

Boughton and Beyond:

**An investigation of the local, national
and global estate interests and activities of
John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709 -1749**

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Abstract

Boughton and Beyond: An investigation of the local, national and global estate interests and activities of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709 -1749

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John, 2nd Duke of Montagu (1690-1749) was an eighteenth-century aristocrat who held public office and owned extensive estates scattered across England, with the ancestral seat centred at Boughton House, Northamptonshire. Many of his activities have escaped the historical record, overshadowed by an inordinate focus on his love of hoaxing and practical jokes together with his arboricultural interests. This thesis presents new material and reappraises his most significant activities and interests with a particular focus on those which had a socio-economic impact on his estates. It offers an analysis of his preoccupations as an absentee landlord through his communications with his estate stewards regarding managing, consolidating and even expanding these vast estates, including his efforts to obtain a Crown grant for the islands of St Lucia and St Vincent in 1722. Offering the first in-depth analysis of this colonial venture, this study reveals who was involved and how the venture was managed, and considers whether the source of its funding was from gains made from the South Sea Bubble. It also presents new findings on the impact of the Bubble on the Duke's estates, suggesting that he tackled the economic downturn by launching work creation schemes. In addition the Duke's campaign to restore seigneurial rights on his estates and to enforce his regional profile is explored. This found expression in his quest to develop his 'evidence room' and in estate architecture, interior decoration and the revival of folkloric ceremonies. Finally the thesis reassesses surviving material to gain a greater understanding of the Duke's overlooked military interests and how these impacted on his estates, ranging from the development of his armoury at Boughton, to raising regiments in the 45.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.	1
Acknowledgements.	2
Table of contents.	5- 7
Table of maps, figures and charts.	8 -10
Abbreviations.	11
Chapter one. John, 2 nd Duke of Montagu: a new appraisal of his preoccupations and activities impacted on his estates.	13
1.1 Background to this appraisal.	13
1.2 The rise in interest in global links to country-house estates.	16
1.3 The lack of a British economic-focus in historical interpretations of country-house estates.	21
1.4 Overview of 2nd Duke of Montagu's estate interests and activities.	23
1.5 Overview of existing literature on the 2nd Duke of Montagu and the development of his estates and properties.	29
1.6 Other literature on the economic interests and activities of the elite and their estates.	35
1.7 Sources consulted and research methodology.	43
1.8 Research questions, thesis style and summary of thesis chapters.	45

Chapter two. The impact of the South Sea Bubble on the Montagu Estates.	47
2.1 Introduction.	47
2.2 Dealing with debt.	48
2.3 Stock speculation.	55
2.4 Activity on the Montagu Estates in the post-Bubble period, 1720-24.	63
2.5 Enclosure of Geddington Chase.	71
2.6 Impact of the South Sea Bubble on the tenants.	74
2.7 Conclusion.	88
 Chapter three. The plan to colonise St Lucia and St Vincent.	 89
3.1 Gaining a grant for St Lucia.	89
3.2 Proprietary ownership.	92
3.3 Patriotic motivation.	97
3.4 Supporters, projectors and leaders.	101
3.5 Suitability of officers.	110
3.6 Financing the Expedition.	112
3.7 The Expedition force.	116
3.8 Estate recruits.	121
3.9 Skilled paid workers.	127
3.10 Free Blacks, 'Indians' and the Enslaved.	129
3.11 Conclusion.	132
 Chapter four. Revival of rights on the estates.	 133
4.1 Introduction.	133
4.2 The Duke of Montagu's initial interest in his rights.	134
4.3 Education and training of stewards on rights.	136
4.4 The Evidence Room and developing the archives.	138
4.5 Difficulties in reviving the estate rights.	142

4.6	Custom since time immemorial.	150
4.7	Industrial and commercial rights.	152
4.8	Architectural and interior design.	165
4.9	The Duke of Montagu's interest in ceremony and ritual.	175
4.10	The Wroth Silver ceremony.	181
4.11	Conclusion.	184
Chapter five. Military interests and impact on the estates.		186
5.1	Introduction to the Duke's military interests.	186
5.2	Development of the armoury.	190
5.3	1715 Jacobite rising.	192
5.4	St Lucia Expedition's military focus.	195
5.5	Military appointments after St Lucia.	197
5.6	The Highland Regiment mutiny.	202
5.7	Military links to the northern and southern estates.	207
5.8	Activities on the Northamptonshire estates 1744-46.	210
5.9	Final days and military reputation commemorated in death.	221
Chapter Six. Conclusion.		227
6.1	Overview of the importance of the new material presented in this thesis.	227
6.2	Significance of the South Sea Bubble discoveries.	228
6.3	Significance of St Lucia Expedition discoveries.	230
6.4	Overview of the importance of the revival of seigneurial rights.	233
6.5	Overview of the new discoveries relating to the Duke's military interests.	235
6.6	Overall conclusion.	237
Bibliography		239

Table of maps, figures and charts

Maps

Map 1.1	2 nd Duke of Montagu's residences, and places of interest to him, located in and around London.	26
Map 1.2	Main estates owned by John, 2 nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-1749.	27
Map 2.1	Estates inherited or purchased by the 2 nd Duke of Montagu which formed part of the Boughton collection rental.	51
Map 4.1	2 nd Duke of Montagu's control of Furness shoreline 1738.	158
Map 4.2	Boughton Park showing position of medieval moated manor site and pyramid mount.	173
Map 4.3	2 nd Duke of Montagu's regional influence across the South Midlands.	183

Figures

Figure 1.1	Boughton House.	15
Figure 1.2	John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, Godfrey Kneller, 1709.	15
Figure 1.3	Members of the Slave Trade Legacies group at Boughton House.	19
Figure 1.4	Montagu House, Bloomsbury, James Simon, <i>Britannia Illustrata</i> , c.1715.	25
Figure 1.5	View of the Thames with Montagu House, Whitehall, Samuel Scott, 1749.	25
Figure 2.1	Survey of Boughton Park and estate, 1715, John Booth and George Nunns.	67

Figure 2.2	‘Plan of the gardens, plantations etc. of Boughton in Northamptonshire’, Colen Campbell and Henry Hulsbergh, 1723.	68
Figure 2.3	Bridgeman’s bird’s eye view of Boughton Gardens c.1728.	69
Figure 2.4	William Brasier’s plan of Boughton Gardens, 1746.	70
Figure 3.1	Map of St Lucia c. 1723.	91
Figure 3.2	‘A draft of the Carenage Harbour of St Lucia’, January 1723.	92
Figure 3.3	Duke of Montagu’s annotated map of St Lucia, c.1723.	96
Figure 3.4	Close up of the Duke’s annotated map.	96
Figure 3.5	St George and the Dragon featured in the print layout of Uring’s published account.	99
Figure 3.6	William Wood’s signature in St Lucia Letter Book.	104
Figure 3.7	William Wood’s signature in a letter relating to the Mines Royal.	104
Figure 3.8	Notice to colonise St Lucia.	123
Figure 4.1	Peel Island, 1730s, Stephen Penn	154
Figure 4.2	South West Prospect of Thurston Water, Lancashire, Stephen Penn.	156
Figure 4.3	The N. East Prospect of the Country Thurston Water from Peelnears, Stephen Penn.	156
Figure 4.4	A plan of Weekley Hall Yard, n.d..	172
Figure 4.5	Clitheroe Castle, part of Steward’s House and Court House.	174
Figure 4.6	The Duke dressed as ‘The Great Master’ of the Order of the Bath with William, Duke of Cumberland, 1725.	176

Figure 4.7	List of ships chartered for the St Lucia expedition.	177
Figure 4.8	Square pyramid mount at Boughton.	179
Figure 4.9	Stukeley's plan of the 'rustic' summer house, 1748.	180
Figure 5.1	John, 2nd Duke of Montagu c. 1718, Michael Dahl.	189
Figure 5.2	Proposed fortifications in the Carenage Harbour, St Lucia.	196
Figure 5.3	2nd Duke of Montagu and family, c.1730s, William Hogarth.	200
Figure 5.4	John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, Master-General of the Ordnance, c. 1740.	201
Figure 5.5	L. F. Roubiliac, terracotta model for monument to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.	223
Figure 5.6	L. F. Roubiliac, wood and plaster model for monument to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.	224
Figure: 5.7	The 2nd Duke's monument prior to restoration.	225

Charts

Chart 2.1	Total annual value of Boughton collection rents.	73
Chart 2.2	Boughton Estate Arrears, 1720-1750.	82
Chart 4.1	An 'account of the neat cash returned to the Duke of Montagu', 1721-1750.	165
Chart 5.1	Number of instructions relating to building repairs and additions to property of Boughton tenants, 1739-1751.	218
Chart 5.2	Stable Expenses at Boughton House, Lady Day 1738 to Lady Day 1749.	220

Abbreviations

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council.
AoD	Assheton of Downham.
BEL	Beaulieu Estate Letters.
BHA	Boughton House Archive.
BHL	Boughton House Library.
BHO	British History Online.
BL	British Library.
BLHT	Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust.
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford University.
BRO	Barrow Record Office (Cumbria).
CDA	Collaborative Doctoral Award.
CBTP	Council of Board of Trade and Plantations.
CSPC	Calendar of State Papers, Colonial.
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
EAM	Estate Audit Minutes.
EH	English Heritage.
EICH	East India Company at Home 1757 to 1857.
EPSM	2 nd Duke's Estate Purchase and Sale Memorandum.
FoH	Folkes of Hillington (Norf.RO).
HP	Hardwick Papers (BL).
HMC	Historic Manuscripts Commission.
JBTP	Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations.
KRO	Kendal Record Office (Cumbria).
LRO	Lancashire Record Office.
MHA	Montagu House Accounts.
NEL	Northern Estate Letters.
Norf.RO	Norfolk Record Office.
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office.
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
SLLB	St Lucia Letter Book.

STL	Slave Trade Legacies.
TNA	The National Archives.
UNMD	University of Nottingham Manuscripts Department.
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum.
WRO	Warwickshire Record Office.
WEL	Warwickshire Estate Letters.

Introduction

John, 2nd Duke of Montagu: a new appraisal of how his preoccupations and activities impacted on his estates.

1.1 Background to this appraisal.

The traditional historical interpretation of country houses and their estates has depicted them ‘in one-dimensional fashion, as Arcadian retreats that were blissfully isolated from political intrigue and the grubby world of trade’.¹ However during the last decade there has been a groundswell of published academic research and public history projects that have challenged this orthodoxy. As a consequence these sites are no longer viewed as ‘objects of architectural and curatorial or artistic interest ... (but) also expressions of wealth, power and privilege’.² This thesis will contribute to that body of research by assessing the interests and activities of the eighteenth-century aristocrat, John, 2nd Duke of Montagu which were developed as a consequence of his wealth, power and privilege. He inherited the Montagu ancestral estates, concentrated around Boughton House near Kettering in Northamptonshire in 1709, together with other estates located across England which he held until his death in 1749. During his lifetime, after some initial early sales to settle debt, he was driven to purchase other estates to expand his portfolio.

Boughton is classed as ‘one of England’s greatest houses’³ and still described as the ‘English Versailles’ after Defoe’s 1724 description.⁴ Although the house remains ‘comparatively little known’⁵, it is highly esteemed among art historians and has a world renowned fine art collection of paintings, furniture, porcelain and tapestries.⁶ Interpretation on site and in the historical record has therefore not surprisingly tended to focus on discussion of this collection and the architecture. This thesis however moves away from the realms of the country-house historian’s requisite fine art and architectural focus and instead concentrates on unpicking to what extent the developments and

¹ S. Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* (Manchester, 2014), p.3.

² M. Dresser and A. Hann (eds), *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon, 2013), p.4.

³ T. Murdoch (ed.), *Boughton House: The English Versailles* (London, 1992), dust jacket, front interior.

⁴ D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 3 vols (London, 1725), ii, pp.131-2.

⁵ Murdoch (ed.), *English Versailles*, p.11.

⁶ Christie’s Education uses Boughton House as a training centre for their fine art programme.

activities that John, 2nd Duke of Montagu became involved with at Boughton and elsewhere were shaped by financial motivations as well as the consolidation of his elite status. It will also seek to demonstrate that events and developments at Boughton and on his other estates during his life time did not take place in Arcadian isolation but were impacted by his fluctuating financial fortunes, which were often determined by the performance of his other estates across England and his aspirations to expand his estates globally.

It should be noted that this thesis is the product of an Arts and Humanities Research Council, Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) and consequently the context in which it was shaped was not a traditional purely academic environment. It was hosted and also part-funded by the Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust (BLHT) at Boughton House which remains in the private ownership of Richard Montagu Douglas Scott, 10th Duke of Buccleuch and 12th Duke of Queensberry, a direct descendant of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu. Therefore the thesis was the product of both scholarly and practical interactions with BLHT and it also responded to their research priorities which identified from the outset that little detail was known about the Montagu family from the perspective of their economic activities other than fortuitous marriages. In particular, BLHT was aware that the Duke had been awarded the islands of St Lucia and St Vincent in 1722 by George I and that the attempt to set up a colony there had been a failure, but they knew nothing about the context of the award, how the expedition was organised and only sketchy details about participants. Similarly they knew little about the estate-management and organisation of the other Montagu estates in Warwickshire and Lancashire. The relationship with BLHT therefore enabled extensive purposeful research to be carried out on the family and estate archive at Boughton which held challenging amounts of uncatalogued material which had previously been virtually inaccessible to scholars. In addition it was necessary to undertake further research in county record offices across many regions in England, reflecting the dispersed nature of the Montagu estates.

Figure 1.1: Boughton House.



Source: © Buccleuch

Figure 1.2: John, 2nd Duke of Montagu by Godfrey Kneller, 1709, NPG 3129.



Source: © National Portrait Gallery, England.

Finally my own experience as a heritage practitioner and educator also played a role in shaping this thesis, as I had previously worked on a number of projects that particularly looked at the global history links to country houses. My involvement in both academic and community research projects that examined these links, which often contributed to the creation or refashioning of country houses, naturally made me keen to discover more about the global history links at Boughton and to identify the scale and significance of the St Lucia expedition. However my background as a local historian also led me to seek a broader, more holistic picture of the economic foundations of a country house like Boughton. This approach considered not only the impact from profit-driven global activities like colonial ventures but also examined the contribution to a country house's development from income-generating projects that were British-based. These may have taken place either within the locale of the country-house estate or on another of the owner's estates that may have been located in another region. The CDA therefore provided an opportunity to test out a research focus which considered how impact from activities on a global, national and local footing shaped the development of the property of an eighteenth-century aristocrat.

1.2 The rise in interest in global links to country-house estates.

Academic interest in country houses from an economic perspective in recent years has been preoccupied with the global links to country houses, and this has stemmed from an interest in recognition of their links to slavery. In 2001, Anthony Tibbles noted that despite a huge growth in the academic study of the transatlantic slave trade and transatlantic slavery during the last 40 years museums had been slower to respond and interpretation at country houses was missing.⁷ Arguably, the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in 2007 acted as a catalyst to address this. For example, academics collaborated with a wide network of museums and heritage organisations under the umbrella of *1807 Commemorated* which was developed by the Institute of Historical Research and the University of York. This initiative did focus on the slavery links to

⁷ A. Tibbles, 'Museums and the representation of slavery: politics, memorialisation and cultural tourism', paper presented at the International Congress of Maritime Museums, Curacao, October 2001, http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/resources/representation_slavery_curacao.aspx [accessed 2 June 2017].

specific sites. Yorkshire's eighteenth-century Harewood House, built by slave-owner Edwin Lascelles, was part of this network, but no other country houses were included.⁸

Since 2007, English Heritage (EH) has continued to take steps to ensure the global-economic links to country houses are recognised at appropriate properties. They commissioned Miranda Kaufman in 2007 to conduct a scoping exercise to establish which of their properties had 'significant or substantial connections with the history of British slave trading'. Significantly, this went beyond plantation ownership but flagged up 'proprietary links' and 'official posts' such as service with the Board of Trade and Plantations or colonial posts. It also recognised involvement in banking due to 'profits made from the slave trade' and ventures like the South Sea Company. Kaufman concluded that out of 33 properties surveyed, 'associations with trading, legal practice and slave estate profits ... permeates all of these properties' but none of the properties were 'built directly from slave-derived profits as ... Harewood'. Kaufman also stressed in this report that in most EH properties 'family wealth ... was based on British land (with the exception of the banking families) and its rental income.'⁹ More detailed research was then commissioned on Bolsover Castle, Brodsworth Hall, Northington Grange and Marble Hill. Browne's research on Marble Hill highlighted Henrietta Howard's investments in the South Sea Company and also the Mississippi Company which were both strongly connected to slavery.¹⁰ Some of the findings and responses from this research were drawn together in the 2013 publication of *Slavery and the British Country-House*.¹¹ However Kaufman's report has further ramifications. In 2017, Marble Hill continues to break new ground in historical interpretation with the development of a proposed narrative which links the house with owner Henrietta Howard's 'less direct links (though important ones still to recognise) to slavery e.g. materials, some investments [South Sea Company] and the kinds of items you would expect in a house ... coffee, tea, sugar.' The new interpretation scheme also extends to focussing on

⁸ See <https://www.york.ac.uk/1807commemorated> [accessed 24 May 2017] and <https://www.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated> [accessed 24 May 2017].

⁹ M. Kaufman, 'English Heritage properties 1600-1830 and slavery connections', unpublished internal English Heritage report (Oxford, 2007), pp.10-11.

¹⁰ L. Browne, 'The slavery connections to Marble Hill', unpublished English Heritage report (Manchester, 2010), pp.21-31.

¹¹ Dresser and Hann (eds), *British Country House*.

materials like tropical woods and other global materials used in the decorative scheme of the house which were transported from Africa, the Caribbean and beyond.¹²

Another important project which sprang from the post-bicentenary climate and which aimed ‘to put slavery back into British history’¹³ was University College London’s (UCL) *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* (LBS) project which launched in 2009.¹⁴ Its intention was to deliver widely-accessible digital resources and publish academic research on legacies created by compensation paid following the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act, highlighting some of the British country houses that were built or refashioned at this time. An extended project, *Structure and Significance of British Caribbean Slave-Ownership 1763-1833* was then launched by UCL in 2013 to trace these links further back into the eighteenth century and spanned the period 1763-1833 to particularly track ownership of estates prior to the abolition of slavery. It also highlighted the building of earlier British country houses by slave owners.¹⁵ The project was responsible for inspiring and informing the 2016 BAFTA award-winning BBC documentary *Britain’s Forgotten Slave Owners*.¹⁶ This demonstrates that LBS has greatly increased public understanding of how heritage sites like country-house estates have links to slavery and is arguably now making it *de rigeur* for a site’s historical interpretation to include references to slave-ownership by past owners or even the less obvious links, as in the case of Marble Hill.

Other projects have sought to challenge the concept that slavery during the long eighteenth-century was purely an overseas concern, carried on in the colonies and kept at a distance. The University of Nottingham’s 2012 project: *Historicising and reconnecting rural community: black presences and the legacies of slavery and colonialism in rural Britain* specifically mapped out signs of black presence in British country houses and rural communities in regional locations by using estate records, parish records or through legacies like black

¹² Personal communication, Megan Leyland, Senior Properties Historian, English Heritage [3 February 2017].

¹³ Catherine Hall’s biography found at www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/staff/ [accessed 20 May 2017].

¹⁴ www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs [accessed 20 May 2017].

¹⁵ C. Hall et al, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 2016).

¹⁶ *Britain’s Forgotten Slave Owners* [documentary], written by David Olusoga and directed by James Van Der Pool (BBC 2, 2015).

portraiture.¹⁷ This academic project hatched a community initiative: Slave Trade Legacies (STL) in 2014 which was co-designed and co-produced by Bright Ideas Nottingham and me.¹⁸ This Heritage Lottery project enabled members of the African-Caribbean community to hone critical thinking skills which would equip them with knowledge and empower them to find a voice to challenge institutions which managed heritage attractions like country houses that seemed reticent in offering interpretation associated with their links to slavery. For example, despite John Beckett highlighting a variety of imperial and colonial links to the former owners of Newstead Abbey in 2001, the STL pilot study on Newstead in 2014 exposed the ongoing lack of interpretation of these links. They ranged from a consideration of the naval careers of members of the Byron family and their role in the Caribbean, the Jamaican sugar plantations of slave-owner Wildman and the African interests of the Webbs.¹⁹ Their particular experience at Newstead has resulted in a subsequent University of Nottingham project, *Practising Reparative Histories in Rural Heritage Sites Histories*, which was launched in February 2017 to work with properties like Newstead on a new interpretation which aspires to address why this and other sites ‘suffer from a lack of diversity in the histories presented’.²⁰

Figure 1.3 Members of the Slave Trade Legacies group at Boughton House.

¹⁷ www.nottingham.ac.uk/isos/research/rural-legacies.aspx [accessed 6 July 2017].

¹⁸ www.slavetradelegacies.wordpress.com [accessed 20 June 2017].

¹⁹ J.V. Beckett and S. Aley, *Byron and Newstead: The Aristocrat and the Abbey* (Newark, USA, 2002).

²⁰ Project website still under construction, details on Research Council’s site: www.gtr.rcuk.ac.uk/projects?ref=AH%2FP009689%2F1 [accessed 9th July 2017].



Source: Helen Bates

These selected examples of projects which have primarily focussed on links to slavery demonstrate the gathering momentum to interpret global links to English country houses and other heritage sites. Other elements of colonial and imperial connections to country houses, as evidenced at Newstead Abbey, have perhaps been understandably overshadowed by the recent focus on slavery. However, the *East India Company at Home 1757 to 1857* (EICH) project sought to ‘examine the British country house in an imperial and global context’ and created a series of case studies of country houses which had both specific and non-specific links to the East India Company.²¹ Shugborough Hall was included because it represented ‘in very tangible form, a fascinating example of the British engagement with China during the eighteenth century’. The owner, Thomas Anson, had never travelled to China but his brother, Admiral George Anson had spent time in Canton in 1743 and the case study concluded that the collection of Chinese and Chinoiserie objects and influence within the house and the grounds sprang from this connection.²² This particular case study demonstrated just how the design and decoration of country houses and their landscapes could be influenced by the wider-global connections of other family members or associates even if the owner had never set foot outside Europe. The focus of global links to properties beyond that of transatlantic slavery was also redressed by another English Heritage publication, *The Country House. Material Culture and Consumption*. This included some of the EICH project’s research focussing on the wealth generated through Eastern trade and service which enabled the acquisition of country houses and estates along with the decorative enrichment of other British properties created through access to the goods of Eastern markets.²³ Furthermore an important bridge between the economic impact created through British trade and mercantile activity flowing in from both the East and the West has been created through the publication of Stephanie Barczewski’s *Country Houses and the British Empire 1700-1930* in 2014 which mapped much wider colonial links to country houses by noting the purchase of every landed estate in Britain built during this period by colonial merchants, Indian nabobs, West Indian Planters, military officers who served in the empire, royal and East India naval officers and East India Company directors.

²¹ www.blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/about [accessed 28 June 2017].

²² S MacDowall, ‘Shugborough. seat of the Earl of Lichfield’, *East India Company at Home* (April 2013), <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Shugborough-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf>, p.15 [accessed 24 May 2017].

²³ J. Stobart and A. Hann (eds), *The Country House. Material Culture and Consumption* (Swindon, 2016).

1.3 The lack of a British economic-focus in historical interpretations of country-house estates.

The historical interpretation of country houses from a global history perspective is now well advanced and continues to gather pace, although a great deal of work is still left to do.²⁴ My personal involvement in STL which assessed the absence of interpretation of colonial links at heritage sites like country houses also simultaneously highlighted that there was a distinct lack of the recognition of past owners' income-generating activities that took place in Britain. This further perpetuates the notion that country houses were indeed Arcadian retreats.

Kaufman was keen to stress that in many cases the economic foundations of the properties she surveyed for EH were simply 'based on British land (with the exception of the banking families) and its rental income.'²⁵ However this focus on land and estate rentals overlooks other modes of income generation that might have been derived from a property's immediate surrounding estate or from other estates located further afield. This income was not necessarily derived from renting land to tenants for agricultural purposes but could also be connected to leasing manorial and seigneurial mineral, quarrying, fishing and timber rights to others or by the estate steward directly managing operations like mining and quarrying for the owner and generating an income. Ironically these activities could also have global links. For example, it has been suggested that the impetus to expand iron ore mining in the eighteenth century was due to the need to increase iron bar production, which was led by a demand for metal wares across the Atlantic basin as iron goods and bar iron were traded for enslaved Africans.²⁶ Indeed, iron ore mined on the Duke of Montagu's Furness estates in the 1740s supplied local furnaces and forges like Backbarrow which produced 'guinea kettles' and other iron pots and pans which were thought to be sent to the 'West Indies'.²⁷

²⁴ For example, Art Historical approaches seem strangely resistant to this body of work. Conferences organised by the Paul Mellon Centre in 2016: *Animating the London Georgian Town House* (March 2016) and *Art in the British Country House. Collection and Display* (October 2016) did not include any papers which unpicked imperial and colonial links to sites.

²⁵ Kaufman, 'English Heritage properties and slavery', pp. 10-11.

²⁶ C. Ewans and G. Ryden (eds), *Baltic Iron in the Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 2007), p.38.

²⁷ A. Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District* (Ulverston, 1908), p.239.

The wide-spread exclusion or simplification of country-house owners' economic activities in on-site interpretations is also reflected in the academic literature on country houses. In 2000, Wilson and Mackley highlighted that this was a problem in both academic and popular 'studies of the country house' which were 'dominated by the stylistic and aesthetic concerns of architectural historians'. They therefore set out to initiate a discussion of 'the economic and social context of a remarkable creative phenomenon'.²⁸ Their investigation included a survey of the owners of sixteen English country-houses which represented a broad spectrum of the properties of elite society across the long eighteenth century. For each owner, they attempted to demonstrate where the wealth to build their house had come from, concluding that the properties were 'seldom built from landed rentals alone' although that source of income might account for some new builds or some extensions. They demonstrated that for some of 'the peerage and some larger landowners ... the rewards of office and the procurement of sinecures ... were of key significance' and they later enjoyed 'the benefits of industrial and urban development in the form of ground rents, mineral rights, and canal and railway company shares'. In addition there were also the houses of 'newcomers', who had gained their wealth from 'trade, finance, industry and the professions'.²⁹ They included in this group Lascelles's Harewood and Codrington's Dodington which were built from wealth generated by the profits of Caribbean plantations using enslaved labour. However they also focussed on the idea that British-based activities contributed to the building of country houses by using the example of Southill in Bedfordshire which was built by 'London's leading brewer' and Samuel Whitbread³⁰ and Sir James Ibbetson's Denton Hall which was 'raised upon two West Riding mercantile fortunes' linked to textiles.³¹ There were some omissions in their study, such as a full consideration of the role that income gained from mineral extraction may have played in creating country houses. So it might have been expected that *Creating Paradise* would have stimulated a wave of new studies focussing on the wider-economic interests of country-house owners either from a regional perspective or thematically in relation to how income was derived. However, nearly two decades after its publication, only that part of their work that addressed

²⁸ R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise. The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London, 2000), preface.

²⁹ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.346.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.324.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.346.

country houses' links to slavery has established itself. Unfortunately the absence of references to *Creating Paradise* in the academic work published by EH or LBS suggests that their work mainly went unnoticed in circles beyond country-house historians.

1.4 Overview of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu's estate interests and activities.

The thesis was originally planned to have a purely Northamptonshire focus and specifically aimed to study the interaction between the different owners of Boughton House and those living on the immediate estate during the long-eighteenth century. A global and indeed a national perspective was certainly not envisaged and the aim was to improve understanding of the local history of the estate across this period. However initial archival scoping revealed that there was little documentary evidence to suggest that all the owners of Boughton House across the long eighteenth-century had engaged in detailed personal interaction with the estate. In contrast there was a reasonable survival of material relating to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu who was duke from the age of nineteen in 1709 until his death in 1749. This material provided some evidence of his micro-management of the Boughton estate and personal direction of household matters. It also included some estate correspondence which contained information pertaining to architectural, landscape, decorative and household management. In addition surviving estate audits providing instructions for what work had to be carried out on the estates were signed off by Duke John and occasionally amended by him.³²

For the duration of his life and during the rest of the long-eighteenth century, the surviving stewards' correspondence between Boughton and the head steward in London which would have informed the original research question was very patchy and non-existent for certain decades. Furthermore legal disputes and animosity between Duke John's two daughters who inherited the Boughton estate after his death in 1749 are believed to have led to a period of stagnation at Boughton, as Trustees controlled the estate.³³ As neither daughter produced a surviving male heir, in 1790 the estate eventually passed to Duke John's only grand-daughter Elizabeth who had married Henry

³² Estate audits, Boughton House Archive (BHA).

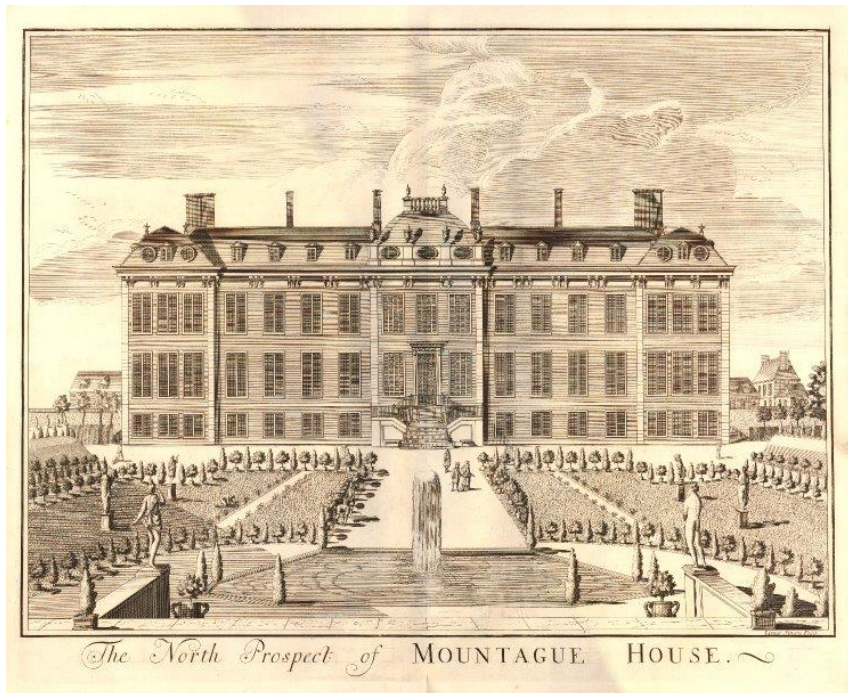
³³ J. Cornforth, 'Impressions and people' in Murdoch (ed), *English Versailles*, p.28.

Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, ‘Scotland’s greatest landowner’.³⁴ As the Buccleuchs already owned numerous properties and spent time in Scotland, Boughton was effectively absorbed into this portfolio and personal interaction with the estate as had been exercised by Duke John further diminished.

Although Boughton was considered the ancestral seat, Duke John spent little time there. He appeared to favour other properties and spent considerable time at Montagu House, London. He resided first in the lavish house his father had built in Bloomsbury and then in 1733 he moved into a new, more compact Thames-side property in Whitehall, built specifically for his needs. His move across London enabled him to develop his court and political interests and to become the neighbour of his close friends, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Pembroke. From here he could also make frequent visits to his country houses at Ditton and to semi-rural Blackheath and he used the Thames as a useful conduit between Whitehall and his two favoured estates. These three properties generated little or no income to maintain and develop them and his metropolitan lifestyle was funded by his other estates whose stewards returned their estate profits to the head steward’s office at Montagu House.

³⁴ A. Murdoch, ‘Scott, Henry, third duke of Buccleuch and fifth duke of Queensberry, 1746-1812’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) (Oxford, 2004), online edn 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24875> [accessed online 2 June 2017].

Figure 1.4: Montagu House, Bloomsbury by James Simon, *Britannia Illustrata*, c.1715



Source: © British Museum

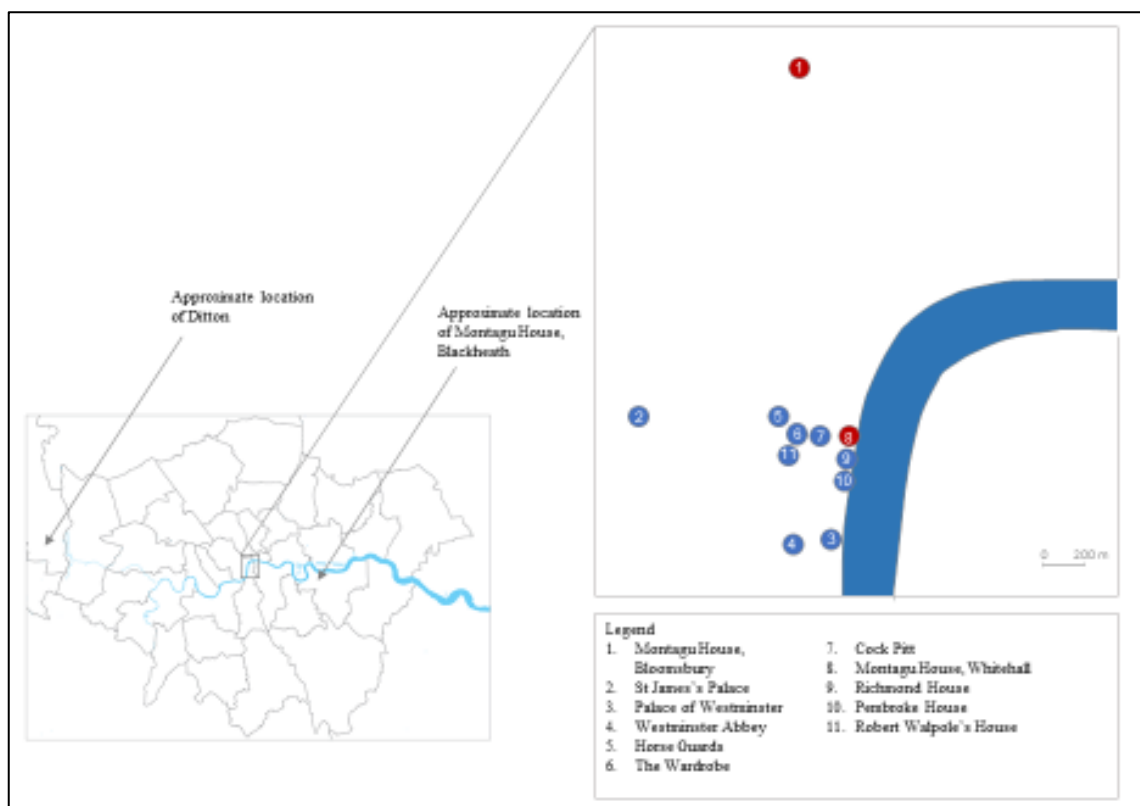
Figure 1.5: View of the Thames with Montagu House, Whitehall
by Samuel Scott, 1749.



Source: © British Museum

In addition he had a Hampshire coastal estate at Beaulieu which was initially unproductive and a drain on his resources.³⁵ In the early part of the dukedom, the major part of his income was derived from his estate rentals on his Northamptonshire estates which were centred at Boughton and at Barnwell. He also had an estate in Warwickshire which he had inherited from his mother. This estate was used to raise mortgages to help his finances and he also pursued a programme of enclosure on parts of it.

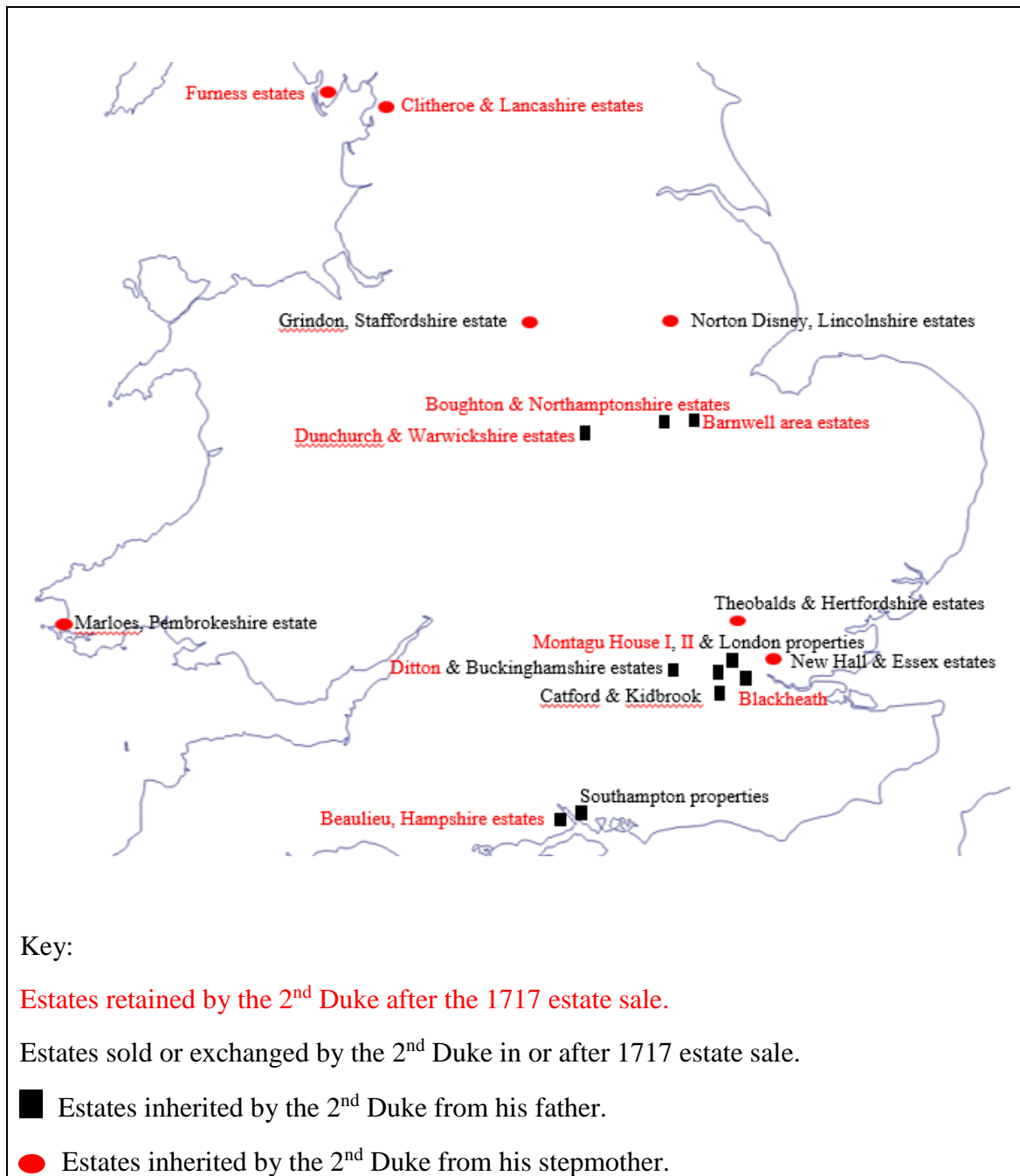
Map 1.1: Duke of Montagu's residences, and places of interest to him, located in and around London.



Source: John Rocque, *Survey of London, Westminster & Southwark*, London, 1746, and Montagu estate maps, (BHA).

³⁵ See chapter 2, p.64.

Map 1.2: Main estates owned by John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-1749.



Source: 2nd Duke's Estate Purchase and Sale Memorandum (EPSM), BHA.

In keeping with the global themes of the projects outlined earlier in this chapter, Duke John had colonial aspirations. The most significant example of this was his award by George I in 1722 of the proprietorial ownership of Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent in the Caribbean. Although his plan to establish a colony there to develop new territories to boost the British sugar trade and limit French expansion in the region was an abject failure, he continued to press for other territory in the Caribbean as compensation. He sought to establish himself in these territories not as a plot-holding plantation owner but as master-proprietor of the whole territory, enjoying crown derived-rights that were on a par with those he held on many of his English estates giving him seigneurial control and financial rewards. He also pursued British-based initiatives which included mineral-prospecting for hematite and lead on his northern estates together with the encouragement of port development on his coastal estates located in Furness and Beaulieu. At the latter, he advanced his ideas for building a new quay and planning a town to attract merchants. Both maritime initiatives complemented his ambitions in the Caribbean as well as serving the British coastal trade. After he inherited estates from his father's widow in the mid-1730s, his northern estates generated considerable additional income for him through profits derived from iron ore mining and seigneurial dues. The evidence for the wide range of Duke John's economic interests which reflected both a global and a British perspective was therefore a deciding factor in selecting the period of his dukedom as the focus of the thesis. Furthermore there was a wide range of documentary evidence relating to these activities which survived in the Boughton archive and other record offices and depositories across Britain which had not been drawn together and compared before.

1.5 Overview of existing literature on the 2nd Duke of Montagu and the development of the Montagu estates and properties.

A thorough investigation of the life of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu and his wider activities has never been carried out and this thesis will in part address this. The wide dispersal of archival material may be one factor; another is the fact that the Buccleuch archive at Boughton House, which holds much of the relevant material, has until recently been mainly uncatalogued and effectively closed to most scholars. The previous lack of academic interest in his ventures may also have been a consequence of the well-documented remarks that Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough made about her son-in-law:

All of his talents lie in things only natural in boys of fifteen years old and he is two and fifty: to get people into his garden and wet them with squirts, and to invite people to his country-houses and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty such pretty fancies as these ... He has a great estate, and is Master of the Grand Wardrobe, part of my daughter's portion which I got him for life, and I was assured by a very understanding man he would farm of him and give him £8,000 a year. He is not a man that has any demand on account of services done by sea or land.³⁶

It is a challenge to find any material written about Duke John that does not include this reference to his character and which treats it as an acceptable summary of his qualities. Sarah Churchill's acid remarks may have discouraged a deeper analysis of his activities as they have created the impression that during his life time he achieved very little. In contrast his father, Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu's life has been explored in two biographical monographs.³⁷ Most accounts of him reflect Sarah Churchill's summary to some degree. He was described as a 'buffoon' like practical joker in 1894.³⁸ Bernard Falk described him in 1947 as 'a regular card' and indeed 'a very odd fellow.'³⁹ More recently, the ODNB described him in 2004 as 'whimsical', 'puckish' and 'eccentric'.⁴⁰ Simon Dickie described him in 2011 as 'the consummate hoaxer of the age' with yet

³⁶B. Falk, *The Way of the Montagues. A Gallery of Family Portraits* (London, 1947), p. 269.

³⁷ E. Metzger, *Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu, 1639-1709* (New York, 1987) and S. Hicks, *Ralph, First Duke of Montagu, 1639-1709* (Fairford, 2015).

³⁸ H.M. Chichester, 'John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1688-1749', *Dictionary of National Biography*, 38(Oxford, 1894).

³⁹ Falk, *Way of the Montagues*, p.264.

⁴⁰ E. C. Metzger, 'Montagu, John, second duke of Montagu (1690-1749)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), online edn. 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19025> [accessed 25 June 2017].

more emphasis on his practical jokes.⁴¹ In addition to the image of Duke John as a joker, there is also the portrayal of him as a tree enthusiast, and hence any incentive to discover the wider activities of the 2nd Duke of Montagu has not been encouraged by the description of him as dull 'Planter John'.⁴² The nickname stems from the recognition of the impressive arboreal vistas that he commissioned on the Boughton estate which have left a lasting legacy on the landscape, but also influenced how he has been viewed by later generations of historians. Wake dismissively suggests, 'John the Planter, as he was nicknamed by his descendants, did not attain any outstanding prominence in public affairs, but was a favourite at court.'⁴³

In their writings, William Stukeley and Horace Walpole detailed other aspects of the Duke's quirkiness including his love of animals. This is supported by evidence in the Boughton archive which demonstrates the care he gave to dogs, horses and even a lion.⁴⁴ Stukeley recalled in dramatic detail how his friend turned away in horror when he saw a lamb being slaughtered on one of their journeys through the Boughton estate.⁴⁵ Walpole told the humorous story of the Duke's pet cat sitting on his lap whilst he set out his will and telling the creature that it was a beneficiary.⁴⁶ The Duke's generosity also extended to humans and Walpole reported how 'the Duke gave away in pensions no less than £2,700 out of a total income of £17,000'.⁴⁷ There is evidence to confirm that annuities were paid to widows and retired servants in the Montagu estate accounts together with provision for the education of poor children. However not all the estate accounts survive and some of the Duke's personal accounts are missing; further research is still necessary to establish to what extent this statement was true.⁴⁸ The Duke has also been traditionally

⁴¹ S. Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, 2011), p.150.

⁴² The precise origin for the term 'John the Planter' is currently unknown and is thought to have passed down in the oral tradition. It was suggested that the term stemmed from the Duke's 'peculiar taste' in planting the avenues. *Illustrated London News*, Saturday 16 November, 1844, p.7.

⁴³ J. Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (London, 1953), p.230.

⁴⁴ The estate accounts detail substantial payments made for dog meat and stable expenses including for lame horses who participated in the 1745 campaign against the Jacobite army (see chapter five, p.223). The Duke gave specific instructions for the care of his blind, toothless lion, 'Duke of Montagu's Orders, September 1744 and September 1745, BHA.

⁴⁵ Journal of William Stukeley, 14 September 1747, Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc. e. 126, f.68v.

⁴⁶ N.K (ed.), *Letters from the Hon. Horace Walpole to George Montagu, Esq. from the Year 1736, to the Year 1770* (London, 1818), p.65.

⁴⁷ Wright (ed.), *Walpole*, p.39.

⁴⁸ A small number of annuities, pensions and regular charitable donations are listed in the estate accounts for Montagu House and the Boughton estate under the headings 'Annual outgoings certain'. The Duke's

linked to the foundation of the Foundling Hospital although his act of kindness in offering the Hospital, Montagu House in Bloomsbury, has been interpreted by Gillian Wagner as being less philanthropic than has traditionally been thought and rather intended as a means to solve his financial problems by offloading the burden of a huge repair bill from himself to the Hospital's Governors.⁴⁹ The recent discovery of documents in the NRO demonstrates that even if this was true, the fact the house was entailed meant 'that the intended alterations necessary to make Montagu House fit for an hospital, cannot be made or permitted' and so the plan was abandoned.⁵⁰

Another aspect of his character which makes him stand out as unusual is his unique place in relation to the history of Black Britain.⁵¹ His patronage of Black people like Ignatius Sancho is often noted.⁵² Ophelia Field noted that he 'held radical views about educating African slaves'.⁵³ Likewise his associations with various learned societies and other institutions such as the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Egyptian Society and even the Freemasons demonstrate different sides to his character but they have also kept the focus away from his role in public office. His role and influence at court or in government throughout his life as Master of the Great Wardrobe or from 1740 as Master-General of the Ordnance, have never been discussed. Therefore in summary, the publication and continued reprinting of the remarks and anecdotes by Churchill, Walpole, and Stukeley and the Duke's connections with Black history have perhaps all helped reinforce the idea that the Duke's activities and interests were out of step with those of his contemporaries and were primarily focussed on philanthropy and benevolence. This may explain why attention has been steered away from his public role and his management of his estates.

Some of the inventories of the Montagu households relating to the time of the Duke have been published.⁵⁴ In addition a specific inventory related to the contents of the Duke's

benevolence is currently being investigated by another CDA project at Boughton as part of a wider study of the Buccleuch family's reputation for charitable giving.

⁴⁹ G. Wagner, *Thomas Coram, Gent. 1668-1751*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.136-37.

⁵⁰ Foundling Hospital legal statement, BHA.

⁵¹ It is intended to publish a separate article on Black presence in the Montagu household.

⁵² J. Jeckyll (ed.), *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African To which are Prefixed Memoirs of his Life*, 2 vols (London, 1782), ii, p.vii.

⁵³ O. Field, *The Kit-Cat Club: Friends Who Imagined a Nation* (London, 2009), p.226.

⁵⁴ T. Murdoch, (ed.), *Noble Households. Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses A Tribute to John Cornforth* (New York, 2006).

wardrobe has also been analysed.⁵⁵ However the focus on these ‘wares’ tends towards a reinforcement of Wilson and Mackley’s concern that the focus on elite properties and their contents reduces their significance to simply ‘stylistic and aesthetic concerns’.⁵⁶ Therefore the recent publication of some of the Boughton estate letters surviving from Duke John’s lifetime has been a significant step forward in developing a new understanding of his management of the estate.⁵⁷ This was long overdue, as an exploration of some of the key records relating to the Beaulieu estate were published in 1973.⁵⁸ In addition in 1971, the publication of the steward letters for the Cardigan estate of Deene Park which borders Boughton provided the opportunity to explore some of the issues that may have affected Boughton.⁵⁹ However there are considerable gaps in the transcribed Boughton estate letters including the final decade of the Duke’s life, so it is difficult to fully understand activities on the estate throughout the entire period of his dukedom. This reflects the poor survival rate of the estate correspondence which has previously been discussed. The letters however particularly offer an overview of the concerns on the estate during the 1720s and reflect the Duke’s multiple interests and ventures that he was pursuing. The lack of earlier letters makes it difficult to judge exactly how the Duke coped with issues such as the debt that his father had left him, which eventually led to him obtaining an Act of Parliament in 1717 to sell off some of his estates. Some useful explanatory analysis is offered by the editors to help the reader through the maze of material but the book does not have the scope to place these letters in the full context of the Duke’s personal life, his wider estates or to consider how his interests reflected the national context.

Other previously published material on Duke John’s life is mainly associated with what has been written about the development of Boughton House in relation to the collection, decorative schemes, architecture and the landscape. The refashioning of Boughton House is strongly associated with his father, Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu which may also have meant that John’s life tends to be overshadowed by that of his father. John

⁵⁵ S. Llewellyn, ‘A list of ye Wardrobe 1749: The Dress inventory of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu’, *Costume*, 29:1 (1995), pp.40-54.

⁵⁶ Wilson and Mackley, *Paradise*, preface.

⁵⁷ P.H. McKay and D.N. Hall (eds), *Estate Letters from the time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu 1709-1739* (Northampton, 2013).

⁵⁸ H.E.R. Widnell, *The Beaulieu Record* (Beaulieu, 1973).

⁵⁹ J. Wake and D.C. Webster, *The Letters of Daniel Eaton to the Third Earl of Cardigan 1725-1732* (Kettering, 1971).

Cornforth, writing in *Boughton House. The English Versailles*, accepts that the 2nd Duke 'has always received less than his due'. He outlines his architectural and design developments in the house and acknowledges that he was 'a most intriguing and sympathetic figure' with a 'surprising number of sides to his life, not all of which come out at Boughton'.⁶⁰ He does set out his military, heraldic and genealogical interests which are reflected at Boughton and played a role in the development of its decoration including the introduction of an armoury. However, as the work focusses on the art history of Boughton, it is not surprising that there are few references to any of the economic activities that can be attributed to Duke John. For example, there is no recognition or discussion of the contribution to his income that the other estates made including the c. £2000 pa that was generated from the Lancashire estates. This income strengthened his financial position during the last fifteen years of his life. Rather than profits made on the Northamptonshire estates being redeployed to London to maintain Duke John's townhouse and his satellite properties like Ditton and Blackheath, the receipt of the Lancashire income enabled the Northamptonshire profits sometimes to be ploughed back into the estates and spent on refashioning Boughton.⁶¹

We learn more about Duke John from Boughton's recent publication: *Boughton. The House, Its People and Its Collections* which comprises a detailed history of the house and contents extending to some 232 pages with extensive colour photography of many of the rooms and highlights of the collection. The detail reflects the research environment that is nurtured at Boughton and demonstrates the continual interaction between academic and independent scholars, encouraged and supported by the tenth duke and the Buccleuch archivist, Crispin Powell. For example, although the guidebook covers the familiar territory of Duke John's portrayal as wit, hoaxer and Planter it also emphasises his understanding of artillery and firearms and defines his work at the Ordnance as challenging. This begins to sow the seed for further thought on the wider context of historical events that Duke John may have been involved in.⁶² This insight stems from the detailed research that has been carried out on the Boughton armoury collection and the wider military interests of Duke John by Paul Wilcock who also acts as honorary

⁶⁰ Cornforth, 'Impressions' in Murdoch (ed.), *English Versailles*, p.23.

⁶¹ See chapter four, p.165

⁶² R. Montagu Douglas Scott, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry and J. Montagu Douglas Scott, *Boughton. The House, Its People and Its Collections* (Hawick, 2016), pp.26-9.

historical consultant to the Royal Armouries.⁶³ There is no specific mention of the Duke's wider economic activities, however, apart from the St Lucia venture which is described as 'ambitious', and the port development at Beaulieu which is rightly connected to his hope 'to reap the benefits of a burgeoning transatlantic trade'.⁶⁴ There is also no discussion of Duke John's insistence upon his seigneurial rights in Northamptonshire and beyond, which were attached to possessions such as the Honor of Gloucester, which he obsessively strove to revive and secure. This obsession with reviving feudal-rights may have found conscious expression in certain decorative heraldic-themed schemes in the house which are explained as having evolved simply from his 'love of antiquarianism ... to which the heraldic decoration and recycling of old architectural features all through Boughton stand in his testimony'.⁶⁵ This demonstrates that researching and analysing the financially-motivated interests and activities of Duke John can assist with new interpretations of a prominent decorative feature at Boughton and ultimately provide a key to unlock the 'complexity' of the building and offer fresh interpretations which could solve 'the puzzle of its identity and purpose'.⁶⁶

Andrew Hanham's recent work on Duke John's interest in the revival of the Order of Bath has challenged the familiar whimsical interpretations of the Duke's character.⁶⁷ The Duke's interest in the Order has traditionally been explained as part of his 'passionate interest' in genealogy and therefore his involvement is seen as shaped purely by his eclectic interests.⁶⁸ However Hanham's research has revealed that his interest in the revival transcended this and that he was motivated by the prospect of being able to 'exploit the role financially', viewing it as 'a personal fiefdom that could bring him as much as £16,000 in fees from the order's founder knights.' Hanham also suggests that the scheme was concocted by the Duke and presented to Walpole as a means of retrieving some of the money that he had lost during his failed St Lucia venture, hence showing that the motivation behind the scheme was also linked to the Duke's failed colonial ambitions.⁶⁹ Hanham's interpretation of the Duke's involvement in the revival of the

⁶³ For further information on Paul Wilcock's research on Boughton see chapter five, pp.187-8.

⁶⁴ Buccleuch, *Boughton. The House*, p.26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.29.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁶⁷ A. Hanham, 'The politics of chivalry: Sir Robert Walpole, the Duke of Montagu and the Order of the Bath', *Parliamentary History*, 35,3 (2016), pp.262-97.

⁶⁸ N. Barker, 'Books and manuscripts', in Murdoch, (ed.), *English Versailles*, p.171.

⁶⁹ Hanham, 'Politics of chivalry', pp.277-78.

Order of Bath is significant because it demonstrates that there is scope in offering new interpretations of these seemingly eclectic activities and interests of Duke John and shedding new light on them from a financial perspective. In line with Hanham's approach, it is also worth noting that Huw Bowen's study of aristocratic enterprise also briefly picked up on some of the projecting schemes of the Duke. However this did not lead to further exploration from other historians which could be due simply to his misidentification of the Duke.⁷⁰

1.6: Other literature on the economic interests and activities of the elite and their estates.

As previously discussed, there has been a groundswell in research that has focussed on analysing the money-making global links to country-house estates. Similar projects analysing the links of these properties to the financial activities of their owners that originate in Britain are less apparent. In contrast there has been substantial academic interest in the subject of estate improvements on eighteenth-century landed estates where aristocrats focussed on enhancing the value of their land through enclosure and the championing of new agricultural techniques.⁷¹ Indeed, the original intention of this thesis was to follow this well-trodden path and to carry out a specific investigation of how the owners of Boughton conducted estate improvements, and what impact this had on the estate and those living on it. However in the estate letters that do survive, discussion of agricultural improvements is relatively fleeting and the emphasis on improvement from the Duke's point of view is firmly focussed on improving seigneurial and manorial rights. Naturally there is evidence for some strands of encouraging improvements associated with the use and management of land, and one wonders whether, if a complete run of estate letters through his dukedom existed, it would provide a more balanced approach. He is after all chiefly remembered as 'John the planter' and his library provides evidence of works reflecting an interest in agriculture and horticulture.⁷² When the African, Ayuba

⁷⁰ He may have confused him with his contemporary, John Montagu, 3rd Earl of Sandwich. H.V. Bowen, *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688-1775* (Houndmills, 1996), p.54.

⁷¹ A summary of the general background to 'Revolutions in agriculture' is provided in T. Williamson, *The Transformation of Rural England. Farming and the Landscape 1700-1870* (Exeter, 2002), pp.1-27. A summary of the role of the aristocracy in this movement is provided in J.V. Beckett, 'The aristocracy and the agricultural revolution' in *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), pp.157-205.

⁷²For example: J. Laurence, *A New System of Agriculture* (London, 1726) and S. Switzer, *The Practical Husbandman or Planter* (London, 1734).

Diallo came to Britain after his return from slavery, it was reported that the Duke of Montagu took him:

Into the Country with him, and shew him the Tools that are necessary for Tilling the Ground, both in Gardens and Fields, and made his Servants shew him how to use them; and afterwards his Grace furnished Job with all Sorts of such Instruments.⁷³

There is evidence to suggest that the Duke personally gave instructions for experiments in growing woad on his enclosed Newton estate in Northamptonshire and a John Cook was dispatched from the Warwickshire estate to experiment with growing flax on the salt marshes at Beaulieu in the 1720s with the hope that if it lay ‘Sound & Dry it cannot miss’.⁷⁴ By the late 1730s, the new chief steward, Norfolk-bred William Folkes, was recommending planting turnips for crop rotation and a lime kiln for the tenants ‘to burn their own lime’ at Beaulieu.⁷⁵ Other technological advances that have been detected include the introduction of a ‘dung pump’ at Boughton.⁷⁶

The subject of enclosure on the Montagu and later Buccleuch estates has already attracted the interest of scholars. Detailed work has been undertaken mapping out the extent and pattern of the Montagu Northamptonshire enclosures which concluded that the family did not have ‘an enclosure ethos’ and that each estate ‘adapted to changes in agricultural practice place-by-place’.⁷⁷ The Duke’s only foray into enclosure in Northamptonshire was his 1722 attempt to enclose Geddington Chase. Bruce Bellamy in his study of the Chase speculated that his main motivation was his plan to re-landscape Boughton Park and could only ‘make assumptions’ as to why the enclosure failed at that time.⁷⁸ Tom Williamson, highlighting the significance of the enclosure, suggested that most enclosures focussed on ‘nucleated villages surrounded by arable open fields, and with only small areas of common meadow and pasture’, and that the attempted enclosure of

⁷³ T. Bluett, *Some Memoirs of Job, Son of Solomon, High Priest of Boonda, Africa* (London, 1736), p.32.

