Club in 2021 in a limited edition of 200.<sup>7</sup> It did not have an official launch due to the pandemic, but interest has been shown through requests to lecture. The longer version in hardback (55,000 words) is not submitted as it was published by private subscription. It has sold over 200 copies.<sup>8</sup>

Original findings, which especially demonstrate the previously unrecognised importance of both Elizabeth Montagu and Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond as patrons of architecture, are brought to

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<sup>1</sup> Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle*, 19 Sept 2003, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *The Week*, 9 August 2003, 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Evening Standard*, Monday 22 September 2003, 43; *Living History*, October 2003, 82; *Living History*, November 2003, 84.

<sup>5</sup> Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830* (London: Phoenix/Orion, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Rosemary Baird, *Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Rosemary Baird Andreae, 'Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury', in *Hampshire Studies: Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, series 2, vol. 9 (2021).

<sup>8</sup> Rosemary Baird Andreae, *Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury, Hampshire* (privately published by subscription, 2021), ISBN 978-1-5272-9196-6.

attention in Chapter 1. The effect of the research on academic literature is reviewed in Chapter 2 and on the public at large in the appendices. The cumulative body of work adds nuance to the prevalent art historiographical view of Georgian great houses as always aiming to express power and status. By looking closely at the lives of people who commissioned architecture and art, it has shown that other motivations could also exist. This is explored in Chapter 3.



## Chapter I

### Originality

This section aims to point up new findings in architecture and art within each body of published work. These often derive from documents newly discovered or hitherto unquoted, or novel use of known documents. Sometimes they come from refreshingly new visual understanding of a design or an interior scheme. New additions are also made to biography.

### *Mistress of the House*

The book expounded what was then a radical new argument, that many fine historic houses in England built between 1670-1830 should be credited to the efforts of women rather than men. It examined how women could be primarily responsible for the building, decorating and sometimes collecting in major country (and town) houses. Not only were there no previous books on female art and architectural patronage in eighteenth-century England based on original research, there were very few books on it for any period at all. Occasional studies of women's lives focused on household management and personal interests.<sup>9</sup> While Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh made a start on the subject of women and houses, they mostly addressed domestic management and servants, without consideration of patronage and taste.<sup>10</sup> Charlotte Gere and Marina Vaizey's study of collecting had a long date span and sparse findings.<sup>11</sup> A couple of biographies of aristocratic women had stirred interest, and work has always been published on royal women, but with little at that time on their artistic patronage. There was no biography of any of my ten case studies.<sup>12</sup>

*Mistress* was based on primary documentary research from letters, diaries, inventories, contemporary reports and accounts for building and collecting. From the three case-study chapters submitted, Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk (1701-73) (Chapter 8) was revealed for the first time

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<sup>9</sup> Rosalind K Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton 1656-1716* (London: Collins, 1973); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Molly McClain, *Beaufort: The Duke and his Duchess, 1657-1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh, *The Woman's Domain: Women and the English Country House* (London: Viking, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> Charlotte Gere and Marina Vaizey, *Great Women Collectors* (London: Philip Wilson in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox, 1740-1832* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994); Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London: HarperCollins, 1998); Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); John van der Kiste, *The Georgian Princesses* (Stroud, Gloucs.: Sutton Publishing, 2000).

ever as an energetic builder and a discerning patron of art and architecture, as was Elizabeth Montagu, 'Queen of the Bluestockings' (1718-1800) (Chapter 11), who had previously only been considered in literary circles. Elizabeth Seymour, Duchess of Northumberland (1716-76) (Chapter 10) was shown as an able organiser in her combined patronage with the Duke, as well as patron and collector in her own right. My research placed such women in the historical and art historical record, adding to the tenets of women's history and opening wider avenues for research.

In investigating Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk, I discovered the location of her Blount family home in Paignton, Devon, a connection which had not previously been made. Knowing my interest, the librarian at Arundel Castle invited me to be the first person to access and publish documents related to her from the ducal archives. Having noticed a 1770 diary observation about decorative hangings made by Mary Blount, I established from research that the 'tapestries' at her sister Lady Clifford's married home at Ugbrooke, Devon, were not, as the present Clifford family assumed, made there by Mary in her old age, but had been created by her some forty years earlier, as bed hangings. This was of pivotal importance because it unveiled early Rococo influences on the design from when she had lived in France between 1716-23 and 1727-32. It gave the embroideries a much-increased importance as they had adorned the State Bedchamber in the celebrated and glamorous London home at Norfolk House, where it was part of the visiting circuit on the *piano nobile*.<sup>13</sup> Due to my policy of publishing extra details of important discoveries in subsequent articles, with further images, this additionally appeared in a separate piece.<sup>14</sup>

Of especial novelty for Mrs Montagu, on whom only small snippets of biography were then published, was my identification of her London home in Hill Street, which was believed at the time to have been lost. Referring to its 'Zephyr bedroom' Dr Kerry Bristol had written that 'no visual record has survived'.<sup>15</sup> I also described the house more extensively in an article.<sup>16</sup> New findings were also made on Mrs Montagu's restoration of her home at Sandleford Priory, Newbury, transforming the old chapel into a dining room and creating a sensational yet small octagonal drawing room set with classical medallions. Her introduction of these classical interiors was also published in a later article.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Mistress*, 127, n. 50; Brigadier Cecil Aspinall-Oglander, *Admiral's Widow, being the life and letters of the Hon. Mrs Edward Boscowen from 1761 to 1805* (London: Hogarth Press, 1942), 29.

<sup>14</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'A Duchess and her Menagerie in Stitches. The discovery of the Norfolk House bed hangings at Ugbrooke Park in Devon', *Country Life*, June 26, 2003, 108-10.

<sup>15</sup> Kerry Bristol. 'The painted rooms of "Athenian" Stuart', pp. 164-174, *The Journal of the Georgian Group*, X, (2000), 169.

<sup>16</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'The Queen of the Bluestockings': Mrs Montagu's house at 23 Hill Street Rediscovered', *Apollo*, August 2003, 43-9.

<sup>17</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'The Queen of the Blues (Sandleford Priory)', *Country Life*, 3 February 2010, 60-65.

At the time of publication, Elizabeth Seymour, Duchess of Northumberland, had not been researched in her own right. For this I trawled the archives of her ancestral home at Alnwick Castle, utilising her diaries and especially her lists. The nature of her Gothic restorations there was only loosely understood and publication was needed. My chapter was the first to consider Elizabeth as a collector, of historical items, prints and Dutch pictures. I also added to biographical knowledge about her family, courtship and inheritance as well as her personality. Other chapters in this monograph, not directly submitted, included new attention to three important Richmond family members, none of whom lived at Goodwood. Louise de K roualle (1649-1734), mistress of Charles II and mother of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Richmond, was presented as an art collector while Lady Caroline Holland (1723-74), daughter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke, was shown as a sensitive conservationist at Holland House, where I revealed for the first time the layout and arrangement of the famous portrait gallery. The Scottish Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon (1749-1812), grandmother of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Richmond and Gordon, was shown to have been an enthusiastic builder as well as the founder of the sociable Northern Meeting at Inverness.

### ***Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family***

The aim of this ten-year research was to take every printed or remembered fact about Goodwood House and collection back to its origins. It is almost impossible to catalogue all the extensive new findings. Existing books about Goodwood were either about the estate or were inadequate biographies of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke.<sup>18</sup> The architectural history of the house had not been addressed for sixty years, and fine estate buildings had never been written up.<sup>19</sup> Initially I published some architectural points about the house in a 1997 article.<sup>20</sup> A major new direction was the projection of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond as the most important duke in the family history in terms of his contribution to architecture, furniture and landscape.

Chapter 1, 'The Beginnings' contains new findings about the 1st Duke and Duchess of Richmond, notably on their furnishing of Goodwood. This was all fresh research from receipts in the Goodwood Archives. I was the first historian studying Goodwood to travel to Deene Park, Northants, the home

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<sup>18</sup> John Kent, *Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond* (London: Sampston Low, Marston & Company, 1896); David Hunn, *Goodwood* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1975); Alison Olson, *The Radical Duke, Career and correspondence of Charles Lennox, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond* (Oxford University Press, 1961); Max M. Reese, *Goodwood's Oak: The Life and Times of the Third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny* (London: Threshold Books, 1987).

<sup>19</sup> Christopher Hussey, 'Goodwood House, Chichester', *Country Life*, 9 July 1932, 38-44; 'Goodwood House II', 16 July 1932, 66-73.

<sup>20</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'Goodwood House, Sussex. An architectural history', *Country Life*, 24 July 1997, 44-51.

of the Duchess's family, the Brudenells, to see her monument in the church as well as her family portraits in the house, and to discover the importance of Catholic connections. This chapter records for the first time the vagaries of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke's Jacobite sympathies. The suggestion that the Hunt Club built for him at Charlton was used by Lord Burlington to meet Jacobites was a ground-breaking piece of local history. The location of the building was a constant source of local enquiry, also addressed separately at greater length. A visual reconstruction of the legendary Hunt Club designed by Lord Burlington c. 1722 (demolished c. 1750) was commissioned by me.<sup>21</sup> I showed from a court journal that Louise de K roualle had visited her son at Goodwood in 1698.

Chapter 2, 'The Architectural Duke', included the first publication in the context of Goodwood of the Italian architectural paintings commissioned for his dining room, known as *The Tombs of the British Worthies*. I further added to Canaletto scholarship by showing how it is likely that the Duke introduced Canaletto to the visiting Prince Lobkowitz at Richmond House, as a result of which the artist came to paint an early view of the Thames at Westminster Bridge (now in Nelahozeves Castle, near Prague). A revealing letter of introduction that I had discovered was published in full in an associated article.<sup>22</sup> The extensive work in Chapters 2, 3 and 6 showing the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke as a keen proponent of the Palladian style in architecture was all new research. It was a radical recasting of his interests. This included his building of Richmond House in London for which I noted that this was, surprisingly, its third iteration.<sup>23</sup> Detail was extended in two articles, in the second of which I identified a chimneypiece, now at Goodwood, as being from a design by William Kent.<sup>24</sup> Richmond House was very important in the history of Goodwood, as will be revealed.

The 1730s modernising of Goodwood by Roger Morris and its 1740s extension by Matthew Brettingham were also new architectural material, as was identification of this extension in the background of a 1746 painting by John Wootton. Chapter 4, 'Fabricating Follies' included attribution of new drawings that appeared for sale at Sotheby's in 1997 as being by Roger Morris for the hunting lodge at Charlton, on the Goodwood estate. This was also extended in an article.<sup>25</sup> I reidentified and redated a document previously believed to be for Charlton as being for the banqueting house at Carn 's Seat and controversially suggested that the adjacent Shell House was

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<sup>21</sup> *Goodwood*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'Letters of Introduction: The Duke of Richmond, Prince Lobkowitz and Canaletto', *The Burlington Magazine* CXLIX, no. 1248 (March 2007), 182-4.

<sup>23</sup> *Goodwood*, 33.

<sup>24</sup> Rosemary Baird: 'Richmond House in London – Its History: Part I', *The British Art Journal* VIII, no. 2 (Autumn 2007), 3-15; 'Richmond House in London – Its History: Part II: Contents and Later Developments', *The British Art Journal* VIII, no. 3 (Winter 2007/8), 3-14.

<sup>25</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'Fox Hall', *Country Life*, 17 January 2002, 54-7.

mostly professional work.<sup>26</sup> There were new findings in the grounds (Chapter 5, 'Nurturing Nature'), notably that the gardens of High Wood with the Rock Dell were only a display area for wild animals, with the ha-ha walls built to keep them out while caged elsewhere, not to keep them in. I reidentified and explained the wider Pleasure Grounds.

The small selection of material submitted for Charles, 3rd Duke of Richmond is not to deny findings made in other chapters, in which I have made the first character study of the Duke's wife Lady Mary Bruce and showed the relevance of her familial connection to Horace Walpole. It took three separate trips to Paris to locate where the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke had lived as Ambassador in 1762-3, as well as two visits to the former family châteaux at Aubigny-sur-Nère for research. The present family did not even know that their ancestors had owned two châteaux, one in the town and one in the country. My identification of servants of colour was ahead of its time.<sup>27</sup>

From Chapter 9, 'French Connection', the identification of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke's mistress, hitherto known as 'Madame de Cambis', as a Princesse de Chimay, was exciting. In Chapter 10 'Neo-Classical Novelty', I showed that the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke's new 1776 drawing room by James Wyatt imitated contemporary work by Robert Adam. I revealed that this extension had been an encasement of the Jacobean wing, not a rebuild. I also made important new findings on the hound kennels. From my journey to view other hunt kennels by James Wyatt at Brocklesby in Lincolnshire, the original ground plan at the Goodwood kennels with its famous heating system was at last properly understood.

Finally, in Chapter 12, the crucial 'Octagon Question' was addressed. At Goodwood it had been the accepted view that the 3rd Duke had intended to extend the house into an octagon, but there was no evidence for this.<sup>28</sup> I made measured plans and cut outs to see if even a 5-sided house had been intended. My conclusion, derived from a workman's report of 1803 was that at the time the Duke did not know what he intended. The strange surviving shape of the house was thus shown to be partly accidental. The restoration of the Egyptian Dining Room, hitherto painted over for 100 years, was also revealed. I did all the research for the re-creation of this important interior, looking at the history of interest in Egypt following Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile. I was the historical adviser to the present Duke of Richmond in his instructions to his architect and decorator. The

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<sup>26</sup> *Goodwood*, 55, 57-8.

<sup>27</sup> *Goodwood*, 103-4.

<sup>28</sup> Hussey, 'Goodwood House, Chichester', 41.

management of the restoration project was also my responsibility. I published the project more fully in *Country Life*, where it featured as the cover photograph and top story because of its originality.<sup>29</sup>

### ***Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury***

Rookesbury is an imposing 1820s Greek Revival house, previously appearing in scholarly print in only one short paragraph, with a photograph, in 1972.<sup>30</sup> It was hardly mentioned in a family history written in 1900 because the author, Arthur E. Garnier, descended from a branch resident in Norfolk.<sup>31</sup>

Many family history discoveries were made from 150 years earlier, including identification of the children in the Huguenot family arrival, revealing the chaotic nature of the immigration record. From rent records I established the location of two family houses in St James's. From apothecaries' records I found details of the medical careers of three Garnier apothecaries at the Royal Hospital Chelsea and information about early physic gardens and plant-hunting. A famous goldsmith was newly identified as a son. This material is all in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 detailed the acquisition of land for the Rookesbury estate; Dr George Garnier (1703-63) as Apothecary to the Army, with newly discovered letters; extra details of his patronage of Canaletto with a fascinating new-found document about his commissions; the surprise of discovery from letters in the British Library that he attended the Duchess of Richmond at Goodwood on her death bed; and added material about his fashionable new gardens. After a section about his son George Charles Garnier, Chapter 4 studied the building of the new Rookesbury between 1820-7 by his grandson the Revd William Garnier (1773-1835), with newfound accounts for furnishings. It was also novel to publish the work of the architect C.H. Tatham, of whom no biography has yet been written. Other original material was the previously unknown Grand Tour of 1830-4; new portrait attributions; and finding of dispersed works of art in international museums and collections. For the dispersed paintings an appendix was provided at the back of the book, where greater length was possible.

An important aspect of my contribution to scholarship lies in the discovery and interpretation of little or completely unknown documents. For *Huguenots* it was a whole archive, its existence

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<sup>29</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'Cobras and Crocodiles Return to Goodwood', *Country Life*, 23 April 1998, 84-7.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Proudfoot and David Watkin, 'C.H. Tatham, A Pioneer of English Neo-Classicism', *Country Life*, 13/20 April 1972, 920-1.

<sup>31</sup> Arthur E. Garnier, *The Garniers of Hampshire* (London and Norwich: privately published, 1900).

unknown outside the family, but discovered by me uncatalogued in one of several tin trunks. For three years the very existence of any such archive was denied. Access to the attic in which it was kept was only achieved after many meetings about other material and the establishment of trust. One fascinating item found in this trunk was the inventory of 6 Grafton St, the townhouse just off Bond Street acquired by William and Harriett Garnier in 1819, which the family was unaware they had ever owned. From accessing long legal documents in the National Archives, I unexpectedly discovered the 1739 and 1740 inventories of two Garnier townhouses in Pall Mall (further to the two in St. James's mentioned earlier). These unwieldy legal scrolls yielded remarkable information about upper middle-class interiors, also for the Royal Hospital. From family bibles and notebooks scattered all over the owner's house I gave a fuller history of births and deaths than was previously recorded. I gained more results from estate maps than had been achieved by a research team.<sup>32</sup>

For all these three areas of work I have thus managed to make genuine and ground-breaking historical discoveries.

I have also developed an original methodology by gaining expert knowledge and experience in different artistic areas, notably paintings, architecture, interiors, furniture, the decorative arts and gardens. This enabled an all-round yet in-depth approach. The way in which I was able to take such a museum-led approach to a country house was also rare, researching and advising on the historic interiors and then fulfilling this by project-managing the restoration of Goodwood House and estate buildings. Scholarship and practicality were combined to an unusual extent.

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<sup>32</sup> Mary Hogg with research team including Jennifer Harmer, 'Rookesbury Park & Beverley', *Hampshire Gardens Trust Newsletter* 1 (Winter 2008/9), 16-21.

## Chapter II

### Influence on Academic Literature

This chapter will show the extent to which submitted work has been used by scholars, defined as experts in their field or PhDs or above, and the way in which it is used. It will also identify which subjects have attracted the most interest. Published only in 2021, *Huguenots* has not yet merited written academic attention so will only be addressed briefly.

#### ***Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830***

##### **1. Studies by architectural and art historians**

Studies of female architectural patronage engendered not only the largest group of works drawing on *Mistress of the House* (fourteen) but also the most pages of print, including three theses. While most of the scholars mentioned in this section work in architectural history, some specialise in other fields such as paintings, furniture, silver, wallpaper and prints.

Michael Hall MA (Cantab), FSA, former editor of *Apollo* magazine and current editor of *The Burlington Magazine*, drew attention to *Mistress* to argue that the contribution of women both to building design and to decoration had been underestimated.<sup>33</sup> Similarly Dr Lucy Worsley recognised *Mistress* as a key source in her article about female architectural patronage.<sup>34</sup> She chided authors for not acknowledging current historical debate about the role of gender; but as historiographical discussion on the subject was only beginning, an in-depth conversation on the topic within my book was not considered necessary for a general audience.<sup>35</sup> Worsley later invited me to participate in one of her television programmes to talk about the Duchess of Lauderdale's contribution to the furnishings at Ham House.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Michael Hall, 'Emily Meynell Ingram and Holy Angels, Hoar Cross, Staffordshire: A Study in Patronage', *Architectural History* 47 (2004), 286, n. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Lucy Worsley, 'Female Architectural Patronage in the Eighteenth Century and the Case of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley', *Architectural History* 48 (2005), 142, n.6.

<sup>35</sup> See Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth Century England* (London and New York: Longman, 1997); Sonya Rose, *What is Gender History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).

<sup>36</sup> Lucy Worsley, *Harlots, Housewives and Heroines*, YouTube, 2.21, posted by BBC4, 2012, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSMIIVgrmJI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSMIIVgrmJI)



Another article citing *Mistress* is from a book that was similarly part of the developing discussion of female patronage, although it is by an author who did not solely aim to write about women. In a chapter about the Duchess of Northumberland, Dr Adriano Aymonino looked at her collecting at Northumberland House, citing my Chapter 10, 'Equal Eminences' and recognising that it 'encompasses all her patronage activities'.<sup>37</sup> In an article about decorating Northumberland House he judged from his extensive research that 'the real impetus behind the transformation of the house came from Elizabeth' and again cited *Mistress*.<sup>38</sup> In his recent monograph Aymonino wrote about both the Duchess and the Duke (whose taste and skills *Mistress* had also pointed out): he showed her hand also at their other homes, as well as their mutual cross-contributions.<sup>39</sup> In this, he described the chapter in *Mistress* as the first of four '...brief introductions to Lady Elizabeth's life, patronage and private collection...'.<sup>40</sup> While crediting all Aymonino's work, in one of her two articles on the Duchess of Northumberland's collecting of prints, Dr Louise Voll Box cited the descriptions in *Mistress* of her entertainments and illuminations, and in the other she cited the whole chapter.<sup>41</sup> Voll Box also used this material in her PhD thesis.<sup>42</sup>

In his most recent monograph, Aymonino also made good use of Chapter 8, 'The Height of Fashion: Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk 1701-73'. This was for comparison with his own analysis, discussing the possible influence of Mary's Francophile taste and the likely competition between their townhouses of Norfolk and Northumberland House.<sup>43</sup> Dr Clare Taylor, in her work on wallpaper, cited a colour combination from this chapter, that of Mary's decorations at Norfolk House.<sup>44</sup>

As the National Trust Head Furniture Curator, Christopher Rowell BA (Oxon), MA (Courtauld), Chairman and now President of the Furniture History Society, edited a book about Ham House in which he discussed the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale as patrons, with a sub-section 'The Duchess

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<sup>37</sup> Adriano Aymonino, 'The Musaeum of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duchess of Northumberland (1716-76) at Northumberland House in London: an Introduction', in Susan Bracken, Andrea M. Gáldy, and Adriana Turpin, eds., *Women Patrons and Collectors* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 102, n. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Adriano Aymonino and Manolo Guerci, 'The architectural transformation of Northumberland House under the 7th Duke of Somerset and the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, 1748-86', *The Antiquaries Journal* 96 (2016), 312, n. 14.