⁷⁴ Mackay and Hall, *Estate Letters*, p.112. Thirsk noted how woad cultivation was encouraged by the Duke’s aristocrat contemporaries, J. Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture. A History from the Black Death to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1997), p.88. Jonathan Worcester (Worcester) to Montagu, 30 April 1721, Warwickshire Estate Letters (WEL), BHA.

⁷⁵ William Folkes (Folkes) to Montagu, 8 July 1738, Northern Estate Letters (NEL), BHA.

⁷⁶ Payments uncertain, estate accounts, M to LD 1746, BHA, 17 December 1745.

⁷⁷ T. Partida, D. Hall, G. Foard, *An Atlas of Northamptonshire: The Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape* (Oxford, 2013), pp.53-5.

⁷⁸ B. Bellamy, *Geddington Chase. The History of a Wood* (Irthlingborough, 1986), pp.45-8.

the Chase was one of the ‘exceptions’ in this period.⁷⁹ Jeanette Neeson noted the Duke’s despairing view of the ‘wood stealers’ who plagued Geddington Chase, suggesting that the enclosure was less focussed on re-landscaping Boughton Park as speculated by Bellamy but more on protecting the precious resource of timber and wood as a commodity.⁸⁰ Alex Marshall’s unpublished dissertation on the Duke’s tree ‘planter’ activities on the Boughton estate and study of timber sales also demonstrated that his planting schemes were driven by factors beyond the purely aesthetic.⁸¹ However there appears to have been little focus on the completed enclosures at Dunchurch and Toft on the Warwickshire estates which his father commenced in 1708 and the neighbouring Thurlaston enclosure which he undertook between 1728-30.⁸²

In contrast, it seemed essential to include in this thesis the unexpected discovery of the Duke’s drive to revive his rights associated with seigneurial ownership such as the Honor of Gloucester. This gave him the rights as a type of over-lord across large swathes of territory where he ‘owned not a yard of land’.⁸³ The right to assert his ownership seems to have been neglected by previous generations of the family, and the Duke’s campaign to re-establish these hereditary rights appears to have been relatively costly and time consuming. Mackay and Hall included some of the estate letters related to the revival of these rights and noted that the Duke’s ‘motives for doing so’ were unclear given the cost involved.⁸⁴ The amount of surviving archival material relating to the campaign was unexpected and could not be ignored. It has been difficult to find comparative secondary material on a British aristocrat’s seigneurial rights. What is published from the British perspective understandably tends to have a medieval focus, which creates the impression that by the eighteenth century these feudal rights were completely defunct due to the abolition of feudal servitude.⁸⁵ In contrast there has been particular focus on

⁷⁹ T. Williams, *The Transformation of Rural England: Farming and the Landscape 1700-1770* (Exeter, 2002), p.47.

⁸⁰ J. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993), p.161.

⁸¹ A. Marshall, ‘The Psyche of the Landowner and the Development of the Country House Estate: An Examination of the Woodland and Avenues at Boughton House, 1700-1750’, MA dissertation (University of Leicester, 2014).

⁸² An Act for confirming several awards for Inclosing and dividing the common fields and common grounds in Dunchurch, Toft and Thurlaston in the County of Warwick, BHA.

⁸³ Sir Edward Boughton’s case (Long Lawford), n.d., Warwickshire Record Office (WRO), Boughton-Leigh MSS, CR 162/9.

⁸⁴ Mackay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p. 269.

⁸⁵ A recent summary of the decline of feudal servitude in England see M. Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England: From Bondage to Freedom* (Woodbridge, 2014).

seigneurialism in eighteenth-century France (where servitude survived) due to the recognition that reaction against seigneurial rights was a root cause of the Revolution.⁸⁶ From 1627, the French colonies were also set up under a seigneurial system (with similarities to the Duke's proprietary ownership that was envisaged for St Lucia), which also continues to be explored by scholars.⁸⁷ The only work discovered so far which offers a useful comparative study on the 2nd Duke of Montagu's interests is Joanna Martin's 1979 work on the Duke of Beaufort's assertion of his rights in the Seignury of Gower from the 1720s to the 1740s during the rise of coal and iron ore mining.⁸⁸ John Davies' work on the Marquis of Bute and Cardiff and particularly the 'mineral estate' offers some useful comparisons but it focusses on a later period.⁸⁹ Due to the growth in demand for raw materials like metals and coal caused by the onset of the Industrial Revolution, it is surprising that seigneurial disputes have not been picked up more often in studies on aristocratic interest in industrial developments.

In contrast there is a considerable body of work on the subject of general elite interest in promoting improvements on their estates either by the development of extraction industries such as mineral mining or transport and infrastructure such as port, canal and later railway building. However there is less focus on the economic activities of elites during the first half of the eighteenth century when the 2nd Duke of Montagu was alive. Most work tends to focus on aristocratic interactions with industrial and commercial ventures during the later eighteenth century and nineteenth century when the Industrial Revolution is traditionally seen as starting to gather pace. There is not sufficient scope here to detail all this work but it includes Hugh Malet's influential study of the 'canal duke' Bridgewater,⁹⁰ Graham Mee's work on the Fitzwilliams' coal mines,⁹¹ Trevor Raybould's extensive work on developments on Lord Dudley's estates,⁹² Eric Richards

⁸⁶ For a recent summary of the role played by anti-seigneurialism in the French Revolution, see: P. McPhee, 'A social revolution. Rethinking popular insurrection in 1789', in D. Andress (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 2015), pp.164-79.

⁸⁷ For a recent explanation of the French colonial seigneurial system, see: A. J. Njoh, *French Urbanism in Foreign Lands* (New York, 2015), pp.37-8.

⁸⁸ J. Martin, 'Private enterprise versus manorial rights: mineral property disputes in eighteenth-century Glamorgan', *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978), pp.155-75.

⁸⁹ J. Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute* (Cardiff, 1981).

⁹⁰ H. Malet, *Bridgewater, the Canal Duke 1736 -1803* (Manchester, 1977).

⁹¹ G. Mee, *Aristocratic Empire: the Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings, 1795-1857* (Glasgow, 1975).

⁹² For example, T. J. Raybould, 'The development and organization of Lord Dudley's mineral estates, 1774-1845', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 21 (1968), pp. 529-44 looks at regional and national developments.

and J. R. Wordie's⁹³ separate work on the Leveson-Gower estates and Lindsey Porter's study of the Duke of Devonshire's copper mines.⁹⁴ In addition there is David Cannadine's extensive work on the aristocracy and John Towers Ward and Richard Wilson's study on the landed estate and industry. However all focus on a later period to that under investigation in this thesis.⁹⁵

Detailed published case studies of elite involvement in industrial and entrepreneurial activities during the first half of the eighteenth century are scarce. There are some exceptions to this. Peter Dickson and John Beckett's analysis of the financial and speculative pursuits of the 1st Duke of Chandos which covered both his colonial and his industrial ventures is useful to assist understanding of Duke John's activities.⁹⁶ Although the Lowther family was not of comparable elite status to that of Chandos or Montagu, Beckett's exploration of their rising power and their interests in relation to mineral rights and their port planning in Whitehaven is also pertinent, due to the proximity of their activities to the Furness estates, and may even provide clues for the source of the Duke's inspiration.⁹⁷ Similarly David Oldroyd's work on the Bowes' estates during the first half of the eighteenth century is also relevant although again it relates to a less elite family.⁹⁸

David Brown provided a useful summary of the literature on the overall debate about aristocratic contribution to British industrial and hence economic growth which had 'divided historians since the 1950s', and he suggested that 'biographical studies can provide a way forward in assessing the role of key aristocratic entrepreneurs'.⁹⁹ Many biographical studies on similar elites during this period focus on their political office or

⁹³ For example, E. Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1973). J. R. Wordie, *Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England: The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune* (London, 1982).

⁹⁴ L. Porter, *Ecton Copper Mines under the Dukes of Devonshire, 1760-1790* (Ashbourne, 2004).

⁹⁵ For example, D. Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (London, 1994). J. Towers Ward and R. Wilson (eds), *Land and industry: the Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution: a Symposium* (Newton Abbot, 1971).

⁹⁶ P.G.M. Dickson and J.V. Beckett, 'The finances of the Duke of Chandos: aristocratic inheritance, marriage, and debt in eighteenth-century England', *Huntington Quarterly Review*, 64, 3-4 (2001), pp. 309-55.

⁹⁷ J.V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: the Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 1981).

⁹⁸ D. Oldroyd, *Estates, Enterprise and Investment at the Dawn of the Industrial Revolution: Estate Management and Accounting in the North-East of England, c.1700-1780* (Abingdon, 2007).

⁹⁹ D. Brown, 'The industrial revolution, political economy and the British aristocracy: the second Viscount Dudley and Ward as an eighteenth-century canal promoter', *Journal of Transport History*, 27:1 (2006), pp.1-24.

artistic interests and not their estate interactions.¹⁰⁰ Ray Kelch's work on the 1st Duke of Newcastle failed to uncover any sense of the entrepreneurial spirit that the 2nd Duke of Montagu shared with the 1st Duke of Chandos and Sir James Lowther.¹⁰¹ Beckett's wider exploration of the aristocracy identified some examples of aristocratic industrial interest in this earlier period and particularly picked up on the industrial activity that was taking place on the Leveson-Gower estates in the 1730s. But his main focus is on the later years of the eighteenth century and beyond, and he concludes that 'aristocratic contribution to industry has to be judged by its quality rather than its quantity.'¹⁰² John Cannon's broad study on the aristocracy in the eighteenth century noted how they 'fostered trade and industry and extended ... empire' but offered little assessment of its value.¹⁰³

Stone's work on the aristocracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gives a basic framework for the development of aristocratic entrepreneurship prior to the 2nd Duke's activities, and he provides a convincing argument for the major role that aristocrats played in backing many industrial and colonial ventures in this period.¹⁰⁴ Cornforth's description of the 2nd Duke's appointment by George I as proprietor of St Lucia and St Vincent in 1722 as 'one of the most curious episodes in his life' therefore fails to recognise that he was in fact following a well-trodden path of aristocratic colonial involvement as indicated by Stone.¹⁰⁵ However detailed studies of the colonialist ventures undertaken by English contemporaries of a similar social standing to the Duke are virtually non-existent, which perhaps has created the impression that by the Duke's time, the aristocracy was no longer interested in developing speculative overseas ventures alone. Basil Williams covers the experience of the 2nd Duke's contemporary, Lord Carteret, in relation to his inherited status as proprietor of Carolina and recounts the numerous problems he encountered, particularly with the settlers. This exploration of Carteret's experience is useful for considering the extent to which the 2nd Duke's colonial aspirations were ill-judged.¹⁰⁶ There appears to be no published work focussing on the motivations of earlier individuals like the Earl of Carlisle and his (similarly ill-judged)

¹⁰⁰ For example, academic interest in the 2nd Duke of Montagu's friend, the 9th Earl of Pembroke, generally focusses on his architectural interests and there is no general biographical study which touches on his estates and finances.

¹⁰¹ R.A. Kelch, *Newcastle, a Duke without Money: Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1693-1768* (London, 1974).

¹⁰² J.V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986).

¹⁰³ J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987).

¹⁰⁴ L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1967).

¹⁰⁵ Cornforth, 'Impressions' in Murdoch (ed.), *English Versailles*, p.23.

¹⁰⁶ B. Williams, *Carteret and Newcastle: a Contrast in Contemporaries* (Hampden, 1966).

1627 plan to be granted islands in the Caribbean including Barbados. Although Carlisle's expedition closely resembles the actions taken by the 2nd Duke to ensure that he received his grant for St Lucia and St Vincent the reason why individuals were still driven to seek these patents to claim land in the Caribbean over a hundred years later - despite the obvious risks involved—has yet to be addressed. Barber's more detailed case study of Francis Willoughby's colonisation of Surinam in 1650 continues the theme of personal risk taking which these speculative ventures encountered but does not reflect in any detail on the experience of other individuals who undertook similar ventures before Willoughby and certainly not after him.¹⁰⁷ Similar models that were closer to home include the grants of the plantations in Ireland to the English aristocracy during the seventeenth century. The 'undertakers' self-funded these ventures and encouraged settlers in a similar method to that used by the 2nd Duke. They created estates which 'became an instrument of royal policy ... private enterprise was put to work for the purposes of state'.¹⁰⁸ Charles Andrews' work on colonial enterprise brings many of these ventures together and highlights the Duke of Montagu's expedition. Although it was published in the 1930s, it remains one of the most useful publications in relation to understanding the context of the Duke's aspirations.¹⁰⁹

The Duke's 'passion for genealogy' may have played a role in his interest in colonial ventures. Stone highlights in particular that the 2nd Duke's maternal great-grandfather, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, had been involved in a number of colonial enterprises including the foundation of the Virginia Company, and that he had backed Hudson's expedition to discover the North-West Passage. The family's quest for new ventures continued with Southampton's son (and the Duke's grandfather) being the 'prime mover in a scheme to colonise Mauritius'.¹¹⁰ Even the actions of his step-mother's first husband, the Duke of Albemarle, may have provided further inspiration as her fortune was said to have been bolstered by an opportunistic venture to salvage shipwrecked

¹⁰⁷ S. Barber, 'Power in the English Caribbean: the proprietorship of Lord Willoughby of Parham' in L. H. Roper and B. Van Ruymbeke (eds.) *Constructing Early Modern Empires: Proprietary Ventures in the Atlantic World 1500-1750* (Leiden, 2007), pp.189-212.

¹⁰⁸ J.H. Olmeyer, *Making Ireland English: the Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2012), p.101.

¹⁰⁹ C.M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History. The Settlements*, 4 vols (New Haven, 1936), ii, p.228.

¹¹⁰ Stone, *Crisis*, p.179.

treasure in the Caribbean which supposedly netted Albemarle up to £40,000.¹¹¹ Therefore far from being a ‘curious’ episode as Cornforth suggested, studies of colonial activity during the period prior to the Duke’s attempted occupation of St Lucia clearly demonstrate that the Duke’s initiative formed an episode in ongoing elite efforts to develop their interests in the region.

It is surprising that the Duke’s expedition to colonise St Lucia has attracted so little academic interest. The Duke’s appointed deputy-governor of St Lucia, Nathaniel Uring, published a record of the venture, *A Relation of the Late Intended Settlement of the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, in America; in Right of the Duke of Montagu, and under his Grace's Direction and Orders, in the Year 1722*. This presented a detailed account of the expedition and included copies of associated documents.¹¹² In addition the expedition letter book was publicly accessible. The ‘first-ever detailed and comprehensive record of St Lucia’s turbulent past’, which was published on the island in 2014, paid little attention to the Duke of Montagu’s expedition and affords it only a paragraph in the sole definitive account of the history of St Lucia.¹¹³ The authors use French historic sources to describe events rather than Uring’s published account, which perhaps indicates how far the St Lucians value it as a reliable source. Other brief accounts of the expedition have cropped up in various publications, including *The English Versailles* and the current Boughton guide book, which quote Uring’s account without questioning its reliability as a source. Indeed Markman Ellis simply accepts Uring’s claim that the Duke lost £40,000 on the venture without question, explaining that he was able to survive the loss simply because he was so rich that it did not bankrupt him.¹¹⁴ The most useful discussion is provided by Pares who set the expedition’s failure within the contemporary protectionist self-interest of the sugar-islands’ plantocracy.¹¹⁵ This thesis will therefore also address this lack of a full evaluation of the St Lucia expedition and will particularly assess the Duke’s motivations for involvement and consider what financial impact the episode had on his lifestyle and his estates.

¹¹¹ R. Clifton, ‘Monck, Christopher, second duke of Albemarle (1653–1688)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), online edn, 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18938> [accessed 2 Nov 2014].

¹¹² N. Uring, *A Relation of the Late Intended Settlement of the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, in America; in right of the Duke of Montagu, and under his Grace's Direction and Orders, in the Year 1722* (London, 1724).

¹¹³ J. Harmsen, G. Ellis, R. Devaux, *A History of St Lucia*, 2nd edn (Vieux Fort, 2014).

¹¹⁴ M. Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge, 2004) p.60.

¹¹⁵ R. Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies 1739 – 1763* (Oxford, 1936), pp.200-4.

1.7 Explanation of the range of sources consulted and the research methodology.

This thesis draws heavily on archival material from a number of depositories across England. Primarily extensive use was made of sources in the Buccleuch archive at Boughton House and also the Montagu Buccleuch papers held at Northamptonshire Record Office. In addition to Northamptonshire, five county record offices in Lancashire, Warwickshire, Cumbria (Barrow), Hampshire and Norfolk were consulted. Hoare's bank was visited to examine the Duke's bank account which dated from 1727. The National Archives (TNA) and the British Library (BL) both held extensive material on the St Lucia expedition. The University of Nottingham Manuscripts Department (UNMD) contained documents relating to Duke John's stepmother that were held in the Newcastle collection, the Bodleian Library, Oxford University (Bodleian) contained the papers of William Stukeley who was a close friend of the Duke and Cambridge University Library also held relevant documents relating to St Lucia and the Duke's state business. Unfortunately it was not possible to view everything that was available and it appears that further relevant archival material is located in other branches of the Cumbrian Record Offices and also in Bedfordshire as well as depositories including the Royal Archive at Windsor, London Metropolitan Archive and the Parliamentary Archive. This approach of consulting (where possible) a wide spectrum of material has enabled this thesis to analyse and compare numerous documents which provide new information about the 2nd Duke of Montagu. An exclusive focus on the Buccleuch archive and the Northamptonshire Record Office holdings would have impeded the development of a wider understanding of the Duke's activities and interests.

The material that was discovered and then analysed fell into five categories. First and most important was the correspondence between the Duke and those who held an interest in his activities either as his stewards, tenants, clergy or his friends, fellow public-office holders or courtiers. Understanding of the activities that the Duke was involved with on his estates was gained through evaluating the correspondence of the stewards from the different estates to the Duke or the Duke's chief steward in London. This correspondence has therefore provided a framework of information for the thesis, although in some of the stewards' correspondence there are lamentable gaps, the chief being the disappearance of

some of the letters associated with the Boughton steward Diston Stanley which are patchy from 1738 to 1751.

The second category of archival material that was consulted was the surviving colonial material. The significant find of the St Lucia letter book in the NRO became the cornerstone of this thesis. This contains a collection of all the correspondence relating to the venture written to the Duke and his key personnel by the expedition stakeholders. Further understanding of these letters was facilitated by consulting other sources including colonial papers at TNA, material held at Cambridge University Library as well as Uring's contemporary account.

The third category that was consulted could be classed as some of the miscellaneous estate records which related to matters such as the estate audits, household orders and bills of fare. In the absence of the Stanley letters, this helped form an idea of some of the activities that were taking place on the Boughton estate over the period of the 2nd Duke's life. The fourth category was the estate accounts. Survival of these accounts and their associated vouchers was relatively good so this was also a means to reconstruct activity at Boughton, and sections of the accounts have been referred to where estate correspondence was missing, such as the 1740s. However there was simply not enough time to analyse the accounts extensively and rigorously for the entire forty years that the dukedom spanned or to investigate later years to draw comparisons. Accounts which survived for other estates were only touched on. The final category related to additional material created by people like William Stukeley or Horace Walpole who reflected on their interactions with the Duke in their journals or memoirs.

One of the issues of working with the Buccleuch archive was that during the course of the last three and a half years there were constant discoveries of new material. The archive was mainly uncatalogued when the PhD commenced and the cataloguing process has been ongoing during this time. Some new material relating to the 2nd Duke's period was also discovered at the Buccleuch properties in Scotland and even turned up in drawers in the estate office on the Boughton estate. There is still hope that the gaps in the archive like the Stanley letters will be filled by more discoveries, for example in March 2017, steward letters from the Ditton estate were discovered. In addition although reference has been made to the Duke's role as Master of the Wardrobe and Master-General of the Ordnance, a decision was made to give only a cursory focus to these

activities when relevant to the impact on the estates. Further research is required on both these roles.

There are a few points to note regarding the style in which the primary sources are presented in this thesis. Many documents followed the pre-1752 Julian calendar system of dating, so they have been adjusted to reflect the modern calendar. Most of the transcriptions do follow the original phonetic spelling but to aid the reader, punctuation, abbreviations and capitalisation have (where necessary) been modernised. Likewise words have sometimes been inserted to improve meaning but these are indicated with [...] and where pieces of original text have been edited, '...' has been used to make it clear that words have been omitted. For the sake of brevity and to avoid confusion the 2nd Duke of Montagu is generally referred to throughout the thesis as the 'Duke'. In the footnotes when referencing letters that were sent and received by him, he is referred to as 'Montagu'. In order to enable accessibility for others and to reduce word count, references to estate correspondence have been made to the published transcriptions rather than the archival source, although these were also consulted.¹¹⁶

1.8 Research questions, thesis style and summary of thesis chapters.

This thesis will seek to answer specific research questions relating to the activities and interests of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu. It will use the Duke's decision to set up a costly project to colonise islands in the Caribbean as the central pivot of the research. It will particularly consider how the Duke, who had inherited significant debts from his father a decade earlier, was able to afford to involve himself in such a major enterprise and where he might have derived additional funds from. In particular Ellis' claim that the fact that the Duke was able to spend and lose £40,000 on St Lucia was an indication of how rich he was is questioned. Cornforth's assertion that the Duke's involvement in the venture was 'curious' will also be scrutinised. The thesis will also try and establish more about who the Duke involved in the expedition, why he selected them and whether there was any significant contribution from his regional estates including Northamptonshire. There is not enough space in this thesis to consider every element of the St Lucia expedition but it is hoped that many previously unanswered questions are dealt with. In addition to the

¹¹⁶ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*.

analysis of the St Lucia expedition, the thesis will also investigate what other British-based activities and interests the Duke was involved in and to what extent these also had a financial motive. In summary it will consider overall what impact, if any, the global, national and local initiatives he developed to generate additional income had on his estates and also to what extent his public offices impacted on his estates.

Following this first chapter which has given a general introduction to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, an explanation of the environment in which this thesis was developed and an overview of some of the relevant literature relating to this thesis, the research findings and references to other literature will then be discussed in five further chapters. Chapter two will set out further information on the background to the Duke's financial situation prior to the St Lucia expedition. It will evaluate the debts that he inherited from his father and also consider the evidence for his investments in the South Sea Company. It will investigate activities on the estates during the period prior to the South Sea Bubble and also afterwards and consider whether profits from the Bubble may have financed the St Lucia expedition. Chapter three will discuss the details of the St Lucia Expedition and consider the motivations of the Duke in planning the venture and what he hoped to achieve from it. It will consider who was involved, how the expedition was organised and why it failed. Chapter four will consider the other ventures and activities that the Duke pursued. In particular it will consider his interest in reviving his seigneurial rights and also consider other revenue streams he pursued from his iron ore leases in Furness and Lancashire. Chapter five will focus on the military interests and activities of the Duke and it will investigate to what extent these activities were also linked to financial motives. Finally, chapter six will draw together conclusions from the findings of this thesis and offer suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two

The impact of the South Sea Bubble on the Montagu Estates

2.1 Introduction.

When César de Saussure visited England from Switzerland in 1725 he noted the differences between England and his native land. These included the ‘curious fact’ that:

Many noblemen live in town to economise and though they are surrounded with great luxury, they declare that in their country seats they are forced to spend far more, having to keep an open house and table, packs of hounds, stables full of horses, and to entertain followers of every description. When in town they do not have the same expenses, but they are not so much thought of as in the country where they are like little kings.¹¹⁷

Just a generation earlier, the 2nd Duke of Montagu’s father, Ralph, had made a great show of displaying his wealth both at his ancestral country seat and at his town house with no hint of economy. In the country, Boughton House was known for ‘Architecture and Painting’ but also ‘the delicious abundance of good eating’ with ‘good company ... in full lustre’.¹¹⁸ In town, Montagu House, was ‘a magnificent house in which to entertain to great and the good’.¹¹⁹ However his son was less keen to engage in the way of life his father had followed and he had a very different attitude to spending. At certain periods of his life he appears to have been actively economising as de Saussure suggested, by mainly living in town and focussing on activities which he hoped would either gain him immediate wealth or longer term prosperity. This chapter will therefore explore the financial issues created by the legacy of the ‘great luxury’ that Ralph Montagu had indulged in. It will outline some of the different courses of action that the 2nd Duke initially employed to overcome these financial problems and to keep them at bay in the future. It will investigate in particular the evidence that the Duke ventured into stock speculation particularly during the South Sea Bubble crisis of 1720. It will suggest reasons why the Duke was attracted to speculate, assess the evidence for his gains or losses and analyse some of the outcomes on the estates during this period including projects that he initiated and the wider economic impact on his tenants.

¹¹⁷ Madame Van Muyden (ed.), *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I & George II. The Letters of Monsieur Cesar de Saussure to his Family* (London, 1902), p.129.

¹¹⁸ J. Hayward (ed.), *Letters of St. Evremond* (London, 1930), p.354.

¹¹⁹ Hicks, *Montagu*, p.240.

2.2 Dealing with debt.

In 1686, Montagu House in Bloomsbury, had been destroyed by fire. The Montagus' London townhouse was not insured and the damage was extensive, reputedly 'estimated at 40,000l, besides 6,000l in plate'.¹²⁰ Ralph Montagu eventually rebuilt it in such a fashion that it must have had a serious impact on his finances. Even by 1720, John Strype still considered it one of the finest residences in London, 'for Stateliness of Building and curious Gardens, Montague House hath the Pre-eminence, as indeed of all Houses within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent Parishes.'¹²¹ At the same time as rebuilding his townhouse, Ralph also embarked on another costly project to refashion Boughton House by extending and remodelling the bulk of the original house, decorating it with sumptuous new interiors and landscaping the park. When he visited in 1724, Daniel Defoe noted it was 'built at the Cost and the Fancy of the late Duke, very much after the Model of the Palace of Versailles' with 'so beautiful a Park' which added 'to the Glory of it'.¹²² Cornforth attributed the development of Ralph's tastes to the fact that he had been 'dazzled by the splendour of the [French] Court' where he served twice as English ambassador and which he later frequented during his exile from the English court during the 1680s. His attempt to create his own version of the 'English Versailles' confirmed de Saussure's impression that the English aristocracy were keen to be their own 'little kings'.¹²³

There is no scope here to assess the financial details of Ralph's extensive construction, refashioning and landscaping projects. Work by Metzger, Falk, Cornforth, Murdoch and recently Hicks has touched on (in varying degrees) the origins of Ralph Montagu's wealth that enabled him to carry out this work but there is really no consensus about how exactly these costly, large-scale schemes were financed and many questions relating to his wealth currently remain unanswered.¹²⁴ Cornforth queried how Ralph 'could afford to rebuild Montagu House ... carry out great works at Boughton and considerable alterations at Ditton' concluding that the answer may have been due to his French pension as

¹²⁰ Hicks, *Montagu*, p.202.

¹²¹ J. Strype, *A Survey of London*, 2 vols, (London, 1720) II, iv, p.85.

¹²² Defoe, *Tour ... Britain*, ii, pp.131-2.

¹²³ J. Cornforth, 'Impressions', p.20.

¹²⁴ The four main biographical sources are: Metzger, *Montagu*, Falk, *Montagues*, Murdoch (ed.), *English Versailles* and Hicks, *Montagu*. Metzger believed that prior to his death, Ralph Montagu had enjoyed an income of 'thirty thousand pounds at this time and his estates and revenue were valued at near two hundred thousand pounds', p.338.

evidenced by a letter written from Barrillon, the French ambassador to Louis XIV in 1680 mentioning that the money paid Mr Montagu ‘by your Majesty’s order makes his mind very easy.’¹²⁵

Did his marriages to women of acknowledged great wealth provide him with enough means to embark on the building projects? Duke John’s mother, Elizabeth Wriothesley and then his step-mother, Elizabeth Cavendish, widow of the 2nd duke of Albemarle, both provided additions to the Montagu estates and income. His mother’s marriage settlement meant Ralph acquired further estates in counties including Warwickshire and her ancestral coastal estate of Beaulieu in Hampshire. She also brought an income of around £6000 a year to the marriage.¹²⁶ Elizabeth Cavendish’s annual income was purported to be worth £7000 which was raised from the estates that she inherited from her first husband, the 2nd Duke of Albemarle.¹²⁷ However Ralph’s expectations of her true financial worth were probably disappointed. It is likely that he expected her to inherit from her father, the Duke of Newcastle, but instead he left large debts amounting to £72,000 and named another daughter, Lady Margaret Cavendish, as his sole heir which led Ralph to attempt to ‘invalidate the will on the grounds that Newcastle was insane’, although he was unable to prove his case.¹²⁸ This litigation against Newcastle was just one of several law suits that Ralph pursued, including suing the Duke of Devonshire for starting the destructive fire at Montagu House and fighting off an attempt by John Grenville, Earl of Bath to claim the Albemarle estates which ‘cost both litigants a good ten thousand pounds apiece and was settled out of court in 1698 by compromise.’¹²⁹ The mounting cost of litigation together with his expensive building projects and his lavish lifestyle which aped the French court in both his London townhouse and his country houses were all contributory factors to extensive debts he left on his death in 1709, at a time when Duke John aged nineteen, was still classed as a minor. On his death, he also left two incomplete projects; the ‘unfinished wing’ at Boughton House and the attempted improvement of his Warwickshire estates by the enclosure of Dunchurch which he had

¹²⁵ Cornforth, ‘Impressions’, p.22.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹²⁷ J.J. Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739* (London, 1883), p.79.

¹²⁸ P. R. Seddon, ‘Cavendish, Henry, second duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (1630–1691)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn. 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40627>, [accessed 31 March 2016].

¹²⁹ Hicks, *Montagu*, p.164. Metzger, *Montagu*, p.313.

embarked on in 1708. The enclosure was completed by his son but the wing still remained a mere shell on Duke John's death some forty years later.

The debts left by his father were to have an immediate impact on Duke John's first decade as owner of the estates. It explains Cornforth's conclusion that during 'his first decade of ownership the 2nd Duke made few changes and spent little time at Boughton.'¹³⁰ This also fits de Saussure's suggestion that English nobleman spent time in town for economy's sake and avoided visits to their country estates. Rothery and Stobart's analysis of the patterns of spending by elite families after inheritance, based upon the Leigh family of Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire, highlighted the impact that debt can have on the next generation. This closely matches the experience of the 2nd Duke of Montagu, particularly due to the period of 'supressed spending' whilst the estate was under the control of the trustees.¹³¹

Throughout his life he steered clear of the major construction projects that his father had engaged in and he adopted a rather parsimonious attitude to spending money on building and decorative schemes on his estates. He was attracted to projects which made him money rather than part with money. As we will see he was particularly focussed on reviving the seigniorial rights on his estates to improve his income. Other schemes were designed to reduce his living expenses, such as his decision to build a more manageable, convenient town house to escape mounting repair bills or to utilise his estate resources to develop income generating schemes which were not necessarily linked to agriculture. His plans to develop a port on his Beaulieu estate in Hampshire and increase the leasing of iron ore mining rights in Furness, both fitted this model. Finally he was driven above all to spend money in buying up additional landed and manorial estates which consolidated and expanded his existing ones. This was particularly apparent in the area which surrounded Boughton House where he added to his rental portfolio throughout his life (map 2.1). Some of his purchases were made with a view to carry out schemes of enclosure and others to expand his parklands. Precise figures relating to the acreage of the expansion of the land holdings during this period are not available and his ownership varied from purchases of entire enclosed estates to piecemeal strips in the open fields.

¹³⁰ Cornforth, 'Impressions', p.25.

¹³¹ M. Rothery and J. Stobart, 'Inheritance events and spending in the English country house: the Leigh family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738-1806', *Continuity and Change*, 27:3 (2012), p.387.

Map 2.1: Estates inherited or purchased by the 2nd Duke of Montagu which formed part of the Boughton collection rental.



Key:

Estates inherited in 1709.

Estates inherited after 1709.

Estates purchased from proceeds of 1717 estate sale.

Estates purchased in 1720s.

Estates purchased in 1730s.

Estates purchased in 1740s

Source: M(B) Estate Accounts, NRO and ESPM, BHA.

During the final decade of his life, during the 1740s, when he enjoyed greater financial stability, he took the opportunity to purchase an estate close to Ditton for £5000 in 1742 and the Cawston estate in Warwickshire for £16,500 in 1743.¹³² This is illuminating as it was during a period of wartime which has subsequently been noted as a time when it was more usual for 'large fortunes' to be 'kept away from land purchase'.¹³³ Perhaps as a result of the large financial layout, the Duke ordered Cawston Hall to be dismantled and stripped of all its timber flooring, iron work and other useful building materials for reuse at Boughton House and in other estates buildings.¹³⁴ The Cawston estate purchase demonstrated exactly where his interests lay at this time as he preferred to use his resources to expand his estates, and hence his estate rental rather than take the opportunity to fund the lavish 'gothic bridge' designed by his friend William Stukeley in 1744, to adorn Boughton Park.¹³⁵

Duke John's seemingly frugal approach to spending money throughout his lifetime must surely have been rooted in the experience of inheriting an estate that was initially hampered with debt. On Duke Ralph's death, it soon emerged that he had been 'considerably indebted to several persons, not only by mortgage and other real securities, but also by bond and simple contract'. This had been caused by his father 'having laid out great sums of money in buildings and gardens, and in the improvement of his estate' and those he owed money to were, 'very importunate and clamorous for their debts, many of them having been a considerable time out of their money, and threatened to commence suits for the recovery of their debts.' Edmund Dummer, one of the estate trustees, declared that 'he much feared and believed, that Duke Ralph's personal estate would not be sufficient to pay all his debts'. The debts incurred by 'bond and simple contract' related mainly to money owed to servants, tradesmen and craftsmen that were associated with the Montagu households and who had carried out work on the properties or had supplied goods or services. Some of these debts were several years old, demonstrating that Ralph had funded his projects by not paying his bills. One of the first actions therefore that Duke John took was to pay off these debts of 'bond and simple contract' by 'making good such deficiency out of his own estate' which may have involved selling

¹³² EPSM, 1742- 1743, BHA.

¹³³ J. Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt and the Estates System: English Landownership 1650-1950* (Oxford, 1994), p. 514.

¹³⁴ Warwickshire 1743-1749, Estate Audit Minutes, (EAM), BHA.

¹³⁵ Stukeley journal, 18 September 1744, Bodleian, MS. eng. misc. 196, f.45.

off some of his father's plate that he had inherited and certainly involved him raising mortgages on his Warwickshire estates, 'the only real security he had in his power'. On 7 April 1712, the executorship expired. Duke John had reached the age of 22 'a probate of Duke Ralph's will was granted to him' and he could now exercise his own agency in making decisions about his estates.¹³⁶

One of his first major spending events was to purchase between 1715 and 1717 several estates in Northamptonshire which lay in close proximity to the House and Park including the enclosed estate of Newton, and additional land in Geddington.¹³⁷ These additional purchases prompted his legal adviser, John Baynes to carry out a survey of the estates and suggest which were 'most proper and convenient to be parted with'. This revealed that those in 'Northamptonshire Bucks Hampshire and Middlesex and Kent are all entailed upon yor Graces Children male & Female'. This meant that Baynes advised him to:

Obtain an Act of Parliament for the sale of some part of (the) estate in order to discharge the debt contracted by yor self upon ye account of your late purchase as also the severall mortgages left unpaid by the Duke yor father.

Ditton House and Park could not be sold as that was part of the marriage jointure of Duchess Mary, and Baynes assessed that the most attractive option was to sell the estates in Buckinghamshire:

Both by reason of the inconveniency of its situation being in severall places of ye County remote ye one from the other as also for that there will be the least difficulty in parting with, the same being so near London & consisting chiefly in Farms.

In contrast, Baynes warned against the sale of the Northamptonshire estate as it was 'so entire as no part of it can be sold without the spoiling the whole' and he confirmed that he understood that the Duke was 'inclined to increase your Command in that County than any ways Lessen it being where the seat of your Family is.' The Hampshire estate was judged valuable due to the woods which were 'everyday improving' and which would be

¹³⁶ Montagu law suit, 11 March 1767, BL, Hardwick Papers (HP), Add Ms 32691, f.1v.

¹³⁷ EPSM, Northamptonshire, 1715 -17, BHA.

‘a considerable advantage’ to his children.¹³⁸ An Act of Parliament to sell the Buckinghamshire estates and other small estates in other parts of England and Wales was therefore obtained in 1717 with the sale realising £50,640 in 1718 and enabling the Duke to pay off several mortgages and pay for the Northamptonshire purchases. As Baynes had advised, the Duke then continued to consolidate his land holdings ‘contiguous’ to the core of his Boughton estate. He pursued this policy throughout his life, continually buying estates and individual plots in the vicinity of Boughton right through to purchasing the Grafton estate in April 1748, which also bordered his existing estates in the Boughton area, the year before he died.¹³⁹

It is not known what Duke John’s attitude to these debts at this time was. There are no surviving letters expressing his concern for the debts. Nor is it clear to what extent he perceived them as restricting his lifestyle and estate development. However in 1737, when his son-in-law was in debt, Duke John advised his chief steward on the best approach to take. He suggested a variety of measures that the Earl of Cardigan could adopt which included ‘selling part of his plate’ and ‘vesting his estates in Trustees’, but warned the steward not to tell his son-in-law initially as it ‘woud alarm him too much and fright him’. He stressed that he must take action to control his debts without borrowing more money as ‘that debt will accumulate &c [so] ... that he may be more and more ... uneasy as long as he lives.’ The problem would be exacerbated:

If any war shoud happen interest woud probably be at 6 percent againe that this debt will of course accumulate to such a degree that at last his whole income will be sequestered & he [will] ... be necessitous and miserable as long as he lives.¹⁴⁰

This advice appears to draw on his own experience of having been restricted by debts during his early years of controlling his estates; his particular fears about interest rate rises reflect how Duke John had inherited his estates in 1709 during wartime, and with rising tensions in 1737 between Spain and Britain, he perhaps feared the worst again.¹⁴¹ The language he employed in this one letter including words such as ‘alarm’, ‘fright’,

¹³⁸ John Baynes to Montagu, 18 March 1717, BHA.

¹³⁹ W. Page (ed.), ‘Parishes: Grafton Underwood’, in *A History of the County of Northampton*, 7 vols, (London, 1930), 3, pp. 218-226. British History Online (BHO) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/northants/vol3/pp218-226> [accessed 6 November 2017].

¹⁴⁰ Montagu to William Folkes, 22 January 1738, Norfolk Record Office (Norf.RO), Folkes of Hillington (FoH), MC 50 2/24/1-2.

¹⁴¹ S. Homer and R. E. Sylla, *A History of Interest Rates* (New Brunswick, 4th edn., 2005), pp.157-9, confirms that the ‘usual ... legal limit’ was 6% during Queen Anne’s reign and by the 1730s it had reduced to 3%.

‘uneasy’ and ‘miserable’ have the cumulative effect of demonstrating that the Duke understood the anguish that spiralling debt could bring and this perhaps was a driving force as to why he avoided costly building and decorative schemes which his father pursued and looked for income generating initiatives (however implausible) instead.

2.3 Stock speculation.

His concern to find new ways to make money to fund his lifestyle, improve and consolidate his estates without having to resort to borrowing money, may have led him to participate (along with many of his contemporaries) in some of the projector-style speculations of the early eighteenth century. These included investing in stock in John Law’s Mississippi Company during 1719 and the South Sea Company in 1720. In addition, as will be further discussed in chapter three, his quest to establish a colony in St Lucia fitted the model of a projector-style venture. By April 1718, Duke John had sold the Buckinghamshire estates, paid off some outstanding mortgages and debts and therefore had greater agency to deal with his income as he chose. Twice a year, following the collection of the estate rentals, cash was sent from each estate to Montagu House in London. The rest of the rental income was retained by each estate to fund running costs, maintenance and improvement. Put simply, the ‘cash returned to London’ was spent on the household expenses of Montagu House, the interest on any debts, obligatory annuities, taxes and the Duchess of Montagu’s pin money. Once that had been paid out, he may have taken the surplus. The Montagu House accounts contain lists of payments to the Duke but unfortunately exactly what he did with this surplus from the period following the estates sale, which ranged from £1000 to £2000 per annum, is unclear. No personal accounts belonging to the Duke survive during this period which detail how he chose to spend this money as they do for his contemporaries like the Duke of Chandos.¹⁴²

He opened a bank account at Hoare’s in 1727 but details of where he banked prior to this, have not been discovered. Certainly there is no direct reference in his household and estate accounts which survive for the first half of 1720 to suggest that the Duke paid for stock subscriptions using money from his estates revenue. In contrast an entry exists in

¹⁴² K. Yamamoto, ‘Beyond rational vs irrational bubbles: James Brydges the first Duke of Chandos during the South Sea Bubble’, in G. Nigro (ed.), *The Financial Crises. Their Management, their Social Implications and their Consequences in Pre-Industrial Times* (Florence, 2016) pp.327-57.

the Montagu House accounts in March 1719 for £99 spent on lottery tickets.¹⁴³ There is evidence that he had already successfully speculated in stock. An entry in the Montagu House accounts on 21 December 1719 recorded that money had been received ‘of his Grace gain’d by Missippy Stock £818 15 6’.¹⁴⁴ If the date of entry in the accounts denotes that the stock was also sold in December this was just before it reached its peak price in January 1720 and it demonstrates that the Duke had been extremely successful in his speculation.¹⁴⁵ As an entry describing the purchase of the stock through the household accounts has not been discovered, it must be assumed that the stock was purchased directly from the Duke’s personal allowance.

1719 stands out as the year in which the Duke drew the largest allowance from the Montagu House surplus in the period prior to the 1740s. The total amount awarded to the Duke and Duchess this year was £2862 9s 0d and perhaps some of this money was used to fund the Mississippi stock. It is possible that the Duke gained far more from his speculation in Mississippi stock but retained more of the profits for his own use and perhaps for further speculation in subscriptions to South Sea Company stock in 1720. His contribution of the profits back to the household were presumably to cover the high expenses that had occurred that year which resulted in an overall spend (not including the money given for his allowance) of £12,732 16s 7d.¹⁴⁶ Generally the overall spend at Montagu House never exceeded £10,000. For example even when the Duke ceased to be classed as a minor in 1712, which could have given cause for celebratory spending, only £9,727 2s was spent.¹⁴⁷ Some of the excessive spending in 1719 may have been a response to the installation of the Duke as a Garter Knight which had taken place in March 1718.¹⁴⁸ We do not know to what extent this spending was contributing to a lavish lifestyle necessary for his increasingly elite status because the Montagu household accounts do not give a detailed breakdown of the type of goods and services that were

¹⁴³ Marc Antonie, Montagu House Accounts (MHA), M to L 1719, 12 March 1719, BHA.

¹⁴⁴ Marc Antonie, MHA, M to LD 1720, 21 December 1719, BHA.

¹⁴⁵ R. Dale, *The First Crash. Lessons from the South Sea Bubble* (Oxford, 2004) pp.66-9.

¹⁴⁶ Marc Antonie, account summary, MHA, 1720, BHA.

¹⁴⁷ Marc Antonie, account summary, MHA, 1712, BHA

¹⁴⁸ *London Gazette*, 29 March 1718, p.2.

being purchased and the original vouchers do not survive.¹⁴⁹ The gains from the Mississippi venture may have led the Duke to believe he could maintain this expensive life-style by investing in similar schemes.

A letter which was sent to the Duke in 1736 relating events that happened prior to the South Sea Bubble bursting proves that Dummer certainly bought stock on the Duke's behalf. Thomas Smith recalled:

On the 28th of May 1720 I employed Lazarus Symonds the broker (who is still living) to buy for me in Exchange Alley 500l S. Sea Stock, for the opening of the Books, which he did do, at 530l per cent of the late Edmund Dummer Esq, your Grace's then agent. When the time came, the said Dummer declined transferring the same, and said the Stock was not his own but your Grace's and that your Grace had ordered him not to transfer the same, but was very angry with him for having sold the said Stock; upon which Mr Dummer was called upon by name three times aloud at the Book D. in the S. Sea House by the said broker, to come and transfer the said Stock, as is usual in such cases, and to receive his money, which was then tendered and told out in gold and silver by my banker.

Your Grace upon hearing Mr Dummer called upon in that manner, seemed to be displeased, and said to me in the hearing of the aforesaid banker and broker, as before mentioned. My answer to your Grace was, that Mr Dummer was a very good man for the difference which was 1,450l. Your Grace replied, you would protect him, let me do as I would. I then said that since your Grace took it upon yourself, I should not proceed against him; that it was now become your Grace's affair as by the law and custom of the Alley, if a bargain is not complied with, if the broker declares his principal, his principal becomes liable.¹⁵⁰

This demonstrates that Dummer was buying stock that was 'not his own' and the Duke was taking a strong interest in stock purchase, suggesting that he was keen to micro-manage his business affairs. The letter indicates that the Duke was present in South Sea House where he had the confrontation with Smith. This confirms Cobbett's description of the early days of the Bubble when the 'arts of the stock-jobbers drew a great concourse of persons of all ranks into Exchange ally'. Smith's displeasure that 'the bargain had not been complied with' may have been because four days after Dummer refused to sell the

¹⁴⁹ For example the Duke hosted 'a great Ball and Masquerade' at Montagu House for the Royal Family. *Stamford Mercury*, 16 February 1715, p.77. It is not known to what extent less lavish entertaining (but still costly) was staged.

¹⁵⁰ Historic Manuscripts Commission (HMC), *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*, Vol. 1 (London, 1899) p.388.

stock, the price ‘rose on a sudden so prodigiously ... that on Thursday, the 2nd of June, it came up to 890’ from £550 per share.¹⁵¹ On 20 March 1717, Thomas Dummer also purchased a lease to the Manor of Muchland in Furness on behalf of the Duke, demonstrating the latter’s early interest in expanding the northern estates.¹⁵²

The books recording transfers of South Sea stock have been lost.¹⁵³ In addition there is no document as yet discovered in the Montagu-Buccleuch archives which can confirm exactly how much money the 2nd Duke of Montagu invested in South Sea stock and if so, whether he gained or lost from the speculation. However an anonymous contemporary publication, *Index Rerum & Vocabulorum* claimed that the South Sea Company had loaned the Duke of Montagu £27,000 to buy stock.¹⁵⁴ This was the third largest amount listed in the pamphlet that was loaned to any other peer or Member of Parliament. It is not known how reliable the contemporary source is and if true, whether the Duke used his own money in addition to this. Habakkuk noted that it was easier to detect who lost than who gained from the South Sea Bubble and the Duke’s experience fits this model.¹⁵⁵ Rather than indulge in speculation about the Duke’s South Sea Bubble experience, some case studies of his contemporaries have been studied to attempt to decipher what clues to his investment experience can be gleaned from the evidence that does survive.

The South Sea Bubble has attracted analytical commentary since the eighteenth century. Since the publication of Carswell’s, *South Sea Bubble* and Cowles’ *The Great Swindle* in 1960, a steady stream of additional analysis has followed over the decades, often concentrating on the political fall-out and the fate of the South Sea Company directors.¹⁵⁶ In 2016, Yamamoto identified ‘six thematic strands’ of study on the Bubble and that the sixth of these themes was ‘reconstructing investors’ experience.’¹⁵⁷ Nonetheless this theme is relatively neglected and only a few studies of those listed on the *Index Rerum* as having been lent money by the South Sea Company exist. However, Gary Shea’s work

¹⁵¹ W. Cobbett (ed.), *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. 7 (London, 1706-20), p.563.

¹⁵² EPSM, Muchland 1717, BHA.

¹⁵³ J.V. Beckett, ‘Cumbrians and the South Sea Bubble, 1720’, *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmoreland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, 82 (1982), p.141.

¹⁵⁴ Anon., *Index Rerum & Vocabulorum, for the Use of the Freeholders of Counties and Freemen of Corporations* (London, 1722), p.14.

¹⁵⁵ Habakkuk, *Estates System*, p.430.

¹⁵⁶ J. Carswell, *South Sea Bubble* (Stanford, 1960). V. Cowles, *The Great Swindle: The Story of the South Sea Bubble* (New York, 1960).

¹⁵⁷ Yamamoto, ‘Chandos’, pp.331-32.

on the Duke of Portland and the analysis of his investment, is particularly useful.¹⁵⁸ He has established that the Duke of Portland borrowed £84,000 from the South Sea Company (as confirmed in the *Index Rerum*) which was agreed on 13 June 1720 and granted ‘on the pledged security of 151 original shares and 20 shares in the first cash subscription’.¹⁵⁹ The stock purchased in the first cash subscription was funded by Portland borrowing £83,575 from the Portland estate trust. It is not known if the Duke of Montagu followed a similar path to the Duke of Portland but the letter from Smith indicates that Dummer had purchased stock previously on the Duke’s behalf. Shea’s research revealed that Portland had borrowed his £83, 575 from the Portland estate by striking a deal with the trustees who were his two lawyers and agents, Sir John Eyles and M. Joseph Eyles and the banker Comrade de Gols. He used the money, ‘supplemented with his own cash to buy 160 shares’.¹⁶⁰ Like Portland, the Duke also borrowed money in April 1720 with the consent of his estate trustees, Edmund and Thomas Dummer who on ‘the 2d of April 1720’ secured ‘17,000 lent to Duke John’ through a mortgage on the Warwickshire estate.¹⁶¹

Shea has also discussed how Portland financed his speculations through a forward purchase agreement. This meant Portland agreed to pay back money borrowed at a specified rate at some point in the future and the agreement counted on stock continuing to rise. As stock fell, Portland was unable to fulfil his obligations and hence fell into debt. Shea has noted that as a member of the aristocracy, Portland could protect himself from litigation ‘by finding refuge in the complexities of the land law’.¹⁶² There is some evidence that the Duke of Montagu may also have engaged in a forward purchase agreement. Thomas Dummer wrote to him on 5 October 1721 explaining that a few days before he had been harassed by a ‘Mr Betton’ who wanted ‘to meet [Dummer] ... at the opening of the Books & transfer to him the £3000 ... now made stock, to make up his security according to a former undertaking’. Dummer insisted that he would not attend as ‘he had security enough’ but pleaded with the Duke to ‘find a way to pay [Betton] off,

¹⁵⁸ G. Shea, ‘Sir George Caswall vs. the Duke of Portland: financial contracts and litigation in the wake of the South Sea Bubble’, in J. Attack and L. Neal (eds), *The Origins and Development of Financial Markets and Institutions: from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge, 2009), pp.121-61.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.134.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.133.

¹⁶¹ EPSM, Warwickshire 1720, BHA.

¹⁶² G. Shea, ‘Portland’, p.137.

for he will always be very troublesome.’¹⁶³ So far, no documents have been discovered relating to specific litigation over unpaid debts as present in the Portland papers although the letter quoted previously which was sent from Thomas Smith in 1736 implied that he was considering legal action against the Duke as he considered him ‘liable’ for the stock that was not transferred.¹⁶⁴

It is not known if the Dummers also speculated and lost themselves but certainly the Duke’s chief steward, Marc Antonie, incurred heavy losses. He died in October 1720 owing the Duke £958 4s 9d which was finally repaid by his wife, Anne, on 15 August 1724.¹⁶⁵ Not everyone was a loser in the venture. The Duke of Montagu’s in-laws, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, who were not named on the *Index Rerum* as borrowing from the South Sea Company, sold their stock early in May or June and apparently made gains of £100,000.¹⁶⁶ There is no evidence that the Marlboroughs discussed investments with the Duke of Montagu but they may have offered advice to ensure that he also sold his stock. Yamamoto’s reappraisal of the experience of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, has demonstrated the range of surviving archival evidence from which to reconstruct Brydges’ experience. This includes ‘30 outgoing letters written by Brydges for February 1720 alone’ relating to stock together with personal account books ‘arranged according to his activities with each broker.’ Yamamoto has concluded that the duke, ‘never completely left the management of his dynastic portfolio to servants and stewards’ which precisely matches the Duke of Montagu’s style of management.¹⁶⁷ His research demonstrates that by end of August 1720 and the collapse of share prices, 93% of all Brydges’ share transactions had taken place already and the ‘sharp decline of his stock transactions from September 1720 onwards suggests that the duke pulled out from the market before the collapse – evidence of careful, coordinated, speculation.’¹⁶⁸ His overall conclusion was that Brydges had ‘come out of the summer of heated speculation with a realised gain of more than £15,000’. In fact he held on to the stock he retained rather than sell it and borrowed money off people like the Duchess of Marlborough to enable him to do this. This borrowing has perhaps led to a focus on his

¹⁶³ Thomas Dummer to Duke of Montagu, 5 October 1721, BHA, Lancashire Letter Book.

¹⁶⁴ HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch*, p.388.

¹⁶⁵ Andrew Marchant’s accounts, accounts summary, LD to M 1724, MHA, BHA.

¹⁶⁶ F. Harris, *A Passion for Government: the Life of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 228–29.

¹⁶⁷ K. Yamamoto, ‘Chandos’, pp.335–6.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.369.

losses on paper rather than his gains.¹⁶⁹ It is possible that the Duke of Montagu's speculations followed a similar pattern in that he made some gains but was left with stock which he retained rather than be forced to sell to repay money that he had borrowed to pay for it and hence make an overall loss. This may explain why on 2 November 1720, after the bubble had burst, Thomas Dummer arranged a further mortgage on the Warwickshire estates for an additional £14,400.¹⁷⁰ This could have related to forward payment pay offs. It is not clear when these 1720 mortgages were paid off by Montagu, legal documents written after his death vaguely state that he 'afterwards paid off several of the said Mortgages'.¹⁷¹

John Beckett has provided further useful case studies on those who speculated in the South Sea Bubble including the Cumbrians, Sir James Lowther who 'probably broke about even' and Sir Wilfrid Lawson who 'appears to have sold at the top of the market, and he was reputed to have a profit of some £22,000'. In contrast he researched Lord Lonsdale (also listed on the *Index Rerum* as borrowing £15,000) who 'invested ready capital' and borrowed money to the extent that in total he 'invested £20,000 and possibly nearer £30,000.' However Beckett judged that the financial impact of the loss on Lonsdale was not catastrophic. Because of an 'estate income of around £5,500 a year, Lonsdale was not ruined.'¹⁷² He noted that there were reports in November 1720 that Lonsdale was planning on becoming governor of the Leeward Islands.¹⁷³ Portland was nominated in 1721 to be the governor of Jamaica and the Duke of Montagu's focus on St Lucia also fits this pattern.¹⁷⁴ However in contrast, he was appointed absentee proprietary owner of St Lucia and St Vincent by the Crown in return for financing the whole venture himself and sending an occupation force and governing body to establish and protect the new settlement. His later complaint that he had spent up to £32,000 on the venture suggests that the Duke had (unlike Portland whose losses forced him to retrench with his family and household to the Caribbean) surplus money to invest which potentially came from South Sea gains.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.342.

¹⁷⁰ Montagu law suit, 11 March 1767, BL, HP, Add Ms 32691, f.1v.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Beckett, 'Cumbrians', p.148.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.149.

¹⁷⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 14 October 1721, p.11.

¹⁷⁵ Account of Duke of Montagu's memorial for relief, n.d., Cambridge University Library (CUL), Ch(H), Political Papers, 86, 17.

If the Duke of Montagu had suffered as seriously as Portland had, it is perhaps unlikely that the rector of Warkton, Jeffrey Barton, would have written to him in July 1721 using a glib tone:

Mayn't we hope now to see your Grace for three or four days at Boughton, a little to refresh yourself after this long Sessions? The danger will be less in sailing upon that Canal this year, than I fear it was in dabbling in the S. Sea last year. A terrible tempest ... has fallen there, and whatever becomes of the passengers or freighters, the pilots to be sure are all wrecked.¹⁷⁶

The Duke also referred to the South Sea Bubble when he discussed his plans for the St Lucia project with Governor William Mathew in April 1722. He reminded him that they had once 'talkt of a south sea project which I believe will not succeed better than our South Sea projects here have done.'¹⁷⁷ His description is rather detached and makes no reference as to his personal experience. Yamamoto has emphasised that Chandos was particularly careful to ensure that his brokers kept his share dealings private, instructing one broker that he must not 'Suffer my name to mention'd, nor not living Soul to know I am any waies concern'd in it'.¹⁷⁸ The Duke may have kept hidden from public knowledge (including his social inferiors, Barton and Mathew) the extent of his losses or gains. The *Index Rerum* had reminded readers that 'some families have been favoured in the Loans to excessive Sums' and that the list allowed people to 'judge which of these Gamesters are the best Patriots'. As the third-largest borrower in the House of Lords, the Duke's reputation was at risk of being seen as nothing more than a 'gamester' hence perhaps his reason to keep quiet about any gains he made.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ HMC, *Buccleuch Manuscripts*, p.369.

¹⁷⁷ Montagu to Mathew, 22 April 1722, BL, Add Ms 38510 E, f.21.

¹⁷⁸ Yamamoto, 'Chandos', p. 348.

¹⁷⁹ Anon., *Index Rerum*, preface.