<sup>39</sup> Adriano Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism: The Grand Design of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke and Duchess of Northumberland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2021).

<sup>40</sup> Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism*, 98, n. 195.

<sup>41</sup> Louise Voll Box, 'Enlightened "Museums of Images" or Decorative Displays? Elizabeth Seymour Percy and the Eighteenth-Century Print Room', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 45, no. 3 (2021), n. 8, accessed 18 December 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00982601-9273027>; Louise Voll Box, 'Prints, profits and personalities: a case study of cultural commerce and Colnaghi in the early 1960s', in Kerriane Stone, ed., *Horizon Lines: Marking 50 Years of Print Scholarship* (University of Melbourne, 2021), 37, n. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Louise Voll Box, 'Lives and Afterlives: The print collection of Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776)' (Ph.D diss., University of Melbourne, 2020), 23, n. 21; 39, n. 81; 56, n. 17; 62, n. 50.

<sup>43</sup> Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism*, 36, n. 180; 62, n. 6; 100, n. 218.

<sup>44</sup> Clare Taylor, *The Design, Production and Reception of Eighteenth-Century Wallpaper in Britain* (Abingdon, Berks: Routledge, 2018), 75, n. 60.

as Patron and Paymaster’ in which he showed full recognition of her role, including *Mistress* in his bibliography.<sup>45</sup> In a volume that predominantly focused on Ireland, encompassing other aspects of women’s lives as well as patronage, Dr Kerry Bristol also cited the whole book in a list of works about ‘the relationships elite women had with their homes...’<sup>46</sup>

Three postgraduate students pursued the subject of female architectural patronage exclusively for their theses, building extensively upon *Mistress*. Dr Amy Boyington noted at the climax of her investigation that: ‘This thesis has sought to build upon several pioneering works, particularly those of Baird and Worsley...’<sup>47</sup> Boyington used fully the main thesis of *Mistress*, that women had been under-recognised as patrons of architecture, to address different case material. She noted from the start that *Mistress* was innovative, declaring:

Rosemary Baird’s pioneering research in *Mistress of the House*, went some way in redressing this gap in women’s involvement in architecture. Baird presented ten case studies of elite women and their architectural achievements... Her research was an important step forward in showcasing the scale and diversity of female architectural patronage...<sup>48</sup>

Although she did not mention the many women who were briefly discussed in the introductory chapters, Boyington concluded that *Mistress* ‘remains the most comprehensive investigation...’.<sup>49</sup> She argued that widows were the most active patrons but this theory is weakened by the lack of mention of leading women builders in *Mistress* who were married, such as Mary, Duchess of Norfolk and Elizabeth, Duchess of Rutland, as well as by sidelining the importance of Catherine and Teresa Parker. Boyington particularly recognised my work on Mrs Montagu, vital to her argument.

A second PhD thesis about women as patrons of town houses by Dr Juliet Learmouth was generous.<sup>50</sup> After a reference in the summary of literature, Learmouth also cited *Mistress* in the discovery of Mrs Montagu’s house at Hill Street.<sup>51</sup> Her first two major subjects, the Duchess of Marlborough at Marlborough House, and Mary Shireburn, the (8th) Duchess of Norfolk at 16, Arlington Street had been addressed in *Mistress*, so Dr Learmouth built upon my findings. For Arlington Street she referenced my ‘evidence of Mary’s involvement in the design and construction’,

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<sup>45</sup> Christopher Rowell, ‘The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale as Collectors and Patrons’, in Christopher Rowell, ed., *Ham House: 400 years of Collecting and Patronage* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), 513.

<sup>46</sup> Kerry Bristol, ‘Sisters and Sisters-in-Law at Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire’, in Terence Dooley, Maeve O’Riordan and Christopher Ridgway, eds., *Women and the Country House in Ireland and Britain* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018), 33, n. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Amy Boyington, ‘Maids, Wives and Widows: Female Architectural Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Britain’ (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2018), 231.

<sup>48</sup> Boyington, ‘Maids, Wives and Widows’, *Survey of Literature*, 13, n. 17.

<sup>49</sup> Boyington, ‘Maids, Wives and Widows’, 15.

<sup>50</sup> Juliet Learmouth, ‘Elite Women and the West End Town House: creating, maintaining and inhabiting a residence in London, c. 1710-c. 1750’, (PhD diss., Birkbeck, University of London, 2021).

<sup>51</sup> Learmouth, ‘The West End Town House’, 4, n. 10; 21, n. 58 (quoting *Apollo* magazine).

as well as my suggestion about Mary's legacy of the house to another family.<sup>52</sup> Katherine Norley's MPhil thesis also revealed extensive citations.<sup>53</sup> While holding no quarrel with my findings, Norley pointed out that I was '...thus far the only published scholar to address in detail the legacy of Teresa Parker and her role as a wife who supported her husband's ambitions...', as well as recognising my new findings on Lady Catherine.<sup>54</sup> In recognition of my research and expertise, I was asked to act as the examiner for this thesis.

In 2022 Fran Sands, Curator of Drawings and Books, Sir John Soane's Museum, cited *Mistress* twelve times in discussing Theresa Parker, Elizabeth Duchess of Northumberland and Mrs Montagu.<sup>55</sup> Crucially, in her literature review, Sands selected Amanda Vickery and myself as the instigators of the subject of modern female patronage. She reasonably queried my suggestion that Adam's style might be considered 'slightly feminine', but overlooked that this had been widely claimed at the time.<sup>56</sup> As an expert in the field, as well as a member of the journal's editorial board, I provided anonymous peer review for the piece before publication.

### **Studies of Mrs Montagu by architectural and art historians**

From *Mistress*, my research on Mrs Montagu has had the most impact. She was the patron most frequently cited, referred to by historians working as much on architectural history as on female patronage. Chapter 11, 'Bluestocking Bravado', engendered citation in six further works in this category. Four of them (as well as Boyington, Learmouth and Sands, above) are to my discovery in 2002 of Mrs Montagu's house at 31, Hill Street (in her time no. 23). The findings were published both in *Mistress of the House* and, as shown, in greater detail in *Apollo* magazine.<sup>57</sup> As editor of the updated Pevsner *The Buildings of England* for the area, Dr Simon Bradley cited *Mistress*, both giving me an acknowledgment and describing the interiors that I had revealed, to his surprise.<sup>58</sup> My discovery of this interior has led to a Blue Plaque commemorating Mrs Montagu being granted by English Heritage for the house in 2022, for which I have also been involved in the application.

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<sup>52</sup> Learmouth, 'The West End Town House', 104, n. 292; 143, n. 430.

<sup>53</sup> Katherine Norley, 'Saltram House: The Evolution of a Country Estate' (M. Phil thesis, University of Plymouth, 2020).

<sup>54</sup> Norley, 'Saltram House', 16-17, 28, 29, 60, 104.

<sup>55</sup> Fran Sands, 'Robert Adam's Female Patrons', *The Journal of the Georgian Group* XXX, 2022, 92, nn. 2, 3; 12, 93, 97, 99, 103, 105, 112, 113, 114, 116 (quoting *Apollo* magazine), 120.

<sup>56</sup> Sands, 'Adam's Female Patrons', 91: see Stewart, *The Town House*, 198.

<sup>57</sup> Baird, 'The Queen of the Bluestockings', 158.

<sup>58</sup> Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 6: Westminster* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), xx, 538.

The discovery of this house caused activity in studies of James 'Athenian' Stuart. Professor Susan Weber Soros edited a large volume accompanying an exhibition about Stuart, the chapter including Mrs Montagu's town houses being by Richard Hewlings MA (Oxon), formerly Senior Properties Historian at English Heritage and Editor of *The Georgian Group Journal*.<sup>59</sup> The photography I had commissioned for Hill Street was republished by Soros and Hewlings, who repeated my findings on the adjacent five pages, including *Mistress* in the bibliography while quoting details from the *Apollo* article both in the text and in three footnotes.<sup>60</sup> There was no questioning of my findings.

It had always been anticipated that a scholar might find further results on this house, the expert architectural historians consulted at the time having given differing opinions.<sup>61</sup> In work still based on my book and article, Dr David Pullins suggested the following year that the ceiling was Stuart working over the design by Robert Adam, whose work in the house I had mentioned.<sup>62</sup> He supported my finding of the town house and the attribution of the ceiling to Stuart while showing that a later overpainting of the central image had misled us all on our briefly-permitted visits to assume that it was the bedchamber ceiling by Stuart (adjacent but now lost); it was, as I had originally thought, the dressing room by Stuart.<sup>63</sup>

Another book referencing the chapter on Mrs Montagu focused on her work in the country. To research his book Dr John Martin Robinson joined my visit to view James Wyatt's work at Sandleford Priory. As well as an acknowledgement, he quoted my conversation about how she remodelled Sandleford on becoming a widow, citing the relevant extract about her in *Mistress*.<sup>64</sup> He also referenced my later article about Sandleford.<sup>65</sup> Working in the decorative arts, on Mrs Montagu's dispersed silver dinner service by Wyatt, Dr Kenneth Quickenden expressed his gratitude for my sharing archival material from the Huntington Library, California.<sup>66</sup> In her book about oriental decoration Professor Stacey Sloboda was the only architectural historian mentioning Hill Street to

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<sup>59</sup> Richard Hewlings, 'The London Houses', in Susan Weber Soros, ed., *James 'Athenian' Stuart 1713-1788: The Rediscovery of Antiquity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006, published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name held at the Bard Graduate Centre, New York, 16 November 2006 – 11 February 2007, and at the V&A Museum, London, 15 March – 24 June 2007).

<sup>60</sup> Hewlings, 'The London Houses', 243-7, nn. 159, 163, 164.

<sup>61</sup> Robinson and Bradley [q.v.]; also John Hardy of Christie's for iconography.

<sup>62</sup> David Pullins, 'Reassessing Elizabeth Montagu's Architectural Patronage at 23 Hill Street, London', *The Burlington Magazine* CL, no. 1263 (June 2008), 400, nn. 2, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Pullins, 'Reassessing Elizabeth Montagu's Architectural Patronage', 402, nn. 11-12.

<sup>64</sup> John Martin Robinson, *James Wyatt: Architect to George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013) 48, n. 25.

<sup>65</sup> Rosemary Baird, ' "The Queen of the Blues": Sandleford Priory, Berkshire', *Country Life*, 3 February 2010, 60-65.

<sup>66</sup> Kenneth Quickenden, 'Elizabeth Montagu's service of plate', Part I, *The Journal of the Silver Society*, 16 (2004), 141.

reference it within the context of gendered spaces in her chapter 'Commerce in the bedroom: sex, gender, and social status'.<sup>67</sup>

The contribution of *Mistress of the House* to art and architectural history is already evident in the work of these scholars. There is also a clear effect in women's history, although I did not aim to delve into further questions about gender history. Apart from the 'Adam question' mentioned on p. 18, I did not usually suggest that women built particularly 'feminine' houses, nor that they acted differently because they were female. As defined by Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, gender history is an offshoot of women's history, using gender as a primary category of analysis.<sup>68</sup> This was superficially the case in *Mistress* but investigating further gender distinctions was not the aim. Nevertheless, much research that followed has acknowledged my contribution to gender history. This will also be shown in following sections.

## 2. Studies of women's lives, both in the private and public spheres

### a) Social history

Many social historians utilised the first four chapters of *Mistress* about the way of life of gentlewomen, while others drew on details from the case studies. Genealogical historian Dr Joanna Martin referenced the Duchess of Northumberland's extensive displays of her ancestors' heraldry at Alnwick as a comparison to the same choices at Melbury in Dorset, also using Gothic designs.<sup>69</sup> The Duchess's love of giving glamorous entertainments was mentioned by Professor Helen Berry in a chapter synthesising social, economic and cultural history.<sup>70</sup> Books historian Dr Melanie Bigold described the Duchess's servants library as illustrating her social and cultural importance, referencing my descriptions of her as a collector and the impact of heiresses on their estates.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2014), 138, n. 65, which additionally references *Apollo* magazine.

<sup>68</sup> Barker and Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, 3, 5.

<sup>69</sup> Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters: Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London and New York: Hambledon and London Ltd, 2004), 272, n. 62; *Mistress*, 153-6.

<sup>70</sup> Helen Berry, 'Women, Consumption and Taste', in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850: an Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2005), 199, n. 34.

<sup>71</sup> Melanie Bigold, 'Sex Education, Songs, and Spiritual Guidance: An Eighteenth-Century Servants' Library', *The Library*, Volume 23, Issue 3 (September 2022), nn. 21, 28, accessed 27 December 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/fpac033>

Professor Amanda Vickery discussed the lives of both middle and upper class women, showing the architectural contribution of elite women ('at the top') in one chapter, 'Rooms at the Top', where she drew extensively on *Mistress*.<sup>72</sup> She used the findings both for broad statements, such as that women often paid lip service to male autonomy, as well as for vivid details.<sup>73</sup> She cited my example of a woman as figurehead to a huge household as well as the women who were hands-on architectural patrons.<sup>74</sup> Vickery's reliance on *Mistress* is clear, especially as her earlier book had been more about the middling sort than elite women.<sup>75</sup>

Further works about ways of life built upon material in *Mistress*, the thirteen works in this section including five theses. Jeffrey D. Hamilton mentioned the book in his historiographical survey, flagging up the role of women in the country house as well as in the social and sporting seasons in both country and city.<sup>76</sup> The latter were what really interested him in his aim to show how rural pursuits were transported to London; in this case, cricket.

In her investigation of household economy, Jasmine MacDonald cited Chapter 3, 'Routine, Ritual and Obligation' for the hospitality that upper class women were expected to provide to their social peers when travelling.<sup>77</sup> Dr Jennifer Aston *et al.* mentioned the book as general background for an economic study of a later period.<sup>78</sup> Writing about music in country houses, Katrina Faulds built on my ideas to show the contribution of women to country house interiors through crafts and design.<sup>79</sup> Dr Margaret Ponsonby cited 'Love and Strategy' to show how through country house visiting women learnt how to decorate their own homes, the theme for her being wallpaper, discussed here from a social aspect.<sup>80</sup> Dr Rachael Johnson also cited this chapter to inform her discussion of infertility, about which I had said that women were stoical.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 131, nn. 6, 8.

<sup>73</sup> Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 134-8, nn. 18, 23, 39.

<sup>74</sup> Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 160, n. 93; 259, n. 5.

<sup>75</sup> Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>76</sup> Jeffrey D. Hamilton, 'Adapting the City to meet Rural Desires: the English urban landscape as surrogate country house' (PhD thesis, University of Delaware, 2006), 32.

<sup>77</sup> Jasmine MacDonald, 'The Baillies of Mellerstain: the household economy in an eighteenth-century elite household' (PhD diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2010), 57, n. 127.

<sup>78</sup> Jennifer Aston, Amanda Capern and Briony McDonagh, 'More than Bricks and Mortar: female property ownership as economic strategy in mid-nineteenth-century urban England', *Urban History* 46, no. 4, Cambridge University Press online (28 February 2019), n. 62, accessed 7 November 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0963926819000142>

<sup>79</sup> Katrina Faulds, '“Invitation pour la Danse”: social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house, c. 1770-1860' (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2015), 37, n. 118; 42, n. 139.

<sup>80</sup> Margaret Ponsonby, Margaret, *Faded and Threadbare Historic Textiles and Their Role in Houses Open to the Public* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 20, n. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Rachael Johnson, "'Now the Scene Appears Chang'd": Amabel Countess De Grey, Lifecycles and the Visitor Experience of English Watering Places, 1775-1826', *Cultural and Social History* 13, no. 2, Routledge online journal, Taylor and Francis Group (14 July 2016), 184, n. 25, accessed 19 December 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2016.1202007>

The most cited of the introductory chapters was 'Routine, Ritual and Obligation', designed for readers who might need to know about the aristocratic routine and the sporting year.<sup>82</sup> It has borne fruit. Eric Weichel referenced it for his thesis on ladies-in-waiting.<sup>83</sup> Several writers cited it for the management role of women in great houses, notably in two further theses. It was certainly useful to Neil Watt, who described *Mistress* as being 'especially informative' on the social, political and administrative obligations of upper-class women, including farming.<sup>84</sup> Investigating aristocratic household management, Emma Purcell gave my book a primary place in her literature review, describing it as 'refreshing'.<sup>85</sup> She showed from *Mistress* what was expected of upper class women, with only a brief sentence on their artistic responsibilities.<sup>86</sup> In a comparison with Jewish homes, Leora Auslander similarly cited *Mistress* in terms of women being key to the management of staff and organisation in country houses, saying this was the same in bourgeois homes.<sup>87</sup>

Material culture historians Professor Jon Stobart and Dr Mark Rothery cited *Mistress* in an overview of historiography in their chapter 'Gentlewomen's Things: Women and Country House Consumption'.<sup>88</sup> They aimed to deal with a broad range of 'things', both extraordinary and ordinary, which illuminate social history, from decorative objects to food, and how they are bought but also claimed to write about taste, claiming that 'People lie at the heart of our study...'<sup>89</sup> While this method is successful in their work, some pitfalls of an earlier material culture approach occasionally made by literary scholars will be flagged up in the next section.

## **b) Literary scholarship**

While attending a series of conferences with literary scholars, I identified a need to introduce greater understanding of visual objects to literary historians working in the history of material culture. This is shown to have succeeded when in 2019 Professor Nicole Pohl cited my footnote in *Mistress* about the involvement of Angelica Kauffman at Portman Square: while the reference shows her need for

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<sup>82</sup> Hamilton, 'Adapting the City'; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*; MacDonald, 'The Baillies of Mellerstain'; Ponsonby, *Faded and Threadbare Historic Textiles*; Norley, 'Saltram House'.

<sup>83</sup> Eric J. Weichel, 'Ladies-in-Waiting: Art, Sex and Politics at the early Georgian Court' (PhD. diss., Queens University, Ontario, 2013), 43, nn. 85, 86; 279, n. 614.

<sup>84</sup> Neil Watt, 'Women of the Big House families in Ireland and Marriage, 1860-1920' (PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2014), 272, n. 66.

<sup>85</sup> Emma Purcell, 'Managing Aristocratic Households: women's agency within the Montagu property network, c.1709-1827' (PhD thesis, University of Leicester 2018), 8, n. 28.

<sup>86</sup> Purcell, 'Managing Aristocratic Households', 68-9, nn. 8, 9, 10; 70, n. 15; 151, n. 17.

<sup>87</sup> Leora Auslander, 'The Modern Country House as a Jewish form: a Proposition', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 18, no. 4 (2019), 470, n. 13.

<sup>88</sup> Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 141, n. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption*, 1.

information, a comment that Mrs Montagu ‘added her own designs and ideas’ reveals that Pohl had taken on board the notion of patronage.<sup>90</sup> In the following sections, I will discuss how *Mistress* together with my own academic engagement has helped to increase understanding between scholars of literary and visual/material culture.

## Bluestocking studies

Five of the following studies also refer to ‘Bluestocking Bravado’. They are about a particular group of intellectual women. These studies make a total for citations of my work on Mrs Montagu of nine academic books, four articles and one thesis. As the main literary scholar working on Elizabeth Montagu, Dr Elizabeth Eger first cited *Mistress* in reference to her London townhouse in Portman Square.<sup>91</sup> She cited it again in a subsequent book, this time for my discovery of the earlier Hill Street townhouse.<sup>92</sup>

A brief digression is needed to discuss relevant academic interactions. An emerging triumvirate of literary scholars (Eger, then of King’s College, London; Professor Nicole Pohl of Oxford Brookes; and Professor Caroline Franklin of Swansea University) subsequently issued an invitation to me to lecture at their 2012 conference *Writing Materials: Women of Letters from Enlightenment to Modernity*.<sup>93</sup> The aim was ‘to explore the material culture surrounding women’s writing, including specific writing instruments and accessories [...] but also furniture and environments.’<sup>94</sup> My subject was: *The Architectural Patronage of Elizabeth Montagu*, in which the building or restoring and the decorating of her three homes were discussed.

In the rest of the conference the emphasis was on material culture. As Frank Trentmann described it: ‘Literary scholars rediscovered the world of things and traced the patina it left on human relationships and sensibilities.’<sup>95</sup> Their methodology at this early stage was slightly puzzling. Even though the second day was in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the discussion did not benefit from a talk by a furniture historian when contextualising a writing desk. Sometimes the literary scholars did not seem to have

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<sup>90</sup> Nicole Pohl, ‘“Knitting Needles, Knotting Shuttles, & Totums & Cards & Counters”: The Bluestockings and the Material Culture of Fibre Arts’, *Textile History* 50, no. 2 (2019), 153, n. 57, accessed 18 December 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2019.1653599>

<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth Eger, ‘The Bluestocking Circle: Friendship, Patronage and Learning’, in Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant Women: 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Bluestockings* (London, National Portrait Gallery, to accompany the exhibition *Brilliant Women: 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Bluestockings*, National Portrait Gallery, 13 March – 15 June, 2008 2008), 41, n. 33.

<sup>92</sup> Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 68, n. 20.

<sup>93</sup> King’s College, London 29 November 2012 and at the V&A Museum, London, 30 November 2012.

<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Eger, email to RBA, 6 August 2012.

<sup>95</sup> Frank Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics’, *Journal of British Studies* 48 (April 2009), 283–4.



enough material knowledge. Similarly in their earlier 2008 conference *Brilliant Women: 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Bluestockings* the interpretation of an armchair shown in a portrait was far-fetched.<sup>96</sup> Dr Emma Clery claimed that a perfectly normal George II wing armchair in which the tiny figure of Alexander Pope was sitting was symbolic of intimate female anatomy enveloping him; but she had no evidence for this.<sup>97</sup> Simple knowledge of furniture would have negated the suggestion: normal George II wing chairs located in wealthy interiors were large and overstuffed, their shape deriving from the Baroque double hooped back of Queen Anne chairs. Here, gender history briefly lacked material information. This made me want to contribute further to the direction in which these scholars were moving. As another result of my published work and lecture, the scholarly trio came at my invitation to visit 31 Hill Street and Sandleford Priory, Newbury.

A better bridge to the physical world was built more recently when literary historians turned their attention to landscape.

### **Women's landscape patronage and gardening**

Having formed the Elizabeth Montagu Project in 2009, the modern 'Bluestockings' successfully produced the website *Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online (EMCO)* in 2020.<sup>98</sup> They invited me to be a Plenary Speaker, at *The Pursuit of Improvement: A Bluestocking Landscape*, their conference about women and landscape that took place at Hagley Hall, Worcestershire, 1-2 Sept 2021.<sup>99</sup> This is the home of the descendants of Lord Lyttelton, a close friend of Mrs Montagu. Both the house and landscape garden were of immediate relevance to the subject.

At their request, my talk was on *Landscape Fashions 1700-1800*, taking place on the first afternoon prior to the attendees visiting the landscape garden on the hillside behind the house. Landscape history was a subject about which many of the attending literary scholars knew little, even though they had written about individual examples of female garden patronage. The talk was not new research but was designed to be educational, and to contextualise the important Hagley landscape garden. It was very well received. In this way, as in architecture and interior design, I have tried to help literary scholars to cross a bridge to the physical world of their writers. Over the years this has

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<sup>96</sup> National Portrait Gallery, 13 March – 15 June 2008.

<sup>97</sup> Emma Clery, 'To Dazzle let the Vain design', in Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 47.

<sup>98</sup> The project was begun with Arts and Humanities Council Research Funding. See <https://emco.swansea.ac.uk>

<sup>99</sup> Also sponsored by EMCO, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and the Universities of Swansea and Oxford Brookes.

developed into a mission. Its effectiveness is proved in that so many of their citations from *Mistress* are to artistic detail.

*Mistress* is cited or included in three works relating to landscape. Only two examinations of gardens were made in *Mistress* (Sandleford, Saltram) as well as brief mentions (Ham House, Holland House, Belvoir Castle), but recognition of the importance of related landscape was prevalent. It was often suggested by academics that *Mistress* should be succeeded by a history of eighteenth-century women gardeners: other writers have done so but covered longer timespans with sparse documentation.<sup>100</sup> Professor Stephen Bending and several Bluestocking scholars have consolidated in this area, as shown by the Hagley conference. As a literary scholar, Bending described female states of mind as expressed in writings from gardens.<sup>101</sup> In his chapter 'Bluestocking Gardens, Elizabeth Montagu at Sandleford' he referred to 'Bluestocking Bravado', crediting my work on the landscape there as having used more detail than that of biographers of Capability Brown.<sup>102</sup> Bending's work is also about other women not of the Bluestocking Circle. In his chapter 'Neighbours in Retreat: Lady Mary Coke and the Hollands', he cited *Mistress* Chapter 7, 'The Political Hostess: Caroline Lennox, Baroness Holland', for the description of Caroline's work on the interior decoration of Holland House, and in an earlier article had used it to show Caroline's love of the house and its gardens.<sup>103</sup> While building upon my work a telling link between literature, philosophy gender and landscape history has been constructed by Bending.

The EMCO group subsequently also invited me to contribute to their book of their 2021 conference. For this, my new research in early 2022 gave a very positive result which I have submitted titled as: 'The Discovery of Lady Harriett's Ferme Ornée at Rookesbury, Hampshire'. This is both landscape and architectural history. It includes my new attribution of an estate cottage to Regency architect C.H. Tatham. It will be published in 2023 as a chapter in *Bluestockings and Landscape in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Prospect of Improvement*.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Sue Bennett, *Five Centuries of Women and Gardens* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2000, for the exhibition *Five Centuries of Women and Gardens*, National Portrait Gallery, September 2000); Catherine Horwood, *Gardening Women: Their Stories from 1600 to the Present* (London: Virago, 2010).

<sup>101</sup> Stephen Bending, 'Melancholy Amusements: Women, Gardens, and the Depression of Spirits', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 44, no. 2 (2011), 41-62.

<sup>102</sup> Stephen Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 163, n. 75.

<sup>103</sup> Bending, *Green Retreats*, 178, n. 9; 184, n. 32; Bending, 'Melancholy Amusements', 11.

<sup>104</sup> Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

A second work citing the material in *Mistress* on gardens came from Dr Emma Major.<sup>105</sup> Writing mostly, but not exclusively, about Bluestocking women as privileged, Anglican, virtuous and patriotic, she cited my research in terms of Mrs Montagu's patronage of Capability Brown when discussing role models for a country gentlewoman.<sup>106</sup> Landscape historian Dr Kate Felus also included *Mistress* in her bibliography.<sup>107</sup>

## Domestic management

As with social historians, domestic management described in *Mistress* was a popular source for literary scholars. As a social and cultural historian Dr Leonie Hannan referenced the 'domestic duties undertaken by gentlewomen' for her work on the intellectual life of women in the home.<sup>108</sup> Professor Sarah Ficke took my point about the importance of good domestic budgeting exercised by the mistress of a house and how this might extend her authority into other areas.<sup>109</sup> Some literary authors again cited *Mistress* for its detail, to give physical life to a point. Dr Karen Lipsedge mentioned Mary, Duchess of Norfolk running the estate at Worksop, as well as her ornamental dairy.<sup>110</sup> Nicole Pohl selected Elizabeth Griffin, Countess of Portsmouth redesigning her ancestral home to exemplify female agency in building.<sup>111</sup>

That seven literary scholars (Eger, Bending, Major, Hannan, Ficke, Lipsedge and Pohl) should reference *Mistress* suggests that they needed information. It also emphasises the inter-disciplinary nature of my book. A study of patronage naturally occupies a social as well as an artistic sphere.

## 3. Biographers or biographical material

While writing *Mistress* it was obvious that individual biographies would follow on. It was tempting to write one on Mrs Montagu, but Elizabeth Eger was embarking on this project. Jane, Duchess of Gordon

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<sup>105</sup> Emma Major, *Madam Britannia: Women, Church, and Nation 1712-1812* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>106</sup> Major, *Madam Britannia*, 76, n. 34

<sup>107</sup> Kate Felus, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 243.

<sup>108</sup> Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 22, n. 100.

<sup>109</sup> Sarah H. Ficke, 'House, Home and Husband in Historical Romance Fiction', in Ann Brooks, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Romantic Love* (Abingdon, Berkshire: Routledge, 2021), 142; Taylor and Francis e-books, accessed 21 December 2022. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003022343>

<sup>110</sup> Karen Lipsedge, ' "I was also absent at my dairy-house": The Representation and Symbolic Function of the Dairy House in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 22, no. 1, University of Toronto Press, (2009), nn. 34, 36, accessed 19 December 2022,

[https://winch.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/44UOW\\_INST/1gp3oog/cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_200838355](https://winch.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/44UOW_INST/1gp3oog/cdi_proquest_journals_200838355)

<sup>111</sup> Nicole Pohl, *Women, Space and Utopia, 1600-1800* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2006), 66, n. 51.

was another under-published subject, the owner of whose Scottish home wished me to write her biography. Although the following citations by six biographers are not all from the exact chapters submitted from *Mistress*, they add important evidence to the overall academic impact of the book.

*Mistress's* Chapter 13, 'Seclusion in Scotland', has proven useful to various writers. In her history of the illegitimate daughter of George, Marquis of Huntly, later 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Gordon, Rosemary Richards referred to the whole chapter, citing an incident in the life of his mother, Jane, Duchess of Gordon.<sup>112</sup> As a legal historian, Dr Drew G. Gray used biographical information for a case study in which the Duke and especially the Duchess of Gordon tried to gain mercy for a remote relative who had been found guilty of murder.<sup>113</sup> The chapter on 'Collector and Protector: Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth 1649-1734' has been utilised by a celebrated historian of French subjects, Dr Philip Mansel, who interviewed me about Louise de K roualle.<sup>114</sup>

Dr Tracy Borman included *Mistress* in her biography of Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, citing a contemporary reference to female accomplishments.<sup>115</sup> Howard had been mentioned in four different places in my book, including a four-page section; as a lady builder she was central to my argument, but her house at Marble Hill had recently been published.<sup>116</sup> The very readable and approachable nature of her book belies Borman's scholarly perusal of additional documents. Dr Susan Law included the book in the bibliographies both of her thesis and of her subsequent book for her discussion of scandal.<sup>117</sup> Similarly Dr Odette Clarke referenced it with respect to the notion of the power house for a biographical dissertation.<sup>118</sup>

In summary, *Mistress of the House* has been referenced in the 54 academic works recorded. These are variously books (27), articles (14) and theses (13) (of which twelve for a PhD).<sup>119</sup> Of the ten full case studies presented in *Mistress*, after Chapter 11 on Mrs Montagu, the most cited chapter in numerical terms is Chapter 10 on the Duchess of Northumberland, although it eventually became

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<sup>112</sup> Rosemary Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae's Manuscript Music Collections: a life in music' (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2017), 70, n.7.

<sup>113</sup> Drew D. Gray, *Prosecuting Homicide in Eighteenth-Century Law and Practice* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2020), 130, n. 61.

<sup>114</sup> Philip Mansel, *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), acknowledgement, 459; 71, n. 49.

<sup>115</sup> Tracy Borman, *King's Mistress, Queen's Servant* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007), 7, n. 11.

<sup>116</sup> Julius Bryant, *Marble Hill, Twickenham* (London: English Heritage, 2002).

<sup>117</sup> Susan C. Law, 'Public Roles and Private Lives: aristocratic adultery in late Georgian England' (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2011, embargoed with permission not granted from University of Warwick); Susan C. Law, *Through the Keyhole: Sex, Scandal and the Secret Life of the Country House* (Stroud, Gloucs.: The History Press, 2015).

<sup>118</sup> Clarke, Odette. 'Caroline Wyndham-Quin, Countess of Dunraven (1790-1870): an analysis of her discursive and material legacy' (PhD diss., University of Limerick (2010), 15, n. 71.

<sup>119</sup> Unpublished theses; Law, University of Warwick (2011); Voll Box, University of Melbourne (2020).

superseded by Aymonino's work. Assessing how much a chapter has been used can be difficult to measure given that sometimes it is thoroughly incorporated and at other times utilised for detail. Further chapters have sometimes been used or even summarised without being cited. A rewarding aspect has been the worldwide spread, with eight international scholars between them producing five PhD theses, three books and three articles, written in the USA, Canada and Australia.<sup>120</sup> *Mistress* is held by 218 libraries worldwide.<sup>121</sup>

The greatest influence has been on art and architectural writers. Some of these have completely incorporated the argument about the previously uncredited role of women in the building and decorating of great houses and have used the argument to work on other material of their own choice.<sup>122</sup> For this, *Mistress* takes its place both in women's history and in gender history. It has also been very influential on social historians, who often cite detail rather than argument, as do five literary historians and six biographers. In total 43 scholars have referenced my book. Scholars such as Worsley, Vickery, Boyington, Learmouth and Watt have shown that they see me as the prime instigator of the subject of female patronage. While Vickery is rightly much quoted as a major lead on women's lives, it has been shown that when discussing artistic patronage, even she had to resort to using my work.

That *Mistress* should have been so thoroughly cited so recently shows that it was indeed ahead of its time. A colleague recently received the following unsolicited email from an early-career, male, National Trust curator:

I bought a copy of Rosemary Baird's book many years ago, way before I had thought of doing a PhD in the subject – she was and is an inspiration and features in my PhD. If you are speaking with her, please do pass on my admiration of her excellent contribution to Women's History. Hopefully one day my own book can sit happily alongside hers!!<sup>123</sup>

#### **Influence on Academic Literature/ctd.**

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<sup>120</sup> USA, Delaware: Hamilton, 'Adapting the City'; New York; Pullins, 'Reassessing Elizabeth Montagu's Architectural Patronage'; Sloboda, *Chinoiserie*. Canada, Saskatchewan: MacDonald, 'The Baillies of Mellerstain'; Toronto: Weichel, 'Ladies-in-Waiting'; Montreal; Coutu, *Then and Now*. Australia, Melbourne: Richards, Georgiana McCrae's manuscript music collections; Voll Box, 'Lives and Afterlives'.

<sup>121</sup> Appendix 2.

<sup>122</sup> Worsley, '...the Case of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley'; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*; Watt, 'Women of the big house families in Ireland'; Boyington, 'Maids, Wives and Widows'; Learmouth, 'The West End Town House'.

<sup>123</sup> Dr Neil Watt, National Trust resident manager, Castle Ward, N. Ireland, 19 May 2022.

## ***Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family***

Works citing *Goodwood* are mostly written by architectural, art and decorative arts historians. As well as acknowledging and citing my information on servants in his specialist study, in another of his many books on country houses Jeremy Musson, Llb., M. Phil (Warburg) included a chapter 'Goodwood House; The Regency Revolution in Taste.' in which he cites *Goodwood* thoroughly.<sup>124</sup> His chapter was entirely based on my new research published in these resources, especially on the Egyptian Dining Room, which he described as being 'brilliantly restored using available evidence'.<sup>125</sup> Dr John Martin Robinson collaborated with me in investigating James Wyatt's work at Goodwood, citing my Chapter 12 'Picturesque Vision' based on my own documentary research.<sup>126</sup> He also cited my work on the Egyptian Dining Room, which he described as 'one of the earliest [Egyptian] and most splendid interiors in England.'<sup>127</sup>

In his publication of the letters of a Venetian art agent, an acknowledgment following a long interview at Goodwood was given by art historian Timothy Llewellyn OBE, MA (Cantab), former Head of Old Master Paintings at Sotheby's (1978-1994) and Director of the Henry Moore Institute (1994-2007).<sup>128</sup> In seven citations he mostly used my work for the biography of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond and his family, as well as his Grand Tour.<sup>129</sup> Furniture historian, Professor Susan Weber (previously Weber Soros) gave six references on my research on William Kent for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond, both at Richmond House and for items that had been there.<sup>130</sup> Weber therefore also used the second of the two related Richmond House articles, important for her work on Kent.<sup>131</sup> A study by Sharon Goodman of the furnishing of 10 Downing Street in the 1750s also referenced the second article, as a comparison.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Jeremy Musson, *Up and Down Stairs: The History of the Country House Servant* (London: John Murray, 2009), 34, 304; Jeremy Musson, *English Country House Interiors* (New York: Rizzoli, 2011), 169, n. 1 (in which he also cites two articles, 'The Refurbishment of the State Rooms at Goodwood House', *Apollo*; and 'Goodwood House, Sussex', *Country Life*); 171, n. 4; 175, n. 8.

<sup>125</sup> Musson, *English Country House Interiors*, 171.

<sup>126</sup> Robinson, *James Wyatt*, 30, n. 52.

<sup>127</sup> Robinson, *James Wyatt*, 290, n. 23, citing both the book and 'Cobras and Crocodiles', 1998.

<sup>128</sup> T.D. Llewellyn, 'Owen McSwiny's Letters 1720-1744', *Lettere Artistiche del Settecento Veneziano* 4 (2009), x.

<sup>129</sup> Llewellyn, 'Owen McSwiny's Letters', 50, n. 118; 60, n. 159; 65, n. 165; 67, nn.171, 173; 87, n. 252; 132, n. 346.

<sup>130</sup> Susan Weber, 'The Well of Inspiration: Sources for Kent's Furniture Designs', in Susan Weber ed., *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name held at the Bard Graduate Center, New York, 20 September 2013 – 16 February 2014 and at the V&A Museum, London, 22 March – 13 July 2014), 480-1, nn. 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 88.

<sup>131</sup> Baird, 'Richmond House... II'.

<sup>132</sup> Sharon Goodman, 'The 9th Earl of Lincoln (1720–1794) and the Refurbishment of Exchequer House, 10 Downing Street', *The British Art Journal* XVIII, no 3 (Winter 2017), 7, n. 48.

Sculpture historian John Kenworthy Browne FSA cited these two articles on Richmond House four times in his important article on the Richmond House sculpture gallery, together with an acknowledgement.<sup>133</sup> Two further sculpture studies cite the articles for information on the Richmond House gallery, including Cora Gilroy-Ware's discussion of the nude.<sup>134</sup> Joan Coutu additionally made twelve citations for my book in her own important work about mid-century sculpture collections.<sup>135</sup> Aymonino cited the second of the two articles for his understanding of architect Daniel Garrett.<sup>136</sup> Juliet Learmouth referenced both articles in order to support comparative points about town houses.<sup>137</sup> With citations from seven scholar-experts, the Richmond House articles have been influential.

Libraries historian Dr Mark Purcell used the book to summarise the decorative history of the Large Library.<sup>138</sup> Textile historian Annabel Westman FSA used it first to compare a diplomatic gift of tapestries and, crucial to her argument, an ambassadorial canopy adapted for use as a state bed, a discovery that I had made.<sup>139</sup> My work was thus widely recognised for its technical merit in paintings, architecture, interiors, furniture and textiles as well as providing vital background for sculpture studies.

Garden historian and Birkbeck PhD student Michael Cousins cited the book broadly, when discussing the early garden follies at Goodwood.<sup>140</sup> I welcomed his very good publication of a hitherto unlocated but fascinating contemporary travel diary, revealing some previously unknown follies. In suggesting an 'immense lacuna' around the subject, he undervalued what I had written in Chapter 4, 'Fabricating Follies', as well as my use of other primary sources mentioned by him. He countered my assessment of the Shell House as being largely professional work by quoting the view of the restorer, Dinah Reynell, now deceased; but this excellent shell-worker, whom I knew, may not have been so reliable as an historical source.

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<sup>133</sup> John Kenworthy Brown, 'The Duke of Richmond's Gallery in Whitehall', *The British Art Journal* X, no. 1, spring/summer 2009, 46.

<sup>134</sup> Cora Gilroy-Ware, 'Marmorealities: Classical Nakedness in British Sculpture and Historical Painting 1798-1840' (PhD diss., University of York, 2013), 12, n. 6.

<sup>135</sup> Joan Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 98, nn. 18, 22; 100, n. 24; 102, nn. 31, 33, 34, 36; 106, n. 43; 112, n. 66; 125-6, nn. 136, 138; for the Richmond House articles 94, n. 2; 102, n. 36; 104, n. 37; 112, n. 66.

<sup>136</sup> Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism*, 44, n. 13, citing 'Richmond House II'.

<sup>137</sup> Learmouth, 'The West End Town House', 176, n. 529.

<sup>138</sup> Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press for the National Trust, 2017), 143, n. 51.

<sup>139</sup> Jeremy Musson and Annabel Westman, 'The Russian Empress, the English Earl and a Norfolk State Bed', *The Court Historian* 27, no. 1 (11 May 2022): nn. 45, 82, accessed 19 December 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14629712.2022.2047323>

<sup>140</sup> Michael Cousins, 'Tempted by the Temple: Revealing Gardens through the Early Travels of the Newdigates, 1747-48', in *Garden History: Journal of the Garden History Society* 47, no. 1 (2019), 12, n. 28.

Authors who had already cited *Mistress* also referenced *Goodwood*. Rosemary Richards used it for the Scottish family history material of Jane, Duchess of Gordon.<sup>141</sup> Aymonino detailed personalised overdoor paintings at Goodwood that were copied from the Duke of Northumberland's home at Syon Park, Middlesex.<sup>142</sup>

*Goodwood* was based on ten years of research 1996-2006, in the period that I was running the restoration of Goodwood House. Scholars often came to see me to discuss their own work: these included James Stourton MA (Cantab), former Old Masters expert and Deputy Chairman UK at Sotheby's, London and Charles Sebag-Montefiore MA (St Andrews), then a National Gallery trustee and creator of a remarkable provenance library. This was for their work on collecting but in their very compressed tome they only included a short section on Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond as a patron of Canaletto.<sup>143</sup> Prior to publication of *Goodwood*, Professor Vicky Coltman acknowledged my help in her text.<sup>144</sup>

*Goodwood* has thus been cited in ten books, seven of which are by academic authors while the other three also achieve good historical writing but will be considered in Appendix 4; and in two articles. Most citations are from the work on the 2nd Duke: this is inevitable because it was his profile that I was trying to raise. Citations tend to be thorough, my specialist points affecting scholar's own arguments. Many biographical details have also been extrapolated from the submitted chapters for work relating to or compared with that of these two dukes. A further five scholars have drawn on the related Richmond House articles, so that they are in total mentioned in four books, two articles, and two PhD theses. Furniture historian Christopher Rowell further endorsed my attribution of a suite of furniture to Gerrit Jensen.<sup>145</sup> Thus thirteen scholars have cited for the body of *Goodwood* work submitted.

*Goodwood* is widely used as the main reference book to the house and estate as well to the history of the Dukes of Richmond. It is held by 75 academic libraries worldwide.<sup>146</sup> It has not been succeeded by anything comparable.