2.4 Activity on the Montagu Estates in the post-Bubble period, 1720-24.

Beckett's research on Lord Lonsdale identified the post-Bubble sale of five of his estates which were in outlying areas. These were sold between 1720 and 1722 and raised £27,480.¹⁸⁰ Although we have no direct evidence that the Duke made large gains in the Bubble, by comparing his activity with Lonsdale, we can conclude that he did not have to sell estates in this period or economise, instead he became involved in several schemes and activities which involved spending money, the most noticeable of which was his project to set up a colony on St Lucia. In addition the Duke became involved in projects to improve his English estates. Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley credited John Summerson with identifying that there 'was a startling onset of country house building enterprise in 1720-4'.¹⁸¹ It is now accepted in country house studies that it was South Sea speculation and the 'use of new money' which created 'a frenzied acquisition of landed estates and building activities around 1720'.¹⁸² Studies which specifically survey the wider impact of the South Sea Bubble losses or gains on the development of country houses and estates that were already in the possession of the aristocracy appear to be lacking. Analysis of the estate records demonstrates that certain projects were launched on the Montagu estates during the period 1720-4 that were expensive although they were often focussed on practical improvements rather than embellishment simply for aesthetic purposes, with one or two exceptions.

Beaulieu may have been the first beneficiary. Prior to 1720, it was clear that the estate was a drain on expenses. John Booth attempted to survey the estate in 1718 and described some of the ground as 'naturally poor' and some of the tenants as 'lazy indolent people', the general terrain meant it was:

Ye worst Inclosed Estate I ever undertook. I'm generally either fast in ye boggs or lost in ye woods & twill require double ye time that any other survey I've hither to meet with ... of ye same dimentions.

¹⁸⁰ Beckett, 'Cumbrians', p.149.

¹⁸¹ J. Summerson, 'The classical country house in 18th-Century England', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 107, No.5036 (July, 1959), p.540.

¹⁸² Wilson and Mackley, *Paradise*, p.365.

He noted that he wished one farm could be 'secured from the dangers of the sea'.¹⁸³ Booth's awareness of the risk of flooding indicates that it must have been a regular occurrence and in February 1719 a huge flood took place. The steward, Reverend Phillip Sone, wrote to the Duke to describe the events:

There has been a high tyde wth a storm wch has done a great deal of damage to ye Sea Banks ... We had lost ... 32 sheep out of 87 drowned tis certain the loss of the sheep has sunk all ye profit of ye ½ yrs keeping & more... one piece of wheat was under water but the water not lying long upon it we hoped it has not received much hurt ...

The high tide had created breaches in the flood defences and Sone complained that the:

Main bank against the Sea ... is too low by 2ft this had need be raised, for every tide comes over the wall where the Breaches now are... The breaches yt are made in ye out walls on these farms will soon be stopped for ye present with little charge but they must be better secured this summer and yt at Salters Hill must be new made for ye marsh will be in danger of being quite lost.¹⁸⁴

Despite the damage done, Sone's requests to mend the breaches appear to have been ignored. However another 'great storm' occurred in November 1720 which caused widespread damage to southern England, including Hampshire.¹⁸⁵ This storm caused further damage to the sea banks protecting the estate and the Duke took the decision to launch a flood defence programme by rebuilding the banks at an estimated cost of around £200.¹⁸⁶ In addition to this project further flood defences and alterations were also carried out at this time around Palace House and he was personally involved in their design. The project manager, Joseph Burgiss, consulted 'a person who made all ye locks on Winchester River' and considerable thought went into the design and 'workmanship'.¹⁸⁷ The scheme involved creating mill dams and sluices together with designing bridges in the style of drawbridges and restoring the existing moat.¹⁸⁸ During July, the Duke sent Burgiss to draw a plan of Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight possibly to inform some element of the design. The combination of exploring the latest technology and coupling it with a sympathetic design in keeping with the existing architecture of Palace

¹⁸³ Booth to Marc Antonie, 1 April 1718, BHA, Beaulieu Estate Letters (BEL).

¹⁸⁴ Sone to Marc Antonie, 4 February 1718, BHA, BEL.

¹⁸⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 26 November 1720, p.2.

¹⁸⁶ Sone to Samuel Booth, 5 December 1720, BHA, BEL.

¹⁸⁷ Sone to John Booth, 10 May 1721, BHA, BEL.

¹⁸⁸ Letters include references to when the moat will be finished (20 May 1721) and that fruit trees cannot be planted, due to the draw bridges (29 January 1722), BHA, BEL.

House suggests the Duke was approaching the project with a relaxed attitude to the expense. Both these projects resulted in the hiring of a large work force. Contemporary letters record 'a numerous company of workmen' at Beaulieu.¹⁸⁹ The accounts record a sum of £484 11 05 spent on building and repairs between March and October 1721 with timber to the value of £342 2 10 to carry them out. In addition the sea banks cost a further £176 10 11. However an extraordinary wood sale from 'Timber cut in ye Year 1720 & 1721' raised £1728 which also gave the Duke the financial means to carry out all these improvements.¹⁹⁰ Figures from the period prior to October 1720 are not available to make comparisons as to whether expenditure had been similarly high during previous years. Spending at Beaulieu over an eighteenth month period post-Bubble but prior to the full launch of the St Lucia expedition (October 1720 to March 1722) demonstrates that the total amount spent was £3288.¹⁹¹ This figure stands out because the next highest amount spent in any other 18 month period did not occur until March 1739 to October 1740 when £4992 was spent including '£2003 8s 11d Incident Expenses'.¹⁹² This coincides with the period when the Duke was appointed Master General of the Ordnance and the outlay may have been connected to this new post and possibly connected to the development of ship-building facilities.¹⁹³

Work was also carried out at the Boughton estate in the post-Bubble period which may mean that some of the surviving features in Boughton Park should be viewed as a 'Bubble landscape'.¹⁹⁴ The estate accounts are patchy prior to 1720 with some differences in how expenses were separated out which makes it less easy to compare like with like. The November 1720 mortgage may have compensated for any financial losses that occurred through speculation to enable work to continue. However the extent and scale of the activities at Boughton from 1721 to 1725 give the impression that the Duke was financially confident and the mortgage may have just been arranged simply to add to his newly acquired surplus cash to enable ambitious plans to refashion the estates to take place. Work began on a number of schemes in the garden from the spring of 1721. The

¹⁸⁹ Sone to John Booth, 1 July 1721, BHA, BEL.

¹⁹⁰ Estate accounts summary, Beaulieu 1721, NRO, M(B) 103, ff.12-13.

¹⁹¹ Estate accounts summary, Beaulieu 1720 to 1722, NRO, M(B) 103, f.4, f.13, f.20.

¹⁹² Estate accounts summary, Beaulieu LD 1739 to M 1740 NRO, M(B) 104, f.33.

¹⁹³ For a history of shipbuilding at Beaulieu, see: R. Bingham Adams, 'The story of Buckler's Hard', *Notes & Queries*, 156, 15 June 1929, pp.420-424.

¹⁹⁴ P. Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (Newcastle, 2002), p.59.

following spring, the Duke proposed ‘to build a stone wall round the park’ to replace the existing brick wall. The Boughton mason, Henry Knight, calculated the cost as ‘a great deal above £1000’.¹⁹⁵ This was later scaled down and the ‘dry wall’ was to be done at ‘£5 per acre’.¹⁹⁶ In March 1722, Joseph Burgiss had returned from Beaulieu where he had been building the previously discussed bridges and sluice system. He provided an estimate for ‘the charge of digging the cannal’.¹⁹⁷ This was to extend the canal and add the section known as ‘Dead Reach’ which was completed in October 1722.¹⁹⁸ Little work appears to have taken place at Boughton during the spring and summer of 1723 and the upset of the St Lucia venture may have distracted the Duke from his plans. By November 1723, discussions began relating to commencing work on widening the Broad Water and constructing the Mount. Part of this discussion related to the creation of ‘two ilands’ presumably on Broad Water.¹⁹⁹ This idea was scrapped probably due to the additional earth that was required to create them which was in scarce supply and needed for the ‘280 foot bass’ of the mount however as the mount was surrounded by water and at some point there was discussion as to whether two mounts would be produced, perhaps the reference to the islands was simply a description for the mount.²⁰⁰ Given that these islands were suggested in late 1723, this may have been a conscious design decision to formally mark the Duke’s ownership of his two islands in the Caribbean.

The transformation of the Boughton landscape can be seen by comparing first the 1715 plan of the gardens by John Booth and George Nunns (figure 2.1). This depicts the intricate garden that the Duke inherited from his father and predates features such as the Broad Water, the pyramid mound and retains the parterres and fountain pools.

¹⁹⁵ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.133.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.143.

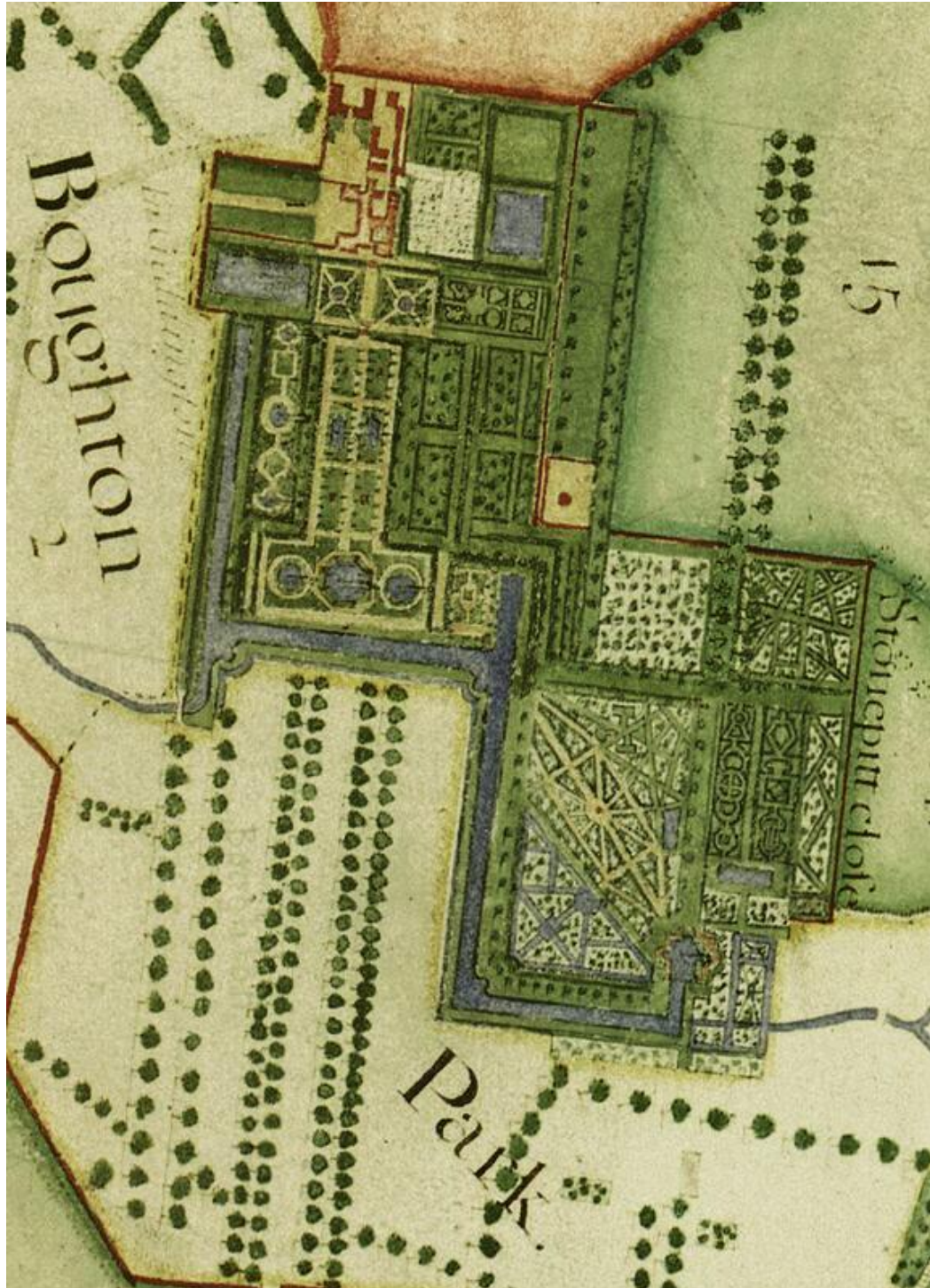
¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.137.

¹⁹⁸ Marshall, ‘Boughton House’, p.47.

¹⁹⁹ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.202.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.203.

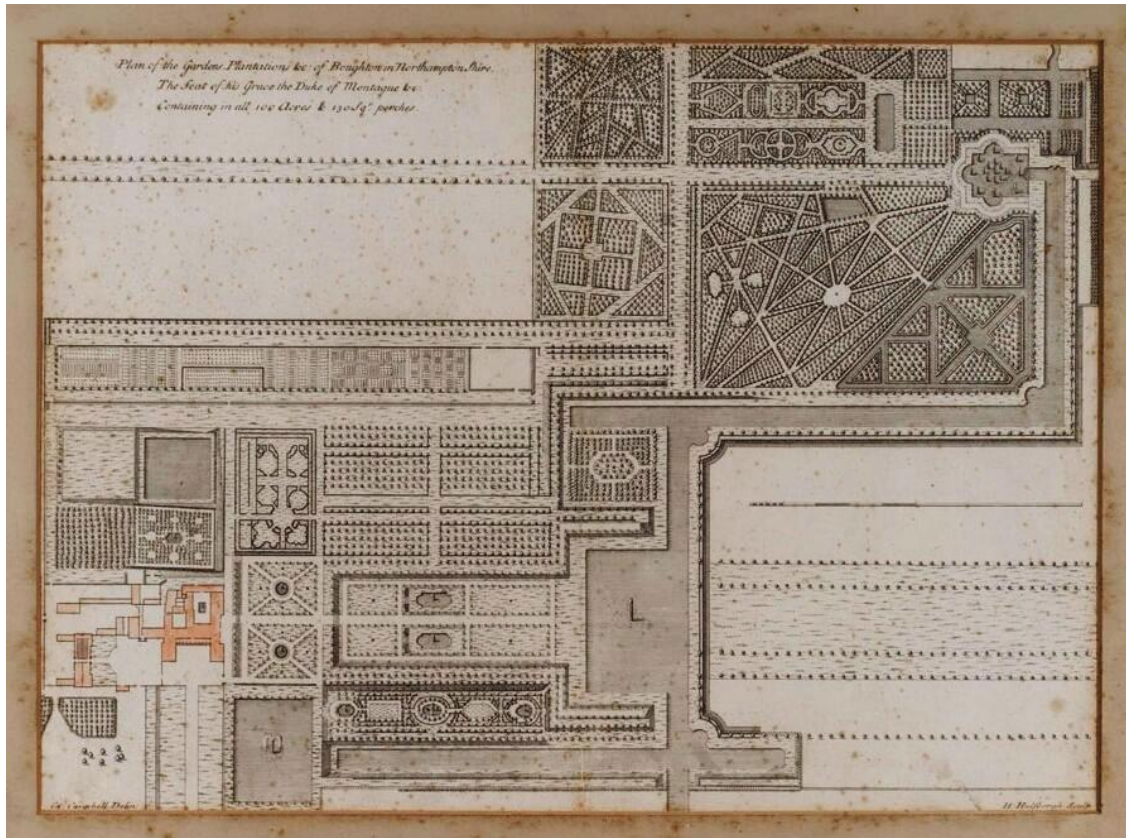
Figure 2.1: Survey by John Booth and George Nunns of Boughton Park and estate, 1715.



Source: © Buccleuch.

A plan dating from the early 1720s by Colen Campbell (figure 2.2) shows the part-finished Broad Water but the intricate parterre gardens which lay to the west of the house were still intact.

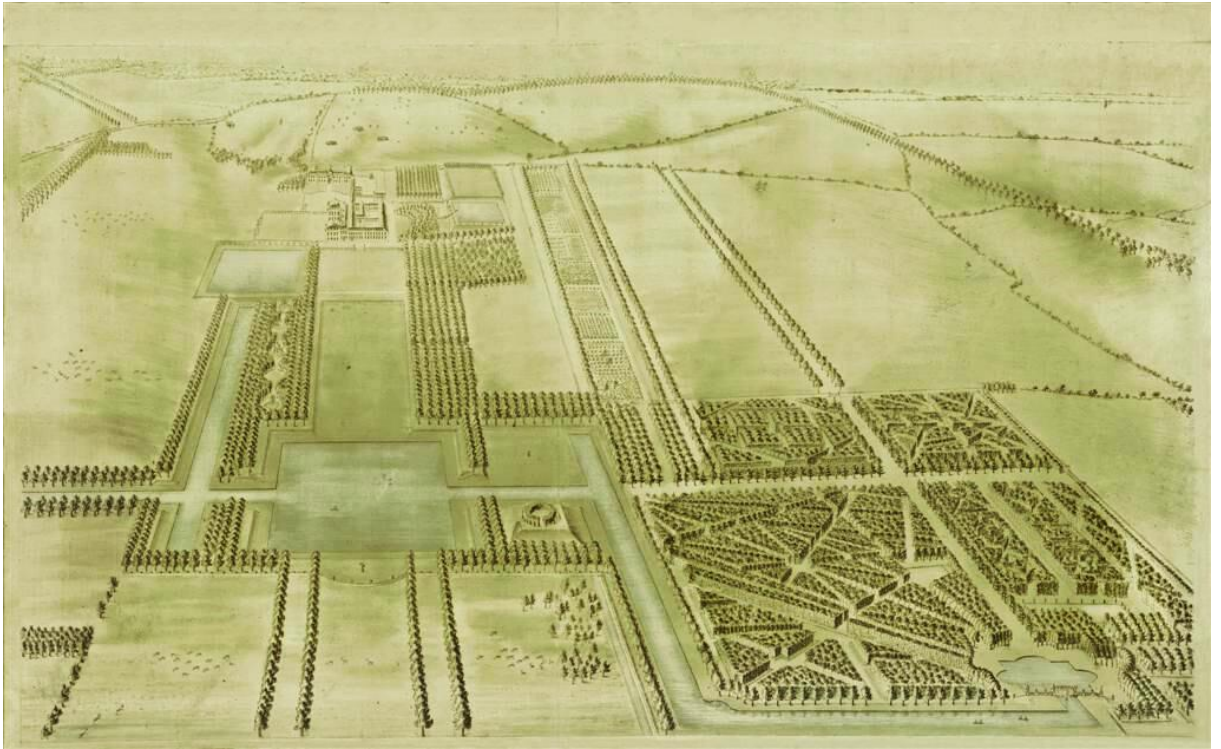
Figure 2.2: 'Plan of the gardens, plantations etc. of Boughton in Northamptonshire',
Colen Campbell and Henry Hulsbergh, 1723.



Source: © Buccleuch.

However a late 1720s birds-eye view of the gardens by Charles Bridgeman (figure 2.3) shows the impact on the landscape that the design which encompassed the Broad Water and the Mount had. Many of the par-terres, pools and presumably fountains which ran down to where the Broad Water were swept away during the period following the South Sea Bubble which resulted in a refashioning of the landscape and required a large labour force to dig out the Broad water and construct the mount. However the completed work also simplified the landscape and the removal of the fountains and the par-terres created a landscape that was less labour intensive. It could be argued, therefore, that the changes introduced by the Duke were made with an eye to reducing long term costs.

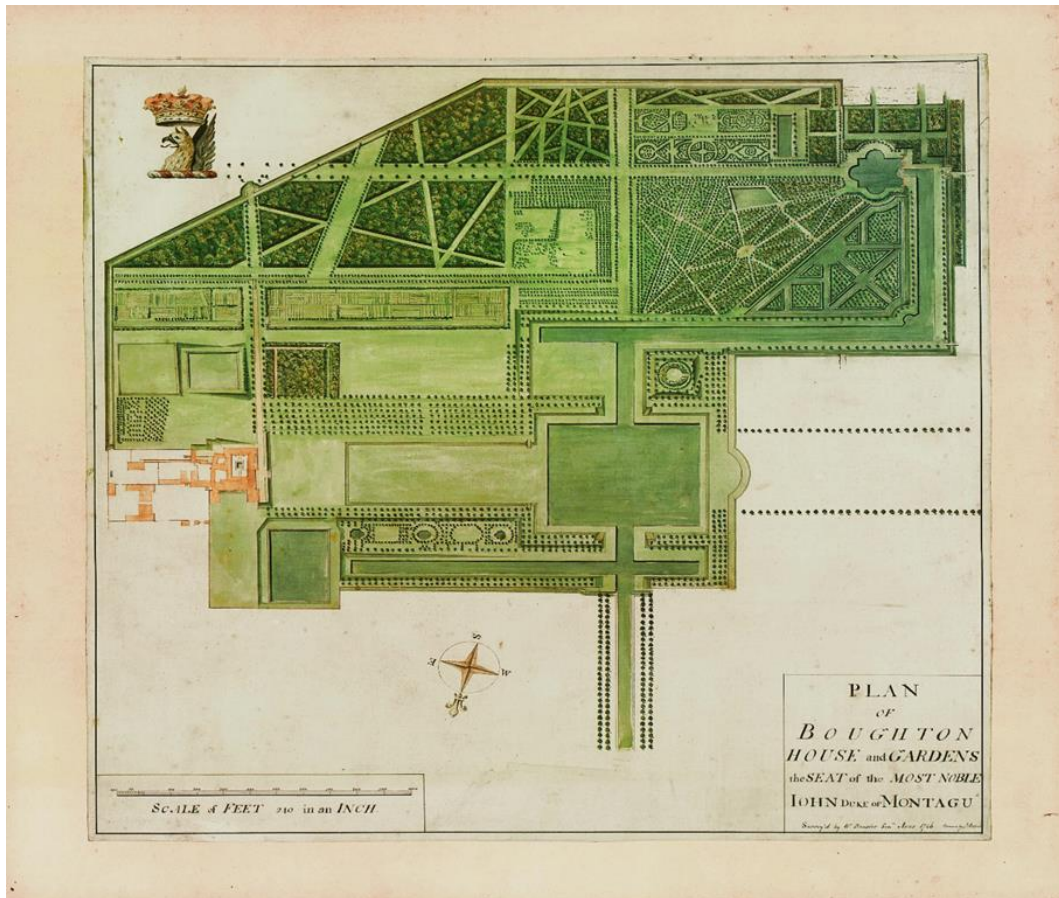
Figure 2.3: Bridgeman's bird's eye view of Boughton Gardens c.1728.



Source: © Buccleuch.

A later plan which dates from 1746 demonstrates that this simpler design was maintained for over two decades with some additional wood planting to an area to the south of the house, designated on other plans as the 'Wilderness'.

Figure 2.4: William Brasier's plan of Boughton Gardens, 1746.



Source: © Buccleuch.

2.5 Enclosure of Geddington Chase.

Prior to commencing the work on improving the landscape at Boughton, the Duke also proposed an ambitious scheme to enclose Geddington Chase and hence create major change to the entire estate landscape. Timber rights in Geddington Wood had been purchased by the Duke's great-grandfather in 1627-1628 at a time when Charles I was 'recklessly selling off timber'. In 1676 his grandfather had been granted full rights to Geddington Wood by the Crown. It was 'to be deemed a chase, distinct from the Forest of Rockingham and outside of its jurisdiction and boundaries'. However the Chase contained '190 acres of commonable ground, open and subject to the feeding of the commoners cattle of adjacent towns' which were Stanion, Geddington and Brigstock. In the Duke's eyes 'foreigners who have no right to be there' or the landless living in the townships who had less tenable common right were making the forest 'poorer' through 'the pretence of some small privileges, as the gathering of dead wood, (which) are only cloaks for the greatest of villainies in destroying the wood and the game'. The Duke therefore proposed a scheme where 'a quantity of acres' would be 'enclosed off from the rest' of the Chase for each of the townships that held common right there. This would make 'the wood more serviceable to himself' and 'the proposal ...to the advantage of the commoners that any of them might be glad to embrace it'. As to the poor who would lose their prime means of subsistence, he proposed a workhouse in Brigstock.²⁰¹

In early 1722 through to 1723 he therefore embarked on a scheme to purchase a large amount of land in Brigstock. He paid £3460 alone for 253 acres, some of which was 'lying dispersed in the open Fields' together with previously enclosed land.²⁰² Increasing his land holdings in Brigstock, was presumably part of his strategy to enclose the Chase. In total spending on acquiring new estates in this area from 1720 -23 amounted to just under £9,000. This also may explain why the November 1720 mortgage for £10,000 was needed. In addition 'through Act of Parliament' he agreed with his neighbour, the Earl of Cardigan, to exchange Winshaw Wood which lay 'contiguous to the Chace' with some other Montagu woodland which lay closer to the Deene estates belonging to the Earl.²⁰³ The legal process involved in securing the exchange would have added further

²⁰¹ B. Bellamy, *Geddington Chase. The History of a Wood* (Irthlingborough, 1986), pp.45-6.

²⁰² EPSM, Northamptonshire 1720-22, BHA.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

costs to the plan. However the proposed enclosure did not take place. Proposals were suggested which allotted Brigstock, Geddington and Stanion, a sizeable plot of land in lieu for their share of the commons. A 100 acres was proposed for Stanion, 130 for Geddington and 98 for Brigstock. The land plots in lieu of common right would have presumably been carved out of the additional land that the Duke had been buying up in the Brigstock area. There were initial concerns that Cardigan would not cooperate in the scheme: the Boughton steward reported that he had assured his tenants that he would never agree to the scheme unless they were given ground in lieu of their rights in the Chase that would keep 'three times the cattle they ever did & something settled on the poor.' However he later stated that either Cardigan had been misreported or he had a change of heart as he urged his tenants to sign the agreement rescinding their common rights judging 'what an advantage it would be to every one, & what difficulties they might meet with provided they did not agree to it'.²⁰⁴

Although the plans had been sufficiently developed through the Act of Parliament to exchange land and (it appears) consent had been obtained from the commoners, the actual enclosure 'never took place, and by 1724 all dealings regarding extinguishing of rights had been dropped'. By this time the costly St Lucia project had failed and it may have been financial reasons that put a stop to the proposed enclosure. The cost of granting away so much land, the ongoing legal expenses together with labour expenses for clearing the coppice wood from the new allotment and enclosing them with a fence and ditch which he had agreed to maintain for six years may have been the reason why the project was halted.²⁰⁵

The proposed enclosure was therefore another costly scheme which the Duke embarked on directly after the South Sea Bubble and although it was halted, it demonstrates that far from retrenching during the period immediately after 1720, he was financially confident. The acquisition of the new estates around Brigstock which may have been needed to complete the enclosure successfully meant that his estate portfolio had expanded significantly and that the value of his estate rental from his Northamptonshire estates had also significantly increased. In addition, in 1723, he purchased the manor of Kettering from the disgraced director of the South Sea Company, Sir Francis Hawes.²⁰⁶ The Duke's

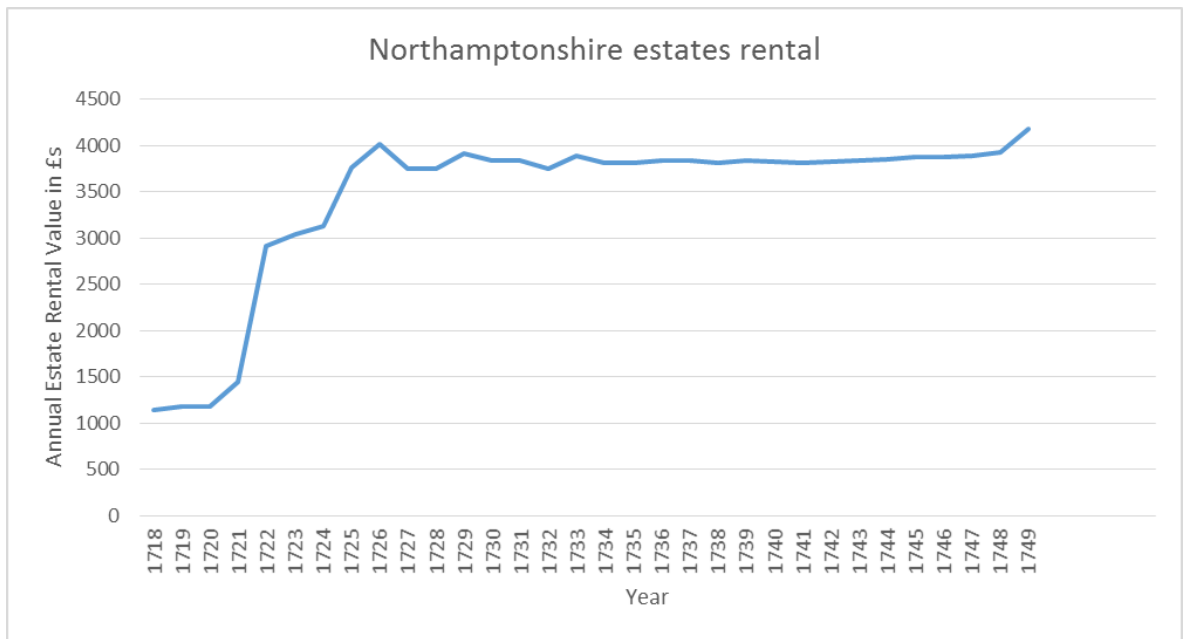
²⁰⁴ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.130.

²⁰⁵ Bellamy, *Geddington Chase*, pp.47-8.

²⁰⁶ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.205.

financial confidence is demonstrated clearly by chart 2.1 which tracks the spike in the total rental from the Northamptonshire estates in the immediate post-Bubble era which was due to the purchase of the new estates.

Chart 2.1: Total annual value of Boughton collection rents.



Source: NRO, M(B) estate accounts, Boughton estate 1718-1749.

2.6 Impact of the South Sea Bubble on the tenants.

In early December 1721, Anne, Duchess of Richmond, wrote to her son who was staying in Venice as part of his Grand Tour describing her impression of the impact of the South Sea Bubble crisis on the economy. From the crash in the autumn of 1720, it still lingered at the close of 1721:

Every body complains of the dullness of London for neither operas, Lady Chetwinds, Bristols or Lady Straffords can get enough to pay for the candles, people are more dispirited at present and seem more sensible of their losses in the South Sea than last yeare, there being no redress to be hop'd for from the Parlement, it is very sure the counterys begin to find a bad Effect also, for the Farmers if they chance to sell their corn they are obliged to give it upon trust, for not a sheeling of ready money appears at Market.²⁰⁷

This demonstrates that even after the Act to Restore the Public Credit was given Royal Assent on 10 August 1721 and George I had declared in Parliament that he had the 'great pleasure' in seeing that 'Publick Credit now begins to recover; which gives me the greatest hopes that it will be entirely restored', financial confidence was still faltering.²⁰⁸ Those who had suffered losses had hoped that there would be compensation to help them out but as the Duchess confirmed, there was to be no 'redress'. Her letter creates the sense that by the end of 1721, the full extent of the financial problems that had hit South Sea Company investors the year before were only just starting to ripple out to the wider country. Her interest in writing about the economy extended beyond filling her letters with society gossip and tittle-tattle. Having spent at least three weeks in Sussex without her husband, it is likely that she would have had business interactions with the estate steward and social contact with the local gentry and clergy from whom she could have gleaned more of this type of information. There is some evidence that Anne took an active role in Richmond's financial interests. In a surviving letter from July 1713, Anne demonstrated her interest in estate matters by noting that the fee received from the 'coal farme' that the Duke of Richmond owned would be reduced by £1000 that year and she could not get a 'sheeling' from Mr Gibson, the coal farmer, for money owed from last Michaelmas.²⁰⁹ It is also likely that she may have been receiving news from friends and

²⁰⁷ W.R. Nicholl (ed.), *A Duke and his Friends: The Life and Letters of the Second Duke of Richmond. By the Earl of March* (London, 1911), p.54.

²⁰⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 19 August 1721, p.5.

²⁰⁹ Nicholl, *Richmond*, p.18.

family elsewhere in Britain. This may have included reports from people like her brother, the Earl of Cardigan, who at that time was negotiating the exchange of woodlands with the Duke of Montagu in Northamptonshire to facilitate the enclosure of Geddington Chase.²¹⁰ That the situation had arisen where farmers sold their corn on trust instead of cash was of enormous interest to estate owners like the Duchess whose own financial security was pegged to the prompt payment of tenant farmers' rent.

Taking the Duchess of Richmond's interpretation of the 'bad Effect' that the South Sea Bubble had created across the wider country, this part of the chapter will investigate what evidence there is to suggest that the 2nd Duke of Montagu's estates were also impacted by this implied wider economic down-turn. It will examine estate records before, during and after the impact of the South Sea Bubble. The surviving steward letters from Boughton, Beaulieu and Warwickshire spanning the period to the mid-1720s provide evidence that tenants on the estates were impacted by the 'bad effect' that the Duchess of Richmond had described. As issues involving rent collection certainly existed prior to the autumn of 1720, it is feasible that the stewards were conveniently using the event as an excuse for their inability to manage the estate in an effective manner. However the pattern and severity of complaints by the stewards are apparent on each of the three estates and suggest (as the months pass beyond the winter of 1720) that a deepening financial crisis was taking place. There was a perception that some external factor was at play which had generated the economic problems. This contradicts other academic work on the impact of the Bubble which has restricted the impact to the Metropolis. The wider impact on the economy has been rigorously disputed by Julian Hoppit in 'Myths of the South Sea Bubble'. Using a range of documentary sources, including the regional press, he concluded that:

None made note of decay or depression in local industries or trade brought on by that crisis. They reported the Bubble as very much a metropolitan phenomenon, albeit one with links to Paris and Amsterdam ... Their silence on the local economy, though in keeping with their usual perspective, is as striking as the absence of evidence ever can be... Elsewhere one occasionally comes across positive evidence that the Bubble's provincial impact was inconsiderable.

²¹⁰ Anne, 1st Duchess of Richmond was sister to the Earl of Cardigan. His estate at Deene lay a short distance from Boughton and his son George (and her nephew) married the 2nd Duke of Montagu's daughter in 1730.

William Stout, the Lancaster merchant, noted that ‘It did not affect this country much, but the Lord Lonsdall lost most of his estate’.²¹¹

Beckett’s work on Cumbria highlights the misfortunes of Cumbrians who lost money like Lonsdale and Pennington but he does not have scope in his article to investigate whether or not there was any ripple effect locally and concludes that ‘the speculation boom was largely confined to those in or around London at the time’.²¹² Recently, however, Patrick Walsh has looked at the impact that the Bubble had on investors outside the metropolis and challenged Hoppit’s work. Walsh investigated the effect that the Bubble had on the ‘periphery’ by analysing the Scottish and Irish ‘who either invested, or managed investments for others’. His work acknowledges that in Ireland, contemporaries ascribed ‘the singularly miserable state of the local economy to the ripple effects of the London crash’. He notes ‘declining trade figures, increased unemployment of Dublin artisans, and continued emigration to the North American colonies.’²¹³ Walsh’s conclusions echo the opinion expressed by the Duchess of Richmond and certainly what the stewards on the Duke of Montagu’s estate testified.

The letters which tell us the most about the impact that the South Sea Bubble period had on the estates were written by Jonathan Worcester, the steward from Warwickshire. He had held the post for over ten years and was well respected: when in 1721 a young man wished to train as a steward for the Duke of Montagu, it was proposed by those in Northamptonshire to send him to Jonathan Worcester as he was the ‘the best able of any ...in that busyness’.²¹⁴ The evidence he gives in his letters can therefore be judged as reliable as he had extensive experience about the estate and had worked in the business long enough to make informed judgements about the economic situation. From March 1721, he indicated that money was still outstanding from the previous year and possibly from the previous rental period as he promised the Head Steward in London that he would:

Destrain on every one and remit it all by ...Easter (except) these poor tenants I have here sent you ye perticulars of where there is nothing to be had but poor

²¹¹ J. Hoppit, ‘The myths of the South Sea Bubble’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), p.154.

²¹² Beckett, ‘Cumbrians’, p.144.

²¹³ P. Walsh, ‘Irish money on the London market: Ireland, the Anglo-Irish, and the South Sea Bubble of 1720’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39, no.1 (2015), pp.131-154. P. Walsh, ‘The Bubble on the periphery: Scotland and the South Sea Bubble’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 91, no.1 (2012), pp.106-24.

²¹⁴ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.48.

Children and Stinking rags- in one of your lately, you write word his Grace would forgive provided they would pay punctually for ye time to come.²¹⁵

By July 1721, money was still owing and Worcester gave the excuse that, ‘everything sells so very low that is ye worst time for ye Tenants to raise Money that I ever knew in my life there not being money to pay for what is sold.’²¹⁶ A month later he wrote again and linked the national events of the South Sea Bubble to the financial crisis in his locality.

I ... shall use my utmost industry to collect as much more and remit as soon as possible but ye unhappy turn of affairs has shrank the price of fat Cattle and all manner of Goods that it is like to Be ye worst year for Tenants that hath been for a many years and there is not money to be had to pay for half that is sold in ye Country, and what is sent to London to be sold for money is sold at so low a price that ye Tenants hath next to nothing for his keeping and that pays Rent but poorly I will take all care in My power to get all ye [money] sent up before Michaelmas but I am very well assured it will fall hard on many Tenants... in a short time send you an exact list of ye Insolvents.²¹⁷

The following spring, the ‘Bad Effect’ was still causing problems on the Warwickshire estate. In May 1722, Worcester wrote to Montagu House, apologising in particular that Mr Marchant, the House Steward, was ‘uneasy’ that the arrears could not be collected.²¹⁸ In June 1722 following the award of the grant of St Lucia, there was obviously pressure to have rent returned to London so that it could be spent on fitting out the ships that would take part in the expedition with supplies and recruit the labourers.

Worcester told Booth at this crucial time:

I am very sorry it displeased his Grace and yourself for I have done what is in my power to get them in with maintaining his Grace’s honour and safety, and using his Grace’s Tenants with what tenderness I think they ought to be used, in such perilous times... You could send an angel of a man in my place into Warwickshire without he could procure money from Heaven or some other Country, it will be still scarce here and he must undergoe some difficultys in getting it up.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Worcester to Booth, 28 March 1721, BHA, WEL.

²¹⁶ Worcester to Booth, 21 July 1721, BHA, WEL.

²¹⁷ Worcester to Booth, 13 August 1721, BHA, WEL.

²¹⁸ Worcester to Booth, 22 May 1722, BHA, WEL.

²¹⁹ Worcester to Booth, 19 June 1722, BHA, WEL.

The imagery he uses in this letter suggests that even if divine providence interjected, in the form of an angel, they would still struggle to get the tenants to pay their rent as the cash just was not there to pay it. As Worcester stated these were ‘perilous times’ and it is feasible to imagine that the Duke of Montagu was at a loss to predict when the financial difficulties could be over. With the ongoing bad news from the country estates from 1721, perhaps the Duke believed that his estates as a traditional source of income could no longer be relied on and other potential sources such as colonial ventures and industrial enterprises (as chapters three and four will explore) should be investigated.

Autumn came with more bad news from Warwickshire. Now two years after the Bubble burst, Worcester reported that ‘times are much worse this year than ye last every thing being sunk so low’.²²⁰ In November he reported that a particular tenant, John Dowel, had absconded being ‘Broke’. Dowel had ‘gone off’ owing a year’s rent of £15 and £4 of arrears. There was nothing that the Duke could distrain as there was ‘not one hoofe of stock on the land’.²²¹ His final word on the ‘perilous times’ is summed up by his account of the annual gathering of the Wroth Silver at Martinmas on the Warwickshire estate. This ancient feudal custom appears to have been revived by the 2nd Duke of Montagu who wanted to revitalise the ancient rights and privileges that related to his estates. This was not primarily due to financial reasons but more to ensure these rights were maintained and not forgotten. Estate records reveal that the ceremony itself cost more than what was actually raised.²²² As the Duke told his head steward, William Folkes, the silver was collected ‘according to custom’ as tenants of Knightlow Hundred came together to pay their dues in an ancient rite.²²³ He further explained to him that the ancient ceremony took place at Knightlow Cross on ‘Martelmas day before sun Rize’, those who paid ‘need to have & should have a breakfast’ and those who did not ‘forfeit in money or a white hart with Red ears’.²²⁴ All this portrays the notion of a harmonious and ancient ceremony where tenants paid their dutiful respects to their Lord. Worcester’s recollection of the Wroth Silver Ceremony of 1722 however provides an indicator of the mood of the people living through this seemingly forgotten financial crisis in Warwickshire. He related that the ceremony was ‘performed with such grumbling and cursing as I never met with

²²⁰ Worcester to Booth, 9 September 1722, BHA, WEL.

²²¹ Worcester to Booth, 13 November 1722, BHA, WEL.

²²² For example: 11 November 1736, costs were 11s 6d and raised 9s 3 ½ d, Estate account summary, NRO, M(B) 104, f.356.

²²³ Montagu to Folkes, 3 October 1738, Norf.RO, FoH, MC 50/2/46.

²²⁴ Montagu to Folkes, 26 October 1740, Norf.RO, FoH, MC 50/2/119.

before, since I had ye honor to be employd by his Grace, there being severall of them that was forced to come ye Over Night and lay at charge at Two Alehouses near ye place.’²²⁵

Worcester’s series of estate letters which followed the fall-out of the South Sea Bubble have therefore left a degree of detail to indicate that the ripple effect from the Bubble was felt in Warwickshire. Some of the tenants may have been speculators themselves who had lost money but it was more likely that they were simply affected by the drying up of ready money in the economy to pay cash for what they grew on their farms and sold at markets. The Boughton estate letters also give a similar impression of the economic climate. In relation to the sequence of events during the Bubble year of 1720, a letter written by Reverend Jeffrey Barton from the estate village of Warkton indicated that even as early as March 1720, there was an element of unpredictability about the economy which confirms Habakkuk’s conclusion that ‘early in 1720 the mania spread to land’ purchase.²²⁶ The Duke wished to purchase an estate which was proving difficult to agree a price on. The vendor, Samuel Lees, had:

Promised ...you should have it at 25 years purchase, I hope in God I may keep him to his word but you Gentlemen of the English Messasippi have given such a turn to affairs & brought money so low that we don’t know what to ask for land now.²²⁷

The Boughton letters are not as blunt and direct as those from the Warwickshire estate. This is probably due to the fact that a new steward, Elias Walter, had been appointed in June 1720 so he was less certain of the role and more restrained in the tone used in his correspondence to Montagu House. Prior to Mr. Walter’s arrival, the Duke’s chaplain, Reverend Lamotte, had been acting as the interim steward and as a replacement for the rent receiver, Mr Balgay, who had left prior to March 1720. Estate management at Boughton therefore may have been disrupted leading to issues with tenants not paying their rents. Lamotte had written to the Duke stating that he wished ‘Mr Antonie would come or somebody to overlook affairs, for since Mr Balgay has left of, things go pretty much in abandon.’²²⁸ There had also been a very recent attempt to raise rents as Lamotte complained that the tenant ‘farmers’ had approached him and ‘desired’ him to write to the Duke ‘about the raising of the rents, but it is a thing I don’t understand ... [so] I

²²⁵ Worcester to Booth, 19 June 1722, BHA, WEL.

²²⁶ Habakkuk, *Estates System*, p.511.

²²⁷ Barton to Montagu, 31 March 1720, BHA, Barton letters.

²²⁸ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.37.

declined it.²²⁹ This mention of rents being raised also in March 1720 could suggest that the Duke was attempting to gain more rental income to purchase stock. Another letter from Barton also refers to the impact of raised rents, but whereas Lamotte appears to have side-stepped the issue, Barton undertook to represent the pleas of the tenants and appeals to the Duke by depicting him not as a mere rent raising land-lord but as something far more noble. Indeed there is a sense that he was appealing to the ‘little king’ that de Saussure referred. Barton described the moment that the ‘ye whole vasallage of Warkton’ came to him:

With one mouth, cried out they were undone, for they were all discharg’d from yr Grace’s Land ... they were not able to hold at ye Rent now propos’d but if that was insisted on must leave, wch would be the ruine of most of em but to let yr Grace see that this did no proceed from obstinancy or out of a purse proud opinion that yr Grace would not easily meet with such other Tenants ... I may say this advance is more, I realy fear, than yr land will bear.²³⁰

A later undated letter from Barton demonstrates that the Duke did have a change of heart. Barton reported that the good news was ‘received with such joy that ye poor creatures could scarce keep their senses’. Barton’s praise of the Duke’s decision plays on the idea that the tenants were the Duke’s vassals entirely at the mercy of his decisions which he presents akin to a royal decree, stating that each had got a copy of his letter agreeing not to raise the rent:

I believe they will write it in Gold and hang it in the church, nay I almost think they will erect you a statue and that even I, ye poor pipe that conveyed that favour to them shall be placed in miniature at your feet humbly upon my knees offering up their praises and thanksgiving to God for inclining your heart to this great goodness ... they tell me old Meadows, & one or two of ... the same age, that is above 70, who before could hardly crawl upon ye earth, loaden with ye thoughts of finding out a place where they should deposit their poor carkesses now they have assurance of laying their bones by their fathers are grown as brisk as boys of 17 & don’t care for dying. Unless it be in your Graces Service ...²³¹

Over the next few years, the new steward, Walter had considerable difficulty collecting rent and it could be that the victory against the rent rise by the tenants of Warkton may have given the wider Boughton estate tenancy the belief that they could also exercise negotiation tactics when it came to paying or delaying their rent. The real economic

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Barton to Montagu, 8 March 1720, BHA, Barton Letters.

²³¹ Barton to Montagu, n.d., BHA, Barton Letters.

impact of the ripple effect of the Bubble on the Northamptonshire estates may therefore be skewed by the actions in early 1720. During 1721, Walter's letters back to London continually complained of the difficulties he had in receiving rent and payment for the wood sales that he co-ordinated at Boughton. He stressed to the chief steward, John Booth, in January 1721 that he could not 'get any money of the persons you mentioned' and that he was already having to consider 'taking a distress of Newton Miller, & two or three more.'²³² By March 1721, the situation had not improved. Walter reported again the difficulty in getting the tenants to pay their outstanding rents from Michaelmas:

Nobody at Geddington has paid but Anthony Hames ... nor but two at Newton, & two or three of the little tenants at Weekly. Warkton have most paid but Mr Kirk. A great many more in other places have not. I have done with what lies in my power without taking a distress.²³³

The situation continued to worsen. In September 1721, Walter reported that he still had not received 'any money of above one or two persons' for the Lady Day rents. The lack of income coming into Boughton meant he could not get any cash 'to pay the labourers' or return cash to London as usual.²³⁴ Difficulties in raising money on the estate may have been a reason for Lamotte suggesting to the Duke that Walter and his wife should be removed from Boughton in July 1721 as he would save 'above £60 a year... considering the wood they burn & employing 2 or 3 labourers constantly in their busyness & the dairy that they have set up & your linen that they use.'²³⁵ In December 1721, at the same time that the Duchess of Richmond had discussed the 'bad effect', Walter wrote to Booth to tell him that 'Money is very hard to be got.'²³⁶ In February 1722, the Duke's order was issued which stated that:

Such Tenants as doe not ... clear their Rents (except in extraordinary cases of losses or other misfortunes) shall be discontinued from their farms without admitting of any Plea or Excuse'.

However by May 1722 Walter again complained to Booth of the 'want of money', the arrears were still a considerable problem and he judged that it 'will be a great while before they are got'.²³⁷ Chart 2.2 sets out the arrears at Boughton during the early 1720s and demonstrates how high they were. The next period when arrears reached similar levels

²³² McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.109.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p.113.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.128.

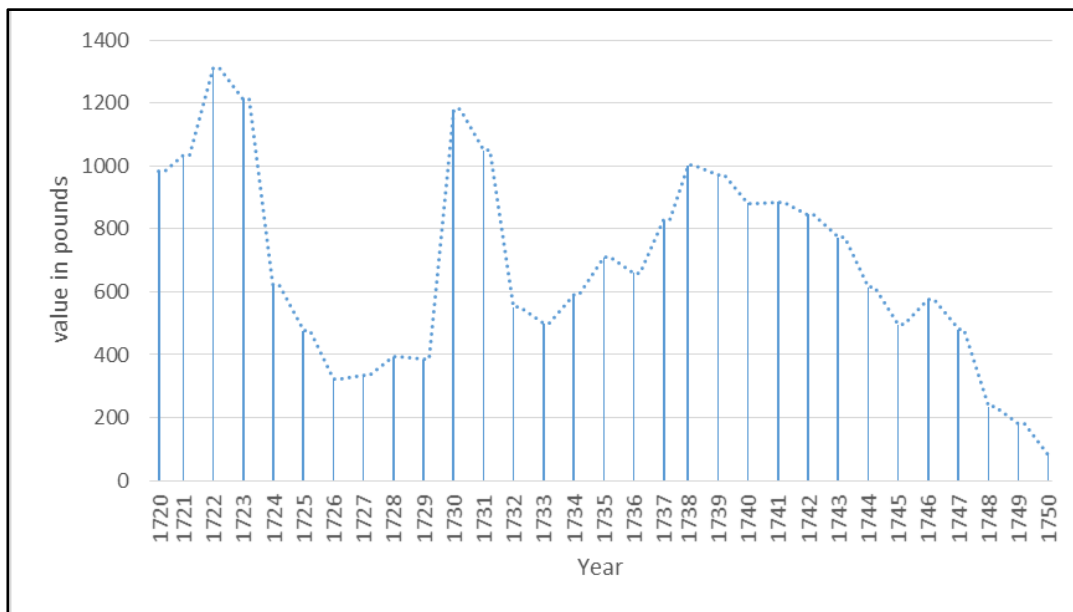
²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.46.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.143.

was in 1730. This probably occurred because the Duke continued to buy parts of the manor of Kettering. The peak in 1730-31 may reflect arrears generated by the new estate but further research is required as it may have been caused by another factor such as a poor harvest.²³⁸

Chart 2.2. Boughton Estate Arrears, 1720-1750.



Source: Boughton estate accounts summary 1720-1750, NRO, M(B) 103 and 104.

Aside from rent, income generated on the Boughton estate also depended on the wood sales. Walter's letters demonstrate that the post-Bubble period affected these too. By January 1721, the wood buyers asked 'to have credit for sometime'. By April, wood sales had not realised 'near the valuation'. Land rents were suffering too, Walter reported in the same letter to Booth that he could not let Benefield Common 'for near the price you writ word. I was bid but five pounds per year'.²³⁹ Meanwhile the money raised in London

²³⁸ Page (ed.), 'Parishes: Kettering', in *Northampton*, 3, pp. 218-226, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/northants/vol3/pp218-226> [accessed 6 November 2017].

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.116-17.

by the sale of four bullocks from Boughton in May 1721 was judged by Walter to be ‘sadly sold’.²⁴⁰ More wood was sold in June 1721 ‘but not for ready money’.²⁴¹ Matters were made worse for Walter in August 1721 when he discovered that ‘Edwins the copy keeper of Weekley Hall’ wood, had absconded (as the tenant John Dowel in Warwickshire did later in the year) with some of the much needed money from wood sales.²⁴² Eventually the Duke ordered that ‘no timber be cutt upon any of his estates for this season except such chapmen come as will give a good price, & pay ready money’.²⁴³

In the estate letters there is little evidence for how the poor were affected by the financial downturn, however, Walter gives a clue early in his letters in January 1721 that they were perhaps turning to the expensive tradition of country house hospitality, that de Saussure noted, for sustenance. Walter reported that he:

Had occasion to turn sum people off[f] & as soon as I do they are the next day taken into the house, & feasted, & encouraged by the people there which will make others not take any notice. If that is suffered every body will be masters as they ust to be.²⁴⁴

McKay and Hall interpret this as the ‘illicit entertainment of the servants’ relatives and friends’ however it may equally refer to the feeding of those who found it harder to secure casual labour during the winter months. In August 1721, Lamotte wrote to the Duke on behalf of the ‘minister and inhabitants’ of Thrapston. They desired a building belonging to the Duke and hoped that he would ‘give it to em for a work house’. Lamotte reminded the Duke that:

Your Grace had once a thought of doing so at Geddington. It would do a vast deal of good to that town which for the bigness of it is one of the most populous and the poorest villages in England.²⁴⁵

Perhaps Lamotte’s comments about introducing a work house at Geddington at this time were a result of the financial problems affecting the estate and the inhabitants.

Apart from the specific names of those who could not afford to pay their rent which are sometimes given, there is little detail in the letters on how their lives were affected. John

²⁴⁰ Ibid.,p..118.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p.121.

²⁴² Ibid., p.127.

²⁴³ 2nd Duke’s Boughton orders book, 22 February 1722,p.1.

²⁴⁴ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, pp.110-11.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p.48.

Belcher, tradesman of Kettering, wrote to Booth in June 1721 demanding money still owed by the Duke's father. He apologised for pressing for the debt and wished his 'circumstances have admitted of longer delay'. The fact that he had finally chosen to call in the debt perhaps suggests how desperate the times had become.²⁴⁶ However far more telling is the report that Walter sent back to Montagu House in March 1722 about the melancholy story of a suicide that was clearly linked to debt. Robert Barrow, the Weekley miller was in arrears and owed money elsewhere. Walter stated that one night:

The miller got out of his bed under pretence to heat the child som milk, & drowned himself in the head of mill dam which has left a miserable family behind. The jury brought in in willfull murther so all his affects are My Lord ['s].²⁴⁷

As the suicide was regarded as a felony or wilful murder, the Duke as Lord of the Manor was entitled to take possession of the felon's goods. However Barrow's goods did not cover 'half the book debts' and his family remained in debt to the Duke.²⁴⁸ Walter also took a distress on Newman the miller who held the Newton mill in June 1721. For both millers (located a couple of miles apart from each other) to have suffered from similar financial problems at the same time is surely noteworthy. In August 1721 Walter wanted to know whether he should press ahead and distrain the Newton miller, 'and sel his goods now ... People tel me he minds his business very well now but I am afraid it is too late'.

249

Similar problems were soon apparent when the new estates at Brigstock and elsewhere came into the Duke's possession in 1722. The rent receiver, Charles Norgrave, reported a number of specific problems. This included the tenant, Daniel Feaver, who 'found he was not capable of holding the estate he [was] in possession of' and sought cheaper land and 'a house of easier rent'.²⁵⁰ Norgrave queried whether he should 'justifye seizing Mr Forester's stock' as he could not see any other way that Forster could pay the rent as somebody else who was owed money has already secured 'the crop on the arable land'.²⁵¹ William Chapman of Little Oakley was also under similar threat and 'kept strong guard

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p.122.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p.134.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.135.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p.157.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p.170.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p.170.

at home' to ensure nobody seized his property.²⁵² Eventually Norgrave reported that tenant Feaver had also absconded, having 'gon off to avoid an action of the Lady Danvers'.²⁵³

At Beaulieu similar difficulties were reported although given that the estate had already suffered financial problems it is unclear if the reports of the tenants owing money were longer standing issues. However, Reverend Sone joined the other stewards in agreeing that there was something unique about the economic situation. In September 1721, he noted that in collecting rent, he 'never knew so much difficulty in getting it where due nor such universal complaints for ye same occasion'.²⁵⁴ Beaulieu was an estate which depended heavily on timber sales and would-be buyers made similar complaints to those who bought wood at Boughton. Around the same time, Sone admitted that he could not:

Yet find any buyer for the timber in abbot No more yn 22s per load has been yet offered wch is too little ... our dealers complain there is no trade & they know not wt to do with what they have by 'em.'²⁵⁵

Due to the ongoing difficulties he had in collecting rent, Reverend Sone was replaced by Joseph Burgiss in early 1722. The new steward noted that out of the outstanding rents there were 'maney of them yt never will be had'. He echoed the problems faced by the other estates at this time, stating the difficulties in getting hold of actual cash and that he found 'it very hard to be gotten of anye heare, as to Demands for Timber heare are a few or none att present ... Hopp poles will not sell at any price and Hoopes will not yield the prices they did last year.'²⁵⁶

Given the widespread financial problems that seemed to beset the estates at this time and the need to circulate cash on the estates, it is possible that the work carried out at Boughton and Beaulieu by the Duke in this period of financial downturn can be viewed in relation to what we would describe today as 'work creation' schemes. It was certainly on a rather monumental scale. The Duke implemented projects which would employ a large work force which could be relatively unskilled. It is not apparent that any significant small-scale but expensive projects took place in this period which could have

²⁵² Ibid.,p.174.

²⁵³ Ibid.,p.175.

²⁵⁴ Sone to Booth, 9 September 1721, BHA, BEL.

²⁵⁵ Sone to Booth, 13 August 1721, BHA, BEL.

²⁵⁶ Burgiss to Booth, 11 February 1722, BHA, BEL.

been completed by just a few skilled artisans such as high-quality decorative schemes for interiors. For example the proposal to replace the existing brick wall at Boughton with a '£1000' stone wall was underway by March 1722 with men digging stone.²⁵⁷ Initially the mason, Henry Knight had told Walter that the existing wall was 'so well secured' it would be impossible to reuse the bricks as they would be damaged in the dismantling of it.²⁵⁸ This suggests that the wall was in good repair and did not need to be replaced as a boundary other than for aesthetic reasons. The shift from brick to stone had progressed by April 1722 and 'one acre' had been completed by that time.²⁵⁹ Similarly the labour-intensive projects of digging out the extended canal and the Broad Water as well as aspiring to creating a '280 foot bass' pyramid mount, all required a large labour force. When work was halted on building the mount in 1723 whilst decisions were made about the construction, William Sutton begged that the work might be soon restarted so that 'the poor men may be sett to work againe'.²⁶⁰ It is not known if the use of 'poor' alludes to their economic status or to the fact that they were simply frustrated by the delay in work. However in the accounts which list payments covering the period April to October 1721, the cost of hiring labourers at Boughton is broken down into specific sets of type of labour instead of being lumped together under one heading 'Tradesman Bills and Country Payments'. This reveals a total amount of £357 3s 11d spent on labour during a seven month period, which included £176 on labour in the garden (presumably towards digging the canal extension) but also a further £83 16s 3d on 'out labour'.²⁶¹ Generally the sum paid to the 'tradesman' appointed to carry out the work was listed in the accounts as a total paid without breaking down the labour charge. For example on 30 June 1724, William White's payment of £194 for the 'new peece of water' was listed but the labour element (presumably a large part of this figure for digging out the Broad Water) was not specified.²⁶² This breaking down of labour costs could have been an intentional act to highlight to the Duke how much work for 'poor men' his projects had created.