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<sup>141</sup> Richards, *Georgiana McCrae's manuscript music collections*, 18-19, n. 15.

<sup>142</sup> Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism*, 29, n. 124.

<sup>143</sup> James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2012).

<sup>144</sup> Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), xi.

<sup>145</sup> Rowell, ed., *Ham House*, 135, n. 98.

<sup>146</sup> Appendix 3.



To conclude the findings on the impact of these works on scholarship, *Mistress* has clearly received by far the most citations. As well as achieving a prime starting place in studies of female architectural patronage, and in the work of architectural historians, it has had a strong and long-lasting influence on women's history and a large following among social and literary historians. It is admired by art experts: a Deputy Chairman of Christie's recently made the unsolicited comment that it is 'the best ever book on women and houses.'<sup>147</sup>

The accuracy of *Goodwood* rests unchallenged and it continues to be the main source in the history of the house. The more accessible information in such a book becomes common knowledge after a time, so it is not always cited when used as general history and biography even though it is better researched than anything earlier. Its findings still support forthcoming work.<sup>148</sup> Ducal houses always have impact.

*Huguenots* has the same effect as *Goodwood* but on a smaller scale, as both the house and the family are less well-known outside the area. Due to my research, the identification of talented goldsmith Daniel Garnier with his rightful, distinguished apothecary family occurred for the first time in a major new volume on Huguenot culture.<sup>149</sup> Former V&A curator and distinguished ceramics expert John V. G. Mallet is currently publishing an article on the Chelsea porcelain factory in which he both acknowledges my help for information on George Garnier and cites my work extensively.<sup>150</sup> While continuing to have strong local effect, *Huguenots* contains many further subjects that should be useful for future scholarship.

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<sup>147</sup> Francis Russell, Deputy Chairman of Christie's, speaking at a National Gallery viewing, 21 June 2022.

<sup>148</sup> Jeremy Musson and James Peill, 'Robert Adam Drawings for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond', pending.

<sup>149</sup> Tessa Murdoch, *Europe Divided: Huguenot Refugee Art and Culture* (London: V&A Publishing, 2021), 88.

<sup>150</sup> John V.G. Mallet, 'The Foundling Hospital and Nicholas Sprimont of the Chelsea Factory', *English Ceramic Circle, Transactions* 33 (2023), pending.

## Chapter III

### Where the Work stands in Current Historiography

It has already been shown that my work on patronage relates to other historiographies, such as women's history, gender history, social history, the history of material culture, literary history and biography. However, it does not completely sit within any one of these.

My published work comprises both architectural history and art history, with the latter term including the decorative arts. As architectural history, it has hopefully followed the aims and standards of accuracy set by Sir Howard Colvin FBA (1919-2007).<sup>151</sup> This is to deduce from documents and drawings what both architect and patron intended, and what was carried out, in a factual way. As art history it relates to the work of Professor Francis Haskell FBA (1928-2000) on paintings, and to that of other specialists both in paintings and in the decorative arts. This chapter aims to show how my work relates to that of those other historians whose work is primarily visual and how it has progressively taken in subsequent influences.

Recent architectural studies have often suggested that fine country houses were built for power and prestige, that they were aiming to gain power or to create or reinforce status. While this is often true, in my work I have shown that there were also other motivations.

### The Power and Status Arguments

The first historian to make an explicit argument for so many of the grandest country houses being 'power houses' was Mark Girouard, who in his seminal work devoted the first chapter to explaining his thesis.<sup>152</sup> He showed how they were the houses of a ruling class whose power was based on the ownership of land. The country house was the headquarters, acting as an 'image-maker' of the owner's status.<sup>153</sup> Economic historian Gordon E. Mingay had earlier discussed the relative power of the nobility, gentry and other landowners, showing that land ownership was indeed the foundation of eighteenth-century society.<sup>154</sup> 'Status' can simply mean 'standing', as in situation, as things are;

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<sup>151</sup> Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2008).

<sup>152</sup> Mark Girouard, Chapter 1, 'The Power Houses', in *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 2-12.

<sup>153</sup> Girouard, *Life*, 3.

<sup>154</sup> Gordon E. Mingay, *English Landed Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

and of course everyone's house expresses the size of their bank account, whether large or small. Status can also suggest aspiration to greater standing, as in a relative social or professional situation. In the context of Girouard's power houses, it also usually implies reinforcement of existing power. More often than not country house building was aspirational, to express that power and to gain more. As shown by him, the very grand Houghton Hall in Norfolk was created by Sir Robert Walpole to aid his political ascent.<sup>155</sup>

When commencing research for *Mistress* I had declared that I wished to find the Bess of Hardwicks of the eighteenth century. At Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire she had partly aimed to create a worthy home for her granddaughter Arabella Stuart, to give momentum to her claim to the English throne. This aspect of her motivation was not however what drew me to Bess, but her accomplishment as a lady builder.

These were all buildings for the assured. How far down the scale does the 'power' notion apply? The effect of new money is often raised in this context, the assumption being that it is always more showy. Discussing slightly smaller early seventeenth century houses, Dr J.T. Cliffe showed that a gentleman's house also needed to represent the economic and often legal power that came with his landed estate. He pointed to the 'impact of new wealth' by professionals with social aspirations, describing a great demand for country seats around London. One historian's 'aggrandisement' (Cliffe) may be another's 'establishment' (Girouard), so one must look at the motivations for each example of building individually. Girouard wisely said that you could tell from how someone built a house how high they wished to aim.<sup>156</sup>

Other houses built all at once as great masterworks in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were indeed expressions of power, such as Chatsworth, Castle Howard, Holkham and Kedleston. Blenheim, for the soldier Duke of Marlborough, aimed to display his power and success while a century later the Duke of Wellington vaunted his own military glory in additions to Apsley House. Dukes usually felt the need for grand seats, whether to express the status of a new elevation or show the power of an existing one. In *Mistress* I subscribed to Girouard's view, explaining in Chapter I, 'The Feminine Touch', how 'heiresses and women of the aristocracy assisted their husbands in fulfilling their social and political ambitions'.<sup>157</sup> All the duchess-builders mentioned in *Mistress* aimed

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<sup>155</sup> Girouard, *Life*, 4.

<sup>156</sup> Girouard, *Life*, 3.

<sup>157</sup> *Mistress*, 1.

to project the power of their family. Only one of the duchesses portrayed (Northumberland) was the daughter of a duke: all had to rise to considerable challenges.

I also showed the variations in individual ducal patronage. When Jane, Duchess of Gordon created an attractive house for her late life as a single woman at Kinrara, it was built for family life and Highland fun, enjoyed with guests.<sup>158</sup> At Worksop in Nottinghamshire Mary, Duchess of Norfolk aimed to recreate the dynastic home of the Dukes of Norfolk in powerful classicising mode, but in London their new Norfolk House was large and Palladian but externally plain. The main aim there was their acceptance as Catholics into Protestant court society through enlightened attitudes and entertainment. For this the artistic novelty of her dazzling interiors was my focus. Despite their enormous wealth, it was tactful not to overstate power in too many locations, so the 9<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess did not feel the need to restore Arundel Castle, which was ignored in the eighteenth century.

Even among the dukes, circumstances differed. The young 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Richmond rented and then bought a small Jacobean gabled house at Goodwood to go fox hunting. His son Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond, had plans designed by Colen Campbell for a replacement but did not proceed, probably because of cost. Charles, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond felt the need to update but still resisted overspending, rejecting the large remodelling plans of Robert Adam. Eventually Wyatt enveloped the existing Jacobean rooms at one end of the Hall in a pedestrian classical brick exterior but created a ravishing neo-classical Tapestry Drawing Room. It looked very like the contemporary work of Adam but was simpler. The adjacent State Bedroom was plain, hung with inherited tapestries.

These last examples tend towards proving the power and status approach with modifications depending on circumstance. Drs Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley pointed out in 2000 that by now it was 'fashionable for historians to represent the country house as a symbol of the landowner's power in the countryside.'<sup>159</sup> They agreed with this judgement but also showed that houses had other purposes, mainly social considerations such as entertaining and hospitality to travellers. In a study based partly on economics they showed how newcomers to the landed élite often were ostentatious in their design choices but needed in their behaviour to fit in with their neighbours.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> *Mistress*, 227-31.

<sup>159</sup> Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), 49.

<sup>160</sup> Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 40-6.

## Architectural writers

Leading architectural writers focusing on an important architect or theme do not necessarily discuss buildings as expressions of power and status. This may be either because they take it for granted, or because it is not always their prime aim.

A house might be seen as a natural expression of existing status. John Harris explained English Palladianism to a wide exhibition audience without feeling the need to analyse why patrons were building houses.<sup>161</sup> In his chapter on Lord Burlington's upbringing he made an important preliminary point in illustrating the notion of the moral responsibility of a nobleman to be a leader in the arts and sciences, as initially expressed by Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713).<sup>162</sup> He quoted Shaftesbury praising the notion of a *virtuoso* as 'a man of taste whose life was based upon reason and the Platonic Belief in the unity of Beauty, Truth and Goodness.'<sup>163</sup> For Harris this was enough to explain motivation. His emphasis was thereafter on showing how the 'Architect Earl' of Burlington followed the initiative of Inigo Jones in influencing the English revival of the work of Andrea Palladio. The emphasis was on sources, interpretation of antique motifs, and style.

This was what Girouard as well as social and economic historians Stobart and Rothery viewed as the 'art historical' approach in architecture. In the same tradition both Dr Giles Worsley and Professor David Watkin concentrated on explaining the intricacies of classical architecture.<sup>164</sup> Similarly Dr John Martin Robinson showed how neo-classical architect James Wyatt was equal in talent to Robert Adam, Sir William Chambers and Sir John Soane.<sup>165</sup> In the first fully researched book on Adam's interiors, Dr Eileen Harris focused on style, explaining his working methods, planning, use of colour and furniture, defining room by room what he created in each of his houses, in a technical exposition.<sup>166</sup> Like all these writers, I regard the use of ground plans as elementary in discussing

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<sup>161</sup> John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, his Villa and Garden at Chiswick*, (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1995 for the exhibition of *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, his Villa and Garden at Chiswick*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2 February-2 April 1995).

<sup>162</sup> J. Harris, *The Palladian Revival*, 36, referring to Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury, *Soliloquy: or Advice to an Author*, of 1710, and his *Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design*, Naples, 1712.

<sup>163</sup> J. Harris, *The Palladian Revival*, 36, quoting Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manner, Opinions, Times*, 1711.

<sup>164</sup> Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); Giles Worsley, *Inigo Jones and the European Classicist Tradition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007); David Watkin, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: Aurum, 2010); David Watkin, *The Classical Country House; from the archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum, 2010).

<sup>165</sup> Robinson, *James Wyatt*.

<sup>166</sup> Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001)

building design, an aspect emphasised by Andor Gomme and Alison MacGuire.<sup>167</sup> While being extremely aware of the role played by the patron, for all these writers the power and status were implicit. Their aim was not to discuss the social aspects of architecture, but the technical and artistic.

Writing about the aristocratic and upper-class patrons of Robert Adam, Jeremy Musson expressed the power and status argument as something natural, part of ‘an outward show of confidence, belonging and power...’<sup>168</sup> He pointed out that ‘thinking and talking about architecture was part of the education and outlook of the elite, bounded together by status, property, politics and patronage’: it was expected that they would create ‘buildings worthy of respect and attention.’<sup>169</sup> Musson showed that magnificence was seen as an attribute of leadership: this would also mean ostentation in Adam’s richly-decorated interiors. Eileen Harris had declared that all his 300 patrons had to be wealthy; that whether it was new or old money made ‘little or no difference.’<sup>170</sup> This was a different view from that of Cliffe, Girouard and Wilson and Mackley but must be true for Adam’s ubiquitously ornate interiors.

As historians of material culture also writing about architecture, Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery suggested that this view of the country house ‘as a preconceived and stable environment... planned by the architect and created by the owner to communicate messages of power, wealth, and taste’ is the ‘*Country Life* approach’.<sup>171</sup> This shows their socio-economic approach: what might be a natural, subconscious expression of the status quo becomes the deliberate purpose of the owner. One might also suggest that the focus of *Country Life* is to analyse beauty and style, or ‘taste’. The authors were not entirely correct when they said next that *Country Life* writers do not write about ‘lived space’. Some do, but not in the short space of a magazine article. Musson is authoritative on servants, as they later acknowledge.<sup>172</sup> Robinson is an established expert on Georgian farming, including economics, crops, livestock, staffing and changing trends.<sup>173</sup> With all his knowledge of social history and domestic behaviour, Girouard had himself been a *Country Life* architectural editor. Writers already quoted as serious scholars such as Giles Worsley, Michael Hall and Jeremy Musson had also been the magazine’s architectural editors.

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<sup>167</sup> Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: from Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2008).

<sup>168</sup> Jeremy Musson, *Robert Adam: Country House Design, Decoration and the Art of Elegance* (New York: Rizzoli 2017), 11.

<sup>169</sup> Musson, *Robert Adam*, 11

<sup>170</sup> E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 4.

<sup>171</sup> Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption*, 5.

<sup>172</sup> Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption*, 187, n. 77, citing Jeremy Musson, *Up and Down Stairs: The History of the Country House Servant* (London: John Murray, 2009).

<sup>173</sup> John Martin Robinson, *Georgian Model Farms: a Study of Decorative and Model Farm Buildings in the Age of Improvement, 1700-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

Is this a 'Country Life school of writing' and if so, of what does it consist? *Country Life* articles are always the principal and latest published work, however summary, on any country house. They aim to define the skills of design, so are likely to be positive. The articles were cited as major sources for architectural historians by Howard Colvin.<sup>174</sup> Stobart and Rothery further described the *Country Life* view of the house as including 'an assemblage of unique and precious objects brought together by discerning owners who were noted aesthetes and key patrons of the arts'; which is just what Girouard had said about Houghton.<sup>175</sup>

### **Other aspects of architectural writing: from high taste to the everyday**

Given that my interest is especially in interiors, I was partly following the approach used by John Cornforth, another distinguished *Country Life* architectural editor and the first to introduce the history of interior decoration. This is an important branch of architectural history, also taking in the specialist subjects of furniture and the decorative arts. Cornforth did not usually investigate the broader issue of motivation. His concern was 'to reconstruct a grammar of decoration'.<sup>176</sup> For his first book, which was highly influential on house restorations, he joined with practical decorator John Fowler to work out how Georgian interiors had originally been painted and embellished.<sup>177</sup> Similarly Dr (now Sir) Charles Saumarez Smith discovered and published contemporary paintings and drawings to show what eighteenth-century domestic interiors looked like at the time, mostly at the upper middle class and minor aristocratic level.<sup>178</sup> This was all very relevant to my approach.

The *Country Life* approach is only partly the tradition in which my work has developed, with a wider remit of social and biographical material supporting artistic consideration. Girouard had a second important aim in his approach, which was to show how houses were used. He drew attention to the mutual importance of the two strands of his method: 'Only comparatively recently has much attention been paid to how they [country houses] 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.'<sup>179</sup> Following this approach, Musson showed in a study of drawing rooms how

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<sup>174</sup> *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, 2007).

<sup>175</sup> Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption*, 5.

<sup>176</sup> John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), Preface.

<sup>177</sup> John Fowler and John Cornforth, *English Decoration in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1974).

<sup>178</sup> Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993).

<sup>179</sup> Girouard, *Life*, 12.

they were primarily presided over by the lady of the house, designed as the setting for piano-playing and singing, cards and tea drinking; and that this was true of both the grandest and the least of them.<sup>180</sup>

This double aspect was also pursued in *Mistress* (which is why it has been cited by so many social historians) and in *Huguenots*. Lawrence Stone's seminal work on families and marriage had provided good background for the social history of the family.<sup>181</sup> There was only space for compressed social history in *Goodwood* but biography filled out the art-historical method. The dramas of each protagonist's life-story are important in my work. This accords with the view of the Scottish historian Adam Ferguson, quoted by Emily Brand to reinforce the importance of writing family history 'well': in 1798 he declared that names and dates were not enough; '...I need some adventure or trait of Character to give them Substance and make an impression.'<sup>182</sup> I have tried throughout to create thoughtful characterisations from documentary evidence. Long before use of personal primary documents was so widely fashionable, Barry Reay showed the advantage of using them in the cause of 'family reconstitution'.<sup>183</sup> In its intensive detective work about 'Place and People', as his first chapter describes his subject, my method has shades of his method of 'microhistory'.<sup>184</sup> This is especially true of 'Huguenots'.

My publications are also based on a broader cultural view of a period, derived from an understanding of current artistic views held by the highly educated. This were mostly gleaned from literature and philosophy, which I first studied as an undergraduate when reading English at Cambridge. I have also extensively studied and lectured on the Grand Tour, creating a local exhibition on it at Goodwood in 1996, to echo that at the Tate Gallery (as it was then known).<sup>185</sup> Some commentators might describe this well-informed understanding of the eighteenth-century background and its reliance on both the classical past and the Italian Renaissance as 'cultural history', but that expression has now accumulated too many different meanings to provide a precise description.<sup>186</sup> I write about artistic patronage: fine houses, their contents, and the individuals and families who chose them. This includes expert discussion of artists and their methods. My handling

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<sup>180</sup> Jeremy Musson, *The Drawing Room: English Country House Decoration* (New York: Rizzoli, 2014), 13-15.

<sup>181</sup> Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

<sup>182</sup> Emily Brand, 'Why Family History Matters', in Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb, eds, *What is History, Now?* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2021), 214.

<sup>183</sup> Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), xix-xx, 3.

<sup>184</sup> Reay, *Microhistories*, 3-35.

<sup>185</sup> *Grand Tour*, Tate Gallery, London, 10 October 1996 – 5 January 1997.

<sup>186</sup> Miri Rubin, 'What is Cultural History Now?' in David Cannadine, ed., *What is History Now?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 80; Peter Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 29.



of art, architectural, literary, philosophical and social history combine to make me a historian of taste.

My work also looks at some of the everyday, mostly in household management. It cannot always be published in the same detail as that of a material culture historian, but that does not mean that the reading of recipe books, accounts and daily lists has not been done. In *Goodwood* the bills for shoes, clothes, kitchen necessities and food of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke were scrutinised. For *Huguenots* Lady Harriett Garnier's account books were perused for carriages, school costs and staff payments, with details published in the longer book.<sup>187</sup> Like Girouard, I try to include servants, by name where possible, and any special relationships with the family. A reviewer noticed this in *Mistress*, saying that all the women: '...showed an interest and concern for their dependants, employees and servants...' <sup>188</sup> The focus in my work is not on power and show, but on what the patrons' choices were and how they lived.

My work does not seek to make judgements about society and class, but architectural studies with a sociological background often focus on a theme of power and status. Professor Dana Arnold accepted the definition of the country seat but rejected what she saw as the inadequacies of any approach that was only biographical, whether about architect or patron, or only stylistic.<sup>189</sup> While accepting Girouard's contribution with its social additions, Arnold saw the country house as a metaphor; 'a symbol of the power and wealth of the landowner and more broadly the social, cultural and political hegemony of the ruling classes'; a symbol of 'patrician authority', a 'metonym' for inherited structures, for 'keeping the lower orders in their place', in which the house was 'a site of display and conspicuous consumption.'<sup>190</sup> This was a political approach, taken from a broader historical view, not just of architecture and art, but of society. Such writers invariably see consumption as 'conspicuous'; but it may not always be so, as revealed by Stobart.<sup>191</sup> Trentmann confirmed my view that this type of approach was not 'neutral'.<sup>192</sup> The notion of architecture as symbolic was also pursued by Karen Lipsedge in studies of literary fiction but, in an alternative method of consumption history, she saw it as representative of a wide gamut of human qualities.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> *Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury, Hampshire*, 2021.

<sup>188</sup> John Martin Robinson, *Country Life*, 31 July 2003.

<sup>189</sup> Dana Arnold, 'The Country House: Form, Function and Meaning' in Dana Arnold, ed., *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud; The History Press, 2013), 1-19, rejecting John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, Pelican History of Art, 1953).

<sup>190</sup> Arnold, 'The Country House', 16, 18, 19.

<sup>191</sup> Stobart & Rothery, *Consumption*, 16-17.

<sup>192</sup> Frank Trentmann, 'Introduction', in Frank Trentmann ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Consumption* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 9.

<sup>193</sup> Lipsedge, ' "I was also absent at my dairy-house" '; Trentmann, *Oxford Handbook*, 9.

A result of politicised generalisations by Arnold and others concerning the search for power and status is that some followers may reach too quickly for these aspirations as the only motivations in building, without investigating fully. They may even apply them to buildings that are not really power houses. This is often noticeable at conferences, when power and status are invariably mentioned in introductions by younger speakers writing PhD theses. Similarly, using material culture analysis which sees every choice as part of a performance, Amy Hudson Henderson saw French armchairs as emblems of ‘the politics of politeness’ at the ‘Republican Court’ of George Washington.<sup>194</sup>

## The Ostentation Argument

When is an owner seeking to show off power and status? This can be translated as: when is a building ostentatious and when is it not? To most people a turreted and decorative Burghley and a palatial Blenheim are certainly showy. Size and decoration are key indicators. Both Richmond and Norfolk House might not be considered ostentatious for their exteriors (except for size) but could have been for the decorated interiors and gilded furniture, designed for selected guests. Perhaps their patrons just wanted elegance and beauty? Opinions would differ depending on the viewer. In discussing the related subject of the British aristocracy, David Cannadine showed how despite training and self-awareness, it remains difficult for historians ever to be completely objective, because their own experiences and preferences will influence their view.<sup>195</sup>

Writers looking at a wider sociological dimension are more likely to suggest aspirational motives for building, to see power and status sought through ostentation of architecture, both in size and decorative detail, and in contents. Arnold described the landowner as ‘a visible symbol of authority’ and the villa as an expression of this ‘in a permanent, highly conspicuous way. She viewed each villa as ‘a self-conscious representation of the identity of the patron and his family, artfully manipulated and deliberately innovatory’.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Amy Hudson Henderson, ‘Material Matters: Reading the Chairs of the Republican Court’, *Journal of the Early Republic* 35, no. 2 (2015), 288, accessed 19 December 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jer.2015.0039>

<sup>195</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of The British Aristocracy* (New Haven and London: Yale University press, 1990), 3.

<sup>196</sup> Dana Arnold, ‘The Italian Renaissance Villa: The Reconciliation of Nature and Artifice’, in Dana Arnold, ed., *The Georgian Villa* (Stroud, Gloucs., Sutton Publishing, 1996), 3, 6.

Do all patrons really 'artfully manipulate'? The implication is that they were all as narcissistic as her examples. The realities of making decorative choice are often much more rapid and can include decisions based on chance and availability. Arnold stated that exquisitely built and decorated Georgian villas near to London were primarily for showing off, including in this judgement Marble Hill. This will be disputed. It may be that some commentators think that any handsome house of more than elementary size is by definition ostentatious; but there is limited evidence that onlookers grumbled about this at the time. Not all houses seek to make statements. Where known, contemporary opinions are the most telling.

Hannah Greig has shown how the metropolitan elite in the Regency period indeed used types of display such as glamorous costume, liveried footmen and crested carriages to help them reinforce power and status.<sup>197</sup> In a fashionable city this may have felt necessary at the time. She also pointed to an alternative thread in that after the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698, London had no single royal palace, nor any huge one. Therefore the opportunity for court display throughout eighteenth-century London was not so great as at Versailles nor at royal palaces in Madrid, Vienna, Dresden and Turin.

## **Collectors and their historiography**

Collecting of works of art is particularly seen by social and economic historians as desire for ostentation. This is roughly the same as the power argument, but applies more to status, through the display of multiple expensive and desirable objects. Love of display of collections is rightly attributed to such varied aspirational figures as Roman cardinals in the Renaissance and to Rothschilds in the nineteenth century.

However, scholars working on collectors also find other motivations. John Brewer showed how European royal collectors in the seventeenth century gathered unusual objects in cabinets of curiosities, the aim being to express their wonder at the world and to acquire further knowledge of it. During the eighteenth century categories of objects were separated out, between art objects and natural ones. Growth of knowledge of artistic endeavour created connoisseurship and expertise, embodied in the Society of Dilettanti, founded in 1734.<sup>198</sup> Members had to have visited Italy, the source since Roman times of the greatest works in art and architecture. From now on the *virtuoso*,

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<sup>197</sup> Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 100, 104.

<sup>198</sup> John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 252-9.

or man of taste, as outlined by John Harris, became admired. Shaftesbury's ideal that prominent men must lead the nation through generous patronage of the arts and sciences became prevalent. He believed that by developing and educating themselves, the results could be beneficial to society. Jason Kelly has described how the Ciceronian ideal of the *vir virtutis*, the man of honour, morality and knowledge, was promoted by the Dilettanti Society, who saw the Grand Tour as a path to aesthetic, moral and political education (however badly they might behave at their dinners).<sup>199</sup> An aesthetic response was becoming natural for a nobleman. Fielding's depiction of the raucous, selfish and insensitive Squire Western in *Tom Jones* (1747) was a criticism of an older type of squire, now *passé*.

Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore judged that there were many reasons why people collect. An aesthetic impulse was the usual inspiration:

The reasons why men and women collect are...as obscure as why they fall in love. It is much easier to explain why they collect certain things and how they do it. Collectors come in all sorts; the greedy, the fastidious, the collectors of sets, the magpies, the aesthetes and the historians. Horace Walpole, for instance, meets all these descriptions. But it is discrimination that counts. Great collectors like Horace Walpole and William Beckford had exceptional discrimination and expressed an artist's sense of the totality of their collections and the manner in which they unfolded from room to room. Collections usually begin with an aesthetic or emotional response to certain objects before the ordering or intellectual process takes over and the loose assemblage takes on a character of its own.<sup>200</sup>

Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore believed that collecting is about the 'projection of identity', by which they meant personality, ascribing different motives to different collectors: they saw Beckford's extravagant and exotic collecting as a 'private passion'.<sup>201</sup> Covering both a wide chronological span and a large range of disciplines, the book was one huge and varied investigation that did not seek to make limiting conclusions about motivation. Their predecessor in the subject, Frank Herrmann, felt that one cannot analyse what prompts choice unless there is 'written evidence to that effect.'<sup>202</sup>

Jonathan Scott looked briefly at the varied motivations of Grand Tour collectors.<sup>203</sup> Sir William Hamilton, never rich, was simply addicted to collecting, first paintings and later painted vases,

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<sup>199</sup> Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009), 13-14.

<sup>200</sup> Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, *The British*, 27.

<sup>201</sup> Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, *The British*, 7, 165.

<sup>202</sup> Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook* (London: John Murray, 1999), xxi.

<sup>203</sup> Jonathan Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon centre for Studies in British Art, 2003), 22.

inexpensive at the time, and at first not always displayed.<sup>204</sup> In an age when a gentleman was highly educated in the classics, many such collectors could not resist making acquisitions. Charles Townley was an exceptionally enthusiastic and scholarly collector of antique sculpture. As a wealthy and benevolent landowner, his status was assured; making Grand Tours to view and buy antiquities and then showing them to friends and visitors was his passion.<sup>205</sup>

Elizabeth Eger's recent assessment of the Duchess of Portland as a collector similarly tells of 'a combination of judgement, taste and attention to detail, cultural confidence and an exacting eye.'<sup>206</sup> The Duchess's fascination with the mask of Dr Richard Mead's Egyptian mummy showed '...an older approach to collecting, in which objects provoke wonder...'. Eger suggests that collecting could be a form of entertainment, which it indeed was for Hamilton, Walpole, Beckford and Townley. Stobart and Rothery also believed that material possessions can be 'markers of character rather than status.'<sup>207</sup> Contemporary private collector David Lewis exemplifies this notion, having discreetly amassed over 400 Old Master paintings, philanthropically managed with loans to museums nationwide, often anonymously. Following business success, he achieved this on being 'awakened to the joys of collecting', embarking on focused European travel to satiate his 'intellectual curiosity'.<sup>208</sup> The Schorr collection was named in 2011 for the family of his wife Hannah, a Holocaust survivor.<sup>209</sup>

### **Applying the question of ostentation in collecting to my own subjects**

Most of my subjects were not depicted as being such obsessive collectors as these.

Travellers to Venice wanted to bring back views to remind them of their visit to the exceptional city built on a lagoon: so novel in an age of few images. Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond, was England's first patron of Canaletto, inspired by his time in Venice on his Grand Tour; but the commissions were suggested by his extremely pushing art agent.<sup>210</sup> Ostentation was not really a factor, except that he liked the idea of a private country dining room decorated with modern classicising paintings that lauded the Whig settlement. They would stimulate both political and architectural discussion in the famously long sessions at his Goodwood dinner table.

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<sup>204</sup> Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity*, 172.

<sup>205</sup> Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity*, 193-208.

<sup>206</sup> Elizabeth Eger, 'Collecting People: Bluestocking Sociability and the Assembling of Knowledge', *Journal of the History of Collections* 33, no. 3 (2021), 493-503, 496.

<sup>207</sup> Stobart and Rothery, *Consumption*, 13.

<sup>208</sup> Momoe Ban, 'All great works of art are connected', *Financial Times*, 20 December 2022, 20.

<sup>209</sup> <http://schorrcollection.org.uk/>

<sup>210</sup> *Goodwood*, 22-3, 42-6.

Similarly a traveller, George Garnier directly commissioned three paintings by Canaletto while staying with his sister in Venice in 1745, then adding three more. As a modest but wealthy apothecary, it is unlikely that the aim was 'showing off'. They may have been designed to fit walls in his hitherto little-used London house, but they were only for friends to see: cheering, beautiful images for his home and a useful point of discussion for a lonely widower with intellectual friends. Two were tiny, items of nostalgia for the fine Venetian architecture of S. Marco and the Doge's Palace.

Joan Coutu's analysis of the motivations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Dukes of Richmond accords with my own. Using my work very thoroughly, while also drawing on a multitude of expert works about collecting of the antique, she showed each duke as aiming to act as an '*exemplum*' of public virtue in the promotion of culture, in the manner initially propounded by the Earl of Shaftesbury.<sup>211</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke fulfilled this in many ways: promoting what he saw as the rightful architecture of a new classical age and supporting Italian painters and opera. As an early exponent of the Newtonian notion of learning through experience, studying nature by collecting exotic animals, fossils and insects and commissioning images of rare birds, he also followed Shaftesbury's belief in progress. Civic engagement was crucial: he supported the building of a much-needed new bridge at Westminster, the humanitarian work of the Foundling Hospital (which echoed the Hospital of the *Innocenti* in Florence) and publication of ground-breaking books.

It was especially true of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke in setting up a sculpture gallery of casts and copies of antique works in order to give students the opportunity for anatomical drawing from the antique, not available elsewhere in London. This was the way to learn to understand the ideal form in art. Coutu shared my view that this duke was not an especially scholarly collector but liked to educate and help others.<sup>212</sup> His first love was politics. Even more given to science and public works than his father, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke revolutionised both signalling and cartography as Master of the Ordnance.<sup>213</sup> Like their intellectual Whig friends, both dukes realised that their position brought responsibilities to society at large; as indeed did all my patron subjects.

## **The modern view**

It is not surprising if writers now presume all collecting to be ostentation, considering that the media is dominated by images of famous brands. Some new luxury items even have their brand name

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<sup>211</sup> Coutu, *Then and Now*, 98-100, 102.

<sup>212</sup> Coutu, *Then and Now*, 106, 115.

<sup>213</sup> *Goodwood*, 140-1.

loudly printed on the outside, a notion formerly unthinkable to the discriminating, who tend to prefer discreet quality. Louis Vuitton brazenly has its own museum in Paris, consciously creating a history. Certain types of people, and indeed certain cultures, are enthusiastic about extremely expensive brands, whereas to many people wearing a Rolex watch would be pointless. It is worn to show wealth as well as quality: it can never not be ostentatious. Many wealthy people prefer to hide their good fortune. Displays of wealth might be considered vulgar.

The closure of Christie's, South Kensington in 2017 was the visible sign of an art market in which buyers had become increasingly obsessed by expensive brands. They no longer valued lower level but historic British furniture and pictures. The largest fortunes in the art market are now mostly from Asia. These buyers will purchase a work of art from another culture by an artist that is famous to them, effectively a brand, such as Monet or Renoir, often even without seeing it for real; but will not pursue the hard work of the type of truly discriminating collector described here, which involves reading, travel, searching, negotiation, and often not quite enough money.<sup>214</sup> This world-wide emphasis on brand is inevitably influential on the interpretation of some younger scholars, who may be less aware of more traditional, philosophical and analytical opinions about the display of wealth.

### **Moral questions about the display of wealth**

From the time of the ancient Greeks there has been a moral dimension to the use of wealth. Thrift was also a Biblical virtue. In his *Essay on Man* Alexander Pope lampooned the false attractions of money, fame and power:

'There in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd and great,  
See the false scale of Happiness complete!'<sup>215</sup>

Pope advocated qualities such as modesty, humility, virtue and social responsibility. In Fielding's *Tom Jones* the expectation of a wealthy squire such as Allworthy was that he would be honest, generous, benevolent and charitable to the poor.

Economy was seen as both a moral and a Christian virtue at all levels of society, as described by Dr Stephen Hindle in revealing Mrs Montagu's promotion of thrift and frugality in her estate

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<sup>214</sup> Conversation, June 2022, with Philip Belcher, ex Head of Christie's, South Kensington, now Senior Executive Director of Bellman's Auctioneers, Sussex; Michael Grist, senior picture expert, ex Sotheby's Bond St., also now Bellman's.

<sup>215</sup> Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, published 1733-4, Epistle IV, ll. 287-8, in John Butt, ed., *The Poems of Alexander Pope* (London, Methuen, University Paperbacks, 1963), 544.

management.<sup>216</sup> According to Hannah Smith in her reappraisal of the reigns of George I and II, by mid-century the British model of kingship had become based on ‘modesty, patriotism and the humanity of the king’ rather than on authoritarian grandiosity.<sup>217</sup> George III promoted ideals of domestic virtue, rural simplicity and prudence. Mrs Montagu was theoretically in tune: she disliked ‘the wantonness of wealth.’<sup>218</sup> Dr Timothy C.W. Blanning described how in France political and cultural influence had spread outwards from Versailles through visual symbols but found that in England in the eighteenth century the greatest pride was not in ostentation and display but in the notion of liberty.<sup>219</sup> As both prince and king, George IV was much criticised for his extravagance and ostentation.

Architectural writers and art historians studying buildings and collections routinely consider where a patron was situated on a scale between extravagance or economy. Lady Harriett Garnier was an active shopper when in London, but her letters and account books reveal that she was not spendthrift, buying few clothes and accessories.<sup>220</sup> There were some good paintings and some poor ones in the new Rookesbury. Many country house collections were full of low-level Old Masters, economically acquired or copied on travels: there were also some at Goodwood. Harriett purchased what was necessary for her way of life, but as a very outgoing and secure character, did not particularly seek to impress anyone through her acquisitions. She was very religious and gave large donations to local charities. As with Mrs Montagu, heightened awareness of other people’s misfortunes provided a natural restraint to spending. When William died unexpectedly, his will demanded that he be buried in a ‘private and unostentatious manner’.<sup>221</sup>

## Other Motives for Building and Collecting

In both architecture and art there were often other reasons for building, decorating and collecting. Girouard was highly aware of different motivations. He showed that there were many stories of

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<sup>216</sup> Dr Stephen Hindle, ‘Arenas for Improvement in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Prospect of Improvement: A Bluestocking Landscape*, Conference at Hagley Hall, 1 September 2021, plenary opening lecture.

<sup>217</sup> Greig, 106, quoting Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>218</sup> *Mistress*, 193; Bending, *Green Retreats*, 168.

<sup>219</sup> Timothy C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>220</sup> *Huguenots* (book), 103.

<sup>221</sup> *Huguenots* (book), 27.



ambition but, importantly, that 'cautious families kept clear of such ventures.'<sup>222</sup> Trentmann considered that historians have often 'deduced motivation from people's possessions, ignoring the cultural context and the various other reasons for which people acquired goods.'<sup>223</sup>

Many people might simply want a beautiful, secluded and comfortable house near to their friends. This was the case for Henrietta Howard, subsequently Countess of Suffolk, at Marble Hill, Twickenham. Her aim, encouraged by her friend Alexander Pope from his home nearby, was to escape the excruciating tensions of life at court, where she worked as a Woman (later Lady) of the Bedchamber to Caroline, Princess of Wales. When the Prince of Wales gave her a generous financial gift, she wisely asked a friend (the 'Architect' Earl of Pembroke) for advice. She selected a glorious site on the Thames for a home to live in when off duty; not an extra villa as suggested by Arnold. Separated from her cruel husband and discreetly the mistress of the future king, Henrietta was hardly likely to flaunt her situation. At first the building scheme was secret. Henrietta had a selection of the most fascinating and intellectual men friends, all keen to help someone so delightful and brave but who had been badly wronged. No doubt having such a beautifully designed and elegant house by Roger Morris enhanced her natural status as a lady rather than a mistress; but her aim was to have somewhere peaceful and private to live. My verdict in *Mistress* is that it was a 'consolation'.<sup>224</sup>

Very grand people did not need to emphasise their status. Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond, hung studio versions of Van Dyck portraits of his royal ancestors; but these were probably given to his family by King Charles II himself. One can hardly criticise it as abnormal ostentation given that the King was his grandfather. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke's art collecting was always for a domestic purpose. When he was living in Paris as British Ambassador, he commissioned Sèvres porcelain for the table that copied images in his own bird books: it may have been his sister's idea. He bought French furniture to update that at Richmond House: selecting it in Paris subsequently gave him an excuse to visit his 'irresistible' mistress, the Vicomtesse de Cambis.<sup>225</sup>

It has been shown that both dukes were simultaneously fulfilling the duties of their position. Shaftesbury's beliefs in how a nobleman should behave are mis-interpreted by some modern scholars as simply necessitating opulence and show, but these values are not always fully

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<sup>222</sup> Girouard, *Life*, 5.

<sup>223</sup> Trentmann, *Oxford Handbook*, 10.

<sup>224</sup> *Mistress*, 45.

<sup>225</sup> *Goodwood*, 110-12, 119.

understood in the context of their time. They were deeply meant, designed to create leaders who would contribute to society. Not everyone could reach the same top level of education, so it was deemed best for the country if at least a minority did. This was the politics of distinction, but the ideal was not so much to show off as to do good, so clearly and passionately described by Alexander Pope in *An Essay on Man*:

WORTH makes the man, and want of it the fellow:

The rest is all but leather and prunella.<sup>226</sup>

As a patron of the arts and an energetic instigator of social good, King Charles III is a prime personification of Shaftesbury's values as expressed by Pope. True 'Virtu' was never a performance.<sup>227</sup>

There were many other reasons for owning, building or filling a fine house. The same 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond extended Goodwood from 1799 with huge state apartments, set off by copper-topped towers (including a scientific observatory).<sup>228</sup> These were fitting for a duke, and evidence of James Wyatt's new promotion of the Picturesque, but were also needed to house the large paintings and fine furniture that had survived the fire at his London home at Richmond House in 1791. Hitherto parsimonious, and fond of his relatively un-grand country home, the Duke had no alternative but to spend, eventually dying heavily in debt, the interiors of two main rooms both simply designed but incomplete. Without the Richmond House fire, Goodwood would still be a modest country house. The house of course reflected the Duke's existing status, but he must have also been considering the needs of his heir. When he started extending the house in 1799, his nephew's wife had already been producing children with alarming regularity for eight years. By the time of the Duke's death in 1806 they had thirteen; and all fourteen children survived infancy. In its increased size, Goodwood seems like a power house now, but at the time it fulfilled a multiplicity of needs.

Older houses which had become dilapidated had to be updated or replaced. Mrs Montagu revived her husband's old abbey home at Sandford Priory, Newbury. While she created the smart octagonal drawing room, it was small and the only room at the level of her London interiors. She is an especially interesting case in the question of show or no-show in all aspects of fashion; building, interiors, furniture, costume, jewellery and gardens. At Hill Street in London she used the latest

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<sup>226</sup> Pope, *An Essay on Man*, Epistle IV, ll. 203-4, in Butt, ed., 542.

<sup>227</sup> Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti*, 14.

<sup>228</sup> *Goodwood*, 147-55.

decorators in Robert Adam and James 'Athenian' Stuart. However she decided against Adam for her country home at Sandleford, turning instead to the less-known and more affable James Wyatt (as did the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond). She was always wary of being overcharged, perhaps through too high a specification; a full paragraph in *Mistress* especially judged that ostentation was not a prime aim.<sup>229</sup>

On the one hand Mrs Montagu loved to wear diamonds; on the other she disliked gross expenditure. While acknowledging its grandeur, Horace Walpole applauded the lack of gilding in her second London house in Portman Square. Although Bending (a believer in performance) cynically insists on her as 'self-fashioning' there, in the 'spectacular urban display', Eger sees her behaving as a lady of fashion, which would also necessitate benevolence, but more sensitively regards the house as 'a platform for a new kind of sociability'.<sup>230</sup> This accords with the view that I presented in *Mistress*, where I said that she wanted 'her homes to be beautiful, but mainly as a backdrop for her social and intellectual life, which is where her real interests lay', adding that: 'It is not true to say that she was especially materialistic.'<sup>231</sup> While enjoying the best company, Mrs Montagu aimed to make intellectual friends rather than to impress titled ones.

Eger had earlier investigated the problem of wealth, describing a trend of women seeking to 'remoralise' luxury and quoted Mrs Montagu as writing: 'If rich people do not check their wanton extravagance to enable them to assist the poor I know not what must become of ye labouring people'.<sup>232</sup> Her displays aimed to express 'the right use of luxury'.<sup>233</sup> She loved quality, declaring her preference for her simple but sophisticated drawing room at Sandleford to anything at Portman Square.<sup>234</sup> I was unaware of Eger's work on luxury when I made my observations on Mrs Montagu: given the vast number of letters, it is rewarding to find that we have consistently come to the same conclusions. Despite his view, again cynical, of her later motives in landscape, Bending admits to her early rhetoric at Sandleford about 'wealth and its proper use'.<sup>235</sup> I had already judged that she was 'a creator of settings rather than a collector *per se*'.<sup>236</sup> Following Cannadine's point about questions of

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<sup>229</sup> *Mistress*, 181-2.

<sup>230</sup> Bending, *Green Retreats*, 172; Eger, 'Collecting People', 499.

<sup>231</sup> *Mistress*, 181-2.

<sup>232</sup> Elizabeth Eger 'Luxury, Industry and Charity: Bluestocking Culture Displayed', in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 190-204.

<sup>233</sup> Eger, 'Luxury', 192.