The construction of the large-scale mount at this time initially appears an oddity. Seeber's research on Oxford New College's Mount Garden traced the history of the prospect mount which began 'with the druids' and continued 'through medieval times'

²⁵⁷ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.135.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.133.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.139.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.205-6.

²⁶¹ An account of cash paid to the out labourers, April-October 1721, NRO, M (B) 24, ff.17.

²⁶² Tradesmen bills, 30 June 1724, NRO, Walter accounts, M(B) 29, f.14.

until they were established as ‘popular features in English formal gardens from the sixteenth century onwards’. They received the royal seal of approval with the ‘the first formal mount’ in Henry VIII’s Mount Garden, Hampton Court in 1529.²⁶³ By the early 1720s, Lord Hartford’s refashioned prehistoric burial mound at Marlborough Castle, Wiltshire was an important landscape feature which Stukeley drew in 1723.²⁶⁴ The Duke’s motivation for creating his own appears to have been due to making use of the surplus earth from digging the extended Broad Water. Stukeley later described the construction as a ‘Square pyramidal mount of great breadth & height, encompassed with water.’²⁶⁵ In his poem about Boughton he described it further:

So superb a pile; magnificent,
Enormous work, of labour, and of art.

As a close friend of the Duke and a personal guest at Boughton, his reference to the ‘enormous work, of labour’ suggests that he had been told about the work involved in creating it by the Duke himself.²⁶⁶ Around the same time as Stukeley visited Boughton, the Reverend Philip Doddridge made several visits in the summer of 1748 and noted that the Duke’s work at Boughton ‘was a most worthy thing’ because he had sought ‘to beautify the creation of God and at the same time to support such a number of poor families’ which could be interpreted as evidence for ongoing work creation schemes..²⁶⁷ He may not have been aware that the works in the garden had been completed some years before, or perhaps he was witnessing new large-scale work creation schemes like the ongoing planting of the vistas.²⁶⁸ Similarly the sea banks project and other associated flood defences on the Beaulieu estate including restoration of the moat, also meant that a ‘numerous company of workmen’ was needed to undertake the work.²⁶⁹ Were these

²⁶³ K. Seeber, ‘Ye making of ye mount’: Oxford New College’s mount garden revised’, *Garden History*, 40, no.1 (2012) pp.3-16.

²⁶⁴ W. Stukeley, View of Lord Hartford’s House at Marlborough, 29 June 1723, *Itinerarium curiosum: or, An Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels through Great Britain*, 2 vols (London, 1724), i, p.64.

²⁶⁵ Stukeley Journal, 6 September 1744, Bodleian, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 125, p.43-4.

²⁶⁶ W. Stukeley, ‘A month’s entertainment at Boughton’, *The British Magazine*, August 1749, pp.339-42.

²⁶⁷ G. F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge DD (1702-1751)* Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1979), p.277.

²⁶⁸ The Duke of Montagu’s orders 1744-1748, BHA, details the Duke continued his campaign to create additional ridings with the large scale planting of trees.

²⁶⁹ Sone to John Booth, 1 July 1721, BHA, BEL.

works at Boughton and Beaulieu therefore prioritised by the Duke to allow cash to flow into the estate and to benefit as wide a range of people as possible rather than selecting other costly projects which would not have resulted in the same impact on the local economy? Additional studies on similar landscape and building designs to such a monumental scale on other estates during this period of economic turbulence with a focus on how far they created work for the local labour force would be welcome to enable more sense to be made of the Duke of Montagu's projects.

2.7 Conclusion.

This chapter has evaluated the evidence of activity on the Montagu estates following the South Sea Bubble to ascertain whether it is likely that the 2nd Duke of Montagu speculated and gained from investments in the South Sea Company. Comparing his activities with his contemporaries suggests that he may have made money because he appeared to be financially confident after the Bubble, purchasing additional estates and carrying out schemes of work on his existing property. In contrast, evidence from the estate records suggests that local people experienced a financial downturn, probably not through being speculators themselves but due to a lack of ready cash in the economy. This created a financial crisis on a local level that was reflected simultaneously in three different regions, on the Hampshire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire estates. This down-turn may have led to work creation schemes to pump money back into the local economy such as the £83 paid to the out labourers at Boughton during 1721.

The next chapter will move on to specifically exploring one of the schemes that the Duke launched in the period following the South Sea Bubble. It will investigate the motives behind the St Lucia expedition of 1722, detail reasons for the failure and determine whether he framed the whole venture within a narrative to demonstrate that he was a 'Patriot' and not a projector.

Chapter Three

The 2nd Duke of Montagu's plan to colonise St Lucia and St Vincent

3.1 Gaining a grant for St Lucia.

In early May 1722, the 2nd Duke of Montagu wrote to a friend in the Caribbean, William Mathew, lieutenant-general of the Leeward Isles, governor of St Christopher and resident of Antigua.²⁷⁰ Despite the turmoil caused by the South Sea Bubble during the previous two years, his letters to Mathew demonstrate that he was still enthusiastic about participation in projector-style ventures and his interest had not been dampened by his experience as a South Sea Company investor.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you last in England, we talked of a South Sea project which I believe [now] will not succeed better than our South Sea projects have done here, but this which I am now going to take in hand will in all probability meet with success provided I have the assistance of some friend in your part of the world...

The letter exuded excitement about the project which was 'to settle a new colony in some part of the west-indies'. He admitted to him that ever since they had met in London 'my thoughts have run upon some undertaking of that kind'. The Duke had obviously given thought to whatever had originally been discussed between himself and Mathew, but he had improved upon the idea and now had a project 'that might be upon surer ground & with a better prospect of success'. Furthermore, this 'project' was no longer simply an idea but had been translated into reality, as he stated that he was now ready to 'undertake a thing of that kind, upon a grant which the King hath made me and which will pass the great seal in a very few days, which I don't doubt with your assistance will easily succeed.' Mathew must have felt under great pressure as Montagu also wrote, 'I build all my hopes of success in this affair upon your friendship which I intirely depend upon.'

²⁷¹ Despite stating that he depended on Mathew for the project's success, the Duke chose to keep Mathew in the dark about the precise nature of exactly where the new colony would be. These letters between the Duke and Mathew are the first indication that the expedition was the product of the Duke drawing on the expertise and support of a network

²⁷⁰ V. L. Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua* (London, 1894), p.252.

²⁷¹ Montagu to Mathew, 22 April 1722, BL Add MS 38510 E, f.21.

of people. However they also indicate that he exercised his own agency in instigating the project and that it was not a scheme hatched by others.

This chapter will explore the significance of the Duke's Caribbean project and determine what it reveals about his overall attitude to project development, estate management and treatment of those under his control. As discussed in chapter one, historians of colonialism have paid little interest to the Duke of Montagu's settlement, probably because it was a short-lived failure. However at the time, in relation to other colonisation projects, it was claimed to be 'the greatest ever undertaken by a Subject at his own Expenditure', which surely invites greater attention.²⁷² It is outside the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed account of the expedition or do justice to the wealth of documentation that survives relating to it. It is however beneficial to briefly summarise the circumstances by which the 'miscarriage' occurred.

In compliance with the terms of his grant, the Duke of Montagu assembled an expedition to the Caribbean of 446 white settlers, and a list of their names survives in the National Archives.²⁷³ These were led by a Captain Nathaniel Uring who acted as the Duke's deputy-governor. Shortly after some of the expedition ships had left London in August 1722, the French published a declaration that they would not allow the Duke to establish a colony on St Lucia. When the ships arrived at St Lucia (figure one) on 17 December 1722, Uring was immediately made aware that a mandate had been published by the King of France on the neighbouring French-controlled island of Martinique which stated, 'if the English did not leave the Island of St Lucia in the Space of Fifteen Days, they were to be drove off by Force of Arms'. Uring expressed concern but hoped 'it might be a French Gasconade' and decided to 'let the people know as little as possible'.²⁷⁴ He pressed on with constructing Fort Montagu above the bay of Petite Careenage (figure two). After a fortnight of Uring attempting to construct the makeshift fortifications, many of the expedition force had become sick and some had deserted to the French. The constant worry that the French would attack added to the misery, so by 4 January 1723, he was reporting:

Several of our Men desert to the French ...with their Arms and Cloaths, so that we were much at a Loss who to trust. We were alarmed very often in the Night

²⁷² Uring, *Settlement*, p.120.

²⁷³ Account of the Duke of Montagu's Settlement, 1722-24, TNA, CO 258/3.

²⁷⁴ Uring, *Settlement*, p.8.

which fatigued the Men; who grew tired and weaker every Day, as well as fewer in Number.²⁷⁵

By 6 January, he reported that the French had landed ‘the best and most experienced Officers ... and a body of 1400 Men.’²⁷⁶ In contrast Uring stated that there were now ‘no more than Seventy Men fit to bear Arms; and half of them did not know the use of them.’²⁷⁷ The French, ‘to prevent Effusion of Blood’ allowed Uring to capitulate and leave the island.²⁷⁸ After a party from the Expedition was also driven off St Vincent, Uring gave up hopes of establishing a settlement. On St. Christopher, Governor Mathew arranged for the accommodation of the expedition participants, leased out the able-bodied servants to planters and stored the supplies. Uring initially waited in the Caribbean for further instruction during 1723 and then arrived back in Dover on 28 May, 1724.²⁷⁹

Figure 3.1: Map of St Lucia c. 1723.



Source: Uring, Settlement, pp.118-19.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p.54.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p.71.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p.73.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p.82.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p.116.

Figure 3.2: 'A draft of the Carenage Harbour of St Lucia', January 1723.



Source: TNA, CO 700/St Lucia1.

3.2 Proprietary ownership.

In the Duke's papers which relate to St Lucia is a document which appears to be a transcription of an extract from Sir Josiah Child's book *A New Discourse on Trade*, which had been published in 1694. Child thought Tobago was:

A most fruitful island in the West Indies apt for the Production of Sugars and all other commodities that are propagated in Barbados and ... better accommodated with Rivers for water mills which are of Great use for Grinding of the Canes.²⁸⁰

The Duke's interest in Child's writings and his discussions with Mathew about colonial projects demonstrates his developing interest in the opportunities presented by the Caribbean, and creates the impression that he personally shaped and micro-managed his ideas for 'a new colony' which was to result in him receiving the grant from George I in June 1722 for 'the Propriety & Government of the Islands of St. Lucia & St. Vincent in America'.²⁸¹ As the Duke's letters to Mathew demonstrate, the grant was not issued on a royal whim but was the result of the Duke's thought and planning. He did not simply

²⁸⁰ Montagu, n.k., St Lucia Letter Book (SLLB), BHA, f.4.

²⁸¹ Account of the Duke of Montagu's Settlement, 1722-24, TNA, CO 258/3.

want to be granted land fit for plantations in an existing Crown colony but sought a grant which gave him 'privileges' based on the Crown grant of his Beaulieu estate which he had inherited from his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Southampton.²⁸² He had first petitioned for the grant in early January 1722, appearing before the Board of Trade and Plantations on 18 January to answer their queries and engender support for his scheme. When questioned by the commissioners on what these privileges were he insisted that they 'were only the common priviledges of a lord of a manor'. He then set before the Board 'an abstract of the grant of the Crown' for Beaulieu to serve as the model for his grant to St Lucia and St Vincent and left it for them to peruse.²⁸³ Ownership of the coastal Liberty of Beaulieu entitled the Duke to claim a variety of seigneurial rights including anchorage, mineral and mining rights, timber, possession of salvage and wreck as well as the authority to appoint judiciaries and clergymen. The Duke would already have been aware of the type of financial benefits these seigneurial rights could bring, based on the example of Beaulieu and also Furness. For example the Furness water bailiff in 1710 was instructed to 'look after, get in etc. all wrecks, duties etc. for anchorage and ships'. It is not known what the Furness anchorage duties were in 1722 but surviving evidence for 1737 indicates that ships paid 4d to the water bailiff each time they anchored in the creeks and inlets of Furness bay.²⁸⁴ Wrecks also produced income. In 1719, when a ship sank off the Furness coast, the custom house's deputy searcher, Thomas Winter, complained that the cargo of beef and brandy was 'claimed as wreck by the Lord of the Manors steward.'²⁸⁵

Chapter four of this thesis will explore how the Duke of Montagu was preoccupied with identifying and exploiting these privileges across his estates throughout his dukedom, so it is not surprising that he was drawn to acquire colonial territories where the practice of such privileges was the accepted framework of society. The colonial historian Charles Andrews highlighted how the Duke was particularly insistent that his colony acted as a 'seignory and manor' as if it was rather unusual.²⁸⁶ In his great scholarly work outlining the colonial history of America, Andrews afforded the failed expedition a place in his

²⁸² For details of the inheritance see: Settlement made by the Countess Dowager of Northumberland prior to her marriage with Ralph Montagu; 15-16 August 1673, UNMD, PI F4/6/2.

²⁸³ Board of Trade minutes, 18 January 1722, TNA, CO 391/31,Y, f.16.

²⁸⁴ 'Account of ships and vessels anchor'd within the Liberty of Furness 1737-1738', Barrow Record Office, Cumbria (BRO), BD/HJ/185/1.

²⁸⁵ Board to Collector, Port of Lancaster, 1715-28, TNA, CUST 81/70, f.57.

²⁸⁶ Andrews, *Settlements*, p.228.

narrative because it provided an ‘important’ example of how even by the eighteenth century American colonies still looked to be modelled on the English ‘manorial and proprietary environment’.²⁸⁷ The colonial system reproduced this model and elite colonisers like the Duke were still attracted by the idea of carving out their own fiefdom-style colonies enforcing the notion that manorial ‘possession of the soil was still the hallmark of quality’.²⁸⁸ An illustration of this is demonstrated in a letter to the Duke from the governor of Boston, Samuel Shute, who congratulated him ‘upon the Grant that His Majesty has pleased to make you of the soil of St Lucia’.²⁸⁹

The Duke’s experience of the income associated with leasing iron ore mining rights on his Furness estates (which were based on a fee for every ton mined) may have prompted his interest in the potential gains that mining might bring. It is therefore not surprising that letters were filed from potential settlers asking ‘if (there are) any lead or copper mines for some persons that understand mines are inclinable to go.’²⁹⁰ Others were keen to suggest additional places for the Duke to colonise to take advantage of mineral resources:

I have made a discovery in my Travells in Crab Island of two very good Gold mines and some small quantity of ore I had tried which proved very rich and excellent good; but not one person living knows of it but my self... when your Grace gets letters patent ... Ile Reserve those places where the mines are under the Notion of Plantations of your Grace and after the island is pretty well inhabited and fortified then your Grace may send out a Refiner or two with all manner of neccessarys to worke on these mines.²⁹¹

The Duke’s interests clearly lay in the full spectrum of the economic benefits of proprietary ownership that could be gained through seigneurial rights. As chapter four will explore, he also delighted in the concept that these rights were rooted in feudalism and whenever possible he sought to revive these rights to reinforce his image as an ‘overlord’ even if there was little financial incentive. Possession of St Lucia not only meant that he enjoyed the fiscal rights derived from his ownership of the soil but also gave him further scope to indulge this passion on his own island. This is best illustrated by his personal adaptation of a map of St Lucia which marked out his new estate.²⁹² To reinforce his ownership he partitioned the map into counties and parishes and gave each

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p.221.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p.200.

²⁸⁹ Shute to Montagu, 25 August 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.19.

²⁹⁰ Abel Makepeace to Montagu, 2 March 1722, SLLB, BHA, f.2.

²⁹¹ John Evans of Nevis to Montagu, 3 September 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.83.

²⁹² Annotated map of St Lucia, c.1722, BHA.

an identity which was a direct link to his ancestry and lineage, his English estates and a celebration of the victories of his father-in-law against the French. Hence he selected five county names and twenty parish names respectively:

1. **Montagu County:** Huxloe, Polebrook, Navisford, Knightlow.

This was the site of Pigeon Island, ‘a good road’ which was later to be Admiral Rodney’s strategic naval base but ‘not to be trusted’ in the hurricane season.²⁹³

2. **Monthermer County:** Oakley, Gedington, Newton, Brigstock.

This also was the location of the ‘best harbour’ and the first settlement, Fort Montagu. It appears this would have been the epicentre of the island’s administrative and commercial focus. The choice of parish names represent the ‘hundreds’ which were in possession of the Duke and afforded great seigneurial rights. Castries, St Lucia’s capitol is located on this harbour and developed adjacent to the original fort site.

3. **Boughton County:** Parishes: Weekley, Warkton, Hemington, Barnwell.

The parishes in these two counties represent the names of some of his Northamptonshire estates.

4. **Ristherley (Wriothesley) County:** Parishes: Dunchurch, Thurlaston, Bewley (Beaulieu), Newnham.

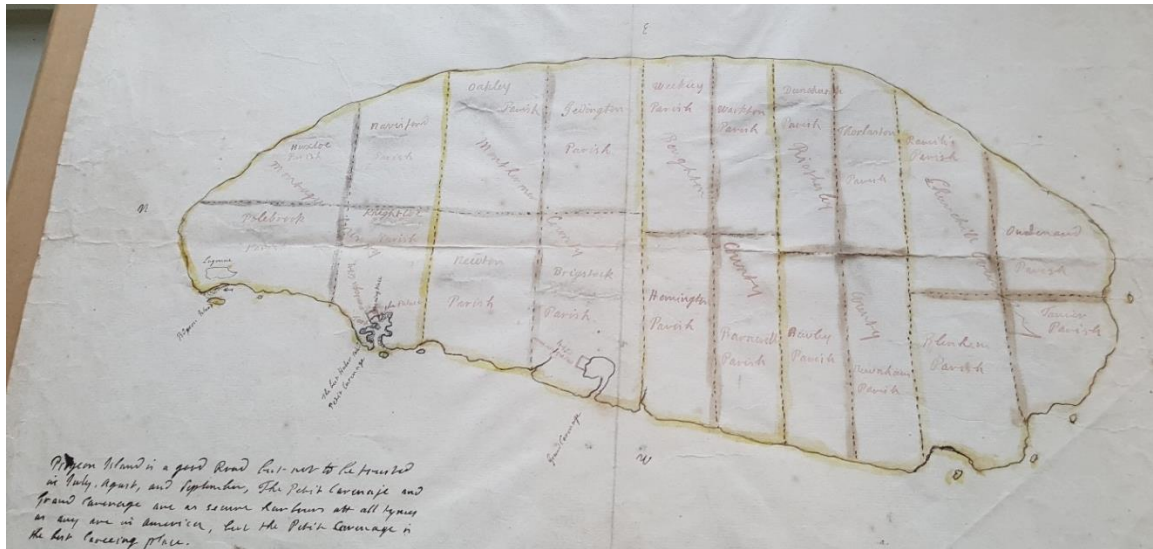
These represent the names of his estates in Warwickshire and Hampshire and were inherited from his mother’s Wriothesley (Earl of Southampton) line.

5. **Churchill County:** Ramillies, Blenheim, Oudenarde, Tanier (alternative name for Malplaquet).

These parish names represent the victories of his father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough.

²⁹³ ‘Road’ is an archaic word for a body of water less sheltered than a harbour. For more information on Rodney’s 1780s base, see: Harmsen, Ellis, Devaux, *St Lucia*, pp.49-50.

Figure 3.3: Duke of Montagu's annotated map of St Lucia c.1723.



Source: © Buccleuch.

Figure 3.4: Close up of the Duke's annotated map.



Source: © Buccleuch.

3.3 Patriotic motivation.

The Duke's motivation to secure and settle St Lucia was continually presented as something that was not for his own personal benefit but for the nation's benefit. In his official petition submitted following the failure of the venture, the Duke sought to explain that he was pursuing British ownership of St Lucia not for his own gain but because it was key to the security of the British Sugar Islands and hence the British economy:

That if the Island of St Lucia had been settled great quantities of British Manufactures would have been annually exported thither. Numbers of ships and seamen employed & of the Revenue of the Crown very much advanced ... That the Settling of the said Island would not only have been an addition of Strength to the British Interest in America but have intirely secured our Trade in the Charibbee Islands.²⁹⁴

As suggested in chapter two, he may have been actively trying to demonstrate that he was no 'gamester' or projector hoping to gain money from the venture but was simply acting from patriotic concerns, hence Nathaniel Uring's suggestion that his master's project was 'the greatest ever undertaken by a Subject at his own expense.' Uring also took pains to point out the financial loss to the nation should the settlement fail, stating that 'it would have very considerably increased the Revenue of the Crown and at the same time would have brought a Profit to the Nation of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly'.²⁹⁵ Certainly the Duke obtained the grant for St Lucia only shortly after the French had attempted their own settlement on the island. In August 1718, the French Regent had granted St Lucia to the Maréchal d'Estrées.²⁹⁶ By June 1719, he was sending 'all maner of tradesmen for building a fort' to the island.²⁹⁷ Later in August 1719, it was clear that the French had advanced in their efforts to create a militarised zone:

A New York privateer being arriv'd at that Island and having recd. some affront or disgust from the French settled thereon, landed his men, hawld down the

²⁹⁴ Account of Duke of Montagu's memorial for relief, n.d., CUL, Ch(H), Political Papers, 86, 17.

²⁹⁵ Uring, *Settlement*, p.120.

²⁹⁶ E. de Silhouette, *Mémoires des commissaires du roi et de ceux de Sa Majesté britannique sur les possessions et les droits respectifs des deux couronnes en Amérique* (Paris, 1755), p.228.

²⁹⁷ Thomas Weir to Council of Board of Trade and Plantations (CBTP), recd. 12 September 1719, p.384, excerpted from C. Headlam (ed.), 'America and West Indies: September 1719', *Calendar of State Papers Colonial (henceforth CSPC)*, 31 (London, 1933), pp.214-228, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol31/pp.214-28> [accessed 18 August 2016].

French. colours wch. were flying, nail'd up their cannon and took away their stores of ammunition.²⁹⁸

During the autumn of 1719, the British attempted to force the French to withdraw from the island through diplomacy. Finally in January 1720, the Regent agreed that the 'French Colony lately sent there should be withdrawn, and he promised orders should be dispatched to this effect'.²⁹⁹ This attempt to claim the island by the French was part of an ongoing quest to protect their territory in the region. By 1720 there had been 'an economic recovery of the French Antilles' and a complete programme of protective fortification of the French islands was underway.³⁰⁰ It is not known to what extent the Duke was aware of these manoeuvres by the French to assert themselves in the region and whether he understood that he was going to attempt to set up a colony on what was in effect a disputed territory. Modern St Lucian historians have concluded that by the time the Duke was awarded his grant, local opinion regarded French possession of the island as *de facto* and although officially unsettled, it played an important role in the local economy of the French Antilles.³⁰¹ The Duke's understanding of the need for absolute secrecy in naming St Lucia as the location of his colony indicates that he was aware of the tensions. His attempt to fortify and settle St Lucia only three years after the French attempt had been thwarted offers some evidence that the Duke was attempting to serve national interest in a self-financed crusade to remove the threat of the French regaining possession. His plan to name the southern part of the island as the county of 'Churchill' with four parishes named after the Duke of Marlborough's famous battles may have been intended as a reminder to the French about British military supremacy. The closing image of Uring's published account of the expedition which depicts St George slaying the dragon also reinforces the idea of patriotism.³⁰² However the whole quest could have been simply misguided and driven by the Duke's desire to find public fame and personal glory, as enjoyed by his father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough. But even the blustering

²⁹⁸ George Lillington to CBTP, recd. 31 October 1719, p.439, *ibid.*, 'October 1719' *CSPC*, 31, (London, 1933), pp.228-50, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol31/pp.228-250> [accessed 18 August 2016].

²⁹⁹ Mr Pultney to CBTP, recd. 15 January 1720, p.504, *ibid.*, 'January 1720', pp.293-311, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol31/pp.293-311> [accessed 18 August 2016].

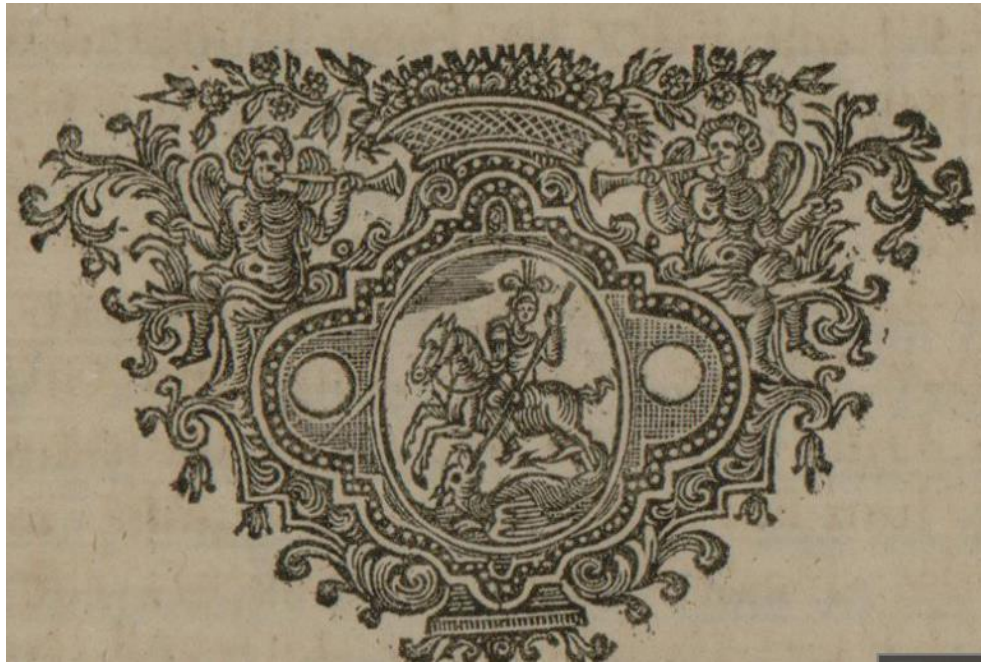
³⁰⁰ See F J Thorpe, 'In defence of sugar: The logistics of fortifying the French Antilles under the Regency, 1715-1723', *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, 19(1994), pp.68-86.

³⁰¹ Harmsen, Ellis, Devaux, *St Lucia*, p.29.

³⁰² Uring, *Settlement*, p.121.

about performing public service and self-styling as St. George could have just been a ‘gamester’ mask for personal gain.

Figure 3.5: St George and the Dragon featured in the print layout of Uring’s published account.



Source: Uring, *Settlement*, p.121.

The Duke’s quest for absolute secrecy meant that he was unable to reveal the location of his proposed colony to Mathew whose role as Lieutenant-General of the Leeward Islands, Governor of St Christopher and lengthy residence in the region meant he would have understood the complex relations and tensions that existed between the British occupied territories and those occupied by the French and Spanish. When he did learn that the settlement would take place on St Lucia, Mathew was appalled and judged the chance of the venture’s success as a ‘ruinous prospect.’³⁰³ He ‘prophesise(d) if ever your Grace or your Grandchildren see any benefit from St Lucia twill never amount to one percent of the expense you have ... and this provided the French let your settlement alone.’³⁰⁴ Mathew’s fear that the French would object to the settlement was also echoed by

³⁰³ Mathew to Montagu, 4 October 1722, BL, Add Ms 38510 E, f. 24.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., f. 24v.

Governor Shute in Boston, who believed that the project ‘should be carried on with secrecy the French being always very ready to take umbrage at any new settlement that may seem to be any curb to their settlements in those parts.’³⁰⁵

Granting the Duke the islands so soon after the French had attempted to settle St Lucia, ignored the potential impact this could have had on tense Anglo-French relations in the Caribbean and even beyond. The failure to understand how the French would react to the prospect of a British settlement on St Lucia was one of the key reasons for the failure of the venture. By not appreciating that there was a high risk that it would provoke military intervention by the French, the Duke’s expedition was doomed from the start. Only a small number of the potential settlers were military personnel and had experience of using weapons. The preparations for the expedition failed to ensure that clear authorisation was received from the chain of command in Britain across to the Caribbean in order to enlist support from the regional governors and also the Royal Navy to assist the new colony with military assistance. In his published account of the failure of the expedition, the Duke’s deputy Governor, Nathaniel Uring, repeatedly drew attention to the lack of support from the Royal Navy despite their orders to ‘defend them’ and to ‘use ... utmost Endeavours ... to give Aid and Assistance.’³⁰⁶ Uring took pains to ensure all the letters that were exchanged between himself and the naval captains were printed in his account to demonstrate how the Navy found the idea of offering armed support ‘a Thing so wholly impracticable.’³⁰⁷

After the expedition’s failure, the Duke described his misfortune in another letter to Mathew. He called himself a ‘sufferer’ (an expression which echoed a term regularly used for those who had lost money during the South Sea Bubble) but stated that he ‘care[d] very little’ for the financial implications. Most importantly he stated that he had ‘endeavoured to serve my Country.’³⁰⁸ Although this was a private letter between friends, the Duke may have been conscious that the sentiments he expressed to Mathew might reach a wider audience either by Mathew sharing the contents through his social network in the Caribbean, across the wider Atlantic World and beyond, or by it being read by other than the intended recipient. As he warned Mathew, there was always this

³⁰⁵ Shute to Montagu, 25 August 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.19.

³⁰⁶ Uring, *Settlement*, p.123.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.67.

³⁰⁸ Montagu to Mathew, 1 June 1723, BL Add MS 38510 E, f.40.

risk with sending transatlantic correspondence as ‘in crossing the sea’ it might ‘fall into hands’ and be seen by the eyes of those it was not intended for.³⁰⁹

3.4 Supporters, projectors and leaders.

Analysis of the expedition plans provides numerous examples of mismanagement. The Duke insisted that Governor Mathew should help him in his project but his decision to keep the exact details of the project a secret was extremely ill-judged. In addition to understanding the Anglo-French relations in the region through his role as Lieutenant-General of the Leeward Islands, Mathew was a long term resident and had his own plantations worked by enslaved-labour. Consequently he would have understood the key equipment, supplies and skills necessary for a successful settlement. His exclusion from the planning stage was interpreted by Mathew as contributory to the failure of the expedition and his explanation was that the Duke had been duped by a ‘projector’:

Whoever has engaged you in such a project must be very or even quite ignorant of these parts they must excuse me the expressions if I say ‘tis unpardonable to impose this on your Grace ... you are ... both betrayed and horridly imposed upon ... I am apt to believe that your projector has been unwilling I should know the secret till he had well fleeced your Grace.³¹⁰

The Duke described his relationship with Mathew as a ‘friend’ of ‘old acquaintance’.³¹¹ Mathew had fought in Marlborough’s army and it is possible that the Duke had made his acquaintance when they had both served in Flanders.³¹² The colonial governors for the Royal colonies were generally all military men appointed by the crown. For example when the Duke wrote to Samuel Shute, the Governor of New Hampshire in August 1722 to also enlist his support, Shute replied,

I esteeme it a particular favour that your Grace has not forgot an old Flanders acquaintance & take the liberty to assure you I shall allwais receive your commands with ... pleasure.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Montagu to Mathew, 22 April 1722, BL Add MS 38510 E, f.21.

³¹⁰ Mathew to Montagu, 4 October 1722, BL Add MS 38510 E, f.24v.

³¹¹ Montagu to Mathew, 22 April 1722, BL Add MS 38510 E, f.21.

³¹² S. Saunders-Webb, *Marlborough’s America* (Newhaven, 2013), p.206.

³¹³ Shute to Montagu, 22 August 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.19.

Shute was keen to not just pay lip service to the Duke and arranged for important supplies including house frames for the new settlement to be shipped from Boston. In November 1722 he offered his support to encourage settlers to go to the Duke's new colony, stating that 'I shall endeavour to make a proper publick notification of it in my Government (and) do what else is in my power towards the settlement of the Island.'³¹⁴

These alliances that the Duke had across the Atlantic World reveal that his inspiration and interest in colonial settlement and trade may have sprung from this global network of contacts. As previously discussed in chapter one, aristocratic interest in profiting from developing colonies was not unusual and had been a key interest of some of the Duke's antecedents including his great-grandfather and stepmother's first husband.³¹⁵ He may have also been motivated by the appointments in 1721 of men like the Duke of Portland as Governor of Jamaica³¹⁶ and Lord Belhaven as Governor of Barbados.³¹⁷ Belhaven had also negotiated a grant to settle Tobago,³¹⁸ but his ship had been wrecked at the Lizard in November 1721 on his outward voyage to the Caribbean and he never enacted the grant.³¹⁹

Aside from his military contacts, the Duke of Montagu also appears to have been particularly influenced by a man called William Wood. Despite Treadwell's detailed article on Wood which was published in 1979, where he emphasised that he was the 'leading mercantilist writer' of the age, he still remains relatively unknown.³²⁰ The article notes that there has been considerable confusion between this William Wood and the iron master of the same name, who was behind the Irish half-pence coining scheme in 1722. Despite Treadwell's meticulous research, he failed to connect Wood to the St Lucia expedition and could give no account of his activities during 1723 to 1724 when he was

³¹⁴ Shute to Montagu, 15 November 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.39.

³¹⁵ His maternal great-grandfather, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, had been part of the Virginia Company's governing council. His step-mother's first husband, the 2nd duke of Albemarle, was one of the proprietary owners of the Carolinas and had also been appointed Governor of Jamaica.

³¹⁶ CBTP to Carteret, 14 September 1721, p.664 ii, Headlam (ed), 'America and West Indies: September 1721', *CSPC*, September 1721, 32, (London, 1933), pp.228-50, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol32/pp.228-50> [accessed 18 August 2016].

³¹⁷ Carteret to CBTP, 19 April 1721, p.457, *ibid.*, *CSPC*, April 1721, 32 pp.281-97, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol32/pp.281-97> [accessed 18 August 2016].

³¹⁸ Order of King in Council, 11 November 1721, p.717, *ibid.*, *CSPC*, November 1721, 32, pp.481-96 [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol32/pp.228-250> [accessed 18 August 2016].

³¹⁹ *Stamford Mercury*, 23 November 1721, p.9.

³²⁰ J.M. Treadwell, 'William Wood of Jamaica: a colonial mercantilist of the 18th century', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 8 (1976), pp.42-64.

still actively engaged on the Duke of Montagu's business. Wood was based at Montagu House and appears to have been the expedition's project manager, playing a major part in organising the expedition in relation to recruiting officers, indentured servants and potential settlers. Wood may have come to the Duke's attention through his treatise, *A Survey of Trade in Four Parts*, which was published in 1718. This specifically extolled the benefits of increasing trade beyond the British Isles and increasing exports. It was 'a digest of much of the economic writing and thinking of the previous two decades.'³²¹ Part three of his thesis particularly discussed the 'great advantages of our Colonies and Plantations ... and our interest in preserving and encouraging them; and how they may be further improved.'³²² Wood had previously lived in Jamaica, a 'resident slave dealer ... as well as the Island's secretary.'³²³ His 'notions of trade' were 'formed in the hard school of Jamaican smuggling and slave-running' and he was associated with the leading London merchant, banker and slave-trader, Humphrey Morice.³²⁴ In his writings, Wood was keen to stress that trade and commerce benefitted 'landed men' for the 'Value of Land' had 'improved, since our Trade has augmented.'³²⁵

Many of the points raised in *A Survey of Trade* closely match the plans and rhetoric in the Duke's petition for his grant and also match the public notice that was published in the newspapers in February 1723 to call for settlers to come to St Lucia. This was not William Wood's first projector-style scheme and it is surprising that the Duke of Montagu enlisted his support. Mathew's comments that the Duke had been 'well fleeced' by a projector may indicate that he had received word that William Wood was involved in the venture. Treadwell traced Wood's involvement as a major player in the Company of Mines Royal, Jamaica project which was 'typical of many of the lesser bubbles of the great South Sea Bubble year of 1720.'³²⁶ He noted that this scheme had often been attributed to the iron master William Wood, but he proved that he was not involved by demonstrating that documents associated with the Mines Royal venture carried the signature of William Wood, mercantile writer. Likewise, this signature matches that of

³²¹ P. Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth Century England*, (Oxford, 2014) p. 201.

³²² W. Wood, *A Survey of Trade in Four Parts* (London, 1718), p.vii.

³²³ R.B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1663-1775* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1974) p.218.

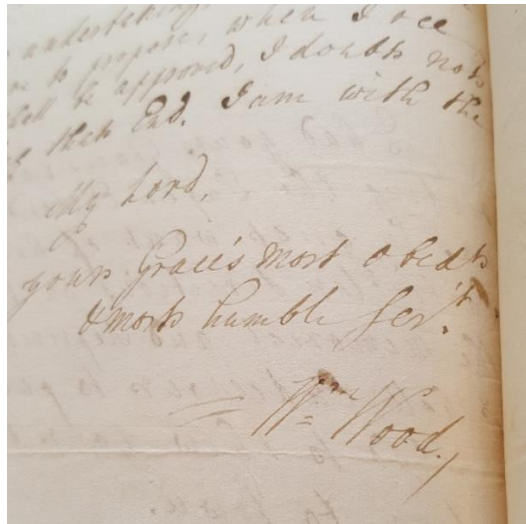
³²⁴ Treadwell, 'Wood', p.43.

³²⁵ Wood, *Survey*, p.220.

³²⁶ Treadwell, 'Wood', p.54.

the William Wood employed by the Duke of Montagu.³²⁷ The Jamaican Mines scheme attracted many elite investors including the Duke of Kent, Lord Belhaven and the Duke of Chandos, but Montagu's name does not appear on the surviving list of subscribers.³²⁸ The project was a failure, the Company went bankrupt after buying South Sea Company shares with investors' money and the subscribers were left demanding their money back.³²⁹

Figure 3.6: Wood's signature in St Lucia Letter Book.



Source: © Buccleuch

Figure 3.7: William Wood's signature in a letter relating to the Mines Royal.

NB This image was removed as copyright permission could not be determined.

Source: ©BL.

³²⁷ See 'Original papers relating to the Company of Mines Royal in Jamaica', BL Add Ms 22639, 1720-1730. The BL catalogue still describes 'manager' Wood, as 'notorious patentee of Wood's half-pence'.

³²⁸ Ibid. There are numerous names of subscribers in these papers. A select printed list of subscribers focussed on more elite clients is also included, ff.1-2.

³²⁹ Treadwell, *Wood*, p.55.

There is also evidence to suggest another ‘projector’ may have been influencing the Duke. This was the former privateer, Woodes Rogers. Although the Duke had discussed plans with Mathew to settle a colony, Rogers may have actively assisted the Duke in formulating his idea to petition for St Lucia and St Vincent. The adventurous and eventful life of Rogers has been widely written about. One of his many biographers, Colin Woodward, rapturously describes the many attractions of Rogers which might have appealed to the Duke.

A war hero and celebrated author, Rogers had led a successful assault on a Spanish city, been disfigured during a pitched battle with a massive treasure galleon in the Pacific, and was one of only a handful of men to circumnavigate the Globe ... Unlike many of his peers, Rogers was courageous, selfless, and surprisingly patriotic, selflessly devoted to king and country... Rogers emptied his pockets in support of projects he believed would further the public good.³³⁰

Rogers had embarked on his privateering expedition to the South Seas with William Dampier in August 1708 when the Duke was 19. He returned with his Spanish treasure in 1711, more than two years after the Duke had inherited his title on his father’s death. Although he had become a national hero, Rogers’ share in the treasure haul barely covered his debts, and one way to improve his prospects was to publish the journal that he had kept throughout the voyage under the title, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*. Although it is an account of the voyage, the completed work also stood as Rogers’ personal treatise on the benefits of Britain’s encouragement of the South Seas trade and specifically the development of colonies to thwart both French and Spanish interests in the area. Many of the points raised in the preface relating to the potential development of South Sea colonies appear to echo what the Duke was hoping to later achieve on St Lucia. Rogers also pointed out that ‘necessity has frequently put private Men on noble undertakings’ which summarises how the Duke perceived his plan to occupy St Lucia.³³¹ This expression also reflects terms that were used in the later published account of the St Lucia expedition by Nathaniel Uring, who described the expedition as an ‘undertaking truly worthy of the noble and generous disposition of his Grace of Montagu, and the greatest ever undertaken by a Subject at his own Expence.’³³²

³³⁰ C. Woodward, *The Republic of Pirates. Being the True and Surprising Story of the Caribbean Pirates and the Man Who Brought Them Down* (London, 2014) p.8.

³³¹ W. Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (London, 1712), p.viii.

³³² Uring, *Settlement*, p.120.

In July 1717, Rogers had petitioned the King to remove the islands of the Bahamas from the ownership of the six Lord Proprietors of Carolina and to appoint him as Governor in their place. The islands had been neglected by the absentee proprietors for many years and had become a stronghold for pirates. His proposal included a detailed account of how he would retake the islands and destroy the pirate base. He would contract his own ship of:

400 tuns burthen and will carry 34 guns: wee propose to man her wth 150 seamen and artificers at our own expence, with such other small vessells as shall be necessary to carry all things fitt for a new settlemt. and transport such souldiers and stores as the Crown shall be induced to send etc. We expect to advance in the whole not less than £4000.

His petition to the Crown was backed by the signatures of 90 merchants who were engaged in the Atlantic trade. They stated that the Bahamas were:

So advantagiously situated that whoever is well settled and securely fortified there, may in time of war command the Gulph of Florida, and from thence be capable to annoy or obstruct the trade of other Nations to most parts of America.
333

The details of Rogers' proposal to equip the expedition and the rhetoric used to promote the advantages of the scheme strongly reflect strategies used by the Duke four years later in his bid to be granted proprietary ownership of St Lucia and St Vincent. By January 1718, Rogers had received his royal commission. He arrived at Providence in July 1718 and effectively restored order to the region, but the costs involved took a heavy financial toll and expected income from quit rents and duties to cover his expenses were not forthcoming. Rogers repeatedly wrote for more help and support from the Crown but he received no response. Finally, when his finances were at crisis point, he returned to England in August 1721 to ask for support in person, but found instead he had been removed from office. Rogers' biographers all appear uncertain about his exact movements and activities on his return to England. All agree that his personal debts, which had mounted up to maintain and strengthen the colony, led him to debtors' prison. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* leaves it vague, stating that on his return to London 'he encountered great difficulties... and he spent some years in prison for

³³³ Copy of Rogers' petition to the Lord Proprietors, 19 July 1717, excerpted from K.H. Ledward, 'Journal, July 1717: Journal Book S', in *Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations (JBTP)*, 3, March 1715 - October 1718, (London, 1924), pp. 244-253 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/jrn1-trade-plantations/vol3/pp244-253> [accessed 25 July 2015].

debt.³³⁴ Woodward proposed that Rogers focussed all his efforts on providing material for the author of a new book on the history of pirates which was written under the pseudonym of Captain Johnson.³³⁵ This was later attributed to Daniel Defoe and more recently to the publisher Nathaniel Mist.³³⁶ The book recounted the role Rogers had played in destroying the pirate stronghold on Providence as well as describing the lives and fates of a variety of famous pirates of the day.³³⁷ Woodward suggests that the book ‘revived the deposed Governor’s reputation as a national hero’³³⁸ Leading to his reappointment in 1728 as Governor of the Bahamas following petitions from supporters.

Part of this unsatisfying gap in Rogers’ life, from his return to London in August 1721 until his departure to the Caribbean again in 1729, can now be filled. Evidence suggests that the Duke fine-tuned his plans for a Caribbean project with direct assistance from Rogers. As previously discussed, in a letter to Mathew written in April 1722, he indicated that he had a change of heart in relation to whatever project they had first discussed.³³⁹ Captain Rogers’ presence in London between August 1721 and January 1722, when the Duke was developing his plans to petition the Crown for St Lucia, may have influenced how the plans were formulated and may be another explanation why he decided to exclude Sir William Mathew from these consultations. When Rogers had been Governor of the Bahamas he had experienced an ongoing threat from the Spanish, with two failed attempts by them to invade the island. Rogers’ long-standing expertise in the region and appreciation of the potential threat from the French may have led the Duke to rely less on Mathew’s advice. As previously mentioned, many practical aspects of the petition for the grant appear to echo the ideas and preoccupations of Rogers when he petitioned for governorship of the Bahamas relating to self-financing the expedition, bringing settlers and offering the hope of regional security in exchange for financial benefits.

In August 1722, instead of languishing in debtors’ prison, or providing Defoe with content material for his book on pirates, as his biographers believe, Rogers was actually

³³⁴ G. Saunders, ‘Rogers, Woodes (c.1679–1732)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford,2004), online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24006> [accessed 26 July 2015].

³³⁵ C. Johnson, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates* (London, 1724). Note 66?

³³⁶ A. Bialuschewski, ‘Daniel Defoe, Nathaniel Mist, and the “General History of the Pyrates”’, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 98, no.1 (March 2004), pp.21-38.

³³⁷ Woodward, *Republic*, p.325.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.326.

³³⁹ Montagu to Mathew, 22 April 1722, B, Add MSs 38510 E, f. 21.

heading back to the Caribbean. He planned to sail to South Carolina, and then Providence before heading to St Lucia to join the Duke's settlement. He reached Charlestown in October 1722 and immediately hired a sloop to take him to St Lucia. He wrote to the Duke to tell him that he now planned to take with him from Charlestown:

An experienced Gentm. employ'd as an Engineer by the office of Ordinance being perswaded his opinion & assistance will be of great service to Direct the situation and the mannor of the fortifications at St Lucia and it may not only save needless expence in the beginning of the Settlement but likewise his appearance there may encourage ye Colony... (I) have found several very useful People that will follow me to St Lucia ... I hope to employ myself very advantaiously in your Graces service in those Parts till May next before I shall begin my return from the West Indies.³⁴⁰

This letter clearly demonstrates that Rogers was planning to play an influential role in the proposed settlement as it shows that he had authority to instruct the fortifications and shape the future colony, a role that Mathew might have been expected to perform. Rogers estimated that his time of arrival at St. Lucia would be 'by the fifteenth or the Twentieth of December.'³⁴¹ In Charlestown, Rogers informed the Governor, Sir William Rhett, that 'he was under a protection of the Duke of Mountagu' and was highly secretive about the nature of his visit. The mysterious return of Rogers to Charlestown led Rhett to state:

I can't understand what project he is on ... (he) is gone for Providence to search records to justify his former conduct and make you gentlemen of the society pay him what you owe him ... I can't think but he is a real Robinson Crusoe.³⁴²

Uring's expedition arrived at St. Lucia on 17 December 1722 which would have coincided with the dates of Rogers' proposed arrival. However there is no mention of his presence or that of the engineer, Captain Barker. This is explained by the fact that when they arrived at Providence, 'Captain Barker an Engineer now here in his passage to St. Lucia' was immediately engaged by Rogers' replacement, Governor Phenney, to rebuild the fortifications.³⁴³ By August 1723, Governor Phenney of the Bahamas noted that Rogers stayed in Providence for 'near six months, and ... return'd for England by way of

³⁴⁰ Rogers to Montagu, 17 October 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.33.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Rhett to unknown, 22 December 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.48.

³⁴³ Governor Phenney to CBTP, 24 December 1722, 'America and West Indies: December 1722', in *CSPC, America and West Indies*, 33, 1722-1723, Headlam ed., (London, 1934), pp. 177-96, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol33/pp177-96> [accessed 24 July 2015].

Boston.³⁴⁴ It can only be speculated that he learnt the news of the forced evacuation of the islands while he was still in Providence and halted his journey there.

As Wood, Uring and Rogers all had first-hand knowledge of the Caribbean, the job of equipping the expedition must have been somebody else's responsibility. Mathew complained about the supplies and noted that it was a 'pity [they] had not brought two or three tents ... with them, to lye in open air a nights is mortal in these parts.'³⁴⁵ Some equipment that was sent made no sense at all.

I believe ye persons you employed have emptyd all the shops in London of worthless goods. I believe your Grace sent the 1st Hamper of Glass bottles and Ink that ever came to the West Indies. Forgive me my Lord. You are plundered in a scandalous manner ... I see too much indiscretion and ill management for ye 1st beginning in England to this day.³⁴⁶

As most of the complaints about the supplies originate from Mathew, his negativity may have been created by the fact that he was excluded from the project planning stage. However Captain Paul George, one of Uring's deputies, also criticised those who had been responsible for the supplies:

I fear that some of the agents in England employed by your Grace have not done all the justice imaginable for many of the provision such as Pork and beef is very bad, and very old, and I am positive yr Grace has paid for the best, there are likewise several unnecessary things sent out that have to be sure been very chargeable, and one of the Chief Stores we wanted which are shoes for men and women are not come out. And the poor souls ... have all their feet battered to pieces ... The inventories of the stores not coming out with every ship looks something odd.³⁴⁷

Therefore the inadequacy of the expedition supplies also contributed to the demise of the project and demonstrate once again that the planning and management of the venture had considerable defects.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 10 August 1723, 'America and West Indies: August 1723', in *CSPC*, America and West Indies, 33, 1722-1723, Headlam ed., (London, 1934), pp. 318-37 [BHO], <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol33/pp318-37> [accessed 26 July 2015].

³⁴⁵ Mathew to Montagu, 23 August 1722, BL Add MS 38510, f.22v.

³⁴⁶ Mathew to Duke, 2 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.60a.

³⁴⁷ Paul to Montagu, 14 February 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.56.

3.5 Suitability of officers.

Further questions arise regarding the suitability of the expedition leader, Nathaniel Uring. The Duke's choice of Uring as his Deputy-Governor is puzzling. Surviving letters written to the Duke from the protagonists involved in the expedition demonstrate that over a period of time, Uring's abilities, character and experience were continually called into question. It seems that his main failing may have simply been his lack of rank, which riled those around him and created friction from the start. Uring himself claimed that he 'had the Honour to be related' to a former Admiral of Fleet, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, a now forgotten national hero.³⁴⁸ Governor Mathew was clearly not aware of this connection and queried in a letter to the Duke, 'Captain Nathl Urin ... is to be your Lieutenant Governor, there was formerly a sort of a half-Quaker of that name commanded on the West Indies Packetts, sure it cannot be him?'³⁴⁹ Another officer on the expedition, Captain George, complained to the Duke after the failure of the expedition that he was 'concerned that I must be commanded by a Gentm that was onely Ensign in the Guards'.³⁵⁰ Mathew also commented that Uring, a merchant seaman, was 'hated & despised by ye capts. of Men of Warr'.³⁵¹ He also called into question Uring's treatment of those subordinates under his command, 'When your Grace discharges Uring pray Recommend him to the Czar of Muscovy, he has the Best ... for taming Brute Beasts, that I ever heard of.' As if to illustrate this cruelty, he particularly noted that 'poor (ensign) Eckersall is dead. Mr Uring was strangely unkind to him', which suggests that he mistreated him physically.³⁵²

Uring was the only person who wrote about the Duke's future plans to 'voyage to your islands', which suggests personal conversations may have taken place between the pair of them relating to the Duke's plans to visit the Caribbean and what he could expect from the experience.³⁵³ It is impossible to speculate what Uring had told the Duke about his previous experience at sea, but his book on the history of his wider travels that was published in 1725 was dedicated to the Duke and is a detailed account of Uring's remarkable career of twenty-five years at sea. This provides evidence of Uring's

³⁴⁸ Uring, *Settlement*, p.83.

³⁴⁹ Mathew to Montagu, 4 October 1722, BL Add MS 38510 E, f 23v.

³⁵⁰ George to Montagu, 14 February 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.56.

³⁵¹ Mathew to Montagu, 2 March 1723, f.60.a.

³⁵² Mathew to Montagu, 16 July 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.80.

³⁵³ Uring to Montagu, 9 December 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.49.

extensive travels around the Atlantic world, including slaving voyages to Africa and numerous visits to the Caribbean.³⁵⁴ He had acted as captain on ‘ten voyages in the West-India Packet-Boats, to all the British Caribbee-Islands.’³⁵⁵ Many of his voyages saw him anchor in Jamaica, which almost certainly links him with the island when William Wood was secretary there and provides some credence to the idea that Wood may have suggested him for the role. There is no evidence that he was in debt to Wood, but Uring had various mishaps involving the loss of vessels and this may account for Wood’s interest in him obtaining the deputy governorship with its £400 salary. Uring had indeed purchased his last ship in January 1719/1720 from Port Royal, Jamaica.³⁵⁶ In 1708 Uring had been ‘arrested for a thousand pounds’ by the Head of the West Indies packet boat service, Edmund Dummer.³⁵⁷ As noted in chapter two, Dummer was an executor of the Montagu estates. He had been investor and leaseholder of the Sowley Ironworks on the Beaulieu Estate which had supplied the naval dockyards in Portsmouth.³⁵⁸ He had built some of the packet boats at the ship yard at Lepe, also on the estate.³⁵⁹ He died in 1721 but his brother, Thomas Dummer, continued to serve the Duke as his deputy Master of the Wardrobe and his Furness estate steward.³⁶⁰ It is a strange coincidence that Uring was appointed as Deputy-Governor, given the animosity which existed between himself and the Dummer family. This may suggest some economic motive in relation to unpaid debts on the part of Uring to the Dummers or indeed Wood, but it may simply have been that his reputation, experience and availability were known to Wood, Rogers and Dummer, who could on this basis recommend him to the Duke.

Doubt is also cast over the suitability of the lesser officers on the expedition. Again their recruitment may not have been based on their merits. The speculation that Uring was in debt to Wood (or somebody else) arises from Captain George’s complaint to the Duke about a Mr Stebbing, one of the officers who:

³⁵⁴ N. Uring, *A History of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring* (London, 1725).

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *Travels*, p.84.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, *Travels*, p.343.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, *Travels*, p.107.

³⁵⁸ Widnell, *Beaulieu*, p.84; J. Greenwood, *A History of the Ironworks at Sowley* (Lymington, 2005), pp.28-39 describes Edmund Dummer’s wider involvement in regards to Sowley forge.

³⁵⁹ Greenwood, *Sowley*, p.36.

³⁶⁰ *Derby Mercury*, 29 September 1749, p.1.

Was formerly a driver of negroes in Jamaica ... it seems this man was recommended to your Grace by one Mr Wood if I remember well the name to whome he was indebted and I presume that part of the money alowd by your Grace for his fiting out went towards the payment of his debt.³⁶¹

Similarly another officer, Mr Trewin, was not selected on his merits. Officer, John Braithwaite, reported that he had:

Recommended (him) to Mr Wood and Mr Booth, as a proper person to be entertained in your Graces service. All indeed I knew of this man was by his coming to a common boarding house in Hackney, where I lodged... his poverty and distress & the melancholy storys he wrote Mr Wood and me moved our compassion that we both recommended him'.³⁶²

3.6 Financing the Expedition.

In addition to formulating the ideas and seeking advice about how the expedition would operate, the Duke also had to focus on proving that he was best placed to actually finance and resource the expedition, and he particularly needed to demonstrate that he was 'capable of protecting and Defending' it.³⁶³ His initial petition specifically stressed that the venture would be entirely self-financing and (apart from assistance from a naval convoy) the provision of funds to establish the colony, manpower to build and defend the new settlement and recruitment and transportation of new settlers would be the sole responsibility of the Duke. The petition stressed that the 'great work' would be 'very expensive, yet petitioner is willing to undertake [it] ... at his own proper cost and charge.'³⁶⁴ Nathaniel Uring later estimated that the venture cost the Duke 'Forty Thousand Pounds, and upwards.'³⁶⁵ In subsequent claims for compensation it was stressed that 'in this Undertaking the Duke has expended upwards of £32,000.'³⁶⁶ Laying out such a large amount would have had a considerable impact on the Duke's finances unless he had raised the money from elsewhere. As previously outlined in chapter two, this money may have been generated by gains that the Duke made speculating in the

³⁶¹ George to Montagu, 15 February 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.62.

³⁶² Braithwaite to Montagu, n.d., BHA, SLLB, f.25.

³⁶³ Account of Duke of Montagu's memorial for relief, n.d., CUL, Ch(H), Political Papers, 86, 17.

³⁶⁴ 'Journal, January 1722: Journal Book Y', January 18th 1722, *JBTP*, 4, November 1718 - December 1722 (1925), pp. 335-340[. URL:] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=81478&strquery=bewley> [date accessed: 27 October 2014].

³⁶⁵ Uring, *Settlement*, p.120

³⁶⁶ Account of Duke of Montagu's memorial for relief, n.d., CUL, Ch(H), Political Papers, 86, 17.

South Sea Company during 1720. Although he had sold some of his estates in 1718, the money was used to pay debts.

Even if the money had come from South Sea speculation, examining evidence from surviving documentary sources suggests that the Duke financed a large part of the venture by utilising supplies and resources he already had access to, borrowed money that he may never have paid back and exploited the goodwill of those who probably saw longer term financial benefits in serving him. As discussed in chapter two, his personal accounts and bank account have not been located for this period. The estate and household accounts cover very few of the specific items used during the expedition that are mentioned in letters or appear on the one surviving bill of lading for the ships that carried the expedition supplies. For example, the goods (mainly weapons) carried on the brigantine *Elizabeth* were valued for customs and insurance purposes at nearly £1800.³⁶⁷ Six other ships were sent which may have carried cargos of similar value. However these may have not been all new purchases and may have been existing assets of the Montagu households. As will be discussed in chapter five, it appears that weapons used in the Expedition were supplied from the Boughton Armoury. Many of the items described by the Boughton steward in the '22 cases' of weapons closely match those described on the bill of lading: '157 carbines, 201 pairs of pistolles ... 118 muskets, 73 buchanier guns, 357 buff sword belts 213 sword belts for carbines and 3 for drums.'³⁶⁸

Governor Mathew also queried the value of some of the items shipped on the *Elizabeth*, which he described as 'useless refuse stuff ... old trumperys ... worthless goods.' The weapons that had presumably been sent from the Boughton armoury, he mockingly dismissed as 'arms of Queen Elizabeth's date.'³⁶⁹ In contrast, Uring's inventory listed two rapid-firing 'Machine guns of Puckles' which represented cutting-edge technology.³⁷⁰ Capable of discharging bullets 'fifteen times in a Minute', they appear to have been specifically purchased for the expedition 'at a considerable price'.³⁷¹ The household accounts specify debts incurred by the Duke at this time including a debt to

³⁶⁷ Bill of Lading of the *Elizabeth*, BL. Add MS 38510 E, f.27-8.

³⁶⁸ Samuel Booth to Montagu, 7 September 1732, BHA, SLLB, f.27.

³⁶⁹ Mathew to Montagu, 2 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, 60a.

³⁷⁰ Uring, *Settlement*, p.7.

³⁷¹ *Stamford Mercury*, 8 November 1722, p.6.

the armourer, Lewis Barber. The Duke paid £150 for '200 musquets' purchased from court armourer, Lewis Barber, on 26 November 1722.³⁷²

A demand for payment was sent to the Duke in June 1724 by a London merchant called William Blackham, who helped recruit some of the servants for the expedition. This demand gives further insight into how the expedition was financed and the style in which the Duke encouraged people to assist him. Blackham stated:

Your Grace was pleas'd to tell me I should be no looser by serving you, I never Doubted your Graces genorosity which made me adventure my all both Reputation and Money to serve your Interest.³⁷³

In January 1725, Blackham wrote again:

I do not presume to ask your Grace anything for the loss of my time labour or pains only what I actually spent and gave the men to encourage them to go cheerfully to your Islands.³⁷⁴

Blackham was not the only person chasing money. In addition, John Lloyd Junior, the owner of the *Griffin* Sloop, who played a major role in equipping the expedition and who prepared the bill of lading for the *Elizabeth* was paid £175 initially in January 1723 but was still writing to the Duke in 1730 to demand money he was owed.³⁷⁵

Governor Mathew also seems to have given the Duke financial assistance that was not repaid in cash. Their letters demonstrate that, on several occasions, Mathew was approached for assistance which usually had some financial implication or required the use of Mathew's resources. This varied from providing warehouse storage for his stranded goods, paying for the officers' wages and subsistence, acquiring additional supplies for the servants and other sundries like musket flints that had been not been sent from England. Mathew had to tread carefully with the Duke's demands as he did not want to appear burdened by him. At the end of the day, as Blackham had perceived, the opportunities which may have come from serving the Duke outweighed the financial

³⁷² Andrew Marchant accounts, 26 November, 1722, BHA.

³⁷³ Blackham to Montagu, 27 June 1724, BHA, SLLB, f.86.

³⁷⁴ Blackham to Montagu, 28 January 1725, BHA, SLLB, f.88.

³⁷⁵ Andrew Marchant accounts, 23 January 1723;
Lloyd to Booth, 22 June 1730, BHA, SLLB, f.97.

risks. This was demonstrated by Mathew's complaint to the London Merchant, Abraham Meure:

I have advanc'd considerably for the Duke. I woud draw for it now ... but ... I chuse to end the whole acct at once else he will (it may be) think me too hasty or very much in position of want.³⁷⁶

He therefore needed to show that he was capable of handling the Duke's requests for assistance and he was clearly hoping for other rewards for his service. When the expedition failed and it looked less likely a settlement could be made elsewhere, the Duke became more indebted to Mathew, who had become responsible for ensuring the safe keeping of the weapons and other sundries that had been sent to the Caribbean and also for the practical upkeep of an expedition force of several hundred people. Whether Mathew ever received full financial compensation for this is not clear, but the Duke used his position at court to reward him in other ways. In June 1723 the Duke told Mathew that he had presented a petition to the King in person:

Setting forth the Losses your family had sustained at St Christopher wch I gave ye King & at ye same time told him the promises you had had from L Stanhope & Mr Craggs in respect to the Governor of ye Leeward Islands and desired whenever Mr Hart was removed you might succeed him ... I beg you will be perswaded that I will with ye Greater Sincerity take more pains to serve you than I would myself.³⁷⁷

It is not clear if the lands were fully restored but in 1726 Mathew was made responsible for selling the St. Christopher territory that had been taken by the French, so he may have had the opportunity to regain his lands.³⁷⁸ Certainly Mathew was in possession of the Penitenny estate in St Christopher, c. 1730.³⁷⁹ In addition, in 1733 he was appointed Governor-General of the Leeward Islands, so the Duke's financial debt to Mathew may have been repaid in other ways that had no impact on his own finances.³⁸⁰ Mathew's continued service may have involved him selling off many of the items that were sent out

³⁷⁶ Mathew to Meure, 16 November 1722, BL, Add Ms 38510 E, ff.30v-31.

³⁷⁷ Montagu to Mathew, 12 June 1723, BL, Add Ms 38510 E, f.40.

³⁷⁸ Mathew's Crown commission re: 'disposing of late French lands', 4 June 1726, p.256, C. Headlam and A.P.Newton (eds), 'America and West Indies: August 1726', in *CSPC 1726-1727*, 35 (London, 1936), pp. 129-139.[BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol35/pp.129-39> [accessed 25 September 2017].

³⁷⁹ Estate map of Mathew's Penitenny Plantation, St Christopher, c.1730, Glamorgan Record Office, DMW/301.

³⁸⁰ Newcastle's letter confirming Mathew's commission as Governor of Leeward Islands, 3 April 1733, excerpted from K.H. Ledward (ed.), 'Journal, April 1733: Journal Book K.K', in *JBTP*, 6, *January 1729 - December 1734* (London, 1928), pp. 338-40. [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/jrnl-trade-plantations/vol6/pp.338-340> [accessed 25 September 2017].

to the Caribbean. A shipment of a consignment of sugar to the Duke via the St Christopher merchant, John Davy Breholt in 1724, may represent a payment for this.³⁸¹ In the end the financial impact may not have been as harsh as it was presented in Uring's account and the later petitions. Others like Blackham, Lloyd and other unknown merchants who supplied and fitted out the expedition may have been the real sufferers.

3.7 The Expedition force.

In order to achieve the initial quota of 500 white settlers, indentured servants were recruited. After the failure of the expedition, they had no productive role, yet still had to be fed and clothed. As he waited for orders to understand what he should do with them, Mathew hired them out to the plantation owners of St Christopher and Antigua.³⁸² By June 1723, the Duke informed him that he had been 'offered a considerable sum of money to send them to Jamaica so that I hope not to be a loser by them.'³⁸³ Despite the increasing reliance on enslaved Africans in the Caribbean by the 1720s, white labourers were increasingly sought after. There is a lack of literature on the specific conditions of white labourers in the Caribbean during this period, although David Galenson has explored some general characteristics of the surviving post-1718 indentures.³⁸⁴ Most work focusses on their presence in the mainland colonies of America.³⁸⁵ Studies on the Caribbean tend to examine the earlier period when the colonies were developing, with the conclusion that the growing reliance on enslaved Africans rendered white indentured labourers unnecessary. By 1680 the Barbados census revealed a workforce of 37,315 enslaved Africans alongside just 2,193 white servants.³⁸⁶ Natalie Zacek concluded that by 'the time [of] the Act of Union came into effect, Leeward Society had moved beyond the era of white servitude and into that of African slavery'.³⁸⁷ By the time the Duke of Montagu sent his ships of both indentured and paid white labourers to the Caribbean, they

³⁸¹ Mackay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.243.

³⁸² N. Uring, *Settlement*, p.92.

³⁸³ Montagu to Mathew, 12 June 1723, BL Add MSs 38510 E, f.40.

³⁸⁴ D. Galenson, 'British servants and the colonial indenture system in the eighteenth century', *Journal of Southern History*, 44, No.1 (1978), pp.41-66.

³⁸⁵ For example see: C. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labour and Civic Identity in Colonising English America 1580-1865* (Cambridge, 2010).

³⁸⁶ S.P. Newman, *A New World of Labour. The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia, 2013), p.1.

³⁸⁷ N. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776* (Cambridge, 2010), p.116.

were almost an oddity. Here was a paradox. Whilst the mass labour of white servants was less desirable and their long term economic prospects were limited, they were needed more than ever to man the militia, to control the enslaved and check French ascendancy. Anxiety relating to the outnumbered white population had been voiced in Jamaica in 1715 when it was stressed that ‘the inhabitants are in apprehension of an insurrection’ of the enslaved population, which was ‘about 60,000 in number and very insolent and not less than 2,000 whites able to bear arms.’³⁸⁸ Indentured servants may have found the prospect of the Caribbean less attractive than serving their indenture on mainland America. In June 1722, it was reported that indentured labourers on the Leeward island of Antigua ‘were distressed by their masters with design to keep them longer in their service than the term of years they were bound to them for’. They were subject to ‘cruel treatment’, and in particular it was noted that ‘artificers and labourers ... were not able to go to law with the persons they contracted with for their wages’ which had led to the ‘dispeopling [of] the Island of such labouring men’.³⁸⁹ The preference for the mainland American colonies is perhaps demonstrated when one of the Duke’s officers failed to recruit at Gravesend a ship full of a hundred migrants from the Palatine who preferred to ‘bear their own charges’ to go to ‘Pensilvania’ rather than to St Lucia.³⁹⁰

It had been implicitly stated in the conditions of the Duke’s grant that he must ‘transport 500 white people at the least into Sta. Lucia’ and that he was forbidden to give ‘grants of lands ... to planters who have any settlement in Barbados or any other of the Charibbee Islands.’³⁹¹ This was because it was presumably feared that impoverished whites squeezed out by an increasingly elite plantocracy would seek the fresh, uncultivated soil of St Lucia to make a new start, depleting the numbers in the militia and therefore the stability of other islands. This clause was a blow to the Duke and may have been one of the key factors for the failure of his expedition. He had initially hoped that he would be able to recruit:

³⁸⁸ ‘America and West Indies: April 1715’, in *CSPC, America and West Indies: Volume 28, 1714-1715*, Headlam ed., (London, 1928), pp. 141-61. [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol28/pp141-61> [accessed 31 August 2016].

³⁸⁹ ‘America and West Indies: June 1722’, in *CSPC, America and West Indies: Volume 33, 1722-1723*, Headlam ed., (London, 1934), pp. 79-99. [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol33/pp79-99> [accessed 16 August 2016]. June 21st 1722?

³⁹⁰ Braithwaite to Montagu, ‘Sunday 12’, n.k., BHA, SLLB, f.46

³⁹¹ ‘America and West Indies: May 1722, 1-15’, 4 May 1722 in *CSPC, America and West Indies: Volume 33, 1722-1723*, Headlam ed., (London, 1934), pp. 56-68. [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol33/pp56-68> [accessed 20 August 2016].

Several families of English inhabiting on the Virgin Islands, Anguilla and several of your Leeward Islands who are very poor and are very desirous of late years to be transplanted to some other of the Kings Dominions where they might have land granted them and might meet with a better whole and better encouragement than where they are now. A number of such people would be of very great service to me in my undertaking and almost quite necessary for me to lay the foundations of my settlement which will be much surer performed by them than any raw people sent from England, unused to west India climates.³⁹²

The fact that the Duke now had to rely on a force of 'raw' settlers who would not be as economically motivated to ensure the success of the colony increased the risk of failure. Once the hope of recruiting the 'very poor' English in the Caribbean had been removed, it may have been a struggle to recruit the necessary numbers. The first ship sailed the month that the grant was announced with another three ships sailing shortly afterwards in August. Expedition recruiter Richard Blackham later noted the calibre of the migrants, informing the Duke that 'there was none would go to your Islands without sallaries except Vagabonds'.³⁹³ Uring concluded that the indentured servants were not to be trusted, as evidenced by their numerous attempts to desert to the French.³⁹⁴ He appeared to class them as commodities, stating when negotiating with the French for the return of some deserters, that they were 'Covenant-Servants of the Duke of Montagu, [and] should be delivered up ... with all Matters and Moveables to him belonging', complaining that only a small number had been returned and with 'neither their Arms nor Clothes, which belong to his Grace the Duke of Montagu'.³⁹⁵

The surviving list of the names of all those that were sent to St Lucia on the various ships that sailed from England were recorded, not as a memorial for their personal participation but as a tally which in the long run would have provided proof that the requisite numbers of settlers had been achieved. The 446 individuals listed as participants in the Expedition represented 418 men, 19 women and 9 boys. These can be divided into distinct groups of 233 unpaid men (although these were generally labourers, they could also be craftsmen and tradesmen), 136 salaried skilled craftsmen and tradesmen (including smiths, carpenters, joiners, bricklayers) and 49 salaried officers (including military,

³⁹² Montagu to Mathew, 22 April 1722, BL, Add MS 38510 E, f 21.

³⁹³ Blackham to Montagu, 27 June 1724, BHA, SLLB, f.86.

³⁹⁴ By 15 January 1723, 'Twenty Nine' men and women had deserted to the French. Uring, *Settlement*, p.70.

³⁹⁵ Uring, *Settlement*, p.93.

administrative appointments and surgeons). All the 19 women and 9 boys were unpaid and had no specified occupation.³⁹⁶

If the group of 261 unpaid men, women and boys are assumed to all have been indentured servants, only 91 indenture papers survive in the London Metropolitan Archives which match the names on the list.³⁹⁷ Galenson noted that there was a legal requirement to draw up official indentures by 1717 to guard against kidnap and coercion and he has therefore concluded that many indentures from this period must have been lost.³⁹⁸ Blackham however appeared still to be recruiting without the necessary legal paperwork, perhaps due to the Duke's elite status as the project's instigator.³⁹⁹ Blackham's recruitment methods do suggest that men may have been coerced through drink or money, as he admitted that he sometimes 'gave several of them ten shillings a piece in money to encourage their fidelity' and to:

Encourage them to go charefully and [to] prevent their thoughts of expecting salaries and letting them all know your Graces goodness to prefer them when your Islands should be settled and such like prevailed on them very much.⁴⁰⁰

Given the economic situation created by the South Sea Bubble discussed in chapter two, it may have been the case that many of those who were recruited by Blackham and described as 'vagabonds' were victims of the economic downturn. If they were in financial straits, the opportunity of gaining employment and perhaps land in St Lucia may have been very attractive.

The assumption that recruits were gathered from the margins of society is further evidenced by some of the surviving letters written by prospective settlers. These indicate that some of the participants may have escaped debtors' prison, the work house and even the gallows, and therefore it is likely that many of the participants (whether indentured or otherwise) may have lost the right or the will to exercise their own agency in making decisions about their lives. Despite the introduction of the new act in 1717 to transport

³⁹⁶ Account of the Duke of Montague's settlement of St Lucia 1722-1724, TNA, CO 258/3.

³⁹⁷ These form part of a list of c. 2,800 surviving indentures now in London Metropolitan Archives which were transcribed and abbreviated in M. Kaminkow, *A list of Emigrants from England to America, 1718-1759* (Baltimore, 1989). These have now been digitised on Ancestry.com. A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1718-1759 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006 [accessed 20 September 2017].

³⁹⁸ Galenson, 'British servants', p.42.

³⁹⁹ Blackham does not match the name of any listed recruiter in Kaminkow, *Emigrants*.

⁴⁰⁰ Blackham to Montagu, 27 June 1724, BHA, SLLB, f.86.

convicts to the British Colonies in lieu of capital punishment, there is no evidence in the expedition correspondence that transported convicts participated. However convicts may have been sent from other regions and it is clear that the Duke considered using Irish convict labour as he consulted a Cork Merchant about when the Assizes would take place in the town.⁴⁰¹ As one of the Duke's ships sailed via Cork to pick up supplies, there is a possibility that it also picked up convicts, although there is no specific reference to them in any of the surviving documents.⁴⁰²

A debtor, John Reader, approached the Duke directly from prison stating that he would take his chances in the new settlement, bound in servitude, 'rather than to be confin'd to a goall.'⁴⁰³ In a similar vein, John Coxford wrote to William Wood from Hull declaring his interest in settling on St Lucia and noting that there were 'severall loose persons (that) Mr Maier will send with me', which perhaps implies that the Mayor of Hull saw an opportunity to rid Hull of destitute vagrants.⁴⁰⁴ In addition, four of the names on the list of unpaid servants with no surviving indenture are 'Thomas Ollyer, a boy', 'Isaac Ollyer, labourer', 'John Pettey, labourer' and 'Abraham Godfrey'. The surnames are relatively unusual and all the surnames appear in the Beaulieu overseer's rate book in relation to payments made to paupers on the Beaulieu estates.⁴⁰⁵ As Uring's expedition fleet spent some time off 'Spithead' which was a short distance from Beaulieu, it is not implausible that he received vagrants and paupers on board that were gathered from the Duke's estate.⁴⁰⁶ An intriguing but undated reference in the Beaulieu churchwardens' accounts for 1722 stated they 'gave two semen, soldiers & ... travrers', £4 6s 7d.⁴⁰⁷ It could be interpreted as payment to several people but lumped together in the accounts, but it could also have been made to a group that left together *en masse*, the payment being necessary to cover their initial costs or to generate enthusiasm for participation in the expedition that Blackham had noted.

⁴⁰¹ Cossart of Cork to Montagu, 15 February 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.57.

⁴⁰² Cossart to Lloyd, 23 April 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.68.

⁴⁰³ John Reader to Montagu, 22 November 1722, BHA, SLLB, f.41.

⁴⁰⁴ John Coxford of Hull to Wood, 20 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.62.

⁴⁰⁵ Widnell, *Beaulieu*, pp.58.79, 80, 101-3.

⁴⁰⁶ Uring, *Settlement*, p.4.

⁴⁰⁷ Widnell, *Beaulieu*, p.81.

3.8 Estate Recruits.

During the course of carrying out this research, people who currently work at Boughton House have asked to what extent those who took part in the expedition were associated with the Duke's Northamptonshire estates. Given that the Expedition took part in pre-census Britain, it proved virtually impossible to provide conclusive proof that any of the expedition participants originated from the estates. cursory checks were made of sources like transcribed parish records for the multiple Northamptonshire parishes which made up the Duke's estates, and rentals were also checked but they proved inconclusive as many surnames were very common. The possible Beaulieu connections suggested above are only tentative, although given that the Expedition ships anchored off Portsmouth in September 1722, there may be a greater possibility that some of the estate's 'lazy indolent people' were encouraged to seek new lives in the Caribbean and so make up the initial quota of white settlers needed to activate the proprietary grant.⁴⁰⁸

Research on the surviving indentures suggests that forty per cent of those recruited originated from the Greater London area. The other sixty per cent originated from various places dispersed across the British Isles, from 'Timothy Mickanney ... Dublin' to 'Andrew Kent ... dyer ... Galloway' to 'William Matthews ... Abergaveny ... Wales'. Presumably the servants listed their legal settlement on the indenture which was not necessarily the same as their place of residence. Out of those who came from a parish located in London, around twelve per cent were from within a two mile radius of Holborn, where the Duke held the living and near to where Montagu House was located. Just under five per cent were from Holborn itself, including the only two women that have surviving indentures. Three people on the list gave their residence as Wellingborough, Kettering and Towcester in Northamptonshire, but there appear to have been no relevant surviving indentures for areas in proximity to the Duke's estates in Furness, Warwickshire or Hampshire.⁴⁰⁹ It is possible that once the colony had been established, those connected to the estates would have been encouraged to go. The estate stewards were obviously seeking out would-be settlers from as early as January 1723 before news had been received of the expedition's failure, as the Barnwell steward had in mind 'a man fit for cultivation if such should Be wanted att St. Lusia'.⁴¹⁰ This man understood 'the

⁴⁰⁸ Booth to Montagu,,1 April 1718, BHA, BEL.

⁴⁰⁹ Kaminkow, *Emigrants*.

⁴¹⁰ William Stanley to Montagu, 7 January 1723, BHA, Barnwell Estate Letters.

management of husbandry and grassing and buying and selling cattle', but perhaps as another indication of the unsettled economy 'he had the misfortune to be found for a friend and can't stay at home, he would he said goe if he can be serviceable and have encouragements and perswade his wife'.⁴¹¹

In February 1723, just prior to Montagu House finding out that the Expedition had actually failed, the *Daily Post* reprinted a proclamation which had been published in the *Boston Gazette* on 26 November 1722.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Stephen Brampston to Thomas Dummer, 12 January 172, BHA, Barnwell Estate Letters.

⁴¹² *The Daily Post*, 5 February, 1723, p.1.

Figure 3.8: Notice to colonise St Lucia.

Transcription replaces image due to copyright:

The following Declaration is taken out of the Boston Gazette, dated November 26.

Whereas Our Sovereign Lord King George, out of his Royal Grace and Bounty hath been pleased to give and grant unto the most Noble John Duke of Montagu and to his Heirs, the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent in America, both which Islands are very rich in Soil and productive of Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, Piemento, Ginger, Cocoa, Anotto, and other valuable Commodities; and having not been as yet broke up, will yield a very great Increase to the Settlers and Planters therein: And hath strictly charged, required and commanded all his Governors, Commanders in Chief, and other his Officers and Ministers whatsoever to be assisting to Us in Settling the said Islands: And also appointed on of his Ships of War to be stationed at the said Island of St Lucia for the Defence of the Security of the People to be Transported thereto. And whereas being fully determined to settle the said Island of St Lucia, as soon as may be, We have by our Commission appointed a Governor thereof, and have caused great Numbers of Persons to be Transported to the Island of St Lucia, together with large Quantities of Stores of all Kinds, Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition for Defence, and appointed all necessary Officers, and a Form at Government, and directed a Fort and Town therein to be built, near some convenient Harbour for Shipping. And considering that the Strength of New Colonies consists in the Number of People, and the Resort of Merchants and Traders thereto, We have thought fit to issue this our Declaration for the Invitation and Encouragement of all Persons to resort and become Inhabitants of our said Island of St Lucia: And therefore do herby promise and engage, and give our Faith and Honour, That all and every White Person and Persons of what Country or Nation soever in Amity with the Crown of Great Britain, who shall within Twelve Months from the Date hereof repair to our said Island of St Lucia, and submit themselves to the Government thereof, shall enjoy free Liberty of Conscience in all Matters of Religion, and be govern'd by and have the Protection of the Laws of England in all their Civil Concerns, reputed within the said Islands free Denizons to all Intents and Purposes, and be capable of taking, holding or enjoying any Estate or Estates whatsoever within our said Islands, and each of them by Devise, Descent, Gift, Grant, or Purchase, as Natural born Subjects of Great Britain: And shall moreover be entitled without Free or Reward to a Grant of Ten Acres of Land for themselves, and Ten Acres for every White Person in their Family, Men, Women or Children; and also Five Acres for every Negro Slave or Slaves, Men, Women or Children, by them Transported into our said Island of St Lucia, as aforesaid, in such Part as they shall chuse (not being before granted and reserved) and not exceeding One hundred and Fifty Acres in any one Runn, and Five hundred Acres in the whole, at the Quit Rent of Two Shillings and Sixpence per Hundred Acres, and so in proportion, payable every Year to his Majesty.

Source: *The Daily Post*, 5 February 1723, p.1, col. 2, BL.

Presumably in response to this news, the Rector of Kettering, where the Duke was lord of the manor, organised a meeting in a 'Publick House in Kettering' and 'many offered to go'. But Allen's request to the Duke to know more 'about the Present Inhabitants, the Air, Soyl, Climate' highlights the contemporary perceived risks of the Caribbean, and he concluded without being able to assess these risks he would 'look upon myself as the killer of all them' and consequently would encourage nobody to take part.⁴¹³ The lack of interest in taking the risk of emigrating to unknown places, particularly by those who already had a livelihood, was reinforced by the report by the Warwickshire steward that an 'industrious man for improving land' from Warwickshire was interested in leasing a farm on the Beaulieu estates.⁴¹⁴ However, the offer was eventually declined as he had decided that he was 'now afraid to goe so far'.⁴¹⁵ If people were reluctant to move to another part of England, the chance that they would venture to the Caribbean was unlikely.

A particularly noticeable feature of the participant list is that it contains at least 99 names indicating French heritage, which suggests Huguenot refugees were recruited. For example there were thirty unsalaried weavers on the list with French surnames such as 'John Lewis Buisson' and 'Charles De La Port'.⁴¹⁶ In May 1721, a Mr Munn had set up a weaving business on the Beaulieu estate with encouragement from the Duke. The Beaulieu steward confirmed that the weavers Munn recruited were not local people, as he reported that the 'weavers settling here will I think be of advantage to the place provided ... care be taken that the workmen do not gain settlement'.⁴¹⁷ By December it was reported that 'six or seven looms were at work'.⁴¹⁸ In June 1722, just prior to the first expedition ship sailing, Munn was being forced to sign an unspecified 'bond' and to 'act discretely', which might suggest that the weavers were being encouraged to go to St Lucia as indentured servants and the need to ensure secrecy was being forced on Munn. The letters are unclear about what the bond related to, although Munn was perhaps resisting the loss of his workforce as the Beaulieu steward made clear that Munn could not 'get any of the poor of ye parish to work for him this is not without

⁴¹³ Thomas Allen to Montagu, 17 February 1722, BHA, Allen Letters.

⁴¹⁴ Worcester to Booth, 13 November 1722, BHA, WEL.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 9 December 1722.

⁴¹⁶ Account of the Duke of Montagu's Settlement, 1722-24, TNA, CO 258/3.

⁴¹⁷ Sone to Booth, 9 May 1721, BHA, BEL.

⁴¹⁸ Sone to Booth, 9 December 1721, BHA, BEL.

cause for they are very Idle and ill-natured to him.’⁴¹⁹ No evidence has yet been discovered to confirm that these were the same weavers who were sent to St Lucia, and further research is required to see if there are signs of their presence on the Beaulieu estate after the expedition sailed.

Although it is not known if the Beaulieu weavers did go to St Lucia, certainly the French heritage surnames imply that Huguenots were present. *Boughton House: The English Versailles* is threaded through with examples of the Montagus’ patronage of the Huguenots, including their use of Huguenots as household managers, advisors and tutors as well as their employment of Huguenot artists and craftsmen in the building and decoration of their houses. They also actively supported Huguenot churches and charities.⁴²⁰ There is evidence that some of the Expedition participants had recently arrived from France as Mathew told the Duke that two of the officers, Ponthieu and Descasall had ‘found one refugee acquaintance’ on St Christopher, which indicates they were refugees themselves.⁴²¹ Braithwaite’s attempt to recruit the ‘Palatinates’ bound for ‘Pensilvania’ suggests that it is possible that the Huguenot community was also specifically targeted. The high proportion of those involved in the expedition that did not have British ancestry was soon exposed as a weakness when the expedition reached St Lucia. The prospect of the French attack and the harsh working conditions unnerved the servants. Within a week of arriving they ‘absented themselves without leave, and strayed amongst the French Habitations.’⁴²² It appears that those of French heritage were particularly tempted away, and one of the officers recorded that ‘three of the French servants went from the ship in the woods, and were the next day carried off in a small boat ...to Martinique.’ The French refused to return them ‘by Reason they were people of their owne nation and had put themselves under the protection of the French King.’⁴²³ This suggests that some of the French participants were perhaps economic migrants and not religious refugees escaping persecution in France, as they willingly returned to the French fold. The fact that at least twenty five per cent of the expedition participants may have had some degree of French heritage once again exposes the weaknesses of the planning and management of the expedition, given the risk of armed

⁴¹⁹ Burgis to Booth, 30 June 1722, BHA, BEL.

⁴²⁰ Murdoch, *English Versailles*.

⁴²¹ Mathew to Montagu, 21 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.60.

⁴²² Uring, *Settlement*, p.25.

⁴²³ George to Montagu, 14 Feb 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.56.

intervention by the French, the loyalty of these servants under pressure should have been considered.

The documented behaviour of some of the servants including their desertion demonstrates that they were the exact opposite of the people that the Duke had hoped 'would be of very great service' to him in St Lucia. It suggests that they were indeed the 'vagabonds' that Blackham feared or the sort of 'loose people' that the Mayor of Hull hoped to be rid of and reminiscent of the 'indolent people' that plagued the Beaulieu estate. Uring complained particularly of the great difficulty of keeping the servants in 'tolerable decorum':

The Servants were all well supply'd out of the Dukes Stores, with Cloathing and Necessaries, though they often stray'd about the Country and sold them and then complained to the Planters that they were naked; for which they were punished and again supply'd.⁴²⁴

The female servants also seemed to display the same lack of 'tolerable decorum'. Only two of the women, Hannah Bird and Elizabeth Brightwell, have been matched with surviving indentures.⁴²⁵ Uring noted that two female covenanted servants ran away to the French but it is not known if it was these two.⁴²⁶ Governor Mathew informed the Duke that he had discharged one woman, Ann Townsend, because:

She met with a husband that ran from her 14 yrs ago, who was now fool enough to take to her again & on his paying me £8 spent for her passage & what you might have expended on her, I blessed him with her virtuous person again! Wish all your other ladys were as well got rid of, & marryd to your worst enemys, I know not what to do with ym.⁴²⁷

This description implies Ann took advantage of her paid passage to specifically track this man down and had no long-term intention of serving the Duke. This might have been the story that she told Mathew, the chance meeting may have been pre-planned or Mathew may have simply lied to cover for Ann's disappearance. The sarcastic use of the word 'virtuous' illustrates that Mathew questioned her morals, and his desire that all the women who came on the expedition be 'got rid of' suggests he judged them to be of

⁴²⁴ Ibid., p.114.

⁴²⁵ Kaminkow, *Emigrants*.

⁴²⁶ Uring, *Settlement*, p.70.

⁴²⁷ Mathew to Montagu, 2 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.60a.

similar character and perhaps indicates that their presence was disruptive. In the same critical tone, Captain George derided his fellow officer Captain King's 'fine lady'. George appeared to be disgusted that King wanted to 'put ...her upon the footing of his wife' by seating her at the officer's table.⁴²⁸ In fact some of the nineteen women who were listed as participants in the Expedition may have been 'ladies' of the officers and on a similar footing to King's 'fine lady'. Mathew noted that after the Expedition had failed he did not know how to support the Duke's 'officers and their ladys'. He feared that 'to turn them adrift would be starving them'.⁴²⁹ As only Elizabeth Brightwell shared a surname with a man on the Expedition (John Brightwell, who was a tailor and not an officer) it seems likely that many of the women listed were the unmarried partners of the officers. However these women may not have been the specifically invited partners of the officers and may have established relationships with them during their passage to the Caribbean

3.9 Skilled paid workers.

There is no information available about where the people on the expedition that were paid a salary came from. However the description of their assigned occupation allows us to develop an understanding of the occupational background of a large number of the participants. The largest paid occupational group were carpenters with 54 members, and this fits in with the work that was planned to take place initially on St Lucia, erecting the fort and 'the frames of 20 houses and one Church' which were to be shipped from Boston, New England.⁴³⁰ In the end, with the threat of an imminent French attack, their skills were needed to quickly build the wooden fortifications or the 'barricado', as Uring described it, out of barrels.⁴³¹ In addition there were 20 smiths, 15 sawyers (or wood cutters), 13 brick layers, 6 joiners and 5 stone masons. Nearly all these skilled men were paid a salary ranging from £18 to £30 *per annum*. They were also joined by salaried armourers, shipwrights, wheelwrights, millwrights, plasterers and founders and even a distiller. 120 labourers were also listed as participants, but many of these were unpaid whilst the others received £8. Other occupations included

⁴²⁸ George to Montagu, 14 February 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.56.

⁴²⁹ Mathew to Montagu, 22 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.60a.

⁴³⁰ George to Montagu, 14 February 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.56.

⁴³¹ Uring, *Settlement*, p.38.

tallow chandlers, watermen, sail makers, shoemakers and fourteen husbandmen. A cabinet maker, a pastry chef and two silversmiths stand out as rather odd additions to the list, as does the rounded figure of 30 French weavers that has previously been noted. Alongside the artisans were the soldiers and officers who would eventually staff the fort and control the settlement. This figure also included six surgeons to tend to the medical needs of the settlement.⁴³²

It is tempting to think that some of these skilled salaried tradesmen or artisans may have been known to the Duke's household, that they had been recruited for their skills and reliability and had perhaps worked on building projects commissioned by the Duke, or had worked on his estates or for him in his capacity as Master of the Wardrobe. However apart from a few inconclusive surname matches in accounts or estate records, currently not one individual in the trades and crafts section can be traced as having previously worked for the Duke. It could simply be that following the financial fallout of the South Sea Bubble, there was a down turn in work opportunities for those working in the building trade and other associated crafts. The overall impression is that the tradesmen, craftsmen and unpaid servants, whether indentured or otherwise, were quickly assembled from whomever Wood and recruiters like Blackham could enlist, regardless of their real suitability and experience.

It is unclear to what extent the Duke or his household knew any of the 50 expedition officers prior to their appointment, and further research is required. Presumably their place was secured either through connections to those who had the Duke's patronage or, as discussed earlier, through being indebted like Stebbing was to Wood, or as in the case of Trewin, through appealing to his sympathies. Given the financial problems that many may have faced as a consequence of the South Sea Bubble, it is likely that for many of the officers, the risk that they took in joining the expedition was rooted in necessity.

⁴³² Account of the Duke of Montagu's Settlement, 1722-24, TNA, CO 258/3.

3.10 Free Blacks, 'Indians' and the Enslaved.

As discussed in chapter one, the 2nd Duke of Montagu is remembered as an altruistic benefactor to Black people.⁴³³ This fits uncomfortably with his project to set up a Caribbean colony which would have ultimately relied on enslaved labour as well as disrupting and occupying the settlements of both indigenous people and maroon settlers of African descent. This contradiction is worthy of further exploration but can only be briefly examined here. The abolitionist voice was still overwhelmingly silent in the 1720s as African enslavement was seen as essential for the advancement of British trade. Voices of opposition to the slave trade and the identification of slavery as an immoral practice were only to gather pace later in the eighteenth century. Although Quaker communities led early protests against slavery, Mathew's judgement of Uring as a 'half-quaker' may indicate that he was aware of his slave-trading past. In all the surviving documentation connected to the Expedition there is no trace of any discomfort relating to slavery and any reference to it is treated in a business-like manner as if discussing any aspect of estate management. As Uring had traded slaves and Mathew was a slave-owner, their descriptions of interactions with Africans are not surprisingly devoid of sentiment. Uring nonchalantly recorded that despite the desertion of the servants and the need for men when 'two young Negroes' ran away from their French owners to join the British camp, 'they were claimed, and returned to the Owner' in the same way as he expected the indentured servants, as property, to be returned to him.⁴³⁴ In the same way Mathew sent a query to the Duke in March 1723 which discussed slaves just as he discussed how to dispose of the other Expedition supplies:

Tis said your Grace has sent a ship or Two for Negros to the coast of Guinea ... [if] those Negros are to be disposed of I hope your Grace will bestow that Trust on me, whoever else disposes of ym will charge you commissions, that benefit will be some help to me & no loss to your Grace.⁴³⁵

There is however no further evidence that these ships were sent or that they arrived. Mathew's use of 'tis said' denotes hearsay and was perhaps created simply by his assumption that enslaved Africans would be vital to the colony. Contemporary French

⁴³³ See chapter one, p.32.

⁴³⁴ Uring, *Settlement*, p.86.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

sources which described Uring's workforce on St Lucia, noted that '*negres*' were in the work force, but there is not one reference to enslaved labour in Uring's published account.⁴³⁶ However if there was a free Black presence in the workforce, this may be a possible explanation as to why 'the two young negroes' ran from their French enslavers and attempted to join the British.

St Vincent was designated as neutral territory by the French and British and was regarded as an enclave inhabited by indigenous Caribs and Africans that had escaped slavery. The Duke claimed he was aware of this and wished to maintain the status quo. He confirmed with Mathew that he had 'no thoughts to settle' St Vincent but 'to keep the Negroes and Indians my friends.'⁴³⁷ St Vincent's inhabitants were regarded as a dangerous threat by Mathew, but the Duke's officers used diplomacy to interact with the inhabitants. They entertained some of the elite members of the enclave on HMS Winchelsea whilst attempting to negotiate a new settlement on St Vincent. This has left a record of the Indigenous Caribbean people and African diaspora during this period that is often missing from historical narratives. The 'Indian General' and 'Negro Chief' and their entourage were invited on board 'the King's Ship' where they were 'well entertained', received 'presents', and it was noted that the leader of the maroons 'spoke excellent French, and gave answers with French Complements'. Later they were further entertained on 'the Duke's sloop' where the Duke's officers 'opened their hearts with wine' as 'they scorned to drink Rum'. As to the question of allowing a settlement, they told Braithwaite that 'they would trust no Europeans' and that they pretended to be under the protection of the French:

But would as soon oppose their settling amongst them, or any Act of Force from them, as us ... they resolved never to put it in their Power, or any European, to hurt them. They advised me to think what they said was an Act of Friendship.

On leaving the ship, the diplomatic etiquette continued. Braithwaite 'dismissed them with a discharge of Cannon, and received, in return, as regular Vollies of small shot as I ever heard ... This is a faithful Report'.⁴³⁸

This description creates the image of pleasant and polite interactions between gentlemen, and the return of arms followed European military protocol. The endearing

⁴³⁶ Harmsen, Ellis, Devaux, *St Lucia*, p.49.

⁴³⁷ Montagu to Mathew, n.d., BL Add MSs 38510 E, f.34v.

⁴³⁸ Uring, *Settlement*, pp.108-9.

description of the ‘parlez’ must be approached with some caution however as the ‘faithful report’ may have been written to convince the Duke and Uring that the officers had done their best to negotiate, when in fact both the Royal Navy on the Winchelsea and the Duke’s officers may have never had the encounter at all.

Evidently the Duke had high hopes that those on St Vincent would wish to be his friends. Although the Duke was not allowed to recruit white settlers from the Caribbean, there had been no restriction on Black settlers and he issued an ‘Ordinance for the Encouragement of the free Indians and free Negroes, and free Mulattoes’ which was intended to encourage non-whites from neighbouring islands to settle. The important clause in the ordinance was that they would be deemed:

Free Denizens of the said Islands of St Lucia and St Vincent, together with their Children and Descendants, and shall and may have, hold, take and enjoy Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels therein ... as fully, legally, and beneficially as they might or could do, if natural born Subjects of Great-Britain; and in all Trials of Right or Criminal Causes shall be treated in the same Manner as natural born subjects of his Majesty.⁴³⁹

Gad Heuman and James Walvin’s reflections on the societal restrictions of free Blacks in Jamaica during this time, including their unequal treatment before the Law, provides an indication that the Duke’s ordinance could have attracted free people of colour from other colonies to settle in St Lucia as (on paper) it offered them equal rights to whites.⁴⁴⁰ However a wider study of the treatment of free people of colour in the British colonies during this period is lacking so it is difficult to judge its significance. It is likely that it was simply drawn up to attract *any* settlers once the option of white settlers had been dismissed, and it may not have stood the test of time had the colony succeeded. It is certainly a subject that is worthy of more research to gain a greater understanding of its significance.

⁴³⁹ Uring, *Settlement*, pp.27-8.

⁴⁴⁰ G. Heuman and J. Walvin, *The Slavery Reader* (London, 2003), pp.655-6.

3.11 Conclusion.

Despite the Duke's vision and enthusiasm for his proposed colony, the expedition was doomed to fail. The failure was ultimately due to Uring's force being low in numbers in comparison to the French. Sickness and desertion had depleted his force, but even at full strength they would have been no match for the large numbers of armed men that were sent from the neighbouring French island of Martinique, a mere 40 miles away, who were desperate to keep the British out of their territories. This striking lack of foresight by the Duke and his staff in anticipating how the French would react to the prospect of the Duke setting up a colony on St Lucia was the chief cause of the failure, as a better-informed analysis would have ensured that the expedition was never attempted. This suggests arrogance or more likely ignorance which ultimately gambled the huge expense of the expedition together with peoples' lives in the style of a 'projector' that was indicative of its time.

Every other aspect of planning the expedition also appears to have been flawed. The shortcomings range from the lack of sound financial backing, the weak leadership, the unsuitability of the officers and the servants and even the selection of inappropriate supplies to equip the expedition. These weaknesses point to the overall inadequacy of the planning and management by staff at Montagu House which was ultimately led and driven by the Duke himself.

The next chapter will explore other activities on the Duke's estates which will demonstrate that his venture to colonise St Lucia was just one aspect of his plan to improve his estates. In England, he sought to consolidate and expand his proprietorial power across different geographic areas by looking to revive ancient feudal and seigneurial rights. The chapter will explore his motivations for doing this, how he shaped his campaign to revive these rights and some of the legacies that were created from his actions.

Chapter Four

An exploration of the strategies employed by the Duke of Montagu to ensure the revival of rights on his estates.

4.1 Introduction.

A constant theme runs through the surviving estate correspondence of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu to his stewards and estate advisors: the defence of seigneurial and manorial rights and privileges which he inherited with his estates. The letters also reveal his interest in discovering and reviving neglected rights, embellishing existing ones and even a focus on acquiring new estates which offered similar privileges, including his quest to obtain proprietary ownership of Caribbean islands. The Duke believed the economic security and improvement of his estates was undoubtedly linked to the principle of securing these rights and privileges, and his belief stands as a cornerstone of his policy towards estate management. Because so little has been done to explore the continuation or revival of feudally derived-rights in Britain in the post-Restoration period, it is difficult to assess whether his interest in this was highly unusual or simply part of a wider trend shared by other aristocrats at this time. This chapter will seek to explore in more detail the Duke's attitude and activities in relation to securing his rights and privileges and assess some of the initiatives that he pursued that either enforced or exploited these rights. It will trace how he developed the interest, discuss whether these interests left any physical legacies and outline how particular estate improvements such as industrial enterprises were all held within the framework of the rigorous micro-management of the revival of his rights. Furthermore it will explore how his neighbours and his tenants, were keen to defend their perceived rights too and the tension that this created across his estates.

4.2 The Duke of Montagu's initial interest in his rights.

The 2nd Duke of Montagu was clearly preoccupied with defending his rights and privileges. His correspondence contains multiple references to how he was personally utilising and developing his estate archives to enable him to revive these rights through research and referencing the various royal grants, leases and similar privileges which were the legal foundations that his estates were built on. The Duke had to rely on his various stewards to ensure his rights were rigorously protected to prevent those living on his estates or in possession of neighbouring estates disrespecting these rights. Although there is patchy correspondence relating to the estates throughout the life of the 2nd Duke of Montagu, a considerable amount of material has survived from the mid to late 1730s created by the death of John Booth and the recruitment of William Folkes. These letters reveal that during the twenty-five years since his father's death, the Duke had developed considerable expertise in the intricacies of such rights and privileges. His expertise enabled him in 1738 to instruct his Lancashire steward on exactly how to draw up a 'new rental' of his recently inherited new estates, ensuring that he was accurate in:

Distinguishing the nature of every tenure & every Rent whether free Burgage, Free Soccage, Fee Farm, Coppy hold Wapentake, demesne &c. distinguished under proper heads of the Receipt or manor they belong to.

His expectations of how thorough this rental should be were illustrated by the enumeration of all the rights and benefits that he expected to be included:

An account of the several priviledges, customs, bounderys, courts, Grants & officers &c belonging to each of the Lordship or manor – all small rents or acknowledgements and of arrows, dog collers, needles & thread, gloves, spurs, pounds ... as well as many Rents that is, that nothing never so minute or insignificant should be omitted.⁴⁴¹

He insisted that he was resolved to 'Recover every Right that belongs to me tho never so tryfling provided I have a just and clear Right to it'.⁴⁴² This attitude of ensuring each trifling right was upheld in order to re-establish his influence is key to understanding the Duke of Montagu's policy concerning the revival of his rights. In 1731, Booth had

⁴⁴¹ Montagu to Robinson, 2 September, n.d (post-1734), Lancashire Record Office (LRO), Assheton of Downham(AoD), DDHCL 15/16/16.

⁴⁴² Montagu to Folkes, 31 July 1739, Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/80.

stressed that a reason for some of the eroded rights of the Duke's Northamptonshire Hundreds, was because 'a disuse of a franchise is a forfeiture of it in law'.⁴⁴³ So with this warning in mind, it seems that the Duke was determined to micro-manage the continuation of the most trifling rights to ensure the survival of the entire framework, regardless of the cost.

The success the Duke had in improving the economic potential of his estates by recovering seigniorial rights is best summarised by the comments of the 'well regarded' surveyor, Thomas 'Sense' Browne.⁴⁴⁴ He valued all the Montagu estates in 1767, nearly twenty years after the Duke's death. On surveying Furness, Browne highlighted the special characteristics of the estate:

This is the most extraordinary estate I ever valued, there being none or trifling Demesne, there is great power annex to it, by the appointment of a Bailiff for executing all writs and processes whatsoever exclusive of the Sheriff & other great & extensive powers of Royalties &c which I think of very little value, as no owner of this Estate nor indeed any Gentleman would scarce live on it. The great profits that arise are from Quit Rents, Fines, profits of Wreck, Courts & Iron Ore.⁴⁴⁵

To Browne the 'great power' had 'little value' and the 'great profits' arose from the various means to raise income. However, he was missing the point. The 'great profits' were in fact the fruits of the campaign that the Duke had embarked upon during his lifetime to revive this great power for his own benefit and those of future generations. By 1774, the iron ore mines works at Whitrigg were declared 'the Peru of Furness' and it was noted that although each raised ton of ore still paid '1 s. 6 d. to the lord of the soil', the Duke's daughters, presumably the amounts extracted had substantially increased due to demands from industrial growth.⁴⁴⁶ Further research is required to understand the development of these rights by the nineteenth century and how the Buccleuchs still benefited from them when they part-financed the railway and docks development at Barrow.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.300.

⁴⁴⁴ Thompson Cooper, 'Browne, Thomas (1702–1780)', rev. J. A. Marchand, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3704> [accessed 19 Sept 2017].

⁴⁴⁵ Thomas Browne, *Furness Estate Survey, 1767*, BHA.

⁴⁴⁶ West, *Furness*, p.17. Browne's survey concludes that by the 1760s the annual profits were averaging £613 9s as opposed to £350 7s prior to 1762.

⁴⁴⁷ F. Barnes, *Barrow and District*, (Barrow-in-Furness, 1968), pp.89-91.

This interest in protecting rights in areas where he had ‘great power’ also applied to any estate where he was simply regarded as Lord of the Manor. As we have seen, in a dispute relating to his ownership of the manor of Church Lawford in Warwickshire, the lawyer representing Sir Edward Boughton who was disputing the claim, made a note in his case file, ‘NB. The Duke of Montagu does not own a yard of land in Church Lawford’. This example again demonstrates exactly why re-establishing any neglected rights was so important. It gave him both influence and a source of income in localities where he may have owned no actual freehold property.⁴⁴⁸

4.3 Education and training in relation to the Duke’s estate rights.

As noted in chapter one, the Duke’s membership of many learned societies and his long-standing close circle of friends who have come to be regarded as some of the leading *intelligentsia* of the early to mid-eighteenth century suggests an active intelligence.⁴⁴⁹ One of these friends and possibly his greatest admirer, William Stukeley, suggested that ‘he had a quick genius at every thing he apply’d himself to’.⁴⁵⁰ Certainly the Duke’s correspondence with his estate stewards and other advisors demonstrates a depth of understanding and ‘great proficiency’ that he developed over time for estate business. He excused his infrequent letters to Stukeley on the grounds that he was ‘the worst Literary Correspondent in the world’ who would ‘soon as choose to go to be hanged as to write a letter’.⁴⁵¹ However he did not apply this rule when he wrote his estates letters (or indeed some of his military-related letters), as he often completed ‘abominable long’ letters on several sides of paper; his ideas were often communicated in a stream of consciousness as if he was trying to keep up with the thoughts which flowed from his head to the paper. This led to poor handwriting and unpredictable spelling which even he admitted that he could ‘hardly read & understand’.⁴⁵²

Some of this lengthy correspondence was due to the Duke attempting to undertake the role of instructor to the recipient. He was an absentee landlord and therefore he would rarely see his estate stewards, particularly those who worked on the northern estates

⁴⁴⁸ Sir Edward Boughton’s case (Long Lawford), n.d., WRO, Boughton-Leigh MSS, CR 162/9.

⁴⁴⁹ Chapter one, p.32.

⁴⁵⁰ William Stukeley’s notebook, Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc. e. 126, f.76.

⁴⁵¹ J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols (London, 1817), ii, p.786.

⁴⁵² Montagu to Folkes, 28 August 1739, Norf.R.O., FoH, MC 50/2/84.

which spanned Lancashire, parts of Yorkshire and Furness in what is now Cumbria. Communication problems with these estates were compounded in 1738 when the Chief Steward, John Booth. With no immediate replacement, the Duke appears to have taken on Booth's role, and surviving estate correspondence from this time documents how he particularly encouraged the Lancashire steward to set about reviving any neglected rights and privileges. However this was not always easy to communicate and he later told William Folkes, Booth's replacement:

I know the nature of the Honor of Clithero and the lordship of Furness as well as I know my Alphabet but I can't get out of my head [how] to explaine it clearly but with your help we shall be able to do it.⁴⁵³

There is evidence that he had sought to educate himself on matters relating to his estates by reading the latest texts which dealt with the legalities of estate administration, advice on management and estate improvement. Some books, like those written by Stamford-born (and friend of Stukeley) Edward Laurence *A Duty of a Steward to his Lord* and that of his brother John Laurence *A New System of Agriculture* were owned by the Duke and survive in Boughton Library.⁴⁵⁴ In August 1739, he had evidently been reading Sir Martin Wright's *Introduction to the Law of Tenures*⁴⁵⁵ which was noted by a nineteenth-century legal expert as 'of the most accurate research ... recommended for those who may be in search of minute learning on the various topics of feudalism.'⁴⁵⁶ He sent a copy to William Folkes as he felt it 'myte be of some use' in helping him to understand the various estate rights.⁴⁵⁷ A letter to Robinson, the Lancashire steward, from the Duke written around the same time, reflects what Wright had written and the Duke had digested as he urged Robinson to particularly investigate 'the nature of Tenures with some care & trouble' as this would enable the 'Rentall' to be 'mended' and help decide what 'lands manor or estates are held of me'.⁴⁵⁸ Likewise the Duke sent Robinson an unnamed book which he was enthusiastic about. This had been 'lately reprinted' and he assessed it was

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 9 November 1739, MC 50/2/57/1.

⁴⁵⁴ E. Lawrence, *A Duty of a Steward to his Lord* (London, 1727) Boughton House Library (BHL), G5, 25 and J. Laurence, *A New System of Agriculture* (London, 1726), BHL, K2, 17. See S. Bendall, 'Laurence, Edward', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16125> [accessed 1 Sept 2017].

⁴⁵⁵ M. Wright, *Introduction to the Law of Tenures* (London, 1730).

⁴⁵⁶ D. Hoffman, *A Course of Legal Study: Addressed to Students and the Profession Generally*, 2 vols (London, 1836), i, p.141.

⁴⁵⁷ Montagu to Folkes, received 7 August 1739, Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/80.

⁴⁵⁸ Montagu to Robinson, n.d., LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/20.

‘very useful for Persons that keep courts.’⁴⁵⁹ As Robinson’s task was particularly to revive attendance at the Wapentake leet court, it would appear that the Duke was sensible to his need for further training and perhaps his own inability to ‘explaine it clearly’. Books like this were useful tools for distance learning when stewards, like the Lancashire one, were situated far from the London hub of estate management.

4.4 The Evidence Room and developing the estate archives.

The estate correspondence provides evidence of the extent to which the Duke was focussed on reforming and developing his estate archives to assist him in reviving his rights and privileges. The earliest evidence for the Duke embarking on the development of a central archive dates from 1717 when Lamotte confirmed that he had been instructed to retrieve papers concerning the Duke’s Northamptonshire ‘courts, Gloucester Fee, & sheriffs yeld’. However these were still in the ‘keeping’ of the last steward and he was endeavouring to ‘get em all together, & send em up to His Grace’.⁴⁶⁰ This demonstrates how easily important estate documents could be mislaid unless systems were in place to protect against their loss. When the Duke moved into his new house at Whitehall in 1733, a room was designated as the ‘evidence room’ on the ground floor which he designed to hold his collection of documents relating to his estates.⁴⁶¹ There had also been an evidence room at Montagu House at Bloomsbury which appears to have been the innovation of the second Duke. In the 1709 inventory, created after his father’s death, there is no named evidence room and no room appears to contain a similar suite of furniture and other items that appear on the 1733 Bloomsbury inventory or the 1746 Whitehall inventory. In fact the 1733 Bloomsbury inventory noted the ‘evidence room’ was spread over two rooms, one of which was the ‘late Duke’s dining room’. The inclusion in both rooms of a ‘step ladder’ suggests materials were stored on high shelving.⁴⁶² By 1746 the inventory for Whitehall, where the evidence room was relocated to, also listed ‘severall Boxes with writings under it’ and ‘presses with Boxes in them for

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, n.d., DDHCL 15/6/20. The book may have been Giles Jacob’s *Compleat Court-Keeper* (3rd edn, London, 1741), although LRO have catalogued the undated letter in a sequence suggesting it is late 1730s.

⁴⁶⁰ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.14.

⁴⁶¹ T. Murdoch (ed.), *Noble Households: Eighteenth Century Inventories of Great English Houses. A Tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge, 2006), p.86.

⁴⁶² Ibid., p.100.

writings round the Room' which suggests that the growth in the archive required further storage facilities.⁴⁶³ The inspiration may have come from Newhall, the Albemarle estate that he inherited from his step mother, which also had a specific 'evidence room'. After she died in August 1734, the Duke had immediately ordered John Booth to go to Newhall and retrieve any relevant papers that he might need from the evidence room.⁴⁶⁴ However it is likely that the Duke's reverential treatment of the family archive was something that had been passed down through the Montagu family, perhaps instigated by his lawyer ancestor, Sir Edward Montagu, who had gained rank at the court of Henry VIII as a chief justice and had bought Boughton in 1528.⁴⁶⁵ The Duke told his steward Robinson:

I am pretty exact & Curious in preserving any old wrightings or Records that any ways relate to my Estate, when any of my Leases expire the Tenants Return me their old leases which I lay up along with their counterparts & tho it is of no absolute necessity to do so yet as it has been a custome in my family I am willing to continue it.⁴⁶⁶

In addition there is also the sense that the Duke was transporting the documents to more personal spaces in his properties; this in turn suggests that he was studying and researching the documents at his convenience. In this way, he instructed Folkes that the Gloucester Fee 'Great Court Book' could be located 'on the table' in his 'Dressing Room' at Whitehall.⁴⁶⁷ In the 1746 Whitehall inventory, the Duke's dressing room is not specifically named among his apartments which spanned the 'attic' story but room 'no .13', next to a bedchamber, contained several pieces of furniture which may have constituted some sort of personal office arrangement, including 'a Wainscot writing Desk', 'a square wainscot Table with a drawer', 'a wainscott Bureau – and on it a small wainscot Cupboard with Nests for papers'. The room also contained 'Mapps and plans of his Graces Estates' together with 'a pewter inkstand'.⁴⁶⁸ This 'wainscott Bureau' may have been Duke's 'Burow' or bureau 'in town'. In 1738, he declared he had 'the purchase deed of Ulverston ... looked up' in this bureau.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶³ Ibid., p.104.

⁴⁶⁴ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.249.

⁴⁶⁵ J. H. Baker, 'Montagu, Sir Edward (1480s–1557)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Oct 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19006>[accessed 2 Sept 2017].

⁴⁶⁶ Montagu to Robinson, n.d., LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/12.

⁴⁶⁷ Montagu to Folkes, n.d., Norf.R.O, FoH, MC/50/2/11.

⁴⁶⁸ Murdoch, *Inventories*, p.98.

⁴⁶⁹ Montagu to Folkes, n.d., Norf.R.O, FoH, MC/50/2/3.

The Duke's perusal of his estate documents was not restricted to his London townhouse. Evidence in the correspondence suggests that the Duke consulted these documents as he seasonally moved about his various residences. At Blackheath in September 1734 he had been using the 'book of inventory of the goods att Montagu House' and kept it 'in the closet where my books are ... up against the wall over against the dore going in, tyed up in brown paper'.⁴⁷⁰ On another visit to Blackheath in 1738, the Duke had taken with him 'two or three sheets of paper' relating to the Clitheroe estate that were 'prety old and durty'.⁴⁷¹ Meanwhile during his summer trip to Boughton in August 1739, he wrote one of his most detailed and lengthiest estate letters to Folkes. The level of detail relating to the nature of the Duchy and the Albemarle grants of Clitheroe and Furness suggests that he was referring to actual documents (or at least copies) within his sight due to some of the content in the letter including particular rents paid.⁴⁷² This all creates the impression that wherever the Duke of Montagu was, whether in his town house or on those estates like Blackheath and Boughton which tend to be regarded as spaces for leisure, the business of pursuing his estate rights continued without interruption.

In addition there are examples in the correspondence which show the management and treatment of archival material and the increasing importance of the evidence room. When the bulk of documents were transferred from Montagu House, Bloomsbury to the new house in Whitehall, the Duke instructed:

Every wrighting in general should be packed in boxes or hampers, tho it be thought not worth keeping & tho never so insignificant, for unless everything in general be put up & great care taken in such a general move, wrightings may be lost which some tyme or other may be of consequence to have had.

You should number every box & have a catalogue referring to the sort of wrightings that are in each box and when that is done they will be ready to be moved at any time.⁴⁷³

Further information about how manuscripts were treated is presented in a letter from the Duke to Robinson in 1737. Estate papers that were being sent to Clitheroe were not indexed and he left it to Robinson's discretion to:

⁴⁷⁰ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.258.

⁴⁷¹ Montagu to Folkes, n.d., Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/66.

⁴⁷² Montagu to Folkes, 7 August 1739, Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/81.

⁴⁷³ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.245.