<sup>234</sup> *Mistress*, 192.

<sup>235</sup> Bending, *Green Retreats*, 168.

<sup>236</sup> *Mistress*, 181-2.

objectivity, I can see reasons why Eger and I might be more sympathetic than Bending to the veracity of Mrs Montagu's expressed views.

Mrs Montagu sometimes gave extra employment because it helped the poor, as with her weaver-haymakers. Whether or not it was an explicit motive, a result of increasing female patronage was that the purchasing habits of such wealthy women fuelled a booming manufacturing economy. Purchases of porcelain, silver, costume, jewellery, fabrics, ribbons and even fabulously artistic buttons were creating a wealthy merchant class in cities such as London, Birmingham, Bath and Edinburgh. Manufacturers such as Josiah Wedgwood and Matthew Boulton profited from Mrs Montagu's largesse.

Families had to be housed and solutions were often based on practical necessity. The Revd. William Garnier's great-great-grandfather's house at Rookesbury, built in 1692, had become 'inconvenient'; which, after modest origins followed by additions, was not surprising. William and Harriett economically used materials from the old house to rebuild. Arguably they did not need such an imposing house as the new Rookesbury, but with twelve (surviving) almost-adult children and accompanying servants, space was crucial. While the Ionic portico overlooking the landscape park to the west made the house look grand, they were simply copying the Greek Revival fashion successfully practised by Hampshire family friends at Stratton Park, The Grange and Broadlands. A plain symmetrical block on a hilltop would have looked bare. Inside, the main living areas were laid out to maximise views to south and east as well as to draw the sunlight.<sup>237</sup> They were not excessive.

Sport was also an important motive for country living. At Goodwood the estate was used for match-racing between two or three horses, as depicted by Stubbs in 1759; and later for a racecourse, made public in 1802. Cricket was played regularly. Shooting had become popular, also depicted by Stubbs. Country estates had multiple functions. Leisure and pleasure are still prime factors in what is wanted either from a country estate or a townhouse. Jeffery D. Hamilton pointed out that:

... many of the activities participated in by the elite were not seen as just being fashionable. They were in many cases simply the activities and pastimes which the elite preferred and with which they were familiar and comfortable... Fashion and spectacle may have been more on the minds of the numerous social emulators and the middling sort than on those of the elite.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> *Huguenots*, 20-3.

<sup>238</sup> Jeffery D. Hamilton, *Adapting the City to Meet Rural Desires*, 1-2.

## Motives for gardens

Garden schemes could also be judged as showing off wealth and taste; though if viewing a great garden nowadays, the aim is only occasionally judged as self-conscious display. Very rarely does an English garden scheme suggest that too much money has caused it to be overworked. It is perhaps surprising that Bending deemed that as a widow Mrs Montagu used her gardens 'to rehearse her intellectual and financial status' by introducing Capability Brown.<sup>239</sup> Arguably hiring a popular and pragmatic designer to tidy up an adjacent hillside from a mess of pools and trees was not necessarily the 'self-fashioning' on which he insists, but a very sensible action if it could be afforded.<sup>240</sup> Vistas from the house were what she wanted, in my words 'combining a love of the natural with a feeling for the poetic.'<sup>241</sup> While admitting that Sandleford was not initially a show garden, Bending presented Mrs Montagu's letters about rural seclusion as self-conscious attempts to separate herself from her fashionable London life in order to convey a sense of moral responsibility. He nevertheless followed my point that for reasons of economy she insisted on paying for the landscape improvements out of her income.

Sandleford gave Mrs Montagu the 'sweet Arcadian scene' that she had always wanted, and Bending's judgement of it as signalling 'a statement about fashion, taste and wealth' may be unduly critical.<sup>242</sup> He did however see that she and Lord Lyttelton tried to 'distinguish their use of wealth from the false aspirations of the vulgar rich and the word of fashionable show' and that she 'tried to distance her own life from a self-interested acquisition of wealth.'<sup>243</sup> Mrs Montagu's need to justify her landscape changes as giving employment to the needy is ultimately endearing. Her desire for the grounds to give 'pleasure to those I love, when I am no more' should not be ignored.<sup>244</sup> I am glad to have initiated in *Mistress* some of this argument about motives.

More usual in gardens is the search for beauty. Most often the motivation is an innate love of landscape and/or plants, as well as the desire to show the house enhanced in the best setting. In the words of a contemporary expert gardener:

Recent garden history emphasises another reason for making a garden: a need to demonstrate superior taste, power and wealth. I think this can be over stressed, as I cannot believe that eighteenth century gardeners were so different from most of us, spending too

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<sup>239</sup> Bending, *Melancholic Amusements*, 13.

<sup>240</sup> Bending, *Green Retreats*, 139.

<sup>241</sup> *Mistress*, 193.

<sup>242</sup> Bending, *Green Retreats*, 162, 166.

<sup>243</sup> Bending, *Green Retreats*, 168.

<sup>244</sup> *Mistress*, 193.

much money, effort and passion on the garden because it's ours and we love it. (If others are impressed that's a bonus, but it's not the reason for doing the work in the first place).<sup>245</sup>

She concedes that 'there clearly were elements of aggrandisement and display on the part of some landowners...' <sup>246</sup> This is why one must always look at individual cases.

Modifications of the power, status and ostentation themes as well as other motivations have been shown in relation to some women builders. For the Dukes of Richmond the motivation is usually something other than aspiration, though the enlarging of Goodwood may be the natural showing of existing status. The Garnier family built as they could afford and wanted to do. It may be because most of my subjects were already socially assured before they began to build that I have not usually portrayed them as being exceptionally aspirational or ostentatious. A more nuanced view is justified.

## **Where the Work stands within Art and Architectural Historiography**

The major addition of my work to that of architectural historians is that in each of the areas of work submitted, paintings, architecture, interiors, furniture, sculpture, landscape and some of the decorative arts (principally porcelain, textiles and silver) are included. These are not just as part of the arrangement, as introduced by Cornforth, but in consideration of their own quality and style and the patron's choice. Dr Adriano Aymonino believes that a scholar needs to see across the whole range of these different arts in order to assess a patron's taste, calling this a 'holistic' approach.<sup>247</sup> It is how I have always worked. An approach involving all the main arts is well described by Dr Amy Lim who as a recent doctoral student at Oxford used '... an object-led approach, reconstructing lost collections through archival sources, and challenging the traditionally narrow definition of art by including a wide range of visual arts, from architecture and gardens to interior furnishings, paintings, sculptures and silverware.'<sup>248</sup> Quality, excellence, skill and innovation in items discussed are the benchmarks.

This method also aligns with that of author and editor John Adamson FSA, a former director of Cambridge University Press and the publisher of inventories of English houses in tribute to

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<sup>245</sup> Dilys Hobson, ' "Leisure with Decorum": Thomas Hollis in West Dorset', in Patrick Eyres, ed., 'The Invisible Pantheon: Thomas Hollis and his Whig Plan of Public Service as inscribed in the Georgian Landscape at Stowe in Buckinghamshire and at Corscombe and Halstock in Dorset', *New Arcadian Journal* 55/56 (2003), 29.

<sup>246</sup> Hobson, 'Leisure with Decorum', 29.

<sup>247</sup> Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism*, 3.

<sup>248</sup> <http://oxford.academia.edu/AmyLim>

Cornforth.<sup>249</sup> As the author of a forthcoming work on Irish inventories he has given the inaugural lecture in a series on *Georgian Homes; the material culture of the domestic interior in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ireland*, in which he showed the huge range of information that can be drawn from inventories, enabling discussions of items both above and below stairs.<sup>250</sup> The very naming of the series shows that Stobart and Rothery's main aim has been fulfilled, that 'material culture' has been transferred from its original position in describing more modest homes to apply to grand interiors. Neither Aymonino nor Lim suggests it is helpful in their purposes to analyse less visually brilliant work or more ordinary crafts, such as marbling or knitting, though Adamson's work makes everyday items available for those who wish to work on them. My work tallies with all of theirs.

Aymonino is working on a new edition of *Taste and the Antique*, the original co-authored by Professor Francis Haskell FBA, Professor of the History of Art at Oxford 1967-92, by whom I was originally trained as an art historian when working for a Postgraduate Diploma in the History of Art at Oxford, 1970-1.<sup>251</sup> While Haskell concentrated on paintings, he also subsequently worked on sculpture, as in the above book, with the notable contribution of Dr (Sir) Nicholas Penny, later Director of the National Gallery.<sup>252</sup> Haskell chided himself for not saying enough about architecture.<sup>253</sup> In my work I have tried to broaden Haskell's method out into architecture, interiors and the decorative arts, especially in *Goodwood*. As the first historian of taste, Haskell was widely respected: at his death in 2000 he was described as 'one of the greatest and most influential art historians of the twentieth century.'<sup>254</sup> Where Haskell focused on a very literary method of contemporary art criticism and written opinion, we his students of paintings tend to add practical expertise of methods and materials, as well as very close visual scrutiny.

Architectural historian Rachel Stewart declared that while showing how people thought at the time (central to Haskell's method) was important in any historical reconstruction, it could never be the whole view. Her approach largely chimes with my own. She saw both traditional stylistic/biographical and modern socio-economic methods of architectural history as incomplete on

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<sup>249</sup> Tessa Murdoch. *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses: a Tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge: John Adamson, 2006).

<sup>250</sup> John Adamson, 'Great Irish Households: Understanding their Inventories', lecture for the series *Georgian Homes; the material culture of the domestic interior in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ireland*, Irish Georgian Society, City Assembly House, Dublin, and online, inaugural lecture 11 October 2022.

<sup>251</sup> <https://www.buckingham.ac.uk/directory/dr-adriano-aymonino>.

<sup>252</sup> Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963); Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny: *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1981).

<sup>253</sup> Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France* (London: Phaidon, 1976), 5.

<sup>254</sup> Editorial, 'Francis Haskell: In Memoriam', *The Burlington Magazine* CXLII, no. 1166 (May 2000), 307-8.

their own, but ably explained how material, consumer-based history was ‘the communal centre at which diverse disciplines now meet.’<sup>255</sup> She showed how this meant that the focus was turned back to the consumer or patron. While my work did not perform analysis of day-to-day acquisitions, I tried to introduce some of this ‘material’ methodology in its early form into my studies of patronage.<sup>256</sup> Stewart shared my view about self-promotion being overstated by scholars, saying that it might be a function of the town house but was not necessarily the main or the only one. With regard to the debate about aspiration creating ostentation, she felt that in London ‘less prominent or new members of the landed gentry’ were often engaged in ‘ambitious or sometimes grandiose undertakings.’<sup>257</sup> This provides a wise conclusion to a subsidiary thread of this discussion.

Professor Kate Retford, historian of both paintings and country houses, in her review of *Mistress* said that I had looked at ‘almost every aspect’ of the lives of upper-class women.<sup>258</sup> She felt that aiming at a wide audience meant that there was minimal discussion of how the work might contribute to historiography and that ‘the extrapolation of broader implications is very much the responsibility of the reader.’ This last is true because of the way that I wrote it. I prefer a subtle tale and did not feel it was necessary to spell everything out. I also did not want to risk surplus generalisation. I like to write for a wide but educated audience and in such a way that people can pick up on individual points of interest, aided by section subtitles and subject indexing. My work aims to be read both at scholarly level and by lovers of history, art and architecture. Retford was really saying that this was not a thesis or university-led book. Hopefully this made it more original. It must have made *Mistress* a more approachable tale not to have been bound by the restraints of following existing pathways. As a result this work has reached a wider audience than most academic books. Cannadine has pointed to such ‘democratisation’ as one of the principal new trends in history.<sup>259</sup>

This survey hopefully shows where my work should sit within academic historiography. Practical experience has played an important part. Determined to gain hands-on expertise I managed to gain a role in the Dept of British Paintings at Sotheby’s 1985-92, where I received research training in the use of documents such as wills, letters, accounts, inventories and sale and exhibition notices to establish attribution and provenance, writing catalogue entries for important eighteenth-century paintings, especially portraits, and identifying artists, sitters and buildings. This was followed by a

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<sup>255</sup> Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009), 14-16.

<sup>256</sup> *Mistress*, 119, 130, 135-6.

<sup>257</sup> Stewart, *The Town House*, 20.

<sup>258</sup> *The British Art Journal* V, no. 2 (Autumn 2004), 96.

<sup>259</sup> David Cannadine, ‘Preface’, in David Cannadine, ed., *What is History Now?*, xi.



curatorship at the Ashmolean Museum in 1993. Practical experience had previously been gained in English furniture (Woburn Abbey 1971; Geffrye Museum, 1972), and French furniture and architecture (Ecole du Louvre, Paris 1981-2). Courses and symposia on English country houses were attended throughout. Focused visiting in England, Scotland, France and Italy enhanced these studies. I thus arrived at Goodwood in 1996 with experience ripe for interpretation of an English collection that included French, Italian and Scottish items.

My method is holistic, covering many of the arts. It is sometimes microhistorical, looking in detail at certain houses, contents and families. They are subjects that are deeply studied and understood over many years, valued for their original findings and the quality of the artistic work described, not case-studies used for historical trends or arguments with which they may conform. My work has the advantage of a more European basis than that of many British art historians. This lies both in its understanding of Italian precursors and French comparisons and in its essential regard for knowledge and connoisseurship. These include the appreciation of quality and the ability to make telling comparisons between works of art and architecture, both in the manner of the original Dilettanti. Such is taste.

The purpose of the country house is perhaps most sensitively expressed in the words of the recently deceased Mark Girouard (1931-2022), whose findings are rarely challenged:

The most successful country houses were those which managed not only to accommodate, but also to suggest and glamorize the lifestyles of the people for whom they were built.<sup>260</sup>

This is surely true of many people's homes.

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<sup>260</sup> Girouard, *Life*, 12.

## Conclusion

The preceding chapters have aimed to show the nature and value of my work. *Mistress* and *Goodwood* have both made considerable contributions to academic scholarship. Both have cast new light on Georgian patrons of architecture and art, with an especially large number of unrecognised patrons being included in *Mistress*. In this pursuit of information about patronage, the books together demonstrate both breadth and depth. Together with 'Huguenots' they have added large amounts of information and argument for the benefit of the public at large.

It is hoped that it will not be considered presumptuous to suggest that my submitted work meets the requirement of a regular PhD in terms of originality of both argument and evidence, based on research from eighteenth-century sources. Many of these were newly discovered while others were interpreted with a novel perspective. Important discoveries have been made in architecture, paintings, furniture and the decorative arts, as well as in family history and biography. I have covered large and varied amounts of material.

This thesis further shows that I have not just followed historical methodology without critique but have carved my own identity in the way that I study and write about the various arts. I have made observations about certain instances of historical methodology, comparing the methods of some literary and material culture historians to those of architectural and art historians. I have shown that I have had impact on the development of the work of the 'Bluestocking' scholars, as has been confirmed by their inviting me to take part in all their conferences and in their 2023 publication. It has also been shown that the developing history of material culture has had impact on my own approach, which has rarely stood still. I have been working in the newly emerging holistic manner of art history long before it was even identified, as well as in inter-disciplinary ways with other arts.

It has been a life's work, which I hope will now bear recognition.

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## Appendix 1            Abstracts of Works Submitted

### Submission 1

#### Book

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4548-0840

***Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830***

London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003, reprinted 2004. ISBN 0-297-83078-3.

Phoenix/Orion paperback 2004. ISBN 0-75381-771-3

Rosemary Baird

Submitted: Chapters 1, 2, 4 (pp. 44-7 only), 8, 10, 11 and Conclusion.

The book aimed to fill a gap in the understanding of great houses, before it had become apparent. The thesis is that women had been under-recognised as patrons of architecture, with the focus on the long eighteenth century. Opening chapters discuss the education, courtship and marriages of gentlewomen and what was expected of them. Two of these are submitted: Chapter 1, 'The Feminine Touch', which explains the argument and Chapter 2, 'Love and Strategy', which analyses how women often gained their houses through marriage. From Chapter 4, 'House Beautiful', a survey of decorative styles, only the section on Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, is submitted. These are followed by ten case-studies. Chapters 8, 10 and 11 address respectively Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk; Mrs. Montagu, Queen of the Bluestockings; and Elizabeth Seymour, Duchess of Northumberland. The women selected proved themselves 'great' in their personalities, as suggested in the sub-title.

Key words: Female patronage; architecture; Georgian; furniture; interiors; courtship

## Appendix 1/ctd.

### Submission 2

#### Book

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4548-0840

#### ***Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family***

London: Frances Lincoln 2007, reprinted with small updates 2015, 2019

(2019 submitted)

ISBN 978-0-7112-2769-9

Rosemary Baird

Submitted: Chapters 1 (pp. 7-13 only); 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (pp. 77-80 only),  
9 (pp. 114-8 only), 10, 12 (pp. 147-52 only)

*Goodwood* is the history of a grand, mostly Regency house and the accumulation of its fine art collection. It is also the story of the Lennox family, Dukes of Richmond, from the origins of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke as the natural son of King Charles II by his French mistress, Louise de K roualle. The collection comprises some prime British paintings, including works by Canaletto, Stubbs and famous portraitists, and both English and French furniture, with French porcelain and tapestries. The focus for attention is the two dukes whose lives spanned the eighteenth century. Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond (1703-50) fills five chapters (2-6) for his 'reign' of 27 years. Charles, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond (1735-1806) was in control for doubly long at 56 years, for which he occupies six chapters (7-12), from which a shorter selection is submitted.

Key words: Goodwood; Richmond; architecture; art collecting; Georgian; patron

## Appendix 1/ctd.

### Submission 3

#### Article

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4548-0840

‘Richmond House in London – Its History: Part II: Contents and Later Developments’

Rosemary Baird

*The British Art Journal* VIII, no. 3 (Winter 2007/8), 3-14

(Only pp. 3-9 submitted)

The article follows a preceding one about the building by Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond of his Palladian home in Whitehall, designed by Lord Burlington: this was ‘Richmond House in London – Its History: Part I’, *The British Art Journal* VIII, no. 2 (Autumn 2007). Here the research focused on the contents, firstly two chimneypieces, followed by furniture and picture frames, showing the similarity in all of them to the designs of William Kent, who is claimed to have been closely involved. It documents Kent’s use of drawings by Inigo Jones as a source. The article later describes the fire in 1791 that led to the items coming to Goodwood. Early engravings, maps and sketches which were newly identified by the author support the findings. The article is one of six about the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke published 1997-2007 with detailed research findings.

Keywords: Richmond; Palladian townhouse; architectural drawings; furniture; William Kent; Goodwood



## Appendix 1/ctd.

### Submission 4

#### Paper

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4548-0840

‘Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury’  
in *Hampshire studies: proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, series 2,  
vol. 9, 2021  
ISBN 9-780907-473237  
Rosemary Baird Andreae

Chapters 1, 2, 4.

This 20,000 word ‘Hampshire Paper’ comprises a new history of the Garnier family in England, whose ancestor Isaac Garnier (1634-1712) arrived in London as a Huguenot refugee in 1684. It tells of his medical success, becoming Apothecary to the Royal Hospital Chelsea, and how this tradition was carried on by his son and grandson. The story is taken up by another eminent apothecary grandson, George Garnier (1701-63), who became a distinguished patron of Canaletto and the creator of fashionable landscape gardens at Rookesbury in Hampshire. Here his grandson, the Revd. William Garnier (1771-1835), built a magnificent new Regency house in the 1820s, thoroughly aided by his wife Harriett (1771-1847). The selected chapters include these main personalities and their achievements.

Key words: Huguenot; apothecary; Canaletto; landscape; Greek Revival; art collection

## Appendix 2

### British Academic Libraries holding copies of *Mistress of the House* <sup>261</sup>

Worldwide, the book is held by 218 libraries<sup>262</sup>

- University of Aberdeen Libraries
- University of Birmingham Libraries
- Bishop Grosseteste University
- British Architectural Library, RIBA
- University of Cambridge Libraries:
  1. University Library (2 copies)
  2. Corpus Christi College, Leckhampton
  3. Newnham College Library
- Durham University Library
- University of East Anglia Library
- University of Edinburgh Libraries
- University of Glasgow Library
- LSE Library
- University of Leeds Library
- University of Leicester Library
- The London Library
- Manchester Metropolitan University
- National Library of Scotland (2 copies)
- National Library of Wales (2 copies)
- National Portrait Gallery Library
- University of Oxford Libraries:
  1. Bodleian Library (2 copies)
  2. History Faculty
  3. Worcester College
  4. St Anne's College
  5. Somerville College
  6. Christ Church
  7. Ashmolean Museum Library
- Paul Mellon Centre Library
- Queen Mary University of London Library
- Queen's University Belfast
- University of Reading Library
- Royal Holloway, University of London
- University of St Andrews Library
- Senate House Library, University of London
- Society of Genealogists
- University of Southampton Library
- Victoria and Albert Museum libraries
- University of York Libraries

### Republic of Ireland

- Trinity College, Dublin (2 copies)
- Maynooth University, Dublin

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<sup>261</sup> British Library

<sup>262</sup> [www.worldcat.org](http://www.worldcat.org)

## Appendix 3

### British Academic Libraries holding copies of *Goodwood: Art and Architecture, Sport and Family*<sup>263</sup>

Worldwide the book is held by 75 academic libraries.<sup>264</sup>

- British Library
- University of Cambridge Libraries
  1. University Library
  2. Newnham College
- Cardiff University Libraries
- Historic England Library
- University of Leeds Library
- The London Library
- National Library of Scotland
- National Library of Wales
- National Museums Scotland Library
- National Portrait Gallery Library
- University of Oxford Libraries
  1. Bodleian Library
  2. St Anne's College Library
- Paul Mellon Centre Library, London
- Victoria and Albert Museum Libraries
- Wallace Collection Library

### Republic of Ireland

- Trinity College, Dublin
- Maynooth University, Dublin

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<sup>263</sup> British Library.