Range them in order of time or in such manor as will be the most convenient to you & number the pages and the Index accordingly & I think you should get them stitched together in a book.⁴⁷⁴

Although the Duke took documents out of the evidence room he was careful a record was made and some traceability was established as to who had last taken it. When a legal advisor wanted to work on the Gloucester Fee manuscripts, the Duke instructed him to 'write my name in the inside of the Cover & leave a memorandum in the place from whence you take them that you have them'.⁴⁷⁵ The Duke appears to have realised the importance of making copies of documents to protect against the loss of evidence. He employed a Gray's Inn lawyer, Charles Grymes, to strengthen his archive in the evidence room by translating documents from the Latin, producing duplicate copies of certain material and hunting down missing material which provided vital evidence of rights. In the early 1720s Grymes translated 'the leiger book of the monastery of Furness' which was presumably to enable further analysis of the rights that had previously been enjoyed by the Abbey.⁴⁷⁶ The original Furness grant to Albemarle appeared to be missing so additional research was required to make sense of what rights he possessed.⁴⁷⁷

Reminiscent of the methods employed by Sir Robert Cotton a hundred years earlier, the Duke was utilising 'the application of antiquarian research' to 'yield a profit'.⁴⁷⁸ In 1728 Grymes was carrying out archival research on behalf of the Duke in the Crown Office to confirm what rights he held in the hundreds of Polebrook, Huxloe and Navisford. He informed the Duke that he 'had almost desponded & given over hopes of finding the grant' (echoing the experience of archival researchers across the ages) but later enthused that he 'luckily found it in a book, the clerk told me he was sure it could not be in'.⁴⁷⁹ In addition the Duke employed the herald John Anstis to conduct genealogical research on his behalf. This had various implications which are discussed later in this chapter, and although genealogy was of personal interest to the Duke, the need to produce genealogical evidence had important financial implications too. For example, to prove the Montagu family's right to the Northamptonshire hundreds, Lamotte wrote that 'a

⁴⁷⁴ Montagu to Robinson, c.1737, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/14.

⁴⁷⁵ Montagu to Folkes, n.d., Norf.R.O., FoH archive, MC 50/2/11.

⁴⁷⁶ Andrew Marchant's Montagu House accounts, house expenses, receipt Charles Grymes, March 1722/23, BHA.

⁴⁷⁷ A manuscript history of the 'Liberty and Manors of Furness' dates from 1738, which is based on Grymes' research. See: *The Liberty of Furness*, 1738, NRO, M(B) X7525.

⁴⁷⁸ R.B. Manning, 'Sir Robert Cotton, antiquarianism and estate administration: a chancery decree of 1627', *British Library Journal*, 18:1 (1992), p.88.

⁴⁷⁹ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.282.

cause to be tried at the next assizes att Northamptonshire' meant there was 'a necessity of proving His Grace's pedigree from Sir Edward Montagu, (who I think was His Graces great grandfather) in order to make it appear that his Grace is legally intitled to the Hundred'.⁴⁸⁰

4.5 Difficulties in reviving the estate rights.

The Duke's insistence on reviving his rights across the areas where he enjoyed manorial and seigneurial privileges often met with opposition from those who were as keen to defend their rights as he was. As briefly discussed in chapter one, there is a lack of literature exploring the continuation or revival of feudally derived-rights in Britain in the post-Restoration period, so it is difficult to assess whether the Duke of Montagu's interest in this was highly unusual or simply part of a wider trend shared by other aristocrats at this time. The Duke believed that there was 'not three noblemen or Gentlemen in England except such who have studied the law that know [about] it', which suggests that he was aware that his particular interest was only shared by a select few. However the Montagu correspondence demonstrates that other nobles shared his interest in defending ancestral rights. The Duke's Northamptonshire neighbour, the Earl of Cardigan of Deene Park, reflected this underlying attitude in 1731 when he reacted to a boundary dispute. He told John Booth, 'I am very tender of incroaching upon my neighbours, but I own I am very tenacious of my own rights and priviledges.' The Duke had to rely on his various stewards to ensure his rights were rigorously protected to prevent those living on his estates or in possession of neighbouring estates, like Cardigan, from disrespecting these rights. Despite his belief that 'only two or three noblemen' truly understood the full legalities of their rights, the estates correspondence records a wider general interest, from people across the social spectrum, in defending their rights as they perceived and understood them. The Duke attributed a key reason for the erosion of respect for rights to a lack of knowledge of these rights by the Lords themselves. He looked to the glories of a feudal past when:

The Power of the nobility consisted in military Tenures & services, nobleman & Gentleman knew the nature of their estates - & what estates were held of them –

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. p.278. McKay and Hall date the letter to 1727.

but as these Services are turned into socage & that the estates are held by payment of small chief Rents, & that many are held without paying any Rent at all, the Tenures are forgot, & the Chief Rents neglected collecting as being hardly worth the trouble.⁴⁸¹

This neglect was evidenced by his experience of the rents that he was due within the Lordship of the Honour of Gloucester and the rents from the Northamptonshire Hundreds. He explained to Folkes when he first recruited him in 1737 that the rents were ‘so long in arrears by the negligence of the Bailiff’ but also because ‘the persons who are to pay them are unwilling to do it’.⁴⁸²

Given the patchy survival of the estate correspondence, the first real evidence that the Duke was taking an active interest in reviving ancient rights and privileges on his estates exists in a letter written in 1714. This suggests that he had launched a campaign to revive his rights in the three hundreds which he possessed in Northamptonshire, which were Navisford, Polebrook and Huxlowe. The Reverend Lamotte, his advisor at Boughton, informed the Duke that he had:

Sent ... the enquiry you desired of your three hundreds. I believe it may be depended upon as exact. I have sent you back your paper, by which your Grace will see I have not omitted any place. The 2 questions were, who was lord of the manor of such a place & who kept a Court Baron there? Which question I have answered under each place.⁴⁸³

Documented evidence for the revival of rights campaign in Northamptonshire continues throughout the estate correspondence until the late 1730s. After this date, surviving correspondence is scant. What exists indicates that the Duke continued to carry out the campaign to revive dormant rights in the Hundreds and the Gloucester Fee Lordship. During this time, the revival of certain rights that had been practised within living memory appears to have been tolerated. However the reintroduction of rights that were deemed archaic was treated with great suspicion and resentment. The Duke’s bailiff for the Hundreds, Charles Norgrave, reported to Booth in 1723 that the impact of these attempts meant that ‘the country seems to be all in confusion, as if their very lands were aimed at’.⁴⁸⁴ This may have been triggered partly by the Duke’s attempt to revive his

⁴⁸¹ Montagu to Folkes, 9 November 1738, Norf.R.O., FoH., MC 50/2/57/1.

⁴⁸² Martin Folkes to William Folkes, 21 July 1737, Norf.R.O., FoH, MC/50/3/4 and Montagu to Folkes, 30 August, Norf.R.O., FoH, MC 50/2/17/1.

⁴⁸³ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.15.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p.199.

perceived right as Lord of the Hundred to the waifs and strays that were usually claimed by the Lord of the Manor. As early as 1719, Lord St John of Cranford was disputing this right, claiming that research ‘amongst my writings and court rolls and the antient inhabitants of the parish’ proved his family ‘had the benefit of the strays for near one hundred years’. He also complained of ‘ill usage’ by the bailiff of the hundred who had ‘threatened to pull down’ his ‘house’. He insisted that he should continue to enjoy his rights ‘with the same ease and quietness’ as before, from which it can be inferred that the Duke’s quest to assert his rights was causing disruption and ill-feeling.⁴⁸⁵ St John later wrote again to the Duke to offer some advice based on his own experience. He suggested that the Duke’s interpretation of his rights was too literal, as he also possessed a hundred in another county and had found there that he ‘could never perswaide the Lords of the mannors that lived in those Hundreds to give up the presedent rights which they had to them, neither would all the counsill that ever I consulted advise me to insist upon it’.⁴⁸⁶

The dispute between the Duke and Lord St. John continued for another decade, and by 1730 attempts were still being made by the Duke to prove his rights within St. John’s estate as related to his Gloucester Fee lands. The Duke had commissioned a survey of the lands but St. John had ensured the local community closed ranks to protect him, and he insisted to the Duke’s surveyor, William Sutton, that he ‘could give no account of the Gloster Fee land, nor did he believe anny one in town could’. Sutton reported this and other difficulties back to John Booth. He noted he had depended on the help of one of St John’s elderly tenants but ‘his memory failed him’ and was ‘resolved to conseal’ the facts along with ‘the shepherds’ who were also ‘forbid’ to divulge information.⁴⁸⁷ The freeholders also would give no account ‘as if His Grace should take their estates from them.’ The structure of the unenclosed estate also created problems with the open fields ‘intermixt’ with some yard lands falling under the Gloucester Fee and others not subject to it. Sutton, reported that the:

Intermixture being so very much, the field so very large and the people so very backward in giving account of it, makes it almost impossible to think of getting truly through it, for scarce any two accounts of a furlong will agree when cross examined.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p.274.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p.275.[put 44 and 45 together]

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., p.294.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p.295.

The Duke's reassertion of his rights associated with the archaic Gloucester Fee meant that improving estate owners had to consider his views, as an interested party, when undertaking any development of their estates. The issue of the 'intermixt' fields of the Gloucester Fee on Lord St John's estate may contribute in some measure to Nicola Whyte's argument that seigneurial rights 'had significant consequences in ensuring the survival of open field systems well into the eighteenth-century', as such resistance to recognition of over-arching seigneurial rights may have resulted in those with landed and manorial interests resisting enclosure which would have awarded the seigneurial Lord more manageable land-holdings or financial compensation.⁴⁸⁹ When Lady Betty Germain of Drayton House wished to enclose 'sume thing' in Lowick where she was the main freeholder, she consulted the Duke as he held rights there.⁴⁹⁰ It is not known if that piece of land was enclosed then but the parliamentary enclosure of Lowick only took place in 1771, after her death.⁴⁹¹ Hollowell's map of Northamptonshire, which gives details of the enclosure dates of each parish, demonstrates that none of the parishes of East Northamptonshire which were associated with the Montagus' seigneurial rights of the Hundreds and the Gloucester Fee (and which had not been enclosed in previous centuries) were enclosed prior to 1760 and many were not enclosed until the early nineteenth century, with a small number enclosed after 1820.⁴⁹² Tracey Partida concluded that there was no pattern between Montagu manorial ownership and enclosure and the family did not possess an 'enclosure ethos'.⁴⁹³ Further research is required to understand if it was the complexities of their seigneurial interests in Northamptonshire that perhaps limited enclosure. Although the 2nd Duke of Montagu often stressed that he wanted to avoid legal action in relation to the pursuit of his rights, Booth noted that by August 1731 he had 'got everything together relating to the Liberties in Northamptonshire in case a trial should happen about appointing the High Constable'.⁴⁹⁴ Appointing the Constable meant treading with caution. The Duke agreed that the 'office had been long dormant', and he was aware that 'constituting this new officer' would create 'noise' which 'may prevent its success, & create an opposition in the country'. It would particularly create

⁴⁸⁹ N. Whyte, 'Contested pasts: custom, conflict and landscape change in West Norfolk' in R. Hoyle (ed.), *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early-Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2011) p.110.

⁴⁹⁰ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.241.

⁴⁹¹ D. Hall, *Open Fields of Northamptonshire* (Northampton, 1995), p.31.

⁴⁹² S. Hollowell, 'Aspects of Northamptonshire inclosure: social and economic motives and movements' PhD thesis (University of Nottingham, 1998), map 2.

⁴⁹³ Partida, Hall, Foard (eds), *Atlas of Northamptonshire*, p.53.

⁴⁹⁴ McKay and Hall, *Estate Letters*, p.301.

an ‘aversion which the country gentlemen ... and all the courts in Westminster Hall have to liberties, and their endeavours to frustrate them’.⁴⁹⁵ The Duke’s recognition that there would be ‘aversion’ among the ‘country gentlemen’ to his plans echoed the views expressed by Edward Laurence in *The Duty of a Steward to his Lord* that these country ‘Gentlemen of lesser Estates ... hate a person of Quality living in the South’ and were happy to ‘cause a mutiny among the Tenants’.⁴⁹⁶

The Duke had decided to follow the example of the Liberty of Westminster ‘where they do appoint the High Constables’ and insisted that he had the right to appoint the High Constable for each of his hundreds instead of the county Justices.⁴⁹⁷ To protect their rights from the Duke, the Northamptonshire Justices decided to send a petition to George II. The Duke was mortified by this turn of events and wrote to the Duke of Newcastle to attempt to justify his actions. This letter gives further insight into the other members of the aristocracy at the time who were exercising their rights and privileges and whom the Duke may have emulated in forming his ideas about his perceived privileges:

Tho it be neglected to elect the chief constable in a great many Hundred yet it is Regularly done in a great many more hundred courts & in particular in sum Hundreds or Lathes as I believe they are called in Sussex that your Grace is Lord of, and others, that the Duke of Dorset, & Lord Scarborough are Lords of & in most others.

The Duke saw the matter as something that the King could not decide as it was ‘purely a matter of law, & a dispute that ought to be decided by the courts in Westminster hall’ and because it was ‘not two pence advantage to whom has it’. This demonstrates again that the Duke was keen to reintroduce rights that had no monetary value in themselves but acted as the warp for him to weave through the threads of his rights and privileges to create a strong legal fabric. The actions of the Justices in appealing to the Crown caused him unease as he was concerned that upon receiving the petition ‘signed by a parcel of Justices’, the King would form an ‘Ill impression of me and imagine that I am attempting God knows what’. However he doggedly believed that the Law was on his side and not the justices, stating that, ‘every Lawyer in England will be of opinion that I have as much Right in this matter in dispute as I have to eat my dinner’.⁴⁹⁸ The outcome of the petition

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p.281.

⁴⁹⁶ Laurence, *Steward*, p.23.

⁴⁹⁷ McKay and Hall, *Estate Letters*, p.302.

⁴⁹⁸ Montagu to Newcastle, 7 October 1732, BL, Home correspondence vol. ii (Duke of Newcastle), Add MS. 32687, ff.503-4.

is not known and it is not clear if eventually the Duke did uphold his perceived rights in court due to the lack of surviving estate correspondence on this matter.

By 1738, the ‘country’ appears still to have refused to succumb to his demands relating to the Gloucester Fee rents, and he demanded that Folkes should ensure that ‘the Bailiff take distress of the fines which these Gentlefolks of Gloster Fee refuse to pay’.⁴⁹⁹ He practised a more subtle approach in regard to the particular debt owed by Lady Betty Germaine of Drayton House in Lowick, situated just some three miles from Boughton House. Lady Betty was part of the Duke’s social circle in London: she was the only named woman recorded by Stukeley at a gathering attended by the Duke, ‘Richmond and Mr [Martin] Folkes’ who watched ‘the solar eclipse at Whitehall’.⁵⁰⁰ Their friendship demonstrates the difficult balancing act that the Duke had to play in insisting these rights be revived whilst still maintaining relations with his neighbours. He vowed to Folkes that ‘Lady Betty is one I have a great Regard for & should be very sorry to have any difference with, but at the same time I will insist on my Right.’⁵⁰¹

The Duke’s ongoing work on protecting and reviving his rights in Northamptonshire meant that it became a test bed for a similar revival on his northern estates. Here the Duke was determined to ‘draw upon the model of the claim or information by which the privileges of my hundreds in Northamptonshire were confirmed to Sir Edward Montagu’.⁵⁰² Even though he did not take full control of his northern estates until after his step-mother’s death, the Duke appears to have been considering the rights and privileges for many years, hence his confident assertion in 1738 which insisted that he knew them ‘as well as his Alphabet’,⁵⁰³ to which Folkes replied that he was ‘satisfied’ that none of the Duke’s advisors ‘understood the nature of the Lancashire Estate so well as yourself’.⁵⁰⁴ Although ‘the privileges were all kept up’ in his father’s time, the committee that managed the estates after 1709 and during the remainder of his step-mother’s life, ‘had neglected everything’. In addition until the mid-1730s, the estate

⁴⁹⁹ Montagu to Folkes, 26 October 1738, Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/52.

⁵⁰⁰ Stukeley’s Journal, 14 July 1748, Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc., e. 127, f.51.

⁵⁰¹ Montagu to Folkes, 26 October 1740, Norf.R.O., FoH, MC 50/2/119.

⁵⁰² Ibid, n.d., MC 50/2/12.

⁵⁰³ Ibid, 9 November 1738, MC50/2/57/1.

⁵⁰⁴ Folkes to Montagu, 10 November 1738, BHA, Lancashire Letter Book (LLB).

accounts for the northern estates were ‘blind’ and not ‘regular’.⁵⁰⁵ Folkes had noted that the Duke’s plan for the Lancaster estates was to revive ‘some Rights which have lain Dormant many years’.⁵⁰⁶ This appears to have been the motivation for why the Duke commissioned an investigation into the Albemarle grants and had them transcribed into a volume for the purposes of illuminating the evidence of his rights on these estates. A preface provides a summary and demonstrates that the purpose of the exercise was to attempt to ascertain the geographic locations where Montagu ‘may be said to be chief lord’ which would help him establish these rights.⁵⁰⁷

It is difficult to precisely assess to what extent the Duke was successful in his immediate quest to resurrect all his dormant rights, but the surveyor Browne’s praise for the ‘great profits’ in Furness during the 1760s presumably indicates that they had been successfully restored. A further measure of the Duke’s success in restoring rights may be drawn from remarks made by the Furness antiquary, Thomas West, in *The Antiquities of Furness* (1774). Ten years after Browne’s survey, West judged that the grant held by the Duke’s daughters had such ‘rights, privileges and jurisdictions, in as large and ample a manner as any person or persons ever held, or could, or ought to have enjoyed the same.’⁵⁰⁸ This bitter critique presents a local perspective on the impact of the 2nd Duke of Montagu’s campaign to restore those rights.

His attitude towards those who were subject to his rights in the Lancashire and Furness region (or his other estates) may have been different to those in Northamptonshire due to his absenteeism. He was therefore not subject to the same social niceties that governed his relationships with his neighbours, like Lady Betty Germaine or Lord St. John in Northamptonshire, which he visited more frequently. The imposition of the revival of his rights in Lancashire was met with reactions which could be interpreted as either purposeful acts of defiance, displays of ignorance or simply attempts at avoidance. When an institution, place or person defied the Duke on his northern estates, he appears to have taken personal affront. For example, he singled out the Borough of Clitheroe as an object of his disdain. He disliked how they flaunted their own privileges to ‘send members of Parliament’ which in his opinion made them believe that they were entitled to ‘do what

⁵⁰⁵ Montagu to Folkes, n.d, Norf.R.O., FoH, MC 50/2/3.

⁵⁰⁶ Folkes to Montagu, 28 July 1738, BHA, LLB.

⁵⁰⁷ Lancashire estates grants and summary, 1730s, BHA.

⁵⁰⁸ T. West, *The Antiquities of Furness* (London, 1774), p.57.

they please'. His discussions with Folkes about the actions of the Borough appears to imply that he believed that they had "stepped out of line" and he would not stand for such behaviour. Their actions had given rise to 'a spirit of contradiction' in him which meant that he:

Would not part with a ninth part of a haire that belonged to me to any sort of voter on account of their having a vote, but for that Reason would insist more upon having my Right than I woud in any other case – however I woud not insist upon any thing from them or any one else that I have not a cleare & a just Right to but where you find that I can legaly Recover it. I have there I woud insiste upon it tho never so trifling.⁵⁰⁹

Henry French's work on Clitheroe has demonstrated that by the time the Duke wrote his letter in the late 1730s, voting in Clitheroe was dominated primarily by the Listers of Lancashire and the Curzons of Derbyshire.⁵¹⁰ These were families who had obtained a majority share of the vote through purchase or lease of the enfranchised properties. There is no evidence to suggest that the Duke's disdain was aimed particularly at these two families; however he may have disliked how they had manoeuvred themselves into positions of power in the town which created a challenge to his rights and hence drew him to 'insist more upon having my Right than ... any other case'.⁵¹¹

Although no evidence has yet been uncovered relating to how the people living in Clitheroe viewed the Duke and his rights, the actions of others living on his estates perhaps demonstrates that a campaign of passive resistance was enacted in relation to his plans to revive the dormant rights. The Lancashire towns of Read, Downham and Ribchester believed that they were exempt from attending the Court Leet of the Wapentake and failed to send a representative to do suit at the court on several occasions. The Duke was adamant that Read should produce evidence of this exemption as 'a means of preventing a law suit' as he preferred to settle the 'dispute in an amicable way Rather than by law.' A demand was made by the Duke for 'a copy of wrighting' from Read to prove this right.⁵¹² Neither did individuals escape. In the Duke's mind, his Lancashire tenant, Mr Banister Parker, was guilty of several offences that infringed his rights. After

⁵⁰⁹ Montagu to Folkes, 16 August [1739?], Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/83.

⁵¹⁰ H.R. French, 'The creation of a pocket borough in Clitheroe, Lancashire, 1693-1780, honour and old tricks', *Northern History*, 41:2 (2004), pp.301-26.

⁵¹¹ Montagu to Folkes, 16 August [1739?], Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/83.

⁵¹² Montagu to Robinson, c.1737, L.R.O, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/3.

Parker ignored a letter that the Duke sent via his steward Robinson, he left nothing to chance and wrote directly. This also failed to elicit a reply, which led the Duke to again consider legal action:

To desire he woud let me know by what tyle he claimed the deodands, waifs, estrays &c within the Wapentake, but as I have not yet received any answer to that letter neither, I desire you woud find out if he has ever taken any forfeiture of any kinde within the wapentake sense I have had the estate with proper evidence of his having done so, for the future & to get proper evidence of it I being determined to trye my Right with him.⁵¹³

A third letter also produced no reply and there is no surviving evidence to suggest that Parker's ongoing strategy of simply ignoring the Duke's correspondence finally resulted in legal action.

4.6 Custom since time immemorial.

The Duke was keen to revive customs himself, probably because he saw them as the underpinning framework of all his rights, and therefore he had a wider financial interest in their revival. When he purchased the manor of Winwick, Northamptonshire in 1738, no court had been held for many years and the Duke suggested that Folkes should persuade the 'proprietors' to revive the custom as there would be no 'matter of expence' for them and 'they will have a good dinner & get drunk and may at the court make bylaws for the better regulating their common fields, Property etc amongst one another which will be an advantage to them.'⁵¹⁴ Once again, the action of reviving the right to hold the court meant 'more expence than profit' to him but he stressed that he did not 'care to looze' the right to hold the court. In this case there was a more immediate reason for revival of the right. He believed that 'neglecting' this right led to the people forgetting 'who is Lord of the manor' which ran the risk of 'the man of the best estate in the Parish sets up for Lord of the Manor of which I have several instances in my own case till I ordered courts to be kept'.⁵¹⁵

In *Duty of a Steward to his Lord* (1727) Edward Laurence advocated the need to keep up customs. He urged the Lords to ensure their steward was 'Master of all the ancient Customs belonging to his Lord's Manors: which Knowledge will enable him to keep

⁵¹³ Ibid, n.d., DDHCL 15/33.

⁵¹⁴ Montagu to Folkes, 14 October 1738, Norf. R.O., MC 50/2/51.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid, n.d., MC50/2/41/1.

them up, and to prevent their Oblivion.’⁵¹⁶ The Duke ensured that customs already on their way to being consigned to oblivion were therefore saved from this fate by gathering evidence through oral testimony to prove their existence. As with the case of Lord St John, discussed above, the Duke employed the research tool of local personal ‘enquiry’ to establish certain customs linked to his rights had been practised ‘since time immemorial’..⁵¹⁷ In the patchy surviving correspondence of the first two decades which followed the Duke inheriting the estates, his Boughton estate advisor, Lamotte, recorded on several occasions that he was sent out to ‘make enquiry’ into matters relating to custom and to manorial practice.⁵¹⁸ These enquiries were conducted by interviewing ‘the most ancient and considerable men’.⁵¹⁹ These were the respectable ‘oldest men of the parish’ and he ‘examined them upon every particular’ to attempt to produce evidence that the right had existed for a lengthy period, which suggested that it was a custom and not an innovation.⁵²⁰ This method of gathering evidence however did not always go in the Duke’s favour. In February 1720, Lamotte reported:

As to your Mannor of Pauls fee or Hale fee, I remember about 2 years ago, I made an enquiry about it by your direction, but could never discover any manner of trace or intelligence about it. The oldest man there not knowing anything of it.
521

Lamotte’s letters appear to suggest that there was also an element of the deliberate suppression of information concerning manorial or seigneurial rights by local people which could be one explanation as to why the ‘oldest man’ apparently knew nothing about Paul’s Fee. Those being interviewed also had to consider their immediate landlord or lord of the manor. Enquiries therefore had to be made discreetly so that others were not alerted who could cause obstructions. For example, in 1720, to prove the Duke’s rights to a fishery at Denford in Northamptonshire, Lamotte cautioned that he would ‘get *underhand* an information of the oldest people of the town about’.⁵²² The Duke later gave his employees ‘strickt charge ... to follow this rule’ whenever they dealt with obstinate people who would not divulge information, by insisting that they should try to ‘coaxe them by civility and good usage’ and to endure ‘saucy or impertinent’ behaviour

⁵¹⁶ Laurence, *Steward*, p.91.

⁵¹⁷ See chapter four, p.13.

⁵¹⁸ McKay and Hall, *Estate Letters*, p.8.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, p.34.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, p.39 . The italicisation of ‘underhand’ is my own.

as he was convinced this method was more productive. In addition if the prospective interviewees were ‘of more consequence’ on the social scale then he urged his agents to ‘get them to Boughton and talk of the matter over a cup of ale and give them enough of it’.⁵²³ Lamotte appears to have employed these tactics and reported back to the Duke that he had made great progress with a Mr Lane ‘who kept several years the Inn at Thrapston where the court used to be kept’ and who ‘knew some about some abuses in relation to’ the Gloucester Fee at Thrapston. Information had to be extracted from him by Lamotte turning up unannounced:

I went thither, as if accidentally, & dropt something about it to him. He denyd it at 1st but by dint of fair words, & a glass of wine, & after a long search he gave me an old paper, & markt out all that to his knowledge had been concealed.⁵²⁴

4.7 Industrial and commercial rights.

In *A Duty of a Steward to His Lord*, Laurence stressed that it was vital that stewards should take an active role in observing ‘whether there be any Coal, Tin or Lead-Mines within his Lord’s Manors’ as there were often ‘greater Riches under Ground than the best Improvements above.’⁵²⁵ Part of the Duke’s drive to defend and also revive the rights and privileges on his estates was also linked to a campaign to ensure his rights to the ‘Riches under Ground’ which particularly related to iron ore extraction on his Furness estates. Even though he did not officially inherit these until after his step-mother’s death in 1734, he appears to have been purchasing and leasing additional adjacent manorial estates prior to this and he also appears to have negotiated some sort of lease or management of her estates from at least 1720. As map 4.1 shows, his additional purchases and leases led to the creation of a block of influence on the coast line which eventually stretched from the Walney Island in the far west of the Furness peninsula, along the coast to the creek port of Greenodd and then part way up the River Crake towards Coniston and the entire length of the River Leven to Windermere through his ownership of the foreshore. This coastline included numerous small creek-type ports which were particularly useful for the movement of goods such as iron ore and charcoal connected with the burgeoning iron industry following the introduction of blast furnaces

⁵²³ Ibid., p.238.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p.27.

⁵²⁵ Laurence, *Steward*, p.77.

in 1711 to the region.⁵²⁶ His rights over inland waterways appear to have given him jurisdiction over the movement of timber, as a letter from Dummer records a dispute over use of the water on Coniston for 'passage Boates and towing timber', the latter being 'floated ... down the water' and presumably along the River Crake to deliver it to the coast.⁵²⁷

Part of this coastline included the port of the Pile of Fowdray. In 1708, when the 1st Duke controlled the estates, merchants from Kendal had petitioned the Customs Commissioners to make Fowdray 'a port of delivery' where they could pay their custom dues as it was 'the best & most commodious haven upon the Irish seas.'⁵²⁸ Between May and June 1717, shortly after the purchase of the lease of the iron-rich coastal manor of Muchland on behalf of the second Duke in March 1717,⁵²⁹ another petition was made by those with an interest in the port and associated creeks. This stated that there were then 'above forty sail of ships, besides a great many from Ireland, Whitehaven and other places constantly employ'd in exporting Iron Oare, Oak Timber, Oak Bark, and manufactured Iron all of the product of this Country.' Again they requested that Fowdray be made a port of delivery as they laboured under 'great Hardships and Inconvenience' being forced 'every voyage to ride to Lancaster over two dangerous Sands and very often at the hazard of their lives to make their Invoyses'.⁵³⁰

The petition was signed by just eleven names, including Thomas Lowther, who was presumably the holder of the Holker estates and who also held the lease of the site of Furness Abbey.⁵³¹ Other names included local freeholders like Knipe, Sandys, Penny and Sawrey.⁵³² The petition was made shortly after the start of hostilities between Sweden

⁵²⁶ Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, p.6.

⁵²⁷ Dummer to Montagu, n.d., BHA, LLB.

⁵²⁸ 'Warrant Books: January 1708, 11-15', in *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 22, 1708*, ed. William A Shaw (London, 1952), pp. 81-85, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol22/pp81-85> [accessed 31 August 2016] Jan 11th.

⁵²⁹ Folkes, ESPM Muchland 1717, BHA.

⁵³⁰ Board to Collector minutes, Lancaster, May-June 1717, TNA, CUST 81/70, p.23. BL, Add MS 3599 f. 96r.

⁵³¹ Lowther is not listed as 'Sir', further research is required to determine if he is somebody else.

⁵³² These names match those on various Montagu iron ore mining and timber leases in NRO, M(B) old box 3, no.3/1-16. Further research is required to fully identify them. A Knipe worked for the Duke as Hawkshead bailiff in 1718, i.e. moneys received by William Knipe, LLB, BHA.. A William Knipe occupied Rampside Wood in 1662, Survey of Lancashire estates, BHA, iii, p.230.

and Britain which led to an embargo on all Swedish iron exports from February 1717.⁵³³ British iron-masters benefitted from the embargo as previously Britain had relied on Sweden for the majority of the high-grade iron used in all forms of manufacturing.⁵³⁴ Nationally, iron production increased from around 13,000 to 18,000 tons between 1715 and 1720 and stimulated the construction of new iron-works. William Stout of Lancaster reminisced in his memoirs about the interruption of trade with Sweden in 1717 which caused:

Iron to advance here from £16 to £24 a ton which has induced this country to build furnaces here to run iron, which makes it as good as Swedish iron, and brings a great benefit to the north part of this county, where mines and coals are plentiful and labour cheap.⁵³⁵

Figure 4.1: A Prospect of the ruins of the Castle of Pile Fouldry and the adjacent Islands taken from Ramside, 1730s, Stephen Penn

Image was removed from thesis. Permission to reproduce this image could not be obtained but it can be viewed online.

Source: <http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/thelakes/html/maps/pen5.htm>

⁵³³ P. Salmon and T. Barrow, *Britain and the Baltic: Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500-2000* (Sunderland, 2003), p.121.

⁵³⁴ P.W.King, 'The production and consumption of bar iron in early-modern England and Wales', *Economic History Review*, 58:1 (2005), p.8.

⁵³⁵ Quoted in Fell, *Furness*, p.208.

The petition was granted although it was not until 1719 that Fowdray finally became a ‘port of delivery’ complete with a new customs house at Rampside, situated in the Albemarle manor of Plain Furness, as it was judged to be ‘the most commodious place both for the service of the Revenue & the ease of the Trader.’ Figure 4.1 shows a 1730s depiction of the ‘Pile of Fouldray’ and ‘Ramside’ custom house by Stephen Penn which displays a hive of maritime activity. Penn was commissioned by the Duke to tour his northern estates and create topographical illustrations which have recently been recognised as the ‘earliest extant’ views of the Lake District.⁵³⁶ Although picturesque, Penn’s illustrations appeared to have been created to detail aspects of the Duke’s estates which had economic significance.⁵³⁷ For example, in the ‘Fouldray’ illustration, in addition to the custom house, he drew attention to ‘Lancaster Harbour’ and noted the ‘port of Leverpoole’ in the distance so presumably absentee Montagu could appreciate the coastal trading opportunities that lay in close proximity. Similarly his illustration (figure 4.2) of Thurston Water (Coniston) painstakingly detailed clumps of woodland and individual trees. With the burgeoning iron industry demanding charcoal, timber was in short supply and the detail he employed could serve to record its location. For example, it records the hill top of Peel Nears (figure 4.3) covered in trees. However when the Duke purchased the land there in November 1732, it was discovered that the ‘little hill of wood ... [was] all coat down ... which was not according to agreement’.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ V. Di Palma, *Wasteland, A History* (New Haven, 2014), p.151.

⁵³⁷ Some of Penn’s work appears in a portfolio of drawings of various sites on the Duke’s Clitheroe and Furness estates, NRO, M(B) old box 3/3.

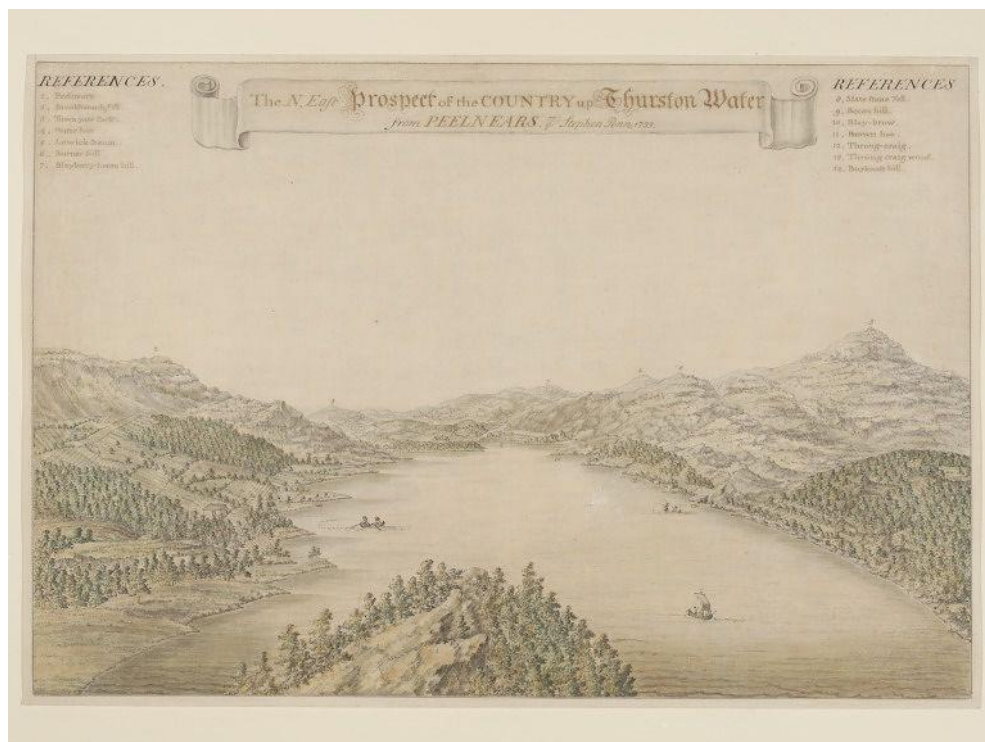
⁵³⁸ Troughton to Montagu, 26 November 1732, LLB, BHA.

Figure 4.2: The S. West Prospect of Thurston Water in Furness, Lancashire, 1730s,
Stephen Penn.

*Image was removed from ethesis. Permission to reproduce this image could not be
obtained but it can be viewed online.*

Source: <http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/1818> Whitfield Gallery, Manchester.

Figure: 4.3: The N. East Prospect of the Country up Thurston Water from Peelnears,
1733, Stephen Penn.



Source: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Unfortunately the port books for the new port at the Pile of Fowdray have not survived in TNA in order to judge the extent by which trade then expanded in the area. Conclusive evidence as to whether the Duke of Montagu played a direct role in planning and promoting the development of the port of Fowdray is lacking but the timing of the 1717 petition within a couple of months of the lease of Muchland (an iron-rich coastal manor bordering Plain Furness) and the later opening of the Customs House in the manor of Plain Furness suggests that he may have had some involvement in the matter as these events took place on his estate. His bid to develop a port on the Beaulieu estate in the mid-1720s may have been influenced by the example of Fowdray, or perhaps his experience of his coastal estate at Beaulieu may have set his mind on influencing changes in Furness. Encouraging the development of the Lancashire port would have fitted the Duke's focus on estate improvements which were linked to the exploitation of his seigneurial rights. Presumably the increase in the iron trade led to a rise in coastal shipping which resulted in increased income from anchorage dues and even wreck and salvage. One document surviving in the Cumbrian Record Office at Barrow-in-Furness provides a snap-shot of port activity in the area and how that benefitted the Duke of Montagu. An 'account of ships and vessels anchor'd within the Liberty of Furness' between 1737-38 lists nearly 230 anchorage fees of four pence each which totalled £3 17s 8d.⁵³⁹ This seems a minimal amount in contrast to income raised from other rights such as the iron ore dues of £150 paid by Miles Troughton in 1739.⁵⁴⁰ In 1731, Woodburne, the Furness bailiff, had written to the Duke to inform him of the difficulties he had receiving the anchorage payments. He noted that 'several persons of late refuse to pay the usuall and accustomary duties', and begged the Duke to take action to remedy the matter so 'that such a branch of your Graces estate be not lost'.⁵⁴¹ This refusal of payment appears to match similar attitudes to paying seigneurial dues which have been explored in Northamptonshire. Despite the small amounts due, the Duke insisted on their collection even if it resulted in more expense than profit.

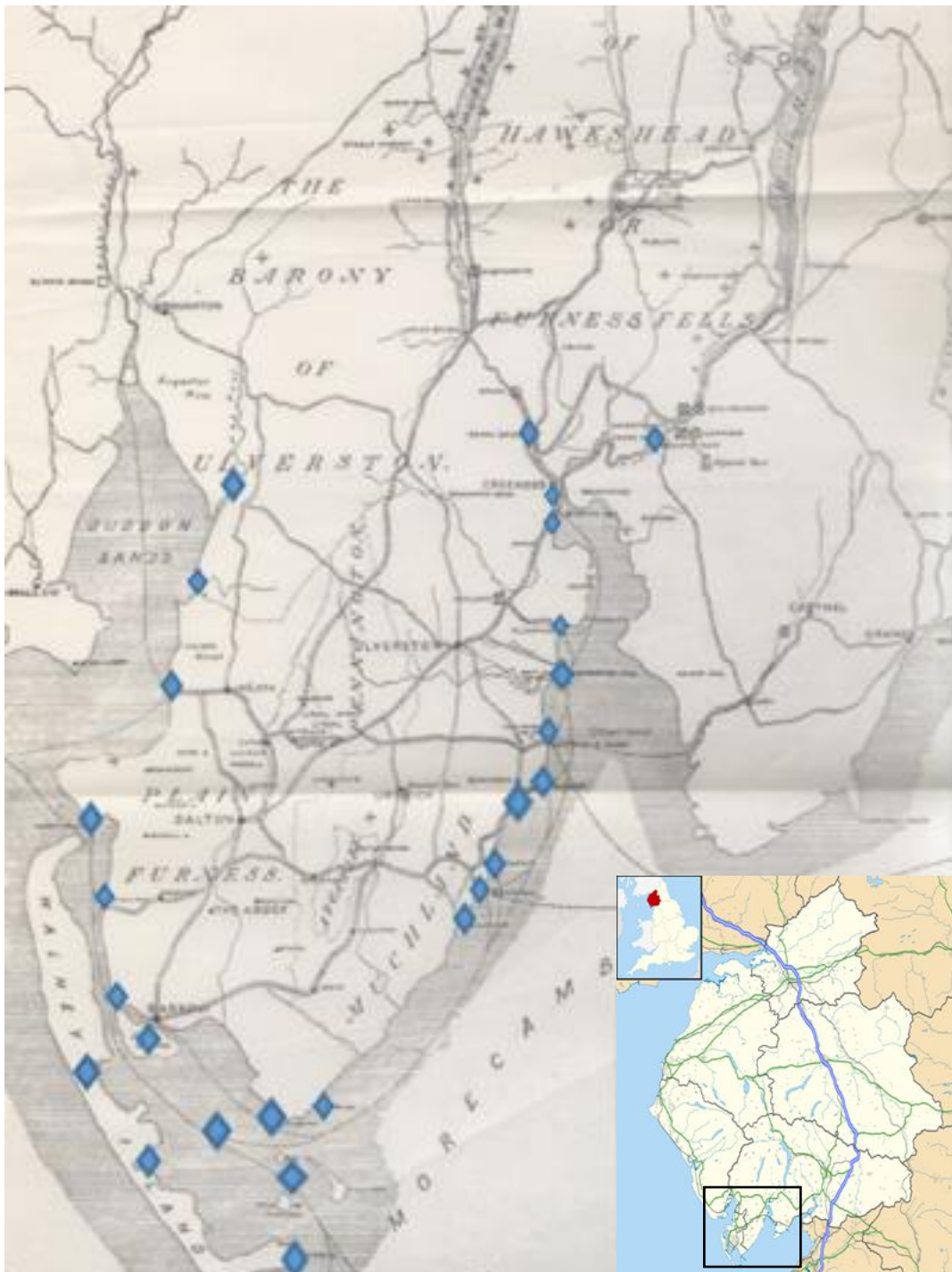
⁵³⁹ 'Account of ships and vessels anchor'd within the Liberty of Furness May 1737-May 1738', BRO, BD/HJ/185.

⁵⁴⁰ Rents and Profits in York and Lancashire from Michs 1738 to Mich 1739', LRO, AoD, DDHCL/15/1/1.

⁵⁴¹ Woodburn to Montagu, 28 December 1731, BHA, LLB.

Map 4.1: 2nd Duke of Montagu's control of Furness shoreline 1738.

Traceable creek ports marked as blue diamonds.



Source: Fell, sketch map illustrating the early iron industry of Furness, *Furness and 'account of ships and vessels anchor'd within the Liberty of Furness', 1737-38, BRO, BDHJ/185/1.*

The involvement of Thomas Dummer as the chief steward for the northern estates may have played a role in highlighting the opportunities that the iron ore mines could present as his family had been personally involved in the Sowley ironworks on the Beaulieu estate. Thomas Dummer's brother, Edmund, had been a partner in these ironworks during the 1st Duke's time and this presumably had given him an understanding of the industry with links to relevant business networks.⁵⁴² Thomas Dummer played a role in negotiating leases to dig iron ore and appears to have been influential in introducing certain changes in these leases that benefitted the Duke. In the first surviving lease negotiated by Dummer in 1707 on behalf of the 1st Duke, William Matson of Tytup Hall leased mining rights which lasted twenty-one years and were agreed at a flat rent of seven pounds a year.⁵⁴³ Iron industry historian, Alfred Fell, suggested that Matson surrendered this in 1714 'and a new one substituted, the first in which the payment of royalty is based on tonnage.'⁵⁴⁴ The next lease that was agreed by Dummer on the Duke's behalf was with Thomas Lower 'doctor of physik' in London in 1718, which also specified a royalty based on tonnage at 1s 6d per ton. Lower's lease was also shortened to seven years with an additional clause stipulating that 'six able workmen' should be employed for six months a year. This demonstrated that the person leasing the rights to mine was geared up for production. This stipulation may have been introduced to check the actions of aggrieved customary tenants.⁵⁴⁵

Tenants who had become disheartened by their land being spoiled by the digging attempted to acquire leases purely to protect their lands. In 1714, the Furness steward, Richardson, had drafted a letter on behalf of the customary tenants of Lindal which demonstrates that they attempted to purchase a lease to dig iron ore to block access to extractors, who they declared were 'not only troublesome but injurious to them'. They believed that their proposals would be 'more advantageous ... than what has as yet been offered'.⁵⁴⁶ The situation appears to have deteriorated by 1720, as the customary tenants of Lindal had clearly not been able to secure the lease. They protested that Montagu, who they noted was 'lord of the manor', was 'despoiling' their land and threatened to 'prosecute promoters of the said despoiling and oppose anyone entering their lands to

⁵⁴²For a history of the Sowley ironworks and the Dummer family's role see: J. Greenwood, *Sowley*.

⁵⁴³ 1st Duke of Montagu and Matson lease, 4 October 1707, NRO, M(B) old box 3/3/1.

⁵⁴⁴ Fell, *Furness*, p.33.

⁵⁴⁵2nd Duke of Montagu and Lower lease, 1718, NRO, M(B) old box 3/3/2.

⁵⁴⁶ Richardson to Dummer (draft), 14 August 1717, BRO, BPR 1/M/9/25/45.

seek for minerals without first making agreement.’⁵⁴⁷ This dispute about ‘despoiling’ the land during 1714-20 provides an impression of the rapid and unsettling expansion of the iron ore industry which the Duke was clearly benefitting from at the cost of his customary tenants.

By 1721, the lease granted to Thomas Lower had been surrendered and the Duke had embarked on a new venture. A 1721 letter from William Atkinson of the Backbarrow iron forge described a meeting with Thomas Dummer which stated that a lease they were seeking had already been granted to ‘one Troughton ... who is now in Wales.’⁵⁴⁸ This was presumably a reference to a 1721 lease to Myles Troughton of Furness that Alfred Fell refers to but which does not appear to be in the Montagu archives. It granted Troughton the right to mine in all the customary land of Plain Furness for a term of five years but he had to divide the profits with the Duke.⁵⁴⁹

In order to exploit his mineral resources as far as possible, the Duke was engaged in activities similar to those suggested by Edward Laurence in a *Duty of a Steward to his Lord* by performing ‘tryals ... first by boring, and then Sinking Pits’ to discover new ‘Treasures’.⁵⁵⁰ In 1721, the Duke embarked on this venture in grand style by commissioning George I’s German mining engineer, Justus Brandshagen, to tour his northern estates and take mineral samples. Brandshagen had also worked on behalf of Sir Isaac Newton and the Royal Mint and had previously searched for silver on the Earl of Mar’s Alva estate in 1716.⁵⁵¹ By September 1721, he had toured the Clitheroe area and then planned to move on to Furness. He sent back ‘a sample of the Oar of each mine to be tried in London that we may know the contents and richnesse thereof’.⁵⁵² A month later, a letter from Thomas Dummer to the Duke revealed that he had been kept totally in the dark about the sampling exercise and had played no part in organising the venture. Dummer doubted that the ‘German that your Grace had sent into the north to search the mines’ was going to be of any use. He feared that he understood ‘little of the matter and will put your Grace to great expence.’⁵⁵³ Similar explorations were also undertaken by a Francis Richardson, who prospected for other ores. In 1721 he also carried out ‘strickt

⁵⁴⁷ Richardson to Montagu, 11 March 1720, Kendal Record Office (KRO), WD RAD/T/3.

⁵⁴⁸ Benson to Atkinson, 11 November 1721, BRO, BDHJ 15/89/1.

⁵⁴⁹ Fell, *Furness*, p.34.

⁵⁵⁰ Laurence, *Steward*, p.77.

⁵⁵¹ Townshend to Carpenter, 4 October 1714, TNA, SP 55/6/2.

⁵⁵² Brandshagen to Montagu, 21 September 1721, BHA, LLB.

⁵⁵³ Dummer to Montagu, 5 October 1721, BHA, LLB.

sertch' of the 'led mines in Lancashire'. He found 'promising ones ... the ore as good as any in England' and also arranged for the samples to be returned to Montagu House in London for further testing. He also reviewed the 'Cole mines' and concluded 'they might be Emproved much to your Graces Advantage'.⁵⁵⁴ A slightly later letter written in 1722 by another mining prospector, John Robinson of Boroughbridge, also noted the identification of new lead veins in the Clitheroe region. He urged the Duke to:

Obtain a lease for 21 years of the Liberties where of I gave you my Report. I do not in the least doubt of making it worth ten thousand pounds certain to you ... if one of the Lead veins which I found in Bowland should prove as it is likely to do, it may be as valuable as all those Estates.... I hope Mr Pye hath acquainted your Lordship & the Lord Sunderland with what I said of the Duke of Whartons mines, had not my family lately acquired near three hundred Thousand pounds for the Duke of Boltons and Mr Marriott of Parsons Green from such beginnings as these?⁵⁵⁵

As the Duke had not yet inherited the Lancashire estates, Robinson appears to have been suggesting that the Duke should obtain a lease from the Duchess's committee (of which Lord Sunderland was a member) for the part of the estate where the mines were located. This may indicate that this is exactly what the Duke had done earlier in Furness, which enabled him to have control of arranging leases for iron ore digging, although no documentation now survives. Robinson appears to have been enticing the Duke by presenting him with information relating to other successful aristocratic enterprises in Yorkshire in which he was involved. Figures for the Wharton lead mines prior to the 1720s are not available but by the mid-eighteenth century they were generating annual profits 'between £6,400 and £27,000'.⁵⁵⁶ The staggering figure of 'three hundred thousand' that he claimed he generated for the Duke of Bolton from his mines had been noted by his contemporary, Thomas Heton.⁵⁵⁷ Although there is no direct evidence, the Duke's interest in developing mining opportunities throughout 1721 to 1722 may have been encouraged by his contact with William Wood, who was his chief administrator for

⁵⁵⁴ Richardson to Montagu, 13 August 1721, BHA, LLB.

⁵⁵⁵ Robinson to Montagu, 16 November 1722, BHA, LLB.

⁵⁵⁶ M.C. Gill, 'The Wharton lead mines in Swaledale', *The Local Historian*, 18, no.3 (1988), pp.103-57 at p. 112.

⁵⁵⁷ T. Heton, *Some Account of Mines And The Advantage Of Them To This Kingdom* (London, 1707) p.171, Bowhill Library, Smoking Room, K/1/10.

the St Lucia venture. Wood's previous personal involvement in developing the Mines Royal Company venture in Jamaica to search for silver, as discussed in chapter two, may have played some role in developing this interest in prospecting.⁵⁵⁸

All these mining searches were made at a considerable cost, as Dummer noted later that 'severall hundred pounds [was] spent in searching for the oar'.⁵⁵⁹ This may provide more evidence that the Duke was using surplus money gained from stock investments in the South Sea Company. However, he does not appear to have been tempted to lease these estates or take on any mining ventures. If the prospecting activities were funded out of gains from the South Sea Bubble, the failure of St Lucia in 1723 probably meant that he was no longer in a financial position to obtain a lease and therefore he was unable to follow Robinson's advice. With missing estate correspondence, it is difficult to assess how many tenants ignored the Duke's ownership of the soil and chose to harvest and sell the 'treasure' for themselves. Presumably, given the vast expanse of the northern estates, many cases would have gone undetected. Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp Hall, Padiham in Lancashire worked coal mines on his estate which generated confrontation. Initially Robinson the steward was instructed to ensure that Shuttleworth ceased this, but eventually the Duke took matters into his own hands in 1739 by paying Shuttleworth a surprise visit at his London town house, situated in 'a little court, off St James Palace' where he 'found him at home just recovering from a fit of Gout.' Shuttleworth 'knew nothing of, or pretended to know nothing' of the 'cole works' but 'seemed pleased' with the visit and 'professed that he should be very sorry to have any dispute' with the Duke. They ended the meeting 'with great civility' and the Duke concluded that 'I fancy with proper management & by using him with temper & civility we may make matters easy'. He agreed that Shuttleworth was 'touchy' and it was important to 'keep him in temper'.⁵⁶⁰ However his personal interaction with gouty, touchy Shuttleworth, framed within 'civility', did not have the desired effect. Although no further letters survive on the matter, the accounts tell us that in 1743, Robinson recorded that he had spent '15s' on 'three journeys to Padiham on account of Mr Shuttleworth endeavouring to trespassed on his Grace in the coal worked there'.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ See chapter three, p.106.

⁵⁵⁹ Dummer to unknown, 4 June 1723, BHA, LLB.

⁵⁶⁰ Montagu to Folkes, 14 March 1740, Norf.R.O, FoH, MC 50/2/103.

⁵⁶¹ Clitheroe accounts, 1742/43, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/1/3.

The neglect of the northern estates by the Duchess's trustees may have cultivated an environment where tenants like Shuttleworth felt at liberty to ignore seigniorial rights. Once he had taken full control of the estates, the Duke took immediate action against such practices. In December 1736, he instructed his Clitheroe steward to investigate 'several of the copyholders' who were deliberately ignoring his rights to the soil. This included digging stone on their copyhold land and making 'a publick sale of the stone'. William Brandwood of Tottington was singled out to be made an example of, in the hopes that action against him would deter others:

It is a forfeiture of the copy hold estate of Every Tenant who has been guilty of committing this waste in their estate ..., when the Tenants know I am determined to take the advantage of every one who has or shall commit waste in their Estates, I believe it will stop such practice for the future and therefore I shall pitch upon William Brandwood of Tottington to make the first example of, and as I take for granted you have or easily can have proper evidence of his having opened a new stone work in his copy hold estate & sold the stone, I do hereby order you to seize his whole copy hold estate in part of which he has opened this work or works as forfeited to me by makeing an entry on it for me, & Bringing or serving him with an ejectment which I am advised by my council is the proper way of proceeding... This you will proceede upon directly and in the effectualyst manner as I have already desired.⁵⁶²

There is no evidence that Brandwood was made an example of and ejected from his estate and this may have just been blustering. The following year the Duke wanted to carry out further investigations into all those tenants who were 'guilty' of working 'quarries ... in their grounds without my licence', which implies that the problem still persisted and once again the threats were ignored. The Duke had demanded a painstaking survey to be carried out which identified each of the perpetrators and the 'nature of the fact they are guilty of' so that he could investigate prosecuting them. Robinson, the steward, was to be 'exact and particular' so that the Duke could assess 'how to proceed to support my Right & Property'.⁵⁶³ However there is no evidence that hard-pressed Robinson ever completed the survey or further legal action was taken. The lack of surviving estate letters from Lancashire during the 1740s hampers the investigation; however, the estate

⁵⁶² Montagu to Robinson, 7 July n.k., LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/34.

⁵⁶³ Montagu to Robinson, 18 December 1736, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/8.

accounts are of some assistance in recording the steward's activities to control those who ignored the Duke's rights. As previously noted Robinson travelled to Shuttleworth's country seat at Gawthorpe Hall in Padiham to negotiate with him on three separate occasions during 1743. Similarly Robinson journeyed again to Padiham in the same year with '4 men', not to confront Shuttleworth this time but to 'pull up Mr Whitaker's rales at Mr Baxters', which could be interpreted as an attempt by Whitaker to enclose a part of the waste for his own benefit and led the Duke's men to take action and tear down his unlawful enclosure.⁵⁶⁴ However there are only a small number of references in the accounts of minor sums which relate to breaches against the Duke's rights. The largest was for £20 12s and was submitted by Robinson after the Duke's death in December 1749 'touching the dispute with Mr Blackmore'. However with no surviving correspondence to investigate it is difficult to decipher what this represented, and more research is required to further comprehend how the Duke was defending his rights.⁵⁶⁵

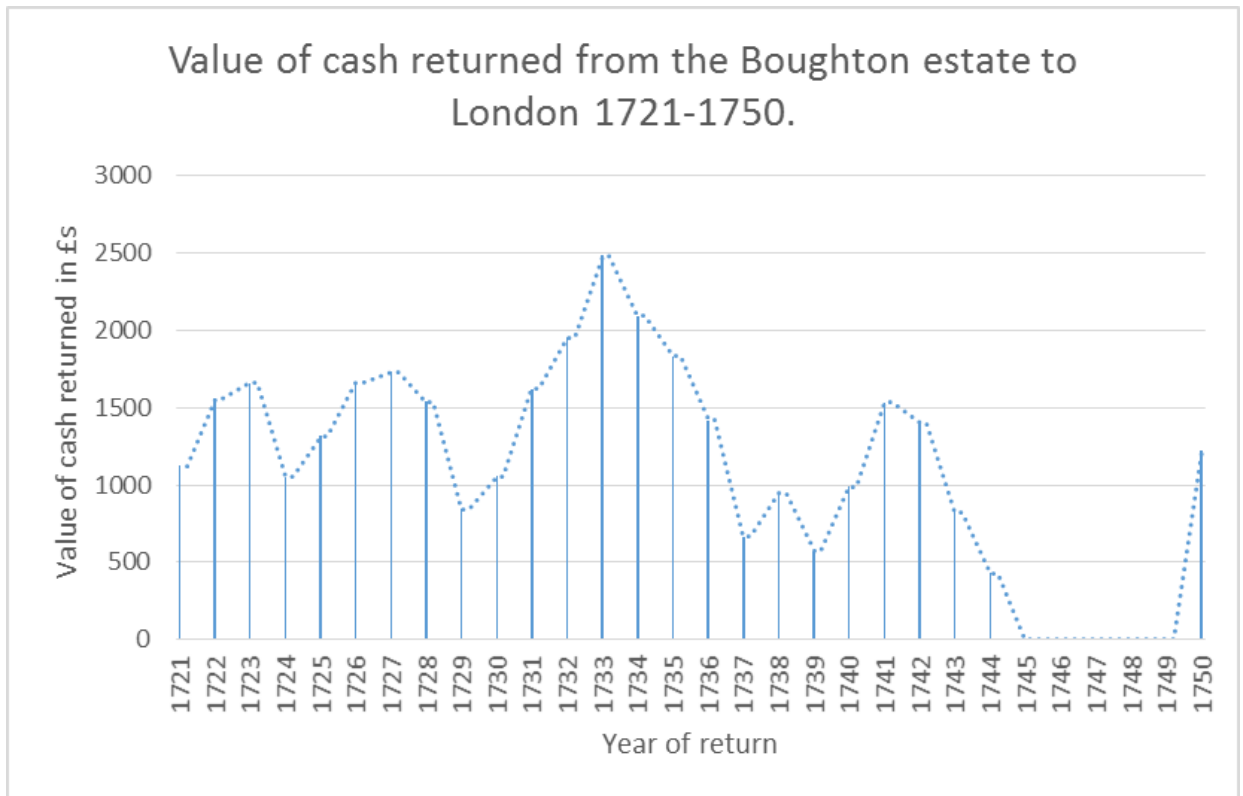
The commercial activities on the northern estates that were linked to revival of rights had an impact on all the estates and should not be viewed in isolation. Once the Duke had obtained his full inheritance, the northern estates contributed an important annual income. For example they generated a profit of £2950 17 9 ¼ from Michaelmas 1738 to Michaelmas 1739. This surplus was returned to London 'for his Grace's use', as in 1747 when £2,000 was returned..⁵⁶⁶ As figure 4.2 suggests, cash supplied by the Boughton estate to Montagu House gradually diminished after the full inheritance of the Lancashire estates, so that by 1745 all the profits generated by Boughton appear to have been directed towards improvements on the estate instead of being returned to London. .