<sup>264</sup> [www.worldcat.org](http://www.worldcat.org)

## Appendix 4 Introduction to Following Appendices: Effects of Published Work in the Public Domain

All three bodies of work have had influence in the public sphere. Books that have drawn on *Mistress* and *Goodwood* are surveyed first, as well as theses and exhibitions. Reviews, broadcasts and invited talks are then considered, as well as print mentions and lectures for *Huguenots*, for which the formal launch has not yet taken place.

### BOOKS

#### Non-academic books

In non-academic, non-fiction books, *Mistress* again received the most citations, appearing in five books and one guidebook. In a descriptive book about a single house and focussing on my subject of Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Rutland, author Emma Manners, the present Duchess of Rutland, made two citations to *Mistress* in discussing Belvoir Castle; it was also clear that some other content derived from Chapter 14, 'Regency Disdain'.<sup>265</sup> Writing about Alnwick Castle, photographer James McDonald clearly drew on Chapter 10, 'Equal Eminences' for factual information about patronage and collecting, as referenced by his bibliographic citation of the whole book.<sup>266</sup>

The National Trust increasingly does not cite authors who are not its own, but *Mistress* was mentioned in the bibliography of its guidebook to Ham House, clearly for Chapter 6, 'Restoration Drama'.<sup>267</sup> Natalie Livingstone cited a detail when writing about the women of Cliveden House, Berkshire, even echoing the word *Mistress* in the title.<sup>268</sup> Those were works about houses, but discussing the manners and mores of courtship as social history in the work of Jane Austen, Maria Grace included it in her bibliography.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Emma Manners, Duchess of Rutland with Jane Pruden, *Belvoir Castle* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2009), Prologue, n.6, n. 23.

<sup>266</sup> James McDonald, *Alnwick Castle: The Home of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012), 237.

<sup>267</sup> *Ham House and Garden, Surrey*, (London: The National Trust, 2010), Bibliography.

<sup>268</sup> Natalie Livingstone, *The Mistresses of Cliveden: Three Centuries of Scandal, Power and Intrigue* (Penguin Random House, 2015), 157 n.16.

<sup>269</sup> Maria Grace, *Courtship and Marriage in Jane Austen's World* (USA: White Soup Press, 2016).

Both *Mistress* and *Goodwood* were cited by James Peill, my successor as Curator at Goodwood, in his book about the house, estate and family. The former was used for its material on Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth and Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon.<sup>270</sup> His fifteen citations for *Goodwood* and three associated articles are all for facts, his book being completely different from mine, recounting family stories.<sup>271</sup> This proves that my *Goodwood* had already fulfilled the need for a complete history of the house and estate buildings and the patronage of art and decorative objects of the Dukes of Richmond.

In writing about the rural retreat in Devon of Georgina Gordon (5<sup>th</sup>) Duchess of Bedford, daughter of Jane, Duchess of Gordon, landscape historian Keir Davison cited *Goodwood* in his recent book in mentioning Jane's gardens at Gordon Castle, but surprisingly not mentioning *Mistress* which he also knew.<sup>272</sup> In another non-academic but well-researched book, Blenheim guide Allan P. Ledger cited *Goodwood* for my description of the Hogarth painting of a play performed by children in London in front of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke and Duchess and for later plays at the Richmond House theatre.<sup>273</sup>

As with academic authors, further writers visited me at Goodwood prior to my own publication and acknowledged my help for their own specialised books. These included Simon Rees, David Morris, David Miller and Nick Foulkes.<sup>274</sup> *Goodwood* has obvious popular appeal, being purchased by visitors to Goodwood events and partakers in the sports.

The style of *Goodwood* was copied for the books of both authors Manners and McDonald [*q.v.*], being large size with good photography and by the same publisher. This showed that both they and my publisher considered *Goodwood*, for which the photography was deliberately exceptional, to have been a success. *Belvoir Castle* even repeated the authoritative black edges to the cover and black spine. This became a great moment for country house books, following a period when any books in such style had only been 'coffee-table', with bland text. Even Manners' and Macdonald's non-academic volumes had better and more detailed text than had been present in previous such

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<sup>270</sup> James Peill, *Glorious Goodwood: A Biography of England's Greatest Sporting Estate* (London: Constable, 2019), 8, n.12; 9, n.15; 11, n.27; 44, n. 3, 46, n. 6.

<sup>271</sup> Peill, *Glorious Goodwood*, 37, n. 55; 48, n. 10 (citing 'Foxed by Fox Hall'); 50, n. 17; 64, nn. 50, 51; 75, n. 29; 76, n. 30; 86, n. 69; 96, nn. 27, 27, 29 (also citing the *Richmond House* articles); 114, n. 11; 117, n. 16; 122, n. 20; 132, n. 47.

<sup>272</sup> Keir Davidson, *Improbable Pioneers of the Romantic Age: The Lives of John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford and Georgina Gordon, Duchess of Bedford* (London: Pimpernel Press, 2022), 122-3, n. 136.

<sup>273</sup> Allan P Ledger, *A Spencer Love Affair: Eighteenth-century Theatricals at Blenheim Palace and Beyond* (Stroud, Gloucs.: Fonthill Media, 2014), 26, n.2; 140, n.4.

<sup>274</sup> Simon Rees, *The Charlton Hunt* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1998), iv. David Morris, *The Honour of Richmond: A History of the Lords, Earls and Dukes of Richmond* (York: William Sessions Ltd., 2000), 8; 249, reference to my Guidebook *Goodwood House* (1998). David Miller, *The Duchess of Richmond's Ball, 15 June 1815* (Staplehurst, Kent: Spellmount, 2005), xi. Nick Foulkes, *Dancing into Battle: A Social History of the Battle of Waterloo* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 2006), 253.

well-illustrated books. The type was echoed again for Keir Davison for an offshoot of Frances Lincoln.

<sup>275</sup> We seemed to have created a new style of house book, an academic coffee table book and a popular source of family history. My book is still popularly known at Goodwood as 'The Bible.'<sup>276</sup>

### THESES (unpublished)

Amy Henderson cited *Mistress* when she wrote about furniture to show how between 1790-1800 'elite Americans employed the material culture of their homes as a performative system of visual communication about personal identity, social standing, reputation, and political affiliation'.<sup>277</sup>

Tiffani Angus included *Mistress* in the bibliography of her PhD thesis, which included a piece of fiction set in an historic garden around a great house.<sup>278</sup>

### EXHIBITIONS

Public effect was strongly spread through exhibitions. Two vast exhibition catalogues by Susan Weber Soros have already been included among scholarly books, as they comprise much more than just catalogues, as well as one by Elizabeth Eger.<sup>279</sup> Weber's exhibitions, both at the Bard Graduate Center New York and at the Victoria and Albert Museum were large and well-attended. Eger's at the National Portrait Gallery brought Mrs Montagu to the public eye almost for the first time. This also meant that my work on her came to the attention of that group, in recognition of which I was invited to the opening dinner and seated next to the Director of the National Portrait Gallery.

For August 2003, when Goodwood House was open most days, I curated an exhibition of *Mistress of the House* throughout the main rooms, aiming to make my findings known locally as well as to travellers. For this I linked the family subjects, notably Louise de K roualle, Caroline Lennox and Jane, Duchess of Gordon, with further portraits of them and their closest family, not all of which were illustrated in the book. Other female members of the family whose lives had enhanced the house were added. This was very popular and continued to be visited until the autumn.<sup>280</sup> Due to the

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<sup>275</sup> Keir Davison, *Woburn Abbey: The Park and Gardens* (London, Pimpernel Press, 2016).

<sup>276</sup> According to current Goodwood Guides.

<sup>277</sup> Amy Henderson, 'Furnishing the Republican Court', MA thesis, University of Delaware, 2008, abstract.

<sup>278</sup> Tiffani Angus, '*Threading the Labyrinth: a Novel & Gardens and the Fantastic: Space and Time in Threading the Labyrinth*'. PhD diss., Anglia Ruskin University, 2015, 333.

<sup>279</sup> Weber Soros, *James 'Athenian' Stuart*, V&A 15 March - 24 June 2008; Weber, *William Kent*, V&A 22 March - 13 July 2014; Eger, *The Bluestocking Circle*, National Portrait Gallery 13 March - 15 June 2008.

<sup>280</sup> On 29 September, 2003. It re-opened for 28 March – 31 May, 2004.

high visitor numbers it also reopened for two months of spring 2004, with my related lectures trumpeted in the local paper.<sup>281</sup>

In 2004 small, linked exhibitions in separate Yorkshire country houses mirrored the subject of *Mistress* exactly, as described in Dr Ruth Larsen's accompanying booklet in which she lauded my book as one of 'the principal previous works on the subject.'<sup>282</sup> Their exhibitions had the same aims of emphasising the role of women in both the creation and the management of the country house. While Larsen had completed her thesis on the subject the year before, my summer exhibition may also have been influential on theirs: country house exhibitions are often planned only one year ahead.<sup>283</sup> Larsen's book emphasises domesticity rather than architectural patronage, but both these aspects were included in the exhibitions.

Dr Kerry Bristol also referenced *Mistress* in her city centre exhibition in Leeds about another Yorkshire house in that year.<sup>284</sup>

A related exhibition also took place at Syon Park, Brentford in August 2004, where I had already given a lecture; see 'Invited Talks'. It focused on the ancestress and organiser of the Georgian restoration, Elizabeth Seymour, Duchess of Northumberland. At their request I lent Syon some of my exhibition information panels. A local newspaper described how the exhibition took its name from *Mistress* and cited other exhibits.<sup>285</sup>

In a recent exhibition at Portsmouth (2022), Susan Ward gave me an acknowledgement in the front of her catalogue.<sup>286</sup> This was for information about Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth. I was also invited to give a lecture about the city's only duchess on 10 November 2022, entitled *Mistress of Portsmouth*.

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<sup>281</sup> *West Sussex Observer*, Magazine, 1 April 2004.

<sup>282</sup> Ruth M. Larsen, 'Unlocking the Histories of the Women of the Yorkshire Country House', Chapter I in Ruth M. Larsen ed., *Maids & Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York: Yorkshire Country House Partnership, Vol. 1. 2004), p. 7, n. 13.

<sup>283</sup> Ruth M. Larsen, 'Dynastic Domesticity: the role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house 1685-1858'. PhD diss., University of York, 2003.

<sup>284</sup> Kerry Bristol and Jill Low, 'William Weddell – a biographical note', Chapter 1 in Leeds City Art Gallery, *Drawing from the Past: William Weddell and the Transformation of Newby Hall* (Huddersfield, Yorkshire: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2004), n. 39.

<sup>285</sup> *Brentford, Chiswick & Isleworth Times*, 6 August 2004.

<sup>286</sup> Susan Ward, *Silver City: 500 years of Portsmouth's History* (Portsmouth City Museum, catalogue, 2022), 5.

## REVIEWS

Mistress received an exceptionally large number of reviews, with over thirty listed here.<sup>287</sup> Many reviewers commented on the importance of the argument: 'Baird has corrected a misunderstood aspect of Britain's social history' and '[she] triumphantly succeeds' in showing how 'just how fundamental' women were in the making of the country house.<sup>288</sup> It may be a leap now for younger historians to understand how little was known about these women's lives and roles twenty years ago. Several commentators noticed a point now equally surprising, that I had gone against the trend in looking 'above stairs', not below: kitchens and offices were at the time all the rage, most notably in National Trust properties.<sup>289</sup>

Criticism of the main argument came only from two writers who disliked the promotion of élite women without questioning the morality of their situations and expenditure.<sup>290</sup> They wanted more 'analysis', both social and political. However, other commentators applauded the 'social and economic setting of these women in their times' in the first four chapters, which were seen as 'particularly useful.'<sup>291</sup> I had usually shown if and where the patronesses economised. I had also not always praised them but deliberately shown their faults, such as the Duchess of Northumberland sometimes being brash and vulgar and the Duchess of Gordon being wild and uncouth, ignoring convention. These points were strongly appreciated by other reviewers, one commending the way I brought 'the personalities to life'.<sup>292</sup> I also described their challenges, difficulties and tragedies, receiving the accolade that each chapter was 'a model of sympathy and sound sense.'<sup>293</sup>

One reviewer criticised my brief epilogue, in the final paragraph of which I suggested that the lives of Victorian women took a step backwards compared with those of the Georgians. Another reviewer saw this more positively, saying: '...Baird deftly overturns conventional views about the slow, steady progress of freedom for women.'<sup>294</sup> While conceding that the point was not proven, because it was a short final question designed to provoke debate, work of other historians has since confirmed my

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<sup>287</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>288</sup> Miranda Seymour, *The Sunday Times*, 13 July, 2003, 43; Jane Ridley *The Daily Telegraph*, Saturday Arts Section, 19 July 2003, 6.

<sup>289</sup> Hugh Massingberd, *The Spectator*, 23 August 2003, 32; Richard Pailthorpe, *Historic House*, magazine of the Historic Houses Association, Winter 2003, 46.

<sup>290</sup> Frances Wilson, *The Sunday Telegraph*, 20 July 2003, Review, 11; Rachel Cooke, *The Observer* (Review), 20 July 2003, 16-17.

<sup>291</sup> *Good Book Guide* 1 Sept. 2003; John Martin Robinson, *Country Life*, 31 July 2003, 112.

<sup>292</sup> Sue Gaisford, *The Independent on Sunday*, 3 Aug 2003; Hugh Massingberd, *The Spectator*, 23 Aug 2003; Susan Mansfield, *The Scotsman*, 29 July 2003.

<sup>293</sup> Massingberd, *Spectator*.

<sup>294</sup> Massingberd, *Spectator*.



view. Suggesting that the Victorians invented the stay-at-home mother, Lucy Worsley showed that the revival of chivalry in the work of Sir Walter Scott started to project women as delicate flowers.<sup>295</sup> She claimed that they were retreating from Georgian freedoms into their homes. As long ago as 1999, although I had not read it at the time of publication, Elizabeth Eger had also suggested ‘a broader reaction against women’s intellectual life and social usefulness...’ that occurred in the nineteenth century.<sup>296</sup>

Reviewers commented on the quality of research: ‘expertly researched, beautifully illustrated and deftly constructed’ (even from a disliker of élites); ‘extensive new research in family archives’; ‘painstakingly well-researched’; ‘an impressive number of archives’.<sup>297</sup> The only information deemed lacking was gardens; which I would have liked to investigate, but both print space and documentary sources were sparse.<sup>298</sup> Information was, if anything, too much: there was said to be material for a dozen books but, more happily: ‘The information pours from her pen like water from the fountains of Versailles.’<sup>299</sup> Understanding that it was aimed at both the scholarly and the general reader, the same reviewer rightly judged: ‘This book makes entertaining reading, but it aims higher.’<sup>300</sup>

Indeed, the aim was to impart scholarship in an accessible way to a wide audience. It was designed to be conveyed in a manner that they would enjoy. This was appreciated even by *The Guardian*: ‘a good, accessible history of a very particular kind of women’s work.’<sup>301</sup> *The Hampshire Chronicle* said that ‘In spite of its details and scholarship, the book is written with a lightness of touch, is engaging and entertaining’ while another local paper trumpeted ‘success for local author’ (because it had reached the Top Ten) and described it as an ‘eye-opening account’.<sup>302</sup> The *West Sussex Gazette* described it as ‘widely acclaimed.’<sup>303</sup>

In this cause, the book was deliberately quietly amusing at points. The style was described as ‘dry wit’ and my ‘understated, subtle way’.<sup>304</sup> Reviewers certainly liked the ‘captivating stories’; for which

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<sup>295</sup> Lucy Worsley, *Jane Austen at Home*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2017), 384-5, 405-6.

<sup>296</sup> Elizabeth Eger, Introduction to Vol I, ‘Mrs Montagu’ in *Bluestocking Feminism: Writers of the Bluestocking Circle 1738-1785* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999), xi.

<sup>297</sup> Wilson, *Sunday Telegraph*; John Martin Robinson, *Country Life*, 31 July 2003; Pailthorpe, *Historic House: Kate Retford, The British Art Journal*, vol. V no. 2, autumn 2004, 96.

<sup>298</sup> Seymour, *Sunday Times*.

<sup>299</sup> Gaisford, *Independent*.

<sup>300</sup> Gaisford, *Independent*.

<sup>301</sup> Kathryn Hughes, *The Guardian*, 16 August 2003, B12.

<sup>302</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle*, 19 September 2003; *Alton Herald*, 5 Dec 2003.

<sup>303</sup> *West Sussex Gazette*, 18 September 2003.

<sup>304</sup> Massingberd, *Spectator*.

sources were always given.<sup>305</sup> My lectures have the same style of scholarship with humour and empathy, and are never read; each one is different. However, my work is less deliberately populist than that of Lucy Worsley.

As the founder of Weidenfeld & Nicolson, author Nigel Nicolson wrote to say that 'for a first [book] it deserves a gold medal'.<sup>306</sup> He found the argument 'convincing and illuminating', especially noting the point mentioned above, that women were allowed more freedom in the eighteenth century than the nineteenth. He wrote: "The treatment of the mass of information is lightened by your invigorating style' and kindly said that '...your book has given me a treasure-house of new information and ideas. It is a wonderful achievement.'

*Goodwood* received four reviews, not having been widely sent out by the publisher.<sup>307</sup> In line with my 'approachable' aim, Marcus Binney said in *The Times* that it 'offers serious scholarship, lightly worn, and that I had 'achieved an astonishing mastery of every aspect of the history of the house...'<sup>308</sup> Describing it as 'well-written and researched' Dr Sue Berry noted that the book would 'advance our understanding of other published work.'<sup>309</sup> John Martin Robinson called it 'original and meticulously researched' and 'the model of a country-house study'.<sup>310</sup>

*Huguenots* has so far received four press mentions.<sup>311</sup> It is anticipated that when launched it will be fully reviewed by the *Hampshire Chronicle*.

## TV & RADIO

Television appearances were initially for *Goodwood* subjects because of my role there.

I was first asked to appear on the revived series of *Going for a Song* and subsequently on various subjects relating to what was going on at *Goodwood*, such as horse racing.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Seymour, *Sunday Times*.

<sup>306</sup> Nigel Nicolson to Rosemary Baird, Sissinghurst Castle, Kent, 14 Sept. 2003

<sup>307</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>308</sup> *The Times*, 27 November 2007.

<sup>309</sup> *The Georgian*, Magazine of the Georgian Group, 2008, Issue I (Spring).

<sup>310</sup> *Historic House*, Autumn 2007.

<sup>311</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>312</sup> Appendix 6.

When *Mistress of the House* made instant impact through so many good reviews, I was invited for television and radio interviews. The most important was an interview with Martha Carney on BBC *Woman's Hour*. The most repeated was Lucy Worsley's *Harlots, Housewives and Heroines*.

## INVITED LECTURES

Large numbers of talks were given on both *Mistress* and *Goodwood*.<sup>313</sup> Along with television, these had the greatest effect, evidenced by the number of group visits that came to Goodwood as a result. Sometimes the subjects combined work from both books, as when speaking about Louise de K roualle or Jane, Duchess of Gordon. *Goodwood* has a wide local geographical area of public interest, as shown in the request for the Rehab charity lecture, Alton, Hampshire, May 2022. For *Goodwood* I also lectured in the USA on two occasions, as well as in Dublin, Scotland, Paris and Central France.<sup>314</sup>

### *Huguenots*

The research has similarly engendered invitations for talks. As the subject is more localised, lectures are either in Hampshire or in London. Articles and talks have had a continuous snowball effect over a six-year period, so have been combined here to show the order of play.

An initial published article had a knock-on effect. This was: 'From Charitable Apothecary to Country Squire: The Garniers of Rookesbury', *The Georgian Group Journal*, London, 2017.<sup>315</sup> From this peer-reviewed publication I was asked to lecture to the following:

Oct 2016	<b>Hampshire Archives Trust</b>
Oct 2017	<b>Hampshire Gardens Trust (1)</b>
Mar 2018	<b>The Huguenot Society, London</b>
Mar 2020	Soberton & Newtown Historical Society, Hampshire

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<sup>313</sup> Appendix 7: Lectures for *Mistress*. Appendix 8: Lectures for *Goodwood*.

<sup>314</sup> Appendix 8.

<sup>315</sup> Rosemary Baird, 'From Charitable Apothecary to Country Squire: The Garniers of Rookesbury', *The Georgian Group Journal*, London, XXV (2017), 213-236.

Following the Huguenot Society talk, I was invited to submit an article for the *Journal of the Huguenot Society*, 2018.<sup>316</sup> This was:

- *From Huguenot Apothecary to Country Squire: The Garniers at Rookesbury, Hampshire*

Soon I had accumulated so many new findings that I published the article (submitted):

- 'Huguenots, Apothecaries, Gardeners and Squires: The Garniers of Rookesbury' in *Hampshire Papers*, Series 2, no. 9, Spring 2021 (whole volume)

From this there were further results.

#### **Lecture Invitations resulting from the Hampshire Paper, 2021:**

6 Dec 2021      **University of Winchester** (Dr Simon Sandall, HS 3104) (recorded on *Teams*):

- *Huguenots in Hampshire: The Garniers of Rookesbury*

10 Jan 2022      **Hampshire Gardens Trust** (2) (Live on *Zoom*):

That I was asked to give a second lecture after four years shows the popularity of this subject:

- *Lady Harriett's Ferme Ornée: The Gardening Garniers of Rookesbury, Hampshire*

6 May 2022      **The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, London:**

Part of their conference section 'The Society of Apothecaries Archives in Wider Research':

- *Huguenot Apothecaries and the Royal Hospital, Chelsea: Isaac Garnier (1631-1712) and family*

#### **Further results anticipated**

*Huguenots* should also bear further fruit in the following areas, mainly for academic study:

- Canaletto scholarship, owing to the discovery of a rare document: to be published further in the *Burlington* magazine (copy already submitted);

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<sup>316</sup> Rosemary Baird Andreae, 'From Huguenot Apothecary to Country Squire: The Garniers at Rookesbury, Hampshire', *Journal of the Huguenot Society*, 31 (2018), 17-33.

- Furniture history and interior decoration, both early and late Georgian, when I make newly discovered inventories available to the Furniture History Society;
- Late Georgian art patronage and picture collecting;
- Late Georgian Greek Revival domestic architecture;
- A future biography of C.H. Tatham, who has not yet been fully researched;
- Grand Tour documentation, from the 1830-34 tour of William and Harriett Garnier;
- Women's lives, due to the use of the 1830s diaries of Harriett Garnier;
- Landscape history, with further findings and two publications forthcoming.

An indication of the early success of *Mistress* was that I was invited by Hatchards of Piccadilly to join their Christmas Preview Evening on 4 December 2003 as an author signing copies. Sotheby's similarly celebrated my work in *Goodwood* by offering their premises on Bond Street for the book launch in their main rooms on 11 October 2007.<sup>317</sup> Both *Mistress* and *Goodwood* have continued to have public impact, receiving citations up to 2022.<sup>318</sup> In 2019 The Georgian Group ran a symposium *Women and Architecture 1660-1840* for which, in acknowledgment of my book, I was asked to chair the first session of talks and to make closing comments.<sup>319</sup> *Huguenots* has smaller impact because the house and family are less high-profile and distinguished. However, it will have considerable importance both for local historians and for the extensive Garnier family, as well as for the many members of the public interested in historic landscape.

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<sup>317</sup> *Country Life*, 11 October 2007, 84-5.

<sup>318</sup> Ward, Sands, Davidson (*Mistress*); Davidson, Westman (*Goodwood*).

<sup>319</sup> Georgian Group Symposium "*Embroider'd with Dust and Mortar*": *Women and Architecture 1660-1840*, Society of Antiquaries, 28 September 2019.

## Appendix 5: Reviews

### *Mistress of the House, 2003*

13 July 2003	<i>Sunday Times, Culture section, 42-3</i>	Miranda Seymour
19 July 2003	<i>Daily Telegraph, Saturday Arts Section, 6</i>	Jane Ridley
20 July 2003	<i>Sunday Telegraph, Review, 11</i>	FrancesWilson
20 July 2003	<i>The Observer, Review, 16-17</i>	Rachel Cooke
29 July 2003	<i>The Scotsman, S2, 12</i>	Susan Mansfield
31 July 2003	<i>Country Life, 112</i>	John M Robinson
July 2003	<i>The Week: Review of reviews</i> , 21	Anon
9 Aug 2003	<i>The Guardian, 'Critical Eye', B2</i>	Anon
13 Aug 2003	<i>The Independent on Sunday, 16</i>	Sue Gaisford
16 Aug 2003	<i>The Guardian, B12</i>	Kathryn Hughes
23 Aug 2003	<i>The Spectator, 32</i>	Hugh Massingberd
1 Sept 2003	<i>The Good Book Guide</i>	Anon
Sept 2003	<i>The Art Newspaper</i>	Charlotte Gere
Sept 2003	<i>Living History, 82</i>	Katie Whitaker
18 Sept 2003	<i>West Sussex Gazette, 13</i>	
19 Sept 2003	<i>Hampshire Chronicle, Section 3, 11</i>	
22 Sept 2003	<i>Evening Standard: London's Best Sellers, 43</i>	
Oct 2003	<i>Living History: October's Top Ten History Books, 82</i>	
Nov 2003	<i>Living History: November's Top Ten History Books, 84</i>	
14 Nov 2003	<i>Church Times, 19</i>	
Nov 2003	<i>Furniture History Society, 9-11</i>	Tessa Murdoch
1 Dec 2003	<i>The Field, 29</i>	John Joliffe
5 Dec 2003	<i>Alton Herald</i>	Anon
Dec 2003	<i>House &amp; Garden, 79</i>	Matthew Dennison
Winter 2003	<i>Historic House, 46</i>	Richard Pailthorpe
	<i>Nadfas Review</i>	Anne Anderson
	<i>The Georgian: Magazine of the Georgian Group, 39</i>	Anon
	<i>The British Art Journal V, no. 2, 96</i>	Kate Retford
Dec 2003	<i>Chichester Observer</i>	Phil Hewitt
15 January 2004	<i>Chichester Observer Magazine, 11</i>	Phil Hewitt
4 July 2004	<i>The Sunday Herald (Scotland), Supplement, 11</i>	Hew Strachan

### *Phoenix/Orion Paperback, 2004*

25 July 2004	<i>Sunday Telegraph (Review)</i>	Charles Osborne
6 Aug 2004	<i>Brentford Chiswick &amp; Isleworth Times</i>	Anon
Nov 2004	<i>History Today: Paperback Choice</i>	Robert Pearce

See next page for reviews of *Goodwood* and mentions for *Huguenots*

## Appendix 5/ ctd.: Reviews

### Reviews and Mentions for *Goodwood*

27 Nov 2007	<i>The Times</i> , 66	Marcus Binney
Autumn 2007	<i>Historic House</i> ,	John Martin Robinson
11 October 2007	<i>Country Life</i> , 84-5	2 page spread of book launch at Sotheby's
Spring 2008	<i>The Georgian</i> , 43	Sue Berry

### Mentions for *Huguenots*

*Huguenots* has not been sent out for review as it is not yet launched. A formal launch is expected to take place with other Hampshire Papers at the University of Winchester in 2023.

Together with the book, there have been mentions in four publications:

25 Feb 2021	<i>Hampshire Chronicle</i> , 41	Barry Shurlock
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An article about Hampshire Papers being published by Hampshire Field Club.

Autumn 2021	<i>Hampshire Gardens Trust Newsletter</i> , no. 11	Valerie Joynt
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[http://www.hgt.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Autumn-2021-Newsletter\\_compressed.pdf](http://www.hgt.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Autumn-2021-Newsletter_compressed.pdf)

Describing the full book version as 'much more than a family saga' and 'an astonishing success', Joynt additionally points up my investigation into the dispersed art collection, shown from the sale catalogues of 1895 and 1927 (not published in the Hampshire Paper.)

Autumn 2021	'Books of interest', <i>Journal of the Huguenot Society</i> , 88
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Summer 2022	<i>The British Art Journal</i> XXIII (Spring 2022), no.1, p. 3. Long-listed for <i>The British Art Journal</i> Berger prize, 2022
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## Appendix 6: TV & Radio

Not every TV and radio interview has been listed due to lack of surviving records.

### ***Goodwood***

Full details of date and time unfortunately not retained for this section.

Date	Broadcaster	Title of programme or subject	Presenter
1997	BBC TV	<i>Going for a Song</i>	Eric Knowles
1997	BBC TV	<i>Going for a Song</i>	Eric Knowles
1998	Local TV	The Restoration of the Goodwood State Apartments	
c. 2000	ITV	The Shell House For a short series on garden follies	
	BBC TV	Goodwood House and the Racing Painting by George Stubbs	Clare Balding, Raceweek, part of the horseracing broadcast
	Channel 4 TV	The Equestrian Paintings by George Stubbs	Alice Plunket Raceweek, part of the horseracing broadcast

### ***Mistress of the House***

Date	Broadcaster	Subject/Title	Time/Presenter
28 Aug 2003	Spirit FM, Chichester	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	On air 11- 11.30am Duncan Barks
1 Sept 2003	BBC Radio Solent, Southampton	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Recorded 2pm Kevin Huffner
1 Sept. 2003	Radio Newcastle	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	On air 2.30-2.50 pm James Clark
Sept. 2003	BBC Radio 4: <i>Women's House</i>	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	On air Live 10am Martha Carney
Sept. 2003	Radio Solent, Chichester	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	On air 10 am Nick Goedler
2012	BBC 4  <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSMIIvgrmJI">www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSMIIvgrmJI</a>	<i>Harlots, Housewives and Heroines</i> The Duchess of Lauderdale ( <i>Mistress</i> )	On air 9pm Lucy Worsley



## Appendix 7: Invited Talks *Mistress of the House*

### 1. Early, exploratory lectures, pre-publication

The initial talk was called *Lady of the Manor*. It was advertised as being about ‘The responsibilities and recreations of the lady of the English country house in the eighteenth century.’<sup>320</sup> It was therefore initially mostly about management. Subsequently the research moved fully into architectural patronage and art collecting.

NADFAS stood for the *National Association of Fine and Decorative Arts Societies*. It is now called *The Arts Society*. Attendee numbers averaged 140-180, but often up to 200. Exact records of sizes do not survive, but when remembered as larger or smaller are modified.

Date	Title	Host	Number of attendees
5 March 1996	<i>Lady of the Manor</i>	Portsmouth, Hants, NADFAS	140-180
19 July 1996	<i>Lady of the Manor</i>	Salisbury Green, Hants, NADFAS	140-180
14 Apr 1999	<i>Lady of the Manor</i>	Henley-on-Thames, NADFAS (1)	140-180
15 Apr 1999	<i>Lady of the Manor</i> (3 talks)	Henley-on-Thames NADFAS, Phyllis Court (1); River & Rowing Museum (2) & (3)	140-180 140-180 140-180
2 Dec 2002	<i>Mistress of the House: Mary, Duchess of Norfolk</i> Her sister lived at Ugbrooke. Revelation of Mary’s tapestries there as being from Norfolk House.	Ugbrooke House, Devon, for an invited group.	120

### 2. Lectures post publication in July 2003

16 Oct 2003	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Lennox sisters	National Trust, Assembly Rooms, Winchester	60
20 Oct 2003	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Louise de Kéroualle, Caroline Holland & Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Goodwood House, Ballroom	200
6 Nov 2003	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Ryde NADFAS, Isle of Wight	140-180
28 Jan 2004	<i>The Duchesses</i> (derived from <i>Mistress</i> )	Limpsfield NADFAS, Surrey	130 (snow)
11 Mar 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Peterborough NADFAS, Cambs.	140-180

<sup>320</sup> NADFAS publicity material, written by me

	esp. Mrs Montagu & the Duchess of Rutland		
14 Mar 2004	<i>Mrs Montagu, Queen of the Bluestockings</i>	Kings Sutton Literary Festival, Oxon.	70
17 Mar 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Wylde Valley Nadfas, Wilton, Salisbury	140-180
23 Mar 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland	<b>Historic Houses Association Annual Lecture, Syon House</b>	150
7 Apr 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Henley-on-Thames Nadfas, Oxon.	150-180
22 Apr 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	<b>Victoria &amp; Albert Museum</b>	130
4 May 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	<b>Chawton House Library (Centre for Women's Writing),</b> Alton, Hants	70
22 June 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Haslemere Nadfas, Surrey	140-180
14 July 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Cirencester Nadfas, Gloucs.	140-180
7 Oct 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Harting Historical Society, W. Sussex	40
13 Oct 2004	<i>The Duchesses</i>	Bodmin Nadfas, Cornwall <b>West Country Tour</b>	140-180
14 Oct 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Teresa Parker at Saltram	Teignbridge Nadfas, Devon	140-180
14 Oct 2004	<i>The Duchesses</i>	Torquay Nadfas, Torquay Museum	140-180
2 Nov 2004	<i>Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk: Builder and Decorator</i>	<b>Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art</b> Scholars Day at Arundel Castle	100
10 Nov 2004	<i>The Duchesses</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Elgin Nadfas, Aberdeenshire Scotland <b>Scottish tour</b>	140
10 Nov 2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Aberdeen Nadfas Scotland	140
11 Nov 2004	<i>The Duchesses</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Inverness Nadfas Scotland	140
2004	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Caroline Lennox at Holland House	<b>Friends of Holland Park</b>	80
18 Jan 2005	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Mary Duchess of Norfolk (whose descendants live in nearby Arundel Castle)	Arun Nadfas, Arundel, West Sussex	100

12 Feb 2005	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	National Trust, The Vyne, Hampshire	60
1 Mar 2005	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Romsey Nadfas, Hampshire	140-180

18 month break, to concentrate on the day job, restarting for selected bookings in late 2006.

21 Sept 2006	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Dorchester Nadfas	140-180
10 Oct 2006 pm	<i>The Duchesses</i> , esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Edinburgh Nadfas Scotland <b>Scottish tour</b>	140-200
11 Oct 2006 am	<i>The Duchesses</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Edinburgh Nadfas Scotland	140-200
12 Oct 2006 am	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Loch Lomond Nadfas Scotland	140-180
12 Oct 2006 pm	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Stirling Nadfas Scotland	140-180
13 Oct 2006	<i>Mistress of the House</i> esp. Jane, Duchess of Gordon	Glasgow Nadfas Scotland	140-180

Although invitations continued to arrive, from thereon I declined any that were too far away.

6 June 2007	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	<b>Christie's Education</b> London W1	40
2 Oct 2007	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Fittleworth Nadfas, W. Sussex	140
12 May 2008	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	Steyning Nadfas, W. Sussex	120
16 Oct 2008	<i>Mistress of the House: The Ladies of Richmond and Gordon</i>	<b>Nadfas Area Celebration Lecture</b> The Ballroom, Goodwood House	200
19 April 2018	<i>Mistress of the House</i>	<b>The Georgian Group</b> 6 Fitzroy Square, London	40
August 2020	<i>Mrs Montagu, 'Queen of the Bluestockings': her House in Hill Street</i>	<b>The Georgian Group</b> Recorded for website on Zoom	
10 Nov 2022	<i>Mistress of Portsmouth: Louise de K�roualle, Portsmouth's only Duchess</i>	<b>Portsmouth City Museum</b> , to coincide with the exhibition <i>Silver City</i> . Invited due to <i>Mistress</i> .	20

## Appendix 8: Invited Talks *Goodwood*

I have given many lectures on Goodwood, certainly at least 70, mostly pre rather than post book publication. Below is a selection, with especially important foreign ones on the fourth page. Many of the early lectures are about the restoration of the house.

As mentioned earlier for *Mistress*, not all lectures remained recorded over the ensuing 25 years. Where records are sparse or unclear, the lectures are omitted from this list.

Many of the early invitations to lecture were due to three articles already footnoted but not included in the submission:

- The Refurbishment of the State Rooms at Goodwood House, 'Apollo Magazine, January 1997, pp. 3-5
- 'Goodwood House, Sussex', *Country Life Magazine*, 24 July 1997, pp. 44-51
- 'Cobras and Crocodiles return to Goodwood: The Restoration of the Egyptian State Dining Room', *Country Life Magazine*, 23 April 1998, pp. 84-7

### 1. ENGLAND

Date	Title	Host	Audience Number
14 Oct 1996	<i>Treasures of the Grand Tour in W. Sussex Country Houses</i>  To coincide with the <i>Grand Tour</i> exhibition at Tate Britain	<b>Goodwood House, Ballroom</b>  Small exhibition also curated	200
14 Jan 1997	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Wealden Nadfas, Kent	140-200
8 Feb 1997	<i>The Use of Documents in Discoveries about Architecture, Interiors, Paintings, Furniture and People at Goodwood House</i>	<b>West Sussex Record Office</b>	40
12 Mar 1997	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Windsor Nadfas	140-200
7 May 1997	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Petersfield Nadfas, Hants	140-200
14 Oct 1997	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>	<b>National Art Collections Fund, Worcester</b>	80
26 May 1998	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Haslemere Nadfas, Surrey	140-200
30 Nov 1998	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Winchester Nadfas, Hants	160-200
2 Feb 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Fittleworth Nadfas, W. Sussex	140-180

19 Feb 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Sarisbury Green Nadfas, Hants.	140-180
4 May 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Berkhamstead Nadfas, Herts.	140-180
6 May 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Beaconsfield Nadfas Bucks.	140-180
13 July 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Wimbledon Nadfas	140-200
15 July 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Windlesham Nadfas, Surrey	140-200
1 Sept 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Petersfield, Nadfas, Hants.	160-180
12 Oct 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Salisbury Nadfas, Wilts.	140-180
21 Oct 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	Ely Nadfas, Cambs.	140-180
4 Nov 1999	<i>The Glories of Goodwood</i>	Beckenham Nadfas, Kent	140-180
11 Nov 1999	<i>'Doing up the House': The Restoration of the Goodwood State Rooms</i>	<b>National Trust, Uppark, Sussex</b>	80
8 Sept 2000	<i>Glorious Goodwood: Homes of the Dukes of Richmond</i>	<b>Richmond Historical Society, N. Yorkshire</b>	120

Lecturing was reduced between 2000-2002 as it was too much travel time away from the full-time role at Goodwood; and researching *Mistress*.

15 Oct 2001	<i>The King's French Mistress: Louise de K�roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth</i>  Relevant to both books.	Goodwood House. Finale to <i>The Duchesses</i> exhibition about the Richmond ladies, curated by me at Goodwood that year.	200
23 Jan 2003	<i>Glorious Goodwood: Homes of the Dukes of Richmond (1)</i>	Richmond Nadfas, Surrey	140-180
30 Jan 2003	<i>Glorious Goodwood: Homes of the Dukes of Richmond (2)</i>	Richmond Nadfas, Surrey	140-180
8 Mar 2004	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>	<b>University of Southampton</b> , extra-mural dept.	100

15 Apr 2004	<i>Glorious Goodwood and Magnificent Melbury</i>  Included comparisons between portraits of related family at Melbury, which were hanging in the room. The prime version of Batoni's portrait of <i>Charles, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Richmond</i> was shown against the slide of the version hanging at Goodwood.	<b>Dorset Gardens Trust</b>  <b>Melbury House, Dorset</b>	120
28 Apr 2004	<i>Charles II: The Power and the Passion</i>  Prior to Nadfas visit to Goodwood: primarily about his mistresses, relating to a current TV programme.	Basingstoke Nadfas, Hants.	100
11 May 2004	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>  With some reference to the missing local Palladian Wanstead House	Bancrofts Nadfas, E. London	120-180
20 Sept 2004	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>	Ealing Nadfas, London	140-180
4 Nov 2004	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>	<b>Chilton Lecture, English Speaking Union, London W1</b>	120
3 Feb 2005	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>  With emphasis on Richmond House, London	Kensington & Chelsea Nadfas	120
16 May 2006	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>  With comparisons for building, collecting (especially Sèvres porcelain) and patronage for nearby Woburn Abbey (Duke of Bedford)	<b>Ampthill Historical Society, Beds.</b>	50
	Despite invitations, very few lectures were given on Goodwood 2009 - 22 as I did not want to tread on the territory of my successor as Curator (whom I had recruited).		
7 March 2022	<i>Goodwood: Art and Architecture for the Dukes of Richmond</i>	University of Winchester, course CL2008	12
7 May 2022	<i>Glorious Goodwood</i>	ReHab Charity, Alton	80

## 2. ABROAD

9 May 2000	<i>'Ducal Chic': Glorious Goodwood, Home of the Dukes of Richmond</i>	<b>Christie's Conference, Newport, Rhode Island, USA</b>  Plenary Introductory Lecture	120
5 Feb 2002 7 pm	<i>Glorious Goodwood, Home of the Dukes of Richmond</i>	<b>Boston, USA, Chilton Club</b>  <b>Boston tour</b>	100 approx.
6 Feb 2002 1.30 pm	<i>Glorious Goodwood, Home of the Dukes of Richmond</i>	<b>Boston, USA, Somerset Club</b>	120
6 Feb 2002 6 pm	<i>Caring for Collections: the Acquisition, Conservation and Preservation of the Great Art Treasures at Goodwood House.</i>	<b>Boston Athenaeum, USA, and SPNEA</b> <i>(Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities)</i> <i>(now Historic New England)</i> at Boston Public Library	120
7 Feb 2002 11am	<i>Glorious Goodwood, Home of the Dukes of Richmond</i>	<b>Boston Museum of Fine Arts, USA</b>	140
1 Sept 2006	<i>Glorious Goodwood: Art, Sport and Family at the Home of the Dukes of Richmond</i>	<b>Dublin, University of Maynooth Historic Houses Conference</b>	120
4 Oct 2008	<i>Le Rois d'Angleterre de Whitehall à St Germain-en-Laye;</i> avec l'histoire de Louise de Kéroualle, duchesse de Portsmouth et d'Aubigny	<b>Conference Publique organisée par l'Association Jacques II Stuart</b> Salle Multimedia, 16 rue de Pontoise, St Germain-en-Laye, <b>Paris</b>	100
11 Oct 2008	Speech about Louise de Kéroualle  For the opening of an exhibition at the Chateau d'Aubigny	<b>'Auld Alliance' Association, Aubigny-sur-Nère, France</b>	80