⁵⁶⁴ Clitheroe accounts, 1743/44, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/1/4.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid, 1749, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/6/1/9.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid, 1746/1747, LRO, AoD DDHCL/15/1/7.

Chart 4.1: An 'account of the neat cash returned to the Duke of Montagu', 1721-1750.



Source: M(B) Accounts, 1721-1750, NRO.

4.8 Architectural and interior design as a reflection of the Duke of Montagu's interest in his heritage.

To understand more about the Duke's interest in the revival of the historic rights that were linked to his estates, it is appropriate to also look at some of the other activities that he was involved in. His interest in reviving rights could have been a natural offshoot of his friend William Stukeley's observation of his 'regard to antiquity ... taste for old family concerns, genealogys, pictures, furniture, coats of arms, the old way of building, gardening & the like'.⁵⁶⁷ This taste was, as noted by Cornforth, deliberately incorporated in the interior design schemes of the 2nd Duke of Montagu at Boughton to 'express his interest in heraldry' and his lineage and ancestry by means of 'a decorative tree' over a fireplace as well as displaying the 'badges of all the Knights of the Garter with whom the

⁵⁶⁷William Stukeley's notebook, Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc., e. 195, p.73.

Montagus could claim connection'. Instead of pursuing decorative and architectural details that made a nod to the neo-Palladian influence, as spearheaded by Lord Burlington and embraced by many of his contemporaries, in those buildings where his regional estates were centred he looked to England's past for inspiration and carrying out 'interesting historicist repairs' to properties like Beaulieu. In addition many of his alterations at Boughton 'suggest an earlier period'.⁵⁶⁸

These designs may fit with what architectural historians would categorise as the trend for the gothic revival which is generally thought to have gathered pace from the 1740s.⁵⁶⁹ Although the Duke may have inherited the highly-regarded 'polite' French-influenced architectural frontage and associated landscape of the "English Versailles", he may well have wished that that his father had not tampered with the Tudor frontage or earlier interiors of Boughton House. This might have given him an ancestral seat which was more in keeping with his 'favourite' country house: the moated crenellated mansion at Ditton which had belonged to his paternal grandmother's family since the fourteenth century.⁵⁷⁰ This would have been more in keeping with his Northamptonshire neighbours' houses including Lady Betty Germaine's medieval-crenellated Drayton House as well as Lord Cardigan's (and later daughter Mary's) home at medieval Deene Park, which was 'a stately old seat full of coats of arms in stone & painted glass'.⁵⁷¹ In addition, his daughter Isabella's husband, the Duke of Manchester, had inherited medieval Kimbolton Castle near the Barnwell estates. Although refashioned by Vanbrugh 'with classical regularity' from 1707, it had not departed from its castle origins with additional 'Gothic crenellations and round-headed windows ... applied to robust, castle-like walls and towers' which combined 'to express an affinity to medieval fortifications' and created Vanbrugh's signature 'Castle air'.⁵⁷²

The Duke's 'taste' for an 'earlier period' was later mocked by Horace Walpole in a letter to his friend, George Montagu, when he visited Boughton in 1763. His visit was hurried and he noted that he 'scarce knew what I saw' but he was left with a lasting impression that 'there was nothing but pedigrees all around me, and under my feet, for there is

⁵⁶⁸ Cornforth, 'Boughton: Impressions and People', in Murdoch, *Versailles*, pp.23-4.

⁵⁶⁹ See M. McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival* (Yale, 1987).

⁵⁷⁰ J. Cornforth, 'Castle for a Georgian Duke', *Country Life*, 8 October, 1992, p.60.

⁵⁷¹ Journal of William Stukeley, 17 August 1744, Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc., e. 196, p.42.

⁵⁷² P. Lindfield, *Georgian Gothic. Medievalist Architecture, Furniture and Interiors* (Woodbridge, 2016), p.53.

literally a coat of arms at the end of every step of the stairs.’⁵⁷³ Walpole’s perceptions of Boughton are worth noting as more than just exaggerated quips to his friend. In personal journals he recorded numerous country house visits which he made between the years of 1751 to 1784. This element of Boughton’s interior design must have stood out to him as being somewhat unusual as, in addition to his letter, he described in the journal, ‘the prodigious quantity of pedigrees heaped all over the House, along friezes of whole galleries, over chimnies & even at the end of every step of the stairs.’⁵⁷⁴ The inclusion of these features probably went beyond the motivations of ‘family pride ... [and] a strong technical interest in the establishment of the family’s descent and position’ as suggested by Barker.⁵⁷⁵ As Walpole proves, Boughton appeared to be a shrine to the glorification of Montagu ancestry and would therefore have reminded the visitor of the Duke’s noble lineage and pedigree, the validity of his inheritance and therefore his rights and privileges. It was as if Montagu chose to ‘improve’ some of the historic features of the interior, including adding to the heraldic additions his father had already introduced, to embellish the interiors rather than sweep them away in favour of more progressive designs.⁵⁷⁶

In September 1728, Booth noted that the Duke had completed a design for a new hall at Boughton. This was undoubtedly envisaged as a gothic-style creation with ‘antique work in the roof’ which Booth suggested could be realised by using the roof of the medieval chapel at Newhall which he esteemed as ‘a fine piece of antiquity’. He also suggested using ‘the wainscot of a room at Bugle Hall at Southampton’ to ‘face the screen of the great hall at Boughton’ which would all have ‘a fine effect’.⁵⁷⁷ It was probably intended to use the medieval panelling from Bugle to cover or ‘face’ the ‘series of Corinthian pilasters of the same period as the painting by Cheron’.⁵⁷⁸ These architectural designs of 1728 came shortly after the period when the Duke was asked to prove his pedigree at the Northamptonshire assizes in 1727 to establish his right to the Huxloe hundred. The Duke’s design could therefore be interpreted as an attempt to create a visualisation of his

⁵⁷³ H. Colborn (ed.), *Correspondence of Horace Walpole with George Montagu*, II (London, 1837), p.209.

⁵⁷⁴ Walpole quoted in D. Arnold, *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, 1998), p.27.

⁵⁷⁵ N. Barker, ‘Books and manuscripts’ in Murdoch, *Versailles*, p. 173.

⁵⁷⁶ Cornforth, ‘Impressions’, in Murdoch, *Versailles*, p.22.

⁵⁷⁷ McKay and Hall, *Estate Letters*, p.284.

⁵⁷⁸ J.R. Gratton and D. Cawthorne, ‘Hidden but not lost. Exploring the Great Hall at Boughton House’, 43rd Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology Conference, *Annual Conference Book of Abstracts* (Siena, 2015), pp. 224-5.

pedigree and lineage through interior design schemes that enriched the hub of his Northamptonshire estates with a sense of English antiquity and stepped away from continental classicism, favoured by the *parvenu*.

Recent and currently unpublished work by Jana Schuster has explored the Duke's interest in gothic architecture and interior schemes in more detail.⁵⁷⁹ There is no scope to launch a wider investigation here, but his interest in presenting his estate buildings in a visual style which could be described as 'consciously old-fashioned' may be more than just a simple reflection of his taste as Stukeley noted, but a conscious determination to instil a sense of his inherited rights into those who may have had interactions with such buildings.⁵⁸⁰ His interest in recreating this medieval style perhaps conflicted with wider contemporary taste as it did not reflect the principles of 'liberty, prosperity and politeness of the eighteenth-century' and instead echoed days of 'feudal tyranny'.⁵⁸¹ By the 1740s, the Duke's earlier interest in reflecting ancient styles in architectural and decorative schemes on his estates had developed into something more sophisticated, and is evidenced by his 'encouragement' and support for the publication of Batty Langley's *Ancient Architecture* where an attempt was made to elucidate and 'restore the Rules of the ancient Saxon Architecture'. This text gave further credence to the Duke's own taste, which was otherwise out of kilter with the fashions of the time.⁵⁸²

The Duke's inherited rights and privileges were ancient rights, no matter how recently they had been acquired by the Montagus, and the conscious choice of architectural and interior designs schemes which reflected these earlier periods visually reinforced the traditions of these privileges. Visitors to Boughton who may have viewed the decorative interiors there were not just the Duke's friends from London who accompanied him on his visits. Boughton's surviving bills of fare list dinner guests, which included local people like Sir Gilbert Spinks who might be obligated to him, either through his revival of the rights to his Northamptonshire hundreds or the Gloucester Fee.⁵⁸³ Stukeley revealed more about the social status of these guests at Boughton in his poem celebrating

⁵⁷⁹ Jana Schuster, Cambridge University, commenced doctoral research on 'The architectural patronage of the 2nd Duke of Montagu 1709-1749' in October 2017. J. Schuster, 'A reassessment of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu's contributions to Boughton House, Northamptonshire 1709 -1749', MST Building History, (Cambridge, 2016).

⁵⁸⁰ Buccleuch and Scott, *Boughton. The House*, p.153.

⁵⁸¹ R. Sweet, *Antiquaries, The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004) p.232.

⁵⁸² B. and T. Langley, *Ancient Architecture* (London, 1742).

⁵⁸³ Boughton Bill of Fare, 25 July 1726, BHA.

the Duke's summer residence there in 1748, which proclaimed the 'rites of ancient hospitality' provided by 'the great lord of Boughton' and 'Boughton's open doors'. Once night had fallen, 'ladies from the neighbouring towns' arrived to join their menfolk who had spent the day there. They enjoyed musical revelries 'in the long gallery' and Stukeley's description of these 'northtonian beauties ... in decent garb array'd and rural dress' suggests women of a less elite social status.⁵⁸⁴ Alongside their fathers, brothers and spouses, they formed the audience for the '62 heraldic shields' and the faux-Tudor styled interior assisted by the second Duke's addition of the fireplace which came from another part of the house.⁵⁸⁵ This prominently displays the arms of Sir Edward Montagu, serving as a reminder to the visitor of the ancestor who had been awarded the rights to the Hundreds and which the Duke had once been requested to prove his legal descent from in 1727.⁵⁸⁶ These decorative devices therefore match Lorna Weatherill's concept of the public 'front stage' rooms of the English house prior to 1760.⁵⁸⁷ Here the stage was set with a more dramatic purpose than the usual domestic interior, for the medieval-style detailing was focussed on reinforcing Montagu's place as 'the great lord of Boughton' and all that he represented in local society.

As noted in chapter one, studies on how other aristocrats were also consciously reinforcing their lineage through architectural and interior design during the first half of the eighteenth century appear to be lacking. Indeed an assessment of the Duke of Montagu's contribution to what is deemed the gothic revival is incomplete. Cornforth noted that the Duke's architectural interests in castles had begun in his boyhood with some surviving designs in his own hand dating from pre-1718 and concluded that Montagu's contribution was 'missing from accounts of the early days of the Gothic Revival'.⁵⁸⁸ This has certainly continued with Lindfield's 2016 work *Georgian Gothic* which failed to mention the 2nd Duke of Montagu's interests.⁵⁸⁹ In addition, although it is widely held that gothic styling could be symbolic of political belief as in the case of one of the first buildings to be built 'in a deliberately archaic style', Lord Bathurst's Alfred's Hall, there does not appear to have been any connection made by architectural

⁵⁸⁴ Stukeley, 'Entertainment'.

⁵⁸⁵ Buccleuch and Scott, *Boughton. The House*, p.164.

⁵⁸⁶ See this chapter, p.143.

⁵⁸⁷ L Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, 2nd edn (London, 1996), p.9.

⁵⁸⁸ Cornforth, 'Castle', p.58.

⁵⁸⁹ Lindfield, *Gothic*.

historians between the revival of dormant seigneurial rights and the self-conscious selection of deliberate architectural design and interior decorative schemes that create an ‘archaic style’.⁵⁹⁰

There is certainly scope for further research to reveal to what extent other estate owners, and particularly those who owned seigneurial rights, were using their country seats as visual reminders of these rights through displays of heraldry and lineage. Dana Arnold suggests that Londesborough, Yorkshire seat of the champion of neo-Palladianism, Lord Burlington, which descended from his Clifford ancestors, ‘underwent only minor interventions in its architecture and landscape’ during this period. However this could have been simply due to his energy and resources being focussed on his new villa at Chiswick, and not a conscious decision to preserve the antiquity of the ancestral seat.⁵⁹¹ Many of the neo-Palladian country houses that Colen Campbell designed which could be viewed as examples of a progressive design movement were specifically built for the *nouveaux-riches*, like Childe’s Wanstead, Hoare’s Stourhead and Walpole’s Houghton Hall, or for younger sons of the aristocracy like Fane’s Mereworth Castle and Compton’s Waverley. Campbell’s patrons, Burlington and Pembroke, embraced his influence in their townhouses which were far removed from their ancestral estates. In line with this argument, when Montagu built his new London townhouse in Whitehall in 1733, the architecture was in keeping with a more progressive style and ‘was intended to be plain and simple ... at the same Time beautiful and harmonious’ and had no trace of the neo-gothic, or the need to encapsulate elements of antiquity in the design to reinforce his rights and privileges as the building was catering for an entirely different audience.⁵⁹²

As we have seen in chapter two, the Duke carried out refashioning at Palace House, Beaulieu, which emphasised the antiquity of the building including the restoration of the moat and the installation of drawbridges ‘before almost all the firmly dated early castle-style houses’.⁵⁹³ This appears to have been a deliberate enhancement of the medieval features of a building located on an estate where he held seigneurial rights and privileges. The Duke also considered constructing a castle-style building on the Boughton estate. This would have been a replica medieval moated fortified manor, standing on the original site of the moated manor at Weekley. Located at the far end of Boughton Park, just a few

⁵⁹⁰ C. Christie, *The British Country House* (Manchester, 2000), p.132.

⁵⁹¹ Arnold, *Georgian*, p.4.

⁵⁹² J. Motley, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1735), p.655.

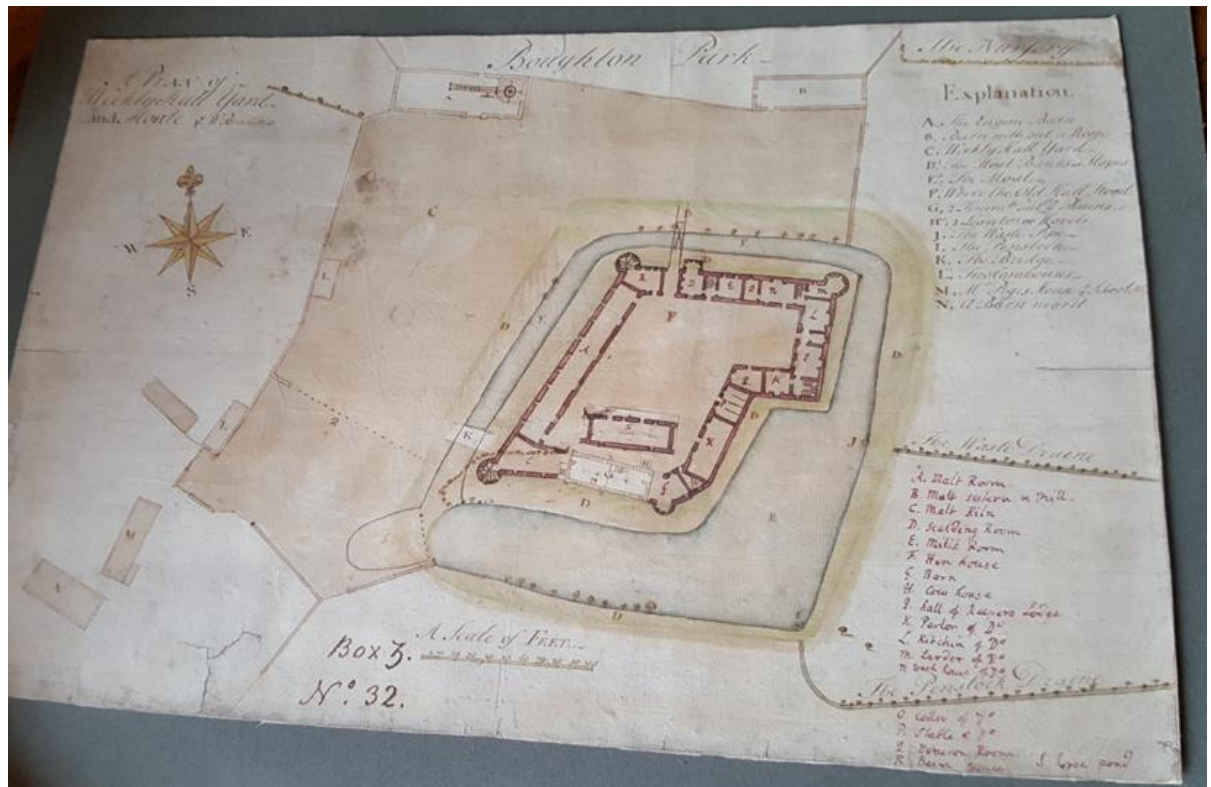
⁵⁹³ Cornforth, ‘Castle’, p.59.

minutes' stroll from Star Pond, it would also have been visible from the pyramid mound. It would therefore have been an intrinsic part of the public 'front stage' of his gardens for his visitors as well as being placed 'front stage' in the estate village of Weekley in view of his tenants. A surviving plan of the project based on a map by the surveyor William Brasier is difficult to date as Brasier was active on the Boughton estate from the 1720s through to the 1740s. The Duke's personal annotations to the plan determine that this was to be more than a folly or an eye-catcher and that it was to have a utilitarian use, with one half of the building acting as a malt-house with a long drying room, a 'malt sistern' to soak the grain and a kiln to roast it. The other part was dedicated to a 'keeper's lodge' with associated rooms for domestic dwelling and dairy, stables and hen house.⁵⁹⁴ A new keeper's lodge was built in the Park between 1735-7, so this suggests the plan pre-dates this event and may indicate that the Duke's ideas were abandoned in favour of something more cost effective and conventional. With only a ground-plan view surviving, it is difficult to envisage the impact of its elevations and even how many storeys were proposed, but with a drawbridge and spiral staircase turrets, it would have matched the medieval style that the Duke was recreating within Boughton House.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ 'A plan of Weekley Hall Yard', n.d., BHA, Castle drawings, 32.

⁵⁹⁵ Boughton Order Book, 1735-6, BHA.

Figure 4.4: A plan of Weekley Hall Yard, n.d..



Source: BHA, Castle drawings, 32, ©Buccleuch

Map 4.2: Boughton Park 1927, showing position (red arrow) of medieval moated manor site and pyramid mount (blue arrow) in relation to Boughton House Park (shaded).



Source: NRO. Ordnance Survey, Northamptonshire XXV.NE, 1927.

One architectural project that the Duke did realise was the construction of the steward's residence with combined court-house at Clitheroe Castle in the late 1730s. On inheriting the northern estates and their associated rights and privileges such as the Honor of Clitheroe and the Wapentake of Blackbourneshire, he specifically chose to build a new 'embattled house ... within the boundary' of the castle walls from which to administer these estates, and where the recognition of these ancient privileges from 'an earlier period' could be observed (see figure 4.4).⁵⁹⁶ '1419 foot of grit stone' was hewn for the 'the Battlement and chimney pipes of the new house' and '243 yards' of 'Battlement'

⁵⁹⁶ H. Boswell, *Antiquities of England and Wales Displayed &c.* (London, 1795), p.803.

was placed round the house.⁵⁹⁷ To complete the ancient look, forty yews were planted at 'the backside of the Castle house'.⁵⁹⁸ The Duke also wished to restore the Castle chapel, and there is clear evidence that this was not through his antiquarian enthusiasm as suggested by Cornforth in regards to the Duke's antiquarian restorations at Beaulieu, but a concern to revive neglected rights.⁵⁹⁹ This meant that 'service may be performed in it, & the Rights and Jurisdiction of the Castle Parish not be any longer neglected'. The Duke specifically requested 'an estimate of what you could get the reparation of the Chapel undertaken' and specified that it should be 'Repaired in the plainest & least expensive manner to be fit for divine service'. Hence he was less concerned with re-establishing the authentic details of the architecture than rendering it 'fit for purpose' and rebuilt in 'the plainest & least expensive manner' to enable the 'rights' to no longer suffer neglect.⁶⁰⁰

Figure 4.5: Clitheroe Castle, part of Steward's House and Court House.



Source: Helen Bates.

⁵⁹⁷ Mason vouchers, 28 November 1742, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/2/3.

⁵⁹⁸ Gardener's vouchers, 24 February 1744, LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/1/4.

⁵⁹⁹ See this chapter, p.171.

⁶⁰⁰ Montagu to Robinson, n.d., LRO, AoD, DDHCL 15/16/1/18.

4.9 The Duke of Montagu's interest in ceremony and ritual.

The Duke's interest in the past was also linked to an attention to reviving ceremonies and rituals. As previously discussed, the circumstances behind his role in reviving the Order of the Bath in 1725 as a 'new order of chivalry' have recently been reappraised by Andrew Hanham.⁶⁰¹ The Duke was assisted in the revival by John Anstis, Garter king of arms, who had also researched the Montagus' genealogy on behalf of the Duke.⁶⁰² Correspondence between Montagu and Anstis has so far been traced back to as early as 1714, and although there is no scope to analyse this material in great depth here, Montagu's working relationship with Anstis can be viewed not simply through the lens of the Duke's genealogical and antiquarian interests but through that of his interest in commissioning and undertaking his own documentary research to uphold his rights and privileges.⁶⁰³

Hanham noted the financial incentive that Montagu hoped to derive from the Order of the Bath in the order of '£16,000' which would act as a type of compensation for his St Lucia losses.⁶⁰⁴ To attract elite recruits to the revived order and hence collect their enrolment fees, Montagu ensured that the Order of the Bath was underpinned with lavish elements of ceremony and ritual. Hence the first installation of the knights was a sheer spectacle which De Saussure described as a 'curious ceremony' and 'a magnificent pageant' with the costumes and regalia consisting of 'ancient workmanship' and 'making a charming picture'.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰¹ Hanham, 'Chivalry'.

⁶⁰² S. Handley, 'Anstis, John (1669-1744)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn. 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/584>, accessed 1 March 2016].

⁶⁰³ Anstis to Montagu letters, 1714-1742, BHA.

⁶⁰⁴ Hanham, 'Chivalry', pp.277-8.

⁶⁰⁵ For a full account of the ceremony see De Saussure, *Foreign View*, pp. 60-7.

Figure 4.6: The Duke dressed as ‘The Great Master’ of the Order of the Bath with William, Duke of Cumberland, 1725.



Source: © Buccleuch.

Montagu also embraced the practice of ceremony and ritual through his support of freemasonry, albeit through engagement with those who were of a lower social order in comparison with the Knights of the Bath. He was the first aristocrat to be appointed as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge in June 1721, which Richard Berman has interpreted as ‘politically convenient’.⁶⁰⁶ It was also the first formal installation ceremony, attended by large numbers and ‘preceded by a ceremonial public procession’ where the participants were costumed in ‘Masonic clothing’ and processed through the City of London to Stationers Hall.⁶⁰⁷ Perhaps to underpin the ancient order that he endorsed, the departing Grand Master, Payne, ‘produced an old MS. of the Constitutions which he got in the West of England, 500 years old’.⁶⁰⁸ The ancient writings were reworked into new constitutions in 1723 and dedicated to Montagu. The author stressed that he had taken ‘pains ... in compiling and digesting this Book from the old Records ... still preserving all that was truly ancient and authentick in the old ones’ which mirrored the Duke’s

⁶⁰⁶ R. Berman, ‘Architects of Freemasonry’, Phd thesis (University of Exeter 2010), p.213.

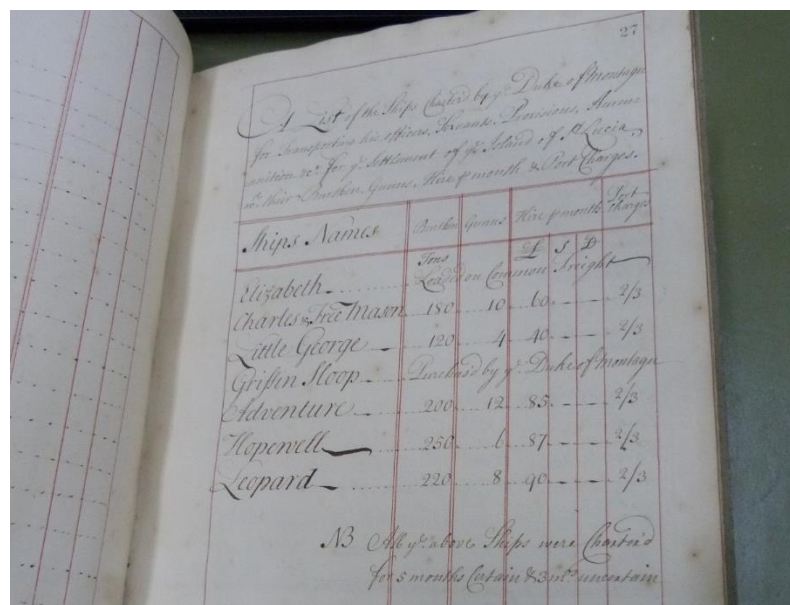
⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., p.215.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., p.334.

interests in drawing out evidence from his old estates records to revive and enforce ancient rights and privileges.⁶⁰⁹

The Duke's leadership of and public support for freemasonry, like the Order of the Bath, may have also had a financial motive. There is no evidence at present to suggest that the force of officers, trades and crafts people who participated in the St Lucia Expedition were freemasons, but the Montagu household may have been able to utilise the lodge network to recruit skilled participants towards the necessary initial quota of the five hundred settlers. A report carried in the *London Journal* in June 1722, just prior to the expedition's embarkation, suggested that membership of the Freemasons stood at 4,000, many of whom would have been residents of London.⁶¹⁰ It is therefore perhaps no coincidence, as Berman has noted, that one of the expedition ships was named *The Charles and Freemason*.⁶¹¹ It was hired by the Duke to transport 108 of the indentured servants and thirteen officers to St Lucia.

Figure 4.7: List of ships chartered for the St Lucia expedition.



A List of the Ships Chartered by the Duke of Montagu for the Transporting his Officers, Soldiers, Artificers, and Settlers to the Island of St. Lucia in the Year 1722. It contains a table with columns for Ship's Name, Tons, and Freight, listing ships like Elizabeth, Charles and Mason, Little George, Griffon, Adventure, Hopewell, and Leopard.

Ship's Name	Tons	Freight
Elizabeth	150	10
Charles and Mason	120	4
Little George	120	4
Griffon	200	12
Adventure	250	1
Hopewell	220	8
Leopard	220	8

All of these Ships were chartered for 5 months (Captain & Crew uncertain)

Source: TNA.

⁶⁰⁹ J. Anderson, *Constitution of the Freemasons* (London, 1723), preface. The Duke's copy survives in BHL.

⁶¹⁰ Berman, 'Freemasonry', p.139.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.126.

Naturally there are no references in the Duke's surviving correspondence to the precise nature of the ceremony and rituals of freemasonry that he was involved in. However there is evidence that masonic initiation ceremonies were undertaken on his estates, thanks to Horace Walpole's description of Robert Webber's initiation into freemasonry 'in the lodge at the library' at Ditton.⁶¹² As Patricia Granziera has suggested, masonic symbolism was expressed in pyramid shaped features found in country-house gardens during this period, and this may have been the thinking behind the Duke's pyramid mount at Boughton, which was constructed during the 1720s, after his appointment as Grand Master in 1721.⁶¹³ However it may also have been connected to the contemporary interest (championed by Stukeley) in druid culture and its association with burial mounds. Although on a much larger scale, the Boughton pyramid mount (figure two) may have been influenced by the site of the Knightlow Cross on the Warwickshire estate where an intriguing feudal ceremony took place.⁶¹⁴ The Warwickshire site was situated on a 'tumulus ... 30 or 35 feet square ... having a large fir tree growing at each angle'.⁶¹⁵ There is no surviving evidence that the Boughton mount was specifically constructed to play a ceremonial role relating to the Duke's estate rights in the same way as the Knightlow mount did, although certainly later in his life, Montagu set his sights on it being the stage for ceremonies of another kind. In January 1745 he told Stukeley:

I... shall be very glad of a continuation of your thoughts concerning the weddings on the mount; for I am really in earnest about it, and have thoughts of doing something of that kind.⁶¹⁶

The following year, Stukeley sketched the Boughton mount as a 'mausoleum' complete with a temple-like structure on top, but documentary and archaeological evidence suggests this was another of Stukeley's conjectured designs together with that of a gothic chapel and a gothic bridge which he offered to the Duke.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹² R. Berman, *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry. The Grand Architects. Political Change and the Scientific Enlightenment, 1714-1740* (Brighton, 2012), p.61.

⁶¹³ P. Granziera, 'Freemasonic symbolism and Georgian gardens', *Esoterica. The Journal of Esoteric Studies*, V (2003), p.54.

⁶¹⁴ See chapter two, pp.80-1.

⁶¹⁵ G. Laurence Gomme, *Primitive- Folk Moots and Open-Air Assemblies in Britain* (London, 1880), p.109.

⁶¹⁶ Nichols, *Illustrations*, ii, p.786.

⁶¹⁷ Cornforth, 'Impressions', p. 26.

Figure 4.8: Square pyramid mount at Boughton.

NB This image was removed as copyright permission could not be determined.

Source: Murdoch, *Versailles*, p.26.

This interest in exploring the ceremonies and burial rituals of the ancients was an aspect of Stukeley's initiative to form 'the short-lived, but eminently aristocratic' Society of Roman Knights in 1722, where each member was given a druidical name.⁶¹⁸ There is no evidence that Montagu was a member of the society, although members included his close friend, Lord Herbert, the future Earl of Pembroke.⁶¹⁹ The Duke owned a 1726 edition of *Collection of Several Pieces of John Toland* which included Toland's work on druids, which may provide some evidence for his own interest in the subject.⁶²⁰ By the 1740s, Stukeley, who had previously self-styled himself as the druid, Chyndonax, felt comfortable naming certain trees and parts of the Duke's woodland with druidical names. The hermit's cell or root house built 'in the most rustic manner imaginable' around an oak, where he spent his days with the Duke, he described as the 'cell' of 'Chyndonax', his namesake, situated 'in the grove of Hebe'.⁶²¹ The Duke's interest in ancient ceremony and ritual as evidenced by spearheading the movement to revive the Order of the Bath and by his involvement in Freemasonry was therefore also reflected in the elements of some of his garden designs at Boughton, as he created an archaic landscape which reflected his interest in the past.

⁶¹⁸ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p.164.

⁶¹⁹ Herbert appears on several surviving Montagu bills of fare as a dinner guest. The earliest surviving one lists him at Boughton on 25 August 1725, Bill of Fare, BHA. He later became his neighbour when the Duke moved to Whitehall in 1733.

⁶²⁰ J. Toland, *A Collection of Several Pieces*, 2 vols (London, 1726), i, pp.1-228.

⁶²¹ Stukeley's Journal, 14 July 1748, Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc., e 127, pp.81-2.

Figure 4.9: Stukeley's ground plan of the 'rustic' summer house, 1748.

NB This image was removed as copyright permission could not be determined.

Source: Bodleian.

4.10 The Wroth Silver ceremony.

On his Warwickshire estate, the Duke was able to combine his enthusiasm for ceremony and ritual with his interest in protecting and reviving his rights through the practice of the Wroth Silver Ceremony which took place at Ryton-in-Dunsmore, situated in his Hundred of Knightlow. This ceremony related to the payment of a feudal rent and was enacted:

Every Martinmas day in the morning, at Knightlowe Cross, before the sun riseth; the party paying it must go thrice about the cross, and say The Wrath money, and then lay it in the hole of the said cross before good witness, for it if be not duly performed, the forfeiture is thirty shillings and a white bull.⁶²²

Martinmas was traditionally a day when ‘the annual slaughter of surplus livestock and the salting down of their meat for winter, with much attendant feasting’ was celebrated, and the ceremony was followed by a hearty breakfast at the Lord’s expense.⁶²³ By 1687, there were certain towns in the hundred where ‘Wroth money denied to be paid’.⁶²⁴ As discussed in chapter two, in 1722, the ceremony was still practised although accompanied by ‘cursing’, which the steward attributed to the local economic problems, telling the head steward, Booth, that the extent of the animosity was something that ‘I had never met with before, since I had the honour to be employed by his Grace’.⁶²⁵ His comments also imply that the ceremony had regularly taken place prior to 1722. Paying the Wroth Silver was not the issue, as many towns only contributed a penny. It was the time and expense involved in attending the ceremony, a relic of feudalism that created animosity. In the first edition of Dugdale’s *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, published in 1656, details of the ceremony were omitted, which is surprising as Dugdale was a native of Warwickshire and was educated in Coventry, which lay in the Knightlow hundred. However as it was specifically linked to a saint’s day, Martinmas, and potentially had elements of ‘heathenish practice and custom’, the ceremony may have been consciously excluded by Dugdale as *Antiquities* was published during the Interregnum.⁶²⁶ The superstitious practice and ‘heathenish’ overtones of some aspects of the ceremony including walking three times around the stone and the celebratory feast may have meant that the ceremony

⁶²² W. Thomas (ed.), *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1730), p.4.

⁶²³ R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England. The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 2001), p.45.

⁶²⁴ L. F. Salzman (ed.), ‘The hundred of Knightlow’, in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 6, Knightlow Hundred* (London, 1951), pp. 1-2 [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol6/pp1-2> [accessed 20 January 2017].

⁶²⁵ Worcester to Booth, November 1722, WEL, BHA.

⁶²⁶ J. Nicholls, ‘Representation of several churches in the county of Gloucester to the Lord Protector’, in *Original Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell ...* (London, 1748) p.146.

had already ceased at some earlier point in the post-Reformation period due to Puritan reforms, and the money was paid by more conventional means.

Although the traditions and rituals of the ceremony appear to have fitted in with the Duke's cultural interests in the revival of ancient orders, it also served as a physical reminder of his rights and privileges in the Knightlow hundred. This factor is reinforced by the Warwickshire steward's 1722 letter to John Booth, to inform him that the 'Mr Thomas, Minster of Exall':

Is putting forth a book which is an amendment of Dugdylls antiquities of Warwickshire and if his Grace will please to give him leave he will insert in his Book his Graces perogatives as to ye hundred of Knightlow and as Dugdyll hath been made use of in some tryalls it may be a strengthening to his Graces Authority.⁶²⁷

It has not been possible to determine if this information was ever received, but Thomas's revised 1730 edition of *Antiquities* specifically included a description of the Wroth Silver ceremony that was missing from Dugdale's own work. This could also indicate that a revival of the ceremony had purposefully been undertaken by the Duke at some stage to fit his policy of reaffirming his 'perogatives', although this is disputed by the current ceremony organisers, who claim on their website that the ceremony has been held at the site 'on the autumnal quarter day since at least 1170'.⁶²⁸ The inclusion of the ceremony in the revised edition of *Antiquities* can therefore be viewed as more than just a colourful embellishment of local custom; it can also be seen as a means to assert rights. The reason for asserting these rights was not about collecting the wroth pennies or receiving the unlikely forfeit of the white bull with red ears but staging a reminder of the Duke's rights in the region of the hundred. A Warwickshire 'villager' described the Wroth Silver ceremony in the 1870s, not simply as a device to collect estates revenue but signifying:

That the Duke holds his right over the unenclosed portions and waste strips of land in the several parishes by reason of this charter, and would lose them if the rite was not persisted in.⁶²⁹

Although these comments were written over 150 years after the 'cursing' ceremony in 1722, it is conceivable that this belief of linking the 'rite' to the 'right', was also shared by the Warwickshire villagers in the 1720s. The Duke appears to have further embellished the ceremony and continued the theme of enforcing his rights and privileges

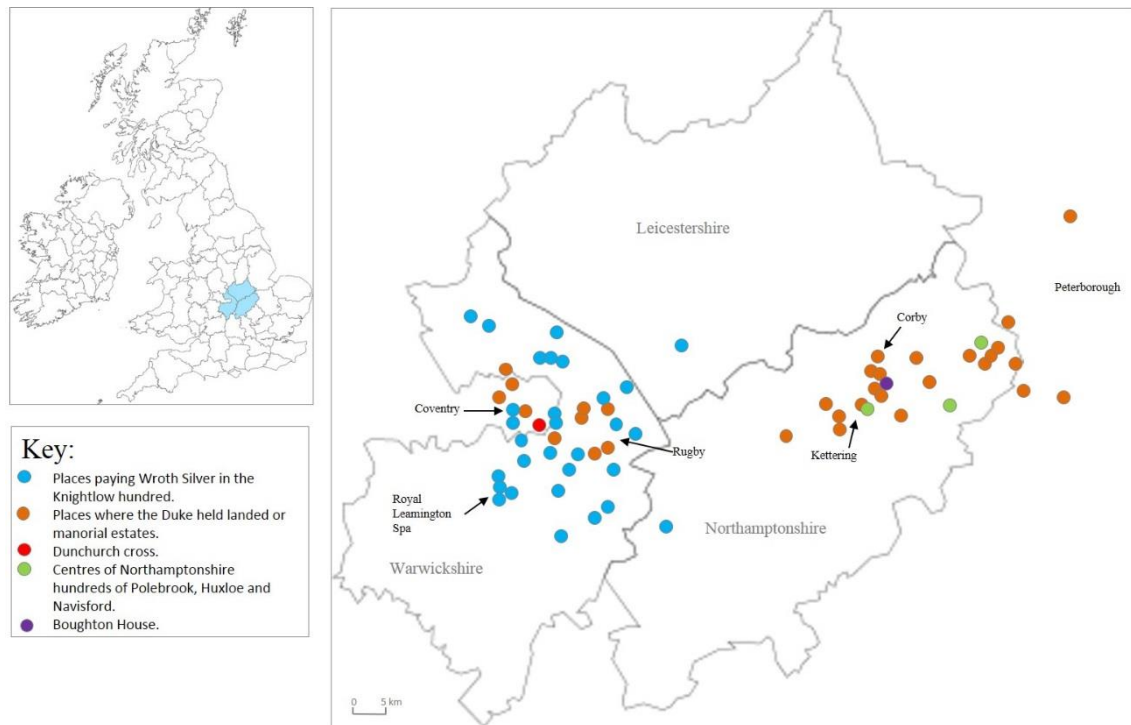
⁶²⁷ Worcester to Booth, 19 August 1722, Warwickshire estate letters, BHA.

⁶²⁸ <http://www.themodernantiquarian.com/site/2452#folklore> [accessed 23 January 2017].

⁶²⁹ *Nuneaton Advertiser*, Saturday 22 November 1879, p.2.

through visual means by planting a seven-mile long avenue of trees in 1740 that stretched from Dunchurch to the Knightlow Cross, which endorsed the site's importance to his estate.⁶³⁰ The continuation of the annual ceremony with its particular rituals also reminded those participating towns across the wide area of the Knightlow Hundred of the Duke of Montagu's particular rights and influence over the area (see map 4.3). Whether he was asserting his rights to the Honor of Gloucester, the hundreds in Northamptonshire or in Knightlow, Warwickshire, his actions to reinforce his rights marked out his regional influence, beyond his role as Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

Map 4.3: 2nd Duke of Montagu's regional influence across the South Midlands.



Source: Thomas (ed.), *Antiquities of Warwickshire* and ESPM, BHA.

⁶³⁰ EAM, Warwickshire Estates, Michaelmas 1740, BHA.

4.11: Conclusion.

The archival research revealed that the estate correspondence generated during the 2nd Duke of Montagu's dukedom was inordinately focussed on strengthening existing rights and privileges and reviving and restoring previously neglected or dormant rights across his estates. As the small pockets of surviving correspondence relating to the different estates were read, it became clear that this focus on rights was the cornerstone of the Duke's estate management policy. The discovery of the extent of his focus on the revival of rights was an unexpected outcome of the research and clearly outweighed the more traditional elements of eighteenth-century estate improvements that historians researching the period usually focus on such as enclosure and agricultural initiatives. The Duke appears to have treated the restoration of his rights as a prime means of increasing income on his estates and as we have seen, his actions to restore his rights and the development of his evidence room were undoubtedly acts that his descendants benefitted from financially, particularly in relation to his interest in the 'ownership of the soil', which produced extensive royalties related to mineral extraction, beyond his lifetime.

The research also revealed that there appears to have been a connection between the Duke's interest in reviving neglected or dormant rights and his architectural and decorative schemes. He expressed his taste for the 'consciously old-fashioned' through interior schemes or architectural design in those buildings which were located on his seigneurial estates and possibly in view of his tenants. The incorporation of neo-gothic elements when refashioning interior design schemes or his favouring architectural schemes which harked back to a feudal past, such as his continued use of heraldic decorative schemes and family trees at Boughton House, and the construction of the embattled steward's residence at Clitheroe Castle provided a visualisation of his seigneurial rights by reinforcing the antiquity of his lineage and pedigree. It could also be argued that the revival of ancient ceremonies like Wroth Silver in Warwickshire and Lady Day Silver in Hampshire were not simply whimsical fancies but another visual reminder of the revival of neglected rights, not that dissimilar to the drive to revive the performance of suit and service of townships attending the Blackburneshire Wapentake's Leet court.

His passion for the old order, the old ways and the ‘regard to antiquity ... [and the] taste for old family concerns’ also found expression in another area of interest that was nurtured at Boughton. This was the Duke’s interest in military matters, and the next chapter will explore the ways in which this also impacted on his life and on his estates.

Chapter Five

The impact of the Duke of Montagu's military interests on his estates.

5.1 Introduction to the Duke's military interests.

Paul Wilcock, historical consultant to the Royal Armouries, regards the armoury at Boughton House as 'by far the most important and historic family gunroom to survive in the British Isles'. With a collection of weapons which spans six centuries Wilcock has noted that the collection was not the 'product of an enthusiastic acquirer building an egocentric private museum according to personal interest or whim', but had been acquired over time not for the delight of collecting but for actual use in 'historical events' and hence deposited when no longer in use.⁶³¹ A. V. B Norman, former Master of the Armouries, described the weapons from the eighteenth century as being particularly important and surpassing 'the collection in the [Royal] Armouries both in quality and condition'.⁶³² Wilcock suggested that this was due to the use of the armoury by the Duke of Montagu as a depository for weapons he had commissioned for the St Lucia expedition like the Puckle gun, and also those he acquired whilst serving as Master-General of the Ordnance which he 'moved to Boughton when they became obsolete'. Finally he noted the presence of more everyday guns 'to support the social fabric of the community' that could have been used by the Northamptonshire militia.⁶³³

An earlier appraisal of the armoury acknowledged its unique nature, stating that its 'importance cannot be stressed too often', and developed the idea later focussed on by Wilcock that many weapons found their way in to the armoury through the 'military activities' and work of Duke John as Master-General of the Ordnance. It also noted that the armoury at Boughton was particularly developed and expanded by Duke John with subsequent 'activity ... invested in the care, maintenance and display of the arms collection.'⁶³⁴ However the focus of both these pieces of research and the subsequent work of Wilcock is primarily on the historical value of the weapons and only gives a brief

⁶³¹ P. Wilcock, 'The armoury of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry', *Arms & Armour*, 9, no.2, (2012), p.181.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, p.182.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, p.185.

⁶³⁴ S.Bevan, C. Blair and A.V.B. Norman, 'The armoury' in Murdoch (ed.), *Boughton House*, pp.158-69.

description of the military interests of Duke John.⁶³⁵ Given the acknowledged importance of the Boughton Armoury and particularly the contents of the eighteenth-century part of the collection, it is surprising that it has not encouraged other historians to explore in more detail the wider context of Duke John's 'military activities' and to assess whether the weapons in the Armoury were simply acquired out of interest or whether they had actually been deployed in connection with the wider military activities of Duke John including potential use on his estates, particularly supporting the 'social fabric of the community' as Wilcock suggests.

As discussed in chapter one, despite Duke John holding the office of Master-General of the Ordnance for a decade and reaching the rank of General in 1747, there is currently no detailed study of his role in eighteenth-century military history. Unfortunately all biographical material published on him routinely includes a reference to his departure from Marlborough's campaign in Flanders in 1706 at the age of sixteen. The collective assumption by historians that he 'had little taste for the carnage of war' appears to have drawn a line under any interest in examining his military career which spanned (albeit with interruptions) a further three decades.⁶³⁶ This conflicts with the eulogy that Stukeley composed on the occasion of the Duke's death in 1749 which stated that he had 'a very quick apprehension in every thing of gunnery incampments & military operations' and that he had a 'talent in every part of the military'.⁶³⁷

His military career may also have been overlooked because there has been little published research on the activities of the Board of Ordnance during the reign of George I and II. Despite the work of Tomlinson on the Ordnance under the late Stuarts which discussed the reforms, widening remit and growth in significance of the Board, there is nothing comparable on the activities of the Ordnance covering the early-Georgian period, which would have certainly drawn attention to the work of Duke John who held the office of Master-General throughout the 1740s.⁶³⁸ Some research has been carried out on particular activities of the Ordnance which covered Duke John's period in office

⁶³⁵ P. Wilcock, 'Early 18th-century military or militia pistols in the armoury of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Boughton House: an important example of the products of the London-Low Countries supply chain', *Arms & Armour*, 12, no.1 (2015), pp.30-44.

⁶³⁶ Metzger, 'Second Duke of Montagu' [accessed 11 June 2014].

⁶³⁷ Stukeley's journal, 5 July 1749, Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 126, f.76.

⁶³⁸ H.C. Tomlinson, 'Place and profit: an examination of the Ordnance Office, 1660-1714, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (1979), pp.55-75.

focussing on map creation and architecture, but his involvement is not discussed.⁶³⁹ A large archive of ordnance papers associated with Duke John's period in office survive at Boughton and gives an insight into some of his preoccupations during the war-torn 1740s, including papers relating to the expeditions to Cartagena, Portobello, and Cuba.⁶⁴⁰ Despite the workload the Duke found time to champion the foundation of the military academy at Woolwich with its scientific approach to teaching military skills. He also had an interest in the development of new weapons.⁶⁴¹ There is probably an assumption that the office of Master-General was a sinecure where deputies did the work; however, surviving papers related to Duke John's activities as Master-General demonstrate that his taste for micro-management was also put into practice at the Ordnance.⁶⁴²

There is no scope in this thesis to provide a detailed account of the Duke's military career or even to discuss at length his contributions to the development of the Board of Ordnance. The focus of this research is to assess what effect the activities of Duke John had on his estates. For a man who once stated, 'for a great part of my lyfe, I saw nothing so desirable as being [a] military officer' it is therefore reasonable to spend part of this thesis determining to what extent his estates were impacted by his military interests and whether it is possible to detect any evidence that he attempted to use his military activities as a means to improve his financial position.⁶⁴³ This chapter will therefore provide an assessment of the ways in which the military interests and activities of the 2nd Duke of Montagu had an impact on the estates, with a particular focus on Boughton. The research methodology used included checking the estate records alongside certain key dates to determine if any impact could be detected. These dates related to the Jacobite risings and unrest focussed around the years of 1715 and 1745, together with two other separate events that Duke John was connected to. These were the St Lucia expedition of 1722 and the Highlanders' mutiny of 1743. With the absence of some of the stewards' letters from

⁶³⁹ C.J. Anderson, 'Constructing the military landscape: Board of Ordnance maps and plans of Scotland, 1689-1815', Ph.D. thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2010) and N.P. Barker, 'The architecture of the English Board of Ordnance: 1660-1750', Ph.D. thesis (University of Reading, 1985).

⁶⁴⁰ For example: Cartagena expedition, Ordnance papers, BHA, box 13.

⁶⁴¹ Woolwich academy, Ordnance papers, BHA, box 1. For example, the innovative Puckle gun was taken to St Lucia and see also: Duke of Cumberland to Montagu, 2 June 1747, BHA, Cumberland letters, which discuss a new type of cannon.

⁶⁴² For example see J.D. Oates, 'The responses in North East England to the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745', Ph.D. thesis (University of Reading, 2001), p. 50 detailing Montagu's interactions with the Duke of Newcastle concerning the supply of weapons to Hull in 1745.

⁶⁴³ Montagu to Newcastle, 6 November 1748, UNMD, NeC 861, p.1.

the estates around some of these key dates, often only an impression of activities can be suggested.

Figure 5.1: John, 2nd Duke of Montagu c. 1718, Michael Dahl.



Source: © Buccleuch.

Jonathan Oates has published extensively on the Jacobite campaigns that formed the backdrop of some of Duke John's military activities. His work has focussed particularly on the details surrounding some of the local responses to the unrest in relation to the raising of militia and volunteer forces, arming and equipping these troops and their deployment and use in the campaigns. He has highlighted that 'there has never been one single survey on a national level before' and that local studies which have been carried out 'focus ... chiefly on the north of England.' This chapter therefore follows Oates' lead in assessing the detail of local activity during the Jacobite campaigns, and will suggest that, due to the Duke's military interests, the area surrounding his estates in the South Midlands was as active in participating in the call to arms as areas identified by Oates in the north.

5.2 Development of the armoury.

As previously suggested, the Boughton Armoury is undoubtedly the key legacy of the 2nd Duke of Montagu's military career. Its current location, in the old servants' hall, is different to the one created in Duke John's time. By June 1718 he refashioned an existing room to act as the repository for the weapons held at Boughton and commissioned Lewis Barbar, who took 'care of the private armoury at Kensington' Palace⁶⁴⁴, to take charge of designing and constructing the display.⁶⁴⁵ It is not known whether there was any sort of formal armoury prior to 1718 or if weapons were conspicuously displayed or simply held in functional storage. Nor is it known whether the weapons that were put in the new Barbar armoury formed part of an existing collection or whether the armoury was designed specifically to accommodate the arrival of arms which had been distributed to the local militia during the Jacobite Rising of 1715. Lamotte, Montagu's advisor at Boughton, noted in September 1717 that he had 'put all the arms in the old billiard room to the west. It being for the winter the driest room in the house'.⁶⁴⁶ By November he reported that the arms 'were put in the new wardrobe'.⁶⁴⁷ By June 1718, Lamotte told the Duke that Lewis Barbar had 'put up in that room next to your former apartment about

⁶⁴⁴ W.A. Shaw and F. H. Slingsby (eds), 'Declared Accounts: Civil List', in *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 32, 1718*, (London, 1962), pp. clxxxviii-ccxli, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/calendar-treasury-books/vol32/clxxxviii-ccxli> [accessed 16 August 2016].

⁶⁴⁵ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.17.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.15.

500 musquets, a 100 carbines & 260 pistols'. The rest to be 'put up in the great wardrobe'. Lamotte concluded enthusiastically that the room looked 'wonderfully well', confirming that the intention was certainly to create something that was decorative and not merely functional.⁶⁴⁸

Despite the fact that two major rebellions took place on British soil in 1715 and 1745, literature exploring the role and extent to which arms were held at country seats similar to Boughton and were utilised in these risings does not appear to exist. Nor does there appear to be any literature appraising the creation and design of armouries in the English country house during the first half of the eighteenth century to enable us to judge whether Duke John's refashioning of the Montagu armoury was for purely practical reasons and to mark Boughton out as his personal military storehouse, or whether it was simply part of Boughton House's decorative improvements and influenced by contemporary trends and taste. A visitor to a country house in 1739 noted the atmosphere that the prominent placement of arms created, describing how they inspired 'a sort of constitutional sort of reverence' and that he 'looked upon those arms with gratitude as the terror of former ministers and the check of kings'.⁶⁴⁹ Some thirty-five years after the Barbar armoury, Horace Walpole's armoury at Strawberry Hill served a decorative purpose and 'created a vision of mediaeval chivalry'.⁶⁵⁰ In March 1718, the Duke had been installed as a Garter Knight. The completion of the new armoury in June 1718 may have been in response to this honour and an expression of the personal reverence that he felt for his newly obtained elite status and the 'strong sense of chivalric tradition' which enshrouded the Garter.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p.17.

⁶⁴⁹ J. Cornforth, 'The first Gothic chairs?', *Country Life*, August, 5 (1993) quoted in J. Delafons, *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage, 1882-1996* (London, 2005), p.8.

⁶⁵⁰ P. Lindfield 'Hung around with the helmets, breast-plates, and swords of our ancestors: allusions to chivalry in eighteenth-century Gothicism' in K. Stevenson and B. Gribbling (eds), *Chivalry and the Medieval Past* (Woodbridge, 2016), p.47.

⁶⁵¹ Hanham, 'Chivalry', p.289.

5.3 1715 Jacobite rising.

Following the accession of George I in 1714 and the Whig success in the 1715 elections, the Duke was affirmed as part of the favoured Whig elite, demonstrated by two significant appointments with a military focus in 1715. In May 1715 he became Colonel of the 1st Troop of Horse Guards. His appointment was such that he would not ‘actually command a regiment ... although he drew the pay and enjoyed the privileges of office’.⁶⁵² It is not known if he purchased this commission, which has been described as ‘ludicrous’ because of his Flanders experience, or whether it was granted through royal favour.⁶⁵³ More importantly, in July 1715 he was also appointed Lord Lieutenant of both Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.⁶⁵⁴ The 1st Troop of Horse Guards acted as life guards to the King so perhaps signified the royal favour that he held at that time. In addition his appointments to the Lord-Lieutenancy were a reflection of the trust that was placed in him by the Crown during a time overshadowed by the threat of a Jacobite insurrection and invasion. In the 1740s he looked back to the special powers that he was granted as Lord-Lieutenant in 1715. He informed the Duke of Newcastle that:

At the time of the Preston Rebellion I had a power given me to raise Men horse and foot and to grant ammunition (besides the militia) in Warwick Shire and Northampton Shire ... if the Rebellion had continued my power of raising men &c was to have been extended over the neighbouring counties of Rutland Shire, Leicester Shire and Lincoln Shire. For the late Lord Sunderland had a scheme if the Rebellion had produced a War in this country, to have the kingdom divided into several districts and to be put under the command of some person of the best Interest and Estates in each division and well affected to the Government who was to have power of raising forces &c and so to have had several little armys in the several parts of England, as auxillarys to the grand Army in the same manner as was practised by the King and Parliament in the war of 41.⁶⁵⁵

This letter reveals that the Duke was considered (or at least he considered himself) at the time of the 1715 Jacobite Rising as the person who had the ‘best Interest’ and was ‘well affected to the Government’ in the wider Midlands area to be given such powers. It should be noted that like the Duke, Sunderland was also a son-in-law of the Duke of Marlborough who was Captain-General of the army and Master-General of the Ordnance

⁶⁵² B. White-Spunner, *Horse Guards* (London, 2006), p.xiii.

⁶⁵³ White-Spunner, *Horse Guards*, p.189.

⁶⁵⁴ Metzger, ‘John, second duke of Montagu’, *ODNB* [accessed 17 July 2017].

⁶⁵⁵ Montagu to Newcastle, 1745, BL Stowe MS 185, f. 209.

at this time, and therefore the selection of the Duke must be framed within this network of familial patronage.⁶⁵⁶ Due to the resolution of the conflict, Sunderland's scheme was never fully enacted but there is evidence to suggest that Montagu had begun to use the 'power' granted to him to raise men and distribute arms. By the end of December 1716, Lamotte informed the Duke that his tenants were still in possession of muskets and were putting them to good use.

We have 200 muskets at Weekly, there were about 50 delivered to the tenants, but I recalled 'em last week, first, because I did not think there was now any occasion for 'em besides they begin to grow pretty good marksmen, & the game about us was a sufferer by it.⁶⁵⁷

It appears that they had been allowed to retain their weapons for well over a year after the initial 1715 crisis had diminished.⁶⁵⁸ The Duke therefore had unintentionally created a tenancy equipped with superior poaching skills. Reports of poaching certainly feature in the surviving estate letters but there is no evidence that the problem rose significantly in the post-1715 period because virtually no letters survive which cover the period prior to 1715 with which to make reasonable comparisons. The gathering of arms extended beyond the local village of Weekly. Lamotte noted that he had received '200 swords & belts, & 18 pairs of pistols that came from Horeton hither'.⁶⁵⁹ This referred to the estate of the Earl of Halifax which lay twenty-five miles from Boughton. Halifax was also the Duke's kinsman and his actions demonstrate that if he had acquired weapons in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant to distribute across the region, he perhaps sent them to his close network first for their benefit. A reference in a later letter written in 1718 referring to 'pistol furniture that came from Northampton' being in 'a sad condition' gives further evidence for the distribution of weapons.⁶⁶⁰ It could be that many weapons that had been distributed from either Montagu's personal arsenal or from government supplies, simply went missing. Lamotte wrote to the Duke at the end of 1717 to confirm that there was nothing 'left at Kettering, for when I was there to see em, I found em in such bad order that I sent for all to Boughton, the catalogue of which I send you here inclosed'.⁶⁶¹ This

⁶⁵⁶ Henry L. Snyder, 'Spencer, Charles, third earl of Sunderland (1675–1722)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn, May 2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26117> [accessed 15 Oct 2017].

⁶⁵⁷ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.11.

⁶⁵⁸ However it has been estimated that there were 'fifty-seven recorded Jacobite disturbances in England, many in the south west and the Midlands, between 1714-22' so the threat may not have been perceived to have subsided straight away, M.G.M. Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Aberdeen, 1998), p. 37.

⁶⁵⁹ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.11.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p.26.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.15.

implies that the Duke was attempting to account for weapons which perhaps had disappeared into the wider community.

There is no evidence that the Duke of Montagu undertook active military service himself in 1715. It has been suggested by several websites with a focus on popular Scottish history and culture that a detachment of his Troop participated in the Battle of Glenshiel in 1719 and that casualties were sustained.⁶⁶² Reference to forces of Montagu being present at the battle refer to those of Colonel Edward Montagu.⁶⁶³ He was a Member of Parliament for Northampton and another kinsman of Duke John, and was later appointed by the Duke to serve as secretary for the Order of the Bath.⁶⁶⁴ The battle was painted by Peter Tillemans who worked extensively in Northamptonshire between 1719 and 1721, and was appointed by antiquarian John Bridges to sketch Boughton House during this period.⁶⁶⁵ A reference in the estate letters establishes that the Duke planned 'an expedition to Scotland' in June 1720, which was the first anniversary of the battle. Lamotte suggested that he accompanied the Duke so that he could wait on him 'in the highlands'.⁶⁶⁶ No other evidence has been found to suggest that this expedition took place, but the Duke appears to have had plans to visit Boughton enroute as Lamotte prepared for the arrival of his party by arranging 'one very good buck' from the deer park, 'strong beer' and 'ten dozen of wine', assuring him that his 'house shall be immediately furnished' in preparation for their arrival.⁶⁶⁷ It is tempting (and currently unsubstantiated) to think that the Duke (in his official capacity as Colonel of the 1st Troop of Horse) may have accompanied Edward Montagu on a type of pilgrimage to the battle field and that Tillemans may have accompanied them on the expedition to make sketches which eventually were incorporated into his painting.⁶⁶⁸ Presumably it would have been risky and undesirable for an English nobleman to visit the volatile Highlands as a tourist during this period unless he travelled as part of a military expedition.

⁶⁶² For example see: <http://www.thesonsofscotland.co.uk/thebattleofglenshiel1719.htm> [accessed October 2016].

⁶⁶³ C. Sanford Terry, 'The Battle of Glenshiel', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 2, No.8 (Jul.1905), p.413.

⁶⁶⁴ He was the brother of the 1st Earl of Halifax, <http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/montagu-edward-1684-1738> [accessed 17 July 2017], Hanham, 'Chivalry', p.284.

⁶⁶⁵ E.Bottoms, 'Tillemans, Peter (c.1684–1734)', *ODNB*, (Oxford,2004), online edn, May 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27444> [accessed 19 July 2017].

⁶⁶⁶ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.41.

⁶⁶⁷ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.43.

⁶⁶⁸ *The Battle of Glenshiel* [painting], Peter Tillemans (National Gallery of Scotland). The date assigned to it is 1719 but there is no evidence that it was painted the same year that the battle took place. It was originally sold as *The Battle of Killcrankie*, artist unknown. Personal communication, Sarah Jeffcot, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 21 November 2016.

5.4 St Lucia Expedition's military focus.

In September 1721, the Duke of Montagu resigned his commission as Colonel of the 1st Troop of Horse, reputedly selling it to his friend, Lord Herbert.⁶⁶⁹ This may be an indication that his funds were depleted after the South Sea Bubble or it may have been to provide further funds to develop his quest to be appointed proprietary owner of St Lucia. Although this project can simply be viewed as an attempt to establish a new revenue stream, it also enabled him to use it as a display of patriotism and to indulge his military interests. As discussed in chapter three, there is evidence that he called upon his network of Flanders veterans to assist his venture.⁶⁷⁰ His appointment as Captain-General of St Lucia in June 1722 gave him 'full power and licence' to muster troops and 'to subdue by force and arms any Savages Rebels or Enemies' and 'to build at any time ... so many forts fortresses castle' as well as to supply 'shott, armour & other weapons, ammunition and Habiliments of Warr both defensive and offensive'.⁶⁷¹ There is evidence that the Duke was particularly interested in planning the fort and defences for the island, and a map survives in the Boughton House Archive which features designs for a set of intricate fortifications that were to protect the new settlement on Montagu Point.⁶⁷² In addition it is clear that the armoury was used to supply the defensive needs of his new estate. In addition to the fifty military appointments in the expeditionary force, the indentured servants and paid trade and crafts-people would have been expected to serve as the militia and carry arms. In May 1722, prior to the official confirmation of his grant and just a month before the first ship on the expedition, *Elizabeth*, sailed to the Caribbean, the Duke's head steward asked the Boughton steward to send him notification of the number of 'muskets, pistols and carbines in the Armoury'.⁶⁷³ These items were clearly intended for St Lucia, as ten years later the Boughton steward confirmed that indeed the weapons 'were return'd from ye West Indies' and were stored again in the armoury.⁶⁷⁴ Many of the items described by the steward in the '22 cases' of weapons closely match those

⁶⁶⁹J. Hayes, 'The purchase of colonelcies in the army, 1714-63', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 39,1961, p.7, states that Montagu sold his commission to Herbert for an unknown amount. Herbert (then Lord Pembroke) sold it to the Honorable John Fane in 1733 for £8000. When Fane was stripped of the colonelcy in 1736, the Troop was given back to the Duke for free and 'caused much indignation'.

⁶⁷⁰ See chapter three, p.103-4.

⁶⁷¹ Signet Warrant, Duke of Montagu's grant, St Vincent and St Lucia, 1722, BL Egerton Ch 7960, pp.2-3.

⁶⁷² Map of The Caranage, St Lucia, no date, BHA.

⁶⁷³ McKay and Hall, *Estate Letters*, p.145.

⁶⁷⁴ Booth to Montagu, 7 September 1732, SLLB, f.97, BHA.

described on the ‘Invoice of sundry stores’: ‘157 carbines, 201 pairs of pistols ... 118 muskets, 73 buchianier guns, 357 buff sword belts 213 sword belts for carbines and 3 for drums.’⁶⁷⁵ As discussed in chapter three, a letter from Governor Mathew who received the cargo of the *Elizabeth* at St. Christopher suggested that some of these weapons were ‘arms of Queen Elizabeth’s date’, which perhaps indicates that if they came from the Boughton Armoury, they were of a considerable age.⁶⁷⁶ Some taken directly to St Lucia, which Governor Mathew did not see, included the technologically advanced ‘Puckle’s machine gun’ which had been patented in 1718.⁶⁷⁷ Wilcock has suggested the Puckle gun and some of the weapons in the Boughton armoury were used in the St Lucia Expedition.⁶⁷⁸ These, along with the maps and plans of the proposed fortifications are reminders that aggressive military occupation shaped European colonisation.

Figure 5.2: Proposed fortifications in the Carenage Harbour, St Lucia n.d.⁶⁷⁹



Source: BHA, ©Buccleuch.

⁶⁷⁵ John Lloyd Jnr to William Mathew, 15 June 1722, BL Add Ms 38510 E, ff.25-7.

⁶⁷⁶ Mathew to Montagu, 2 March 1723, SLLB, BHA, SLLB, f.60.

⁶⁷⁷ Uring, *Relation*, p.7.

⁶⁷⁸ P. Wilcox, ‘The armoury’, p.192.

⁶⁷⁹ Map of the Carenage,, St Lucia, n.d., BHA.

5.5 Military appointments after St Lucia.

After the failure of the St Lucia expedition, Duke John pressed to receive financial compensation. Hanham suggests that the appointment of the Duke as the grand master of the revived order of the Bath in 1725 was seen by Walpole as ‘a means of humouring him ... [and] would encourage him to lay aside ... his immense financial claim on the government’. Duke John soon began to view the revived knightly order as a ‘personal fiefdom’ and the grand-mastership ‘akin to a great office of state.’⁶⁸⁰ However he continued to pursue plans to recover his St Lucia losses including a ‘Division of the Island’ between himself and the Maréchal d'Estrées in late 1725, followed by a plan to receive a ‘Grant of the Island of Tobago, in lieu of Santa Lucia and Saint Vincent’ which was approved in principle on 19 November 1728. However full consideration was ‘postponed till a further time and nothing further was done’ and the St Lucia and St. Vincent then remained in ‘neutral states’⁶⁸¹ The failure to secure the Tobago grant however may have been due to a fall from favour as on 6 December 1728, the ‘King ... layd his commands ... to make a thorough examination into the state, method, practice and condition of the office of the Great Wardrobe’. This raised questions about the Wardrobe’s accounting methods and revealed that out of total annual spend of £19,411 l. 14s. 8½d, the Duke’s ‘demands for his own salary and allowances and that of his Deputy, the Clerk of the Wardrobe and for incident charges and also for divers salaries and allowances to officers and to tailors, arras workers and others amounted to 5,056l. 5s. 0½d’. There was particular concern over ‘the buying of goods’ which was left ‘wholly to the Master or his Deputy’, in other words the Duke and Thomas Dummer. The date that this audit took place, shortly after the grant had been approved in principle, may suggest that it was concluded that he had made more than enough money from his role as Master of the Wardrobe to warrant any further compensation.⁶⁸²

Around this time, the Duke also lobbied Walpole for a new military position, and suggested ways in which a new troop of horse guards could be created of which he could

⁶⁸⁰ Hanham, ‘Chivalry’, pp.277-8.

⁶⁸¹ Printed State of facts relating to petition of Lord and Lady Cardigan and Lord Montagu and their trustees re Islands of St Vincent and Santa Lucia, Norf.RO, WLS LV/64, 428X6.

⁶⁸² ‘Volume 268: 1728. Classified. Part II’, in Calendar of Treasury Papers, Volume 6, 1720-1728, ed. Joseph Redington (London, 1889), pp. 542-545 [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-papers/vol6/pp542-5> [accessed 27 March 2015].

be colonel.⁶⁸³ However his efforts were not rewarded until August 1733 when he was offered the governorship of the Isle of Wight, which he accepted as he was simply determined to 'again be a military man' and the Governorship was 'a military post and paid up on the establishment of the army.'⁶⁸⁴ Adjacent to his Beaulieu estate, he may have seen the governorship of the island as one that he could use to the advantage of his Hampshire estates. However within a few months, the Duke's old comrade from Flanders, James Lord Tyrawley, commiserated with him, saying that he was 'sorry the Isle of Wight does not answer your expectations' whilst confirming that he knew it was something that he had coveted.⁶⁸⁵ This appointment may have signified a return to favour. By March 1734, he resigned the governorship and was appointed Captain of the Band of Gentleman Pensioners three months later. This carried a salary of £1000 a year but was also a prestigious position as it enabled him to establish closer contact with the King. The Pensioners, known today as the Gentleman of Arms, acted as ceremonial bodyguards to the King and stood guard with their axes in the Presence Chamber and accompanied him to the House of Lords. These ceremonial duties had become neglected and the Duke set about restoring them, including ensuring the Pensioners maintained a 'daily attendance in the Presence Chamber'.⁶⁸⁶ Playing a role in restoring this neglected element of Court tradition may be a further reflection of the Duke's interest in the revival of ancient traditions and customs, particularly those which were associated with elements of medieval chivalry and service such as the Order of the Bath.

The revival of his fortunes and public profile appears to have been boosted by the relocation of his main residence in 1733 from his great mansion at Bloomsbury to a new 'plain and simple' house at Privy Garden which overlooked the Thames and abutted the properties of other 'noblemen'. These neighbours included the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Portland, Earl of Pembroke and Lord Loudoun.⁶⁸⁷ In addition the First Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, received the royal gift of No. 10, Downing Street, a few hundred yards away, in 1732.⁶⁸⁸ This meant that he now resided at the very hub of all his metropolitan interests and was a short distance from the court at St James's Palace where some of the

⁶⁸³ Montagu to Sir Robert Walpole, c.1727, CUL, Ch (H) corr. 1, 507a.

⁶⁸⁴ Montagu to 'My Lord', 5 July 1733, CUL, Ch (H) corr. 1, 2008, pp.2-3.

⁶⁸⁵ Tyrawley to Montagu, 29 January 1734/35 in Kirk, *HMC Report*, p.384.

⁶⁸⁶ R.O Bucholz (ed.), *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837* (London, 2006), [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11> [accessed 20 July 2017]pp. 324-47.

⁶⁸⁷ Motley, *London and Westminster*, p.655.

⁶⁸⁸ C. Jones, *Number Ten Downing Street: The Story of a House* (London, 1985), p.43.

duties of the Pensioners were performed. He was also in close proximity to the House of Lords where he kept up 'a regular but silent attendance'.⁶⁸⁹ In 1735 he was appointed a member of the Privy Council.⁶⁹⁰ This met at the Cock Pit, Whitehall, 'between the tennis court and the site of Kent's Treasury' which was a short distance from his new home. In addition his offices of the Great Wardrobe were also based in Whitehall, 'fronting Treasury Passage'.⁶⁹¹ His increased presence in the area and the proximity to his elite neighbours may have strengthened his ability to benefit from extraordinary social networks, thereby reinforcing bonds of patronage with key players at court and the King. For example, in November 1733, the Prince of Orange, future husband of the King's daughter, was reported by the newspapers as 'received upon the Stair-Case at St James's Palace by the Dukes of Grafton, Montagu, Newcastle and Richmond, and Sir Robert Walpole'.⁶⁹²

The elite appointments continued to escalate, and during an invasion scare in May 1740, the Duke was awarded the posts of Master-General of the Ordnance and Colonel of the Queen's own Regiment of Horse on the same day.⁶⁹³ During the same week he was also appointed a Lord Justice to administer the Kingdom during the King's absence in Hanover.⁶⁹⁴ As will be discussed later in this chapter, he personally raised two new regiments during the 1745-6 Jacobite rising and his loyalty to the Crown during this period was rewarded by his commission as General of Horse in March 1747.⁶⁹⁵ These appointments awarded him not only the kudos that he had long sought but also financial rewards. However his accumulation of these positions of power during the 1740s came at a cost. Eight months before his death in November 1748, he acknowledged the burden of the additional responsibility but signified that it was something that he could not afford to relinquish and risk monetary loss as well as rank and social standing:

I thought nothing so desirable as military offices, I have had my desire for some years ... but the number of onreasonable pretentions and a Thousand other disagreeable things that have seen the consequence of these Commands have made me hartely tired of all military matters, and if it was not for two vices, ambition

⁶⁸⁹ Hanham, 'Chivalry', p.266.

⁶⁹⁰ *Derby Mercury*, 29 January 1735, p.4.

⁶⁹¹ M H Cox and G Topham Forrest (eds), 'The Treasury and Privy Council Offices', in *Survey of London: Volume 14, St Margaret, Westminster*, Part III: Whitehall II (London, 1931), pp. 26-36, [BHO] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol14/pt3/pp68-100> [accessed 27 August 2017].

⁶⁹² *Derby Mercury*, 15 November 1733, p.2.

⁶⁹³ *Newcastle Courant*, 17 May 1740, p.3.

⁶⁹⁴ *Derby Mercury*, 22 May 1740, p.1.

⁶⁹⁵ *Derby Mercury*, 20 March 1747, p.4.

that makes me not care to looze the Rank of Cabinet Councelor, and interest that makes me onwilling to looze the income of my employments I woud desire to quit these posts and think myself to[o] happy if I had any Civil post in the Kings service of the same honourable rank I have now.⁶⁹⁶

Figure 5.3: 2nd Duke of Montagu and family, c.1730s, William Hogarth.



Source: © Paul Mellon Centre, Yale University

A portrait by George Knapton, represents a contrast to William Hogarth's 1730s conversation piece which portrayed the Duke *en famille* in domestic harmony, smiling at his daughter and assisting his wife's needlework. The Knapton portrait depicts the Duke as Master-General of the Ordnance and shows him in sombre mood and dress, wearing both the Garter and Bath regalia. The Ordnance headquarters, the Tower of London, is in the distance and his hand rests on a cannon, symbolising the focus of his work. The portrait aptly reflects the responsibilities and preoccupations that faced Duke John in this public role.

⁶⁹⁶ Montagu to Newcastle, 6 November 1748, UNMD, NeC 861, p.1.

Figure 5.4: John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, Master-General of the Ordnance, c. 1753,
by G. Knapton,



Source: © National Army Museum

5.6 The Highland Regiment Mutiny.

Aside from his work at the Ordnance, during these ‘times of Foreign Wars & Domestick Tumults’ and particularly between 1743 and 1746, the ‘consequence of these Commands’ ensured that the Duke’s estates could not remain physically isolated from these events.⁶⁹⁷ Whether drawn in by unforeseen incident or through the purposeful utilisation of their resources, the estates were impacted by these ‘tumults’. The first occasion was probably entirely unforeseen. On 25 April 1743, the Duke was again appointed to serve as one of the Lord Justices to administer the Kingdom whilst the King was overseas.⁶⁹⁸ On 15 May, he attended a ceremony on Finchley Common where Lord Semple’s Highland Regiment was reviewed by General Wade. The Duke of Montagu was particularly named by the newspapers as one of the ‘Persons of Quality and Distinction’ who viewed ‘the very handsome Appearance’ of the Regiment in their Highland dress.⁶⁹⁹ Present at the review were also men from the Duke’s regiment of horse.⁷⁰⁰ The Highland regiment had ‘enlisted in the Service from a Presumption that they were not to serve out of their own Country, and were terrify’d with an Apprehension that they should be sent to serve in the West Indies’.⁷⁰¹ This was probably because ‘a false and villainous Report had been industriously propagated ...that they were to be embarked for Jamaica’.⁷⁰² It was later reported that ‘they were informed ... since they came to London, by some of the soldiers of Sinclair’s Regiment and others, that they were actually to go to the West Indies, and that their officers were to leave them soon as they were embarked, where they would everyone dye with the severe heat of the climate.’⁷⁰³ Britain had been involved in a number of military engagements in the wider-Caribbean region during the War of Jenkin’s Ear. The Highlanders appeared to have had no qualms about fighting in Flanders, but the conditions of serving in the West Indies in terms of the climate were viewed as a death sentence. Captain Renkine of Montagu’s Regiment later indicated that it was not just the climate that the Highlanders feared but that they ‘were to be sold for slaves.’⁷⁰⁴ Around 200 men from the regiment decided to desert and return to Scotland, carrying with them

⁶⁹⁷ Hayward to Montagu, n.d., BHA, Ordnance papers, 2.66.

⁶⁹⁸ *Derby Mercury*, 28 April 1743, p.4.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 21 May 1743, p.1.

⁷⁰⁰ H.D. Macwilliam, *The Official Records of the Mutiny in the Black Watch: A London Incident of the Year 1743* (London, 1910), pp. 86-7.

⁷⁰¹ S. Boyse, *A Historical Review of the Transactions of Europe* (London, 1747), p.406.

⁷⁰² *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 May 1743, p.2.

⁷⁰³ Macwilliam, *Mutiny*, p.55.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.30.

their arms and wearing their uniforms. The Lord Justices, of which the Duke was one, issued a directive that stated all:

Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Constables and other Civil Magistrates, do use their utmost Endeavours to secure all, or any of the said Mutineers and Deserters ... and all such persons as shall so apprehend any of the said Mutineers and Deserters, shall receive Forty Shillings for each one.⁷⁰⁵

The Highlanders marched north to Newport Pagnell and then moved across Northamptonshire until they ceased their march by hiding in part of Rockingham Forest, ‘under strong cover, where horse could not act’.⁷⁰⁶ Specifically this was Lady Wood which lay adjacent to the Duke of Montagu’s estate of Brigstock, a distance of some eight miles from Boughton House. In pursuit of the Highlanders was the Duke’s Regiment of Horse who had been with them only a few days before at Finchley Common. Given that the Duke of Montagu had been present at Finchley and that his Regiment of Horse had paraded with the Highlanders, it seems a strange twist of fate that the Highlanders halted their flight north and commenced their negotiations in a region directly associated with and decidedly influenced by the Duke of Montagu. As Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, the Duke had authority over the Justices of the Peace and other civil dignitaries in the county whom the Lord Justices had directed to facilitate the surrender of the deserters. Major Otway from the Duke’s regiment reported that they had been particularly assisted by ‘Mr Stanley, his Grace the Duke of Montagu’s steward (who) has been indefatigable in giving intelligence of every step they have taken since they came into this part of the country.’ He also reported optimistically that they had ‘promised not to stir from the place they are now in’ and that he now would attempt to ‘intercede with ... the Lord Justices for mercy.’⁷⁰⁷

The Highlanders then applied to a Justice of the Peace, Major John Creed from Oundle, to intercede on their behalf to negotiate a pardon. Creed wrote ‘in their Favour to the Duke of Montagu’. He assured them that the Duke ‘would stand their Friend as much as possible’, a promise which reflected his contemporary reputation for compassion.⁷⁰⁸ In turn they agreed that they were ‘willing to return to their Regiment’ once the pardon was received, and Creed instructed Major Otway ‘not to commit any Acts of Hostility’ towards them until he had received an answer from the Duke. He commented that they

⁷⁰⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 May 1743, p.2.

⁷⁰⁶ Macwilliam, *Mutiny*, p.48.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.52.

⁷⁰⁸ See chapter one, p.31.

‘were a brave bold Sort of People, and are resolv’d not to submit till their Pardon comes down.’ He also made it clear to the Duke that for the sake of the local community (and his estate), the matter needed to be resolved quickly as they ‘will continue in the Neighbourhood until they have an answer’.⁷⁰⁹ Unfortunately unsatisfied with the speed at which events were progressing, the Lord Justices despatched Brigadier Blakeney’s Regiment to clear the Highlanders from the woods. The Duke of Montagu may have viewed this as unwelcome interference given that the negotiations were being coordinated on his domain using men from his regiment and local dignitaries, and were assisted by his estate steward. However as a Lord Justice himself, he would have had to agree with it.

Under armed escort which included men from the Duke of Montagu’s regiment, the Highlanders were marched back to London and held at the Tower. On 21 June, due to the ‘streightness of their confinement and the heat of the weather’,⁷¹⁰ the Duke was directed to clear additional Ordnance ‘store-houses in the Tower for the reception of the said deserters’⁷¹¹ and also to provide a room ‘for the reception of the court martial’.⁷¹² Death sentences were recorded for the mutineers but all were commuted except for three ring-leaders. Although the Duke had presented the letters ‘recommending the deserters to mercy’ to the Lord Justices, there is no surviving record of the Duke’s own thoughts about the executions or the decision to send so many to serve in the West Indies as punishment, the fear of which had started the desertion in the first place.⁷¹³ Indeed, he may have judged this occasion as one of the ‘desagreeable things’ that was a ‘consequence of his commands’. Although the estate steward, Diston Stanley, was praised by Major Otway as ‘being indefatigable in serving us’, the estate records relating exactly how he served are unfortunately scant as Stanley’s estate letters from this period have not yet been discovered.⁷¹⁴ The estate accounts do not appear to contain any reference to money spent on dealing with the crisis, although it might have been expected that there would be some entries related to the carrying of messages and possibly provisions for the Duke’s regiment of horse. We have no insight into how people reacted

⁷⁰⁹ *Derby Mercury*, 9 June 1743, pp.1- 2.

⁷¹⁰ Macwilliam, *Mutiny*, p.96.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.77.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, p.85.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, p.60.

⁷¹⁴ At the time that the research was being carried out, the estate vouchers were not accessible in NRO but have recently become available at BHA.

to the presence of the Highlanders in the local area although it was reported at the tribunal that the Highlanders ‘committed no act of hostility’.⁷¹⁵ 99 men were rounded up at Lady Wood but there may have been others in the area, for the newspapers reported the rest were ‘scattered abroad in the country, for they wanted not money and had provided themselves in bread, beer and bacon for at least a week’, which must have been supplied by those living in the surrounding area.⁷¹⁶

The Brigstock estate rental which was collected at Michaelmas 1743 records a spike in arrears. The estate was a later addition to the Boughton estate collection and had been purchased in portions by the Duke in the 1720s and early 1730s. It was constantly in arrears, but on this occasion, Stanley calculated that eleven tenants owed £113 7s 9d collectively.⁷¹⁷ This compared to £96 13s 10d owed by just four tenants at the Lady Day 1743 collection. The continued increase in Brigstock arrears for the year following the Highlanders being present in the area suggests that it may have had some economic impact on those living in the vicinity. Further evidence for this is provided by the survival of an additional estate audit that was carried out on June 4 1743, the day after the Highlanders left the Brigstock area.⁷¹⁸ The surviving estate audit minute book indicates that the Montagu audits were recorded (at most) twice a year at Lady Day and Michaelmas. This is the only occasion that an additional audit was carried out, and the content suggests that the armed forces and deserters’ presence in and around the estate did have some impact on property and also created tensions between the Duke and his neighbouring landowners. Of the short list of actions required, three relate to property repairs which were all located in Brigstock. A barn, house and hog sty were all ordered for repair, of which the first may have been where ‘two Highlanders lay sick in a barn.’⁷¹⁹ In addition, a well was ordered to be dug deeper, which perhaps suggests that the water supply was exhausted by Otway’s men or the Highlanders. The audit minutes do not tell us the extent of damage to crops perhaps caused by the army horses or the deserters, but this might account for the rise in arrears as any crops that were damaged in June would have ruined the late summer and autumn harvest, depriving the tenants of crops to sell.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid., p.52.

⁷¹⁶ *The Scots Magazine*, 26 May 1743 p.44.

⁷¹⁷ Estate rental LD to M, 1743, Brigstock, NRO, M(B) 99.

⁷¹⁸ Brigstock, 4 June 1743, BHA, EAM.

⁷¹⁹ Macwilliam, *Mutiny*, p.61.

When appointing William Folkes as his head steward in 1737, the Duke pointed out that the tenants sold their crops at the Michaelmas markets to pay their rents.⁷²⁰

In addition there were two other instructions noted in the audit minutes which appear to relate to non-payment of debts. These are extremely unusual as the other surviving Montagu audit minutes rarely make reference to recovery of unpaid rents or other debts. In contrast, the audit minutes that William Folkes prepared as the chief steward for the Cardigan estates in Northamptonshire contained regular references of threats to 'distrain', 'sue' and give notice 'to quit' to ensure payment of arrears.⁷²¹ The first instruction in June 1743 ordered 'Mr Brook to write to Mr Harisson to settle accts. as soon as you get home & upon refusal to have him arrested.' The second ordered 'Mr Warner & Lord Rockinghams Steward, that if they do not pay I will order both my Lord & Mr Warner to be sued.'⁷²² The use of the words 'sued' and 'arrested' appear to be unprecedented in relation to the language used to describe debt recovery in the audit minutes, and it is significant that these timely instructions appear in this 'extraordinary' audit.⁷²³ It is possible that the men played a role in interfering with Otway and Creed's negotiations with the Highlanders, possibly assisting Blakeney's troop to take charge of the situation. This led to the Duke's failure to secure a pardon for the Highlanders and may have enraged the man whom Otway described as having 'great compassion for unfortunate tho infatuated people'.⁷²⁴ In addition, apart from the damage to the Duke's pride, there was also a financial element involved as the Duke missed out on claiming the forty shillings bounty per captured Scot, plus the usual 'reward given to such persons as shall apprehend deserters', which was paid to Blakeney instead and came to a grand total of '£393 4s 6d'.⁷²⁵

At Lady Day 1744, the arrears at Brigstock had risen again to £139 7s 4d. However further investigation revealed that this was created by the particular problems of one tenant, John Whitehall, who had been allowed to build up a debt of £110.⁷²⁶ His partial

⁷²⁰ Montagu to Folkes, 30 August 1737, Norf.RO, MC 50/2/17/1.

⁷²¹ For example: Deene estate audit minutes, 12 October 1743, BHA.

⁷²² Further research is required to determine the relationship between Harrison, Warner, the Earl of Rockingham and the Duke of Montagu.

⁷²³ Brigstock, 4 June 1743, BHA, Audit minute book.

⁷²⁴ Macwilliam, *Mutiny*, p.54.

⁷²⁵ Payment to Blakeney, 12 June 1743, King's Warrant Book XXV, p.266. 'Warrants for the Payment of Money: 1743, April-June', in *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, Volume 5, 1742-1745*, ed. William A Shaw (London, 1903), pp. 401-410, [BHO], <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books-papers/vol5/pp401-410> [accessed 23 July 2017].

⁷²⁶ Brigstock, M to LD 1744, NRO, M(B) 102.

repayment by Michaelmas 1745 meant that overall Brigstock arrears had dropped to £103 11 6. Even following the disruption of the Jacobite unrest during the winter of 1745 to 1746 which saw recruitment into the army of inhabitants who lived in the villages making up the Boughton Estate, the amount had dramatically dropped to £42 7d.⁷²⁷ It then continued to decrease annually until by the Duke's death in 1749 the Brigstock arrears collectively stood at a mere £8 19s.⁷²⁸ The Highlanders' presence in the vicinity of the Duke of Montagu's estates therefore had a minimal impact on the tenancy in terms of damage and disruption to their farms. The memory of the extraordinary events may have lingered on the estate for much longer, and the appearance of a young boy called 'Walter Mackfarnon' in the estate records in the winter of 1743, whose clothes, board and education was paid for by the Duke, may indicate that one of the children of the Highlanders was given protection by the Duke.⁷²⁹ He may have been the child of his namesake, the Highlander 'Walter MacFarland', who was sent out to the Leeward Islands in the feared West Indies to serve under the Duke's long-time friend, Governor Mathew.⁷³⁰ Walter remained under the patronage of the Montagu family until his death in 1756 whilst serving as an apprentice in Kettering, and his burial was paid for by the estate steward.⁷³¹

5.7 Military links to the northern and southern estates.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Lancashire-born Myles Troughton had negotiated a lease with the Duke to mine the iron-ore on his Furness estates in 1721. Troughton's first recorded visit to Beaulieu was in 1718 and made in connection with the purchase of timber, particularly ash coppice which was used to make charcoal.⁷³² By 1723, Myles Troughton was described as residing at 'Bewley' and he appears both to have worked in Furness and to have been connected to the Sowley Forge.⁷³³ Troughton's involvement with iron ore mining in Furness continued with a 1729 lease to 'Myles Troughton of

⁷²⁷ Brigstock, Boughton Estate Rental, M to LD 1746, NRO, M(B)107.

⁷²⁸ Brigstock, Boughton Estate Rental, LD to M 1749, NRO, M(B)121.

⁷²⁹ Mr Hilton's expenses, 25 January 1743/44, Vouchers to LD 1744, BHA, X 8699a, 18, 10, no 11. 'Makfarnon' does not appear in Mr Hilton's expenses prior to June 1743.

⁷³⁰ MacWilliam, *Mutiny*, p.128.

⁷³¹ Pywell to Folkes, 23 August 1756, BHA, M(B) 2/3/2/224.

⁷³² BHA, BEL, the first reference to Troughton buying timber is in November 1718.

⁷³³ KRO, Articles of Agreement between Myles Troughton and William Shaw of Lindal. 2 August 1723 WD RAD/B 16.

Sowley', this time in collaboration with the ironmaster 'Thomas Hall of Cranage'.⁷³⁴ Hall's family, who operated furnaces in Cheshire and had links to the West Midlands and Welsh iron industry, had also invested in furnaces in Furness including the Cunsey Company.⁷³⁵

By the late 1730s the initial enthusiasm that the Duke had expressed in 1721 for the possibilities offered by mining developments appears to have waned. He could only provide Folkes with scant information about his arrangement with Troughton and Hall, which may indicate that this was a venture that both Dummer and John Booth had been proactive in. He noted he only had a 'blind' account 'from time to time' but blamed that on his 'own neglect'.⁷³⁶ His lack of interest may have been in response to the relatively small profits that Troughton and Hall were generating for him. These were certainly not the profits of £12,000 that his friend, the Duke of Richmond, enjoyed for the lease of his 'coal farm'.⁷³⁷ They did not even match the profit of £4,788 that Sir James Lowther drew from his Cumbrian coal mines in 1737.⁷³⁸ Even in the first surviving steward account for the Lancashire estates for 1738-1739, Folkes noted Troughton's 'mine rent omitted' as if it was an afterthought. In 1739, it was just £150 and the following year, £195.⁷³⁹

The outbreak of war in the late 1730s appears to have involved Troughton in activities on the Duke's estates that fed the British war machine. The Sowley forge at Beaulieu was conveniently located a short distance from the Portsmouth dockyard. Troughton's engagement with the Royal Navy is likely to have been driven by the Duke's appointment in March 1740 as Master General of the Ordnance, which may have given him access to contracts through his patronage. Presumably the Duke would have benefitted from Troughton's increased productivity as more iron ore would have been required from the Furness estates, creating greater royalties for the Duke. The first evidence that Troughton was having dealings with the Navy at Portsmouth and supplying Lancashire iron dates from 1737, when he quibbled about the price and declined to supply more.⁷⁴⁰ However

⁷³⁴ NRO, M(B) Old Box 3/Bundle 3/9, Lease to mine iron ore, 1729.

⁷³⁵ B.G. Awty, 'The charcoal masters 1600-1785', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, cix, (1957) explains the links between Furness and the West Midlands iron industry, p.108 describes the relationship between Hall, Troughton and Sowley.

⁷³⁶ Montagu to Folkes, n.d., Norf.R.O MC 50/2/3.

⁷³⁷ Folkes to Richmond, 12 August 1741, Norf.R.O., MC 50/2/144/7.

⁷³⁸ Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, p.81.

⁷³⁹ Rents and Profits in York and Lancashire from M 1738 to M 1740, LRO, AoD, DDHCL/15/1/1.

⁷⁴⁰ Troughton to Board of Admiralty, 23 May 1737, TNA, ADM/106/893/118.

by April 1740 he was shipping ballast from 'Lancashire' to 'Portsmouth Dock' and requesting Royal Navy protection for the journey.⁷⁴¹ This was because his previous ship⁷⁴² had been captured by a Spanish Privateer at Land's End, taking with it the Royal Navy 'mold' which presumably was to be used for manufacture in Lancashire.⁷⁴³

The Ordnance office also needed iron supplies and evidence suggests that enterprises located on the Duke's estates supplied them. Copies of bills of exchange recorded by Dummer survive from 1744 to 1749, and indicate many payments related to iron ore royalties and list William Backhouse from 'the office of the ordnance' honouring some of the bills.⁷⁴⁴ Records also survive in the Ordnance papers in the Boughton House Archive for 'the trial of shott from Lancashire'.⁷⁴⁵ This may be connected with Fell's note that furnaces on the estates at 'Nibthwaite, Newland and Backbarrow ... (were) the seat of the manufacture of cannon and large quantities of shot' during the 1740s. He provided a transcription of a 1745 inventory from the Nibthwaite furnace which listed the equipment on site to manufacture these weapons, including 'Gun boring engines', '11 Shott punches and Gun Triers' and 'Iron shott-moulds'. Although Fell thought it was of 'particular interest' to note the manufacture of ordnance, he did not associate the activity with the Duke of Montagu's role as Master-General of the Ordnance at this time, even though these furnaces were located on or adjacent to the Duke's Furness estates.⁷⁴⁶ Exact figures of the royalties from the iron-ore mining are not available from this time, although the estate-surveyor Browne estimated that the income between 1742 and 1762 stood at around £350 per annum. By the late 1760s this average had risen to £760 per annum, demonstrating the increasing demand for the ore.⁷⁴⁷ Given the efforts the Duke made to seek out ore on his estates in 1721, the comparative success of some of his contemporaries, his overall attitude to reviving rights which enabled him to profit from mining royalties and the amount of iron ore that was later extracted by the Buccleuchs, it

⁷⁴¹ Troughton to Board of Admiralty, 29 August 1740, TNA, ADM/106/927/34.

⁷⁴² Possibly *The Unity* of Lancaster, William Fell, master captured by the Spanish at Land's End, 'Letter from Lancaster 30 March', *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 April 1740, p.2. William Fell, 'freeman of Lancaster', master of *Concord*, is listed in Montagu's 'account of ships and vessels anchored in the Liberty of Furness ... 1737', BRO, BD/HJ/185/1.

⁷⁴³ Troughton to Navy Board, 21 April 1740, TNA, ADM/106/927/63.

⁷⁴⁴ Thomas Dummer, Copy of Bills, 1744-1750, BRO, BD/BUC/49/1/8.

⁷⁴⁵ BHA, Ordnance Papers 9/9.

⁷⁴⁶ Fell, *Furness*, pp.244-5.

⁷⁴⁷ T. Browne, Estate Survey Furness, 1767, BHA.

is surprising that the mining rights were not more successfully managed and made more profitable during his lifetime.

5.8 Activities on the Northamptonshire estates 1744-46.

In March 1744, France declared war on Britain. Diston Stanley recorded in the estate accounts that he raised 5 or 600 volunteers, but only the amount of just over £34, which was spent on volunteer recruitment, remains on the record.⁷⁴⁸ As no estate letters or recruitment lists survive from this period we do not know who the volunteers were or how Stanley carried out his recruitment, and whether the amount spent is indicative of the willingness with which people came forward to participate. The *Derby Mercury*, however, reported that:

His Grace the Duke of Montagu is raising a compleat Regiment of Horse amongst the Neighbouring Gentlemen, Tradesmen, Tenants &c, Their Cloathing is to be Blue lin'd with Red, and yellow Buttons; their Accoutrements and Arms in the compleatest manner; and to such as can't support themselves, Troopers Pay will be allow'd by his Grace. Those already inlisted which are about 500, are under Exercise, and expect Orders for marching upwards.⁷⁴⁹

In the 1744 Michaelmas estate rental, some of the listed tenants have the word 'soldier' written next to their name. These tenants were all in arrears and it would appear that they were amongst the volunteers raised from the estates. However out of nearly 400 names listed in the Boughton rental for this period, only six are listed as soldiers. This may simply mean that the others had paid and there was no need to list them, but it might also indicate that it was not the main 'breadwinner' and head of the household who enlisted but another member of the family whose absence would have had less impact on the ability to continue to tend the crops or livestock and maintain an income.⁷⁵⁰

Just over a year later, national events ensured that the Duke's ongoing military interests and public role created the greatest impact on the Northamptonshire estate. In July 1745, Charles Edward Stuart landed in the Scottish Highlands and marched south, his eye set on London and claiming the throne for his father. The Duke's roles as a member of the

⁷⁴⁸ Payments uncertain, M to LD 1744, NRO, M(B) 102.

⁷⁴⁹ *Stamford Mercury*, 15 March 1744, p.2.

⁷⁵⁰ Boughton Estates rental, M to LD 1744, NRO, M(B) 102.

Privy Council, Master-General of the Ordnance, Colonel of the Queen's Horse and Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire meant that he would play a significant role in the campaign to defeat the Jacobite army. When the Young Pretender landed in Scotland, it was one of the rare occasions when the Duke was resident at Boughton. He arrived on 30 June and stayed until 17 August, when he departed for Scarborough.⁷⁵¹ News of the landing and subsequent march south by the Jacobite army did not reach London until 13 August and it is not clear when the news reached Boughton. William Stukeley recorded the Duke and Duchess of Montagu visiting him at Stamford on 31 August 1745 as they broke their journey from Scarborough.⁷⁵² It is possible that he then detoured back to Boughton as he left orders dated September 1745 insisting that 'the gates at the end of the North Field plantation that goes into Warkton Field and Drove Land to be spiked up as soon as I am gone', reflecting his unease about the future security of his property during that turbulent time.⁷⁵³

At this stage, there were differing reactions to the crisis. Some thought that the troops fighting on the continent should be recalled. They argued that there was little risk of the Pretender having any chance of success and that no further action was necessary. However some noblemen, including the Duke of Montagu, thought that more regiments must be raised at home. They managed to persuade the King to share their views and the Duke proposed to raise two regiments, one of foot and one of horse. Initially it was envisaged that nobility would raise and pay the troops themselves but 'the expense of the undertaking was quickly foisted upon the country, while the benefits were in the hands of the organisers.'⁷⁵⁴ Henry Fox was particularly against the plan as he saw that this new flood of recruits would disadvantage those already serving in the army, and it gave the nobility *carte-blanche* to place their friends, family and others under their patronage in the new regiments rather than selecting people to fill the senior posts based on merit and their previous military service. The seemingly patriotic act of rallying men to arms in a time of crisis was called into disrepute. Horace Walpole summed up the dilemma by underlining that the initial suggestion by the nobility to fund the regiments themselves was soon cast aside.

⁷⁵¹ Payments uncertain, LD to M 1745, NRO, M(B) 105.

⁷⁵² Stukeley's journal 1743-46, 31 August 1745, Bodl. MS Eng. Misc. e. 195, f.17.

⁷⁵³ The Duke of Montagu's Orders, September 1745, BHA.

⁷⁵⁴ Earl of Ilchester, *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland. His Family and Relations*, 2 vols (London, 1920), i, p.117.

Had they paid them ... the service would have been noble. Being paid by the Government, obscured a little of the merit – being paid without raising them, would deserve too coarse a term. If ... they saved this country ... it was by preventing risings in the counties where they were stationed ... did those that were raised, and were led out of their counties prevent (insurrections)? The chief persons at the head of his scheme were the Dukes of Bedford and Montagu... The Duke of Montagu, who thought he could never get too much from the Government, or give away enough to the poor, had the profit of two regiments.⁷⁵⁵

Although Fox saw the raising of new regiments as a means for the nobles to gain financially, the estate accounts reveal that the Duke also spent money on the campaign during the recruiting process and in the aftermath. As previously noted, in 1744 the estate steward had spent £34 recruiting up to 600 men. Between September and December 1745, the Duke spent a further £146 on the costs of recruiting what appears to have been 420 men in Northamptonshire. Recruitment costs increased because the enlists received payment at 6d per man enlisted. For example, four unnamed recruiters received a ‘bounty of 9s each’. In addition the distribution of free ale for the enlisted men also had to be included in the recruiting costs. Within the overall sum of £146, Stanley noted that he spent £4 10 0 ‘at the Swan Inn’ in Kettering plus £3 18s 7d in ‘three other houses, the Dukes arms, the Star and the Sunn Inn’ when swearing in the troops. Further sums also had to be expended by Stanley on 30 October for the new troops to celebrate the King’s birthday when he ‘gave the Horsemen 12d & foot 6d each to drink his Majesty’s health’ at Rowell, Desborough, Rushton, Wellingborough and Kettering.⁷⁵⁶

Recruiting began in September which clashed with the harvest. As Oates has pointed out this was ‘when ...conventional armies of Western Europe did not campaign’.⁷⁵⁷ Perhaps this was a reason why the net for recruits was cast very wide, with evidence suggesting the recruiters visited towns across Northamptonshire such as Old and West Haddon. When the requisite numbers failed to come forth in Northamptonshire, the net was understandably cast over the Dunchurch area on the Warwickshire estates and also Lutterworth in Leicestershire.⁷⁵⁸ This could imply that the Duke’s recollection of

⁷⁵⁵ Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second*, ed. Lord Holland, 3 vols (London, 1847), ii, p.97.

⁷⁵⁶ Stanley’s extraordinary expenses, Boughton vouchers, BHA, M to LD 1746, NRO, X8700/23/10/218.

⁷⁵⁷ Oates, *Jacobite Campaigns*, p.23.

⁷⁵⁸ Thomas Collis’s expenses, November 4-8 1745, Boughton vouchers, BHA, L to M 1746, BHA, X8700/24/10/2.

Sunderland's plan in 1715 that gave him power to raise men in Leicestershire was also enacted by Newcastle.

This zeal to enlist men indicates that the Duke was focussed on the urgency of the situation, but it may also have demonstrated that the Duke was keen to recruit troops for his regiments beyond his landed and manorial estates to speed up the process by which the regiments would become fully financially supported by the Crown. Initially the regiments had to be supported 'at the expense of their Colonels' but 'when they came up to half strength they were put on the military establishment, and paid, clothed and armed by the government.'⁷⁵⁹ For Montagu it was therefore financially expedient to bring them to half strength as soon as possible. Lord Fitzwilliam, who had been newly raised to the peerage in 1743, expressed his resentment of the actions of those like the Duke of Montagu in raising the new regiments. He saw it not as a noble act but as 'one of the most vile, low, dirty, grovelling schemes that ever was set on foot by a parcel of people who have taken advantage of the distress of the Government to fill their own pockets.'⁷⁶⁰ Explanation for this attack on people like the Duke may be found in the fact that Fitzwilliam's own agent complained that Montagu's recruiting agents had been busy gathering up recruits from areas located outside the Duke's estates. He dismissed Fitzwilliam's attempt to 'to raise a company in Peterborough' as futile because 'our Liberty and Towns adjacent have been by the Dukes of Bedford and Montague, Lord Gainsborough, Burghley etc. so culled of all men who could be procured that 20 would not be raised in two months.'⁷⁶¹

By November 1745 it appears that the Duke had communicated with Stanley that the regiments were soon to march northwards. A rare surviving letter from Stanley to the Duke reflects how this news was not received favourably by the Duke's tenants. It appears to be the only evidence which reflects the attitude of the tenants living on the Duke's estate to the prospect of going to war. Stanley noted how local people were 'uneasy':

The men say they had no need to leave their houses and families to go for soldiery, that they and their forefathers have lived quietly and happily under your Grace and your forefathers as tenants for hundreds of years, they would never have engaged to the Wars with anybody but your Grace, when they listed it was only

⁷⁵⁹ W.A. Speck, *The Butcher. The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the 45* (Oxford, 1981), p.72.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.73.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.70.

to go along with your Grace to fight for you, and that they would go with nobody else... they say if they had wanted to quit their professions to be soldiers they might have had five pounds a man to list in the Guards, or four pounds a man to list in a marching regiment, but they chose to list with your Grace for nothing, out of regard for you, and to go with you and fight for you, and nobody else. I believe one reason which made the people more uneasy is, that at the time they were raising, it was maliciously insinuated amongst them that your Grace's name was only made use of to get them to list and that they would be draughted and turned over to other Colonels, which made many backward in listing, and many of them are still apprehensive of being serv'd so, and declare if they are, they will sooner venture being shot for deserters, and it has cost us much pains and many good words and a great deal of coaxing to bring them into temper; and we have told them that in fighting in defence of their King and country, wherever your Grace shall order them is the true way of serving your Grace, and that they may be assured they will not be draughted and turned over to other Colonels, and they seem now to be pretty easy for the present, and I believe, will march cheerfully and willingly enough, when and wherever your Grace shall please to order them. Give me leave, my dear Lord Duke, once more to offer myself and fifty men, quite volunteers, to bear our own expenses to wait on your Grace, if you must expose your person to danger, wherever you shall please to command us, and cloath ourselves in what manner you like best, we shall think ourselves happy in hazarding our lives for the preservation of yours, who are so dear a Father to your Country.⁷⁶²

But the Duke chose not to go and 'expose' his 'person to danger', and in the absence of any further surviving correspondence from Stanley, we do not know if his decision not to lead his troops caused further resentment among the tenants and others associated with the estate. The memory of the Highlanders and the consequence of their actions gives resonance to the threat that they would 'sooner venture being shot as deserters'. Certainly this disgruntlement would have added to the evidence expressed at the time that the Duke was attempting to make money from raising troops and exploiting his tenancy to do this. In his defence, as Master-General of the Ordnance, during this period he was heavily occupied in the work of sanctioning and organising the provision of arms and ammunition across the kingdom, and so it was unlikely that he could have been spared to lead an army.⁷⁶³ Stanley's letter creates the sense that the men who had enlisted for the Duke felt duped that he was not there in person and that the comments relating to the fact that they willingly enlisted for free and missed out on enlistment money demonstrates (if his

⁷⁶² 'Letter from Stanley to Montagu, 8 November 1745, in E.J. Climentson (ed.), *Elizabeth Montagu, the Queen of the Bluestockings: Her Correspondence from 1720-1761*, 2 vols (London, 1906), i, p.216.

⁷⁶³ Further research is required to piece together the Duke's movements and activities during the 45. For example, select orders for the Board of Ordnance in the 1740s, TNA, WO 47/2854 survive.

report is reliable) the level of affiliation and support the tenants felt for their Lord. Their reaction has feudal overtones and creates the sense that the tenants were serving a liege lord and that they would 'go into soldiery' for their Duke and 'no other'. Reminiscent of the concept of the nobility as 'little kings' that César de Sassure had noted in 1725, Stanley's plan suggests that the 'dear Lord Duke' would receive treatment of a royal nature. He also appears to have understood and manipulated the Duke's fascination with medievalism by attempting to entice him with the plan that he and fifty other men would serve as an entourage of quasi-knights to their 'dear Lord Duke'. He would have free rein to 'cloath [them] in what manner you like best', and, with a hint that Stanley understood the Duke's parsimonious character, he stressed that they would be, 'bearing our own expenses ... if you must expose your person to danger'.

In the end the troops raised by the Duke left Northamptonshire without him at their head. There is no further evidence as to how the tenants were placated. They appear to have joined the main body of the army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland in Coventry by December 1745. With the Coventry area obviously overflowing with troops, it was reported that the Duke of Montagu's 'new raised regiment of horse' moved out to his estate at Dunchurch and camped there instead, to make way for other forces.⁷⁶⁴ The Jacobite forces continued south. On 1 December, William Stukeley recorded that 'Lady Malton fled from her seat by Sheffield, came to Stamford, & alarm'd us, with the rebels being near Newark. Spalding, Wisbech, Peterborough, Oundle & all the country round in the utmost fright: hiding & carrying off their goods.'⁷⁶⁵ The Young Pretender reached Derby on 4 December, which increased the sense of panic. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported that the Duke's regular regiment of horse arrived in Nottingham just as the townsfolk had shut up the shops, packed up their belongings and fled to Newark or Southwell.⁷⁶⁶ Although the Duke's regular regiment of Horse was then a few miles away from Derby, there was no encounter with the Jacobite forces and by 6 December, Charles Edward Stuart, without sufficient numbers in place to support his army and with no sign of a French invasion, retreated north. The Boughton estate accounts report that 15 shillings expenses were paid to tenant Nathaniel Cooper to go 'a rebel hunting in Derby' and this may have been to hunt down any of the Jacobite followers who had fallen behind

⁷⁶⁴ *Glasgow Courant*, 20 December 1745, p.2.

⁷⁶⁵ Stukeley's notebook 1743-46, 1 December 1745, Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 195, p.109.

⁷⁶⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 December 1745, p.2.

through sickness or through desertion.⁷⁶⁷ It is difficult to trace the precise movements of the Duke's volunteer regiments as the newspapers tend to report the activities of his regular Regiment of Horse. However it appears that one or both regiments were stationed at Carlisle, as a voucher survives detailing 'payments made to soldiers wives the time they were at Carlisle' with payments commencing in December 1745 through to 24 April 1746.⁷⁶⁸ In addition, documents survive in another collection to demonstrate that the volunteer regiment of horse, the Caribineers, was later stationed in Canterbury by June 1746, probably due to the fear of an invasion across the Channel by the French.⁷⁶⁹

Some of the contents of the Boughton Armoury were also on the move again. In November 1745, '30 hundred weight of arms ... [were] carried from Boughton to the Tower'.⁷⁷⁰ However arms were also sent to Boughton as proven by a payment made to Thomas Billing in November 1746 for 'deal used in casting up ye foote arms when sent to London'. As they were sent in August 1746, it suggests that they were being returned to the Tower.⁷⁷¹ The accounts also record entries for arrangements for the transportation of sick and injured soldiers to ensure they were returned home to Northamptonshire. For example during the period 2 to 7 August 1746 bills survive for 'dressings and medicine' for a soldier called Laurence Brown 'belonging to the Duke of Montagu'. He was carried back to Kettering from Lutterworth along with his wife, although it is not known if she had simply travelled up to Lutterworth to be with him or whether she had accompanied him during the rest of the campaign. Her presence is recorded because she had also become sick, as '2 men (were) call'd up in ye night to hold ye woman in her fitts.' They were transported back to Kettering on a horse 'with a chaeir' and on 'saddleback'.⁷⁷² This hint that women may have left the estates to accompany the men is reinforced by W.A. Speck's account of women who drowned crossing the Spey with the Duke of Cumberland's troops just prior to Culloden.⁷⁷³ The Duke's reputation for benevolence was displayed in this period through the previously mentioned surviving list of money 'paid to the Soldiers wives, the time their husband was at Carlile as order'd to charge by his Grace.' This records that 57 payments which amounted in total to around £8 were

⁷⁶⁷ Petty disbursements, Boughton estate accounts, 14 March 1746, NRO, M(B) 107.

⁷⁶⁸ List of payments to soldiers' wives, Boughton vouchers to M 1746, BHA, X8701/10/.

⁷⁶⁹ Duke of Montagu's Regiment of Caribineers, 7 June 1746, NRO, G(G) 126.

⁷⁷⁰ Petty disbursements, Boughton estate accounts, 31 May 1746, NRO, M(B) 109.

⁷⁷¹ Petty disbursements, Boughton estate accounts, 2 November 1746, NRO, M(B) 111,

⁷⁷² Laurence Jones's expenses, vouchers to LD to M 1746, BHA, X8700/10, no.29.

⁷⁷³ Speck, *Butcher*, p.131.

given to 'poor women' from December 1745 to the last payment on 24 April 1746. The first payment was to a 'Poor woman of Kettering with 3 small children' for two shillings. The final entry lumps together a payment of 19s 'to 12 women of Brigstock & 4 of Lufwick'.⁷⁷⁴ Most of the later entries appear to show a payment of half a shilling per recipient, and the first bountiful payment and subsequent smaller ones may reflect that the men were away from the estates far longer than was expected, which meant that the Duke's bounty became more austere as the months went by.

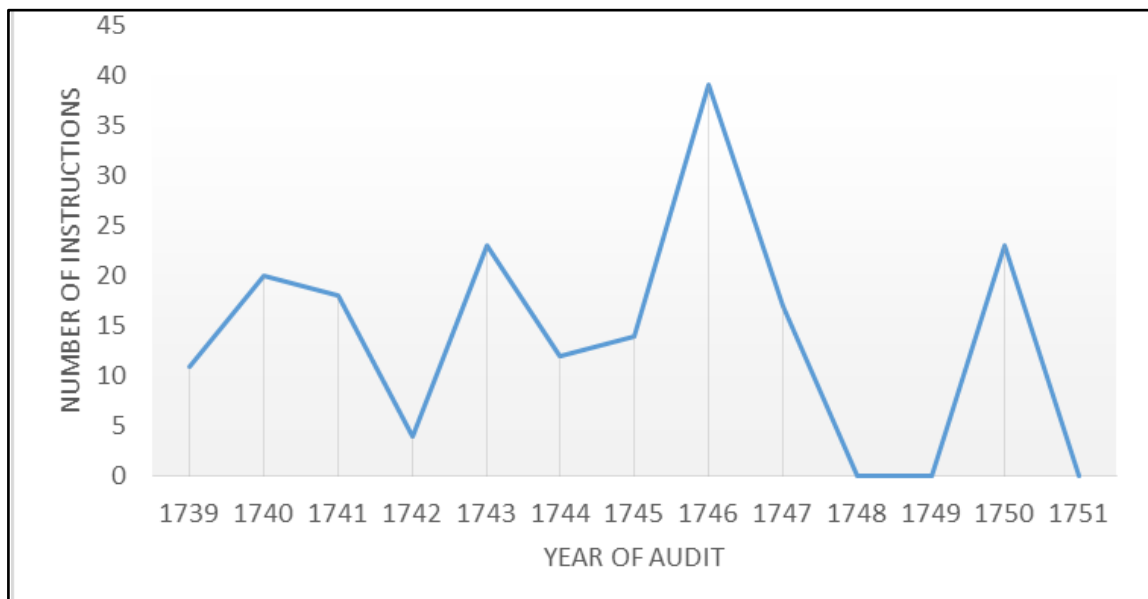
Stanley's report of the disaffection of the tenancy when they learned that the Duke would not be leading their voluntary force stands alone as an indicator of disillusionment with the Duke's recruitment policies. However there is no further evidence to suggest that this created a long-term grievance. Only one death of a recruit is recorded as Stanley had lent him money to buy a horse, which the Duke had to write off. Given the presence of the payments to poor women during the campaign, it would make sense that any bounty to widows and orphans would be recorded in the accounts in a similar way; however there do not appear to be any listed. Likewise there are no petitions surviving in the Duke's ordnance papers relating to Northamptonshire widows requesting payments based on their husbands' service in the '45. In June 1746, the Duke discharged 'eight small arrears' from the estate rental which amounted to £13 11s 10d. This equates to under 1% of the total rental arrears and suggests that the tenancy was not affected economically by the conflict. Although Stanley described the specific reaction of the tenants to the prospect of leaving the estates without the Duke at their head, the majority of those enlisted may have been paupers, younger sons, live-in servants or those sub-letting, and therefore their impact on the Duke's rental would not be visible. Even though the Duke was expending considerable sums of money on the estate at this time, he does not appear to have had to supplement the Boughton estate income in 1745 and 1746 with additional funds to ensure that it 'broke even', although he did not withdraw any money from the estate for his private use, as he regularly did before and after these years. This indicates that all the revenue raised on the Northamptonshire estates during these years was ploughed back in to supporting local activities that arose from the Duke's military interests during this time.

Examination of the audit minutes listing instructions related to individual tenants which focus on repairs, ploughing rights, arrears and repairs also seem relatively unaffected by

⁷⁷⁴ 'Poor women relieved', vouchers, L to M 1746, BHA, X8701/10 no.294.

the events. They create the impression that the day-to-day business of the estate continued as usual. However these minutes do reveal that the most active period for repairs and new work sanctioned to be carried out on the tenant's properties during the entire 1740s was the period which followed the success at Culloden in the later part of 1746. This could suggest that the Duke was rewarding tenants for their loyalty and service during the Jacobite crisis, particularly given the evidence from Stanley's letter which reveals some of the discontent that was created locally by the Duke's decision not to lead his men. However the surge of activity on the estate could simply be due to a renewed sense of security following the defeat of the Jacobites, or perhaps it related to work creation schemes for those troops that had been disbanded from the regiments.

Chart 5.1: Number of instructions relating to building repairs and additions to property of Boughton tenants, 1739-1751.



Source: EAM, BHA.

As explored in the previous chapter, there is evidence that in the three years from the peace after Culloden to his death in 1749, Duke John spent time planning and carrying out alterations to Boughton House, some of which had probably been interrupted by the disruption of the Jacobite rising. He also continued to expand his Northamptonshire

estates with the purchase in 1748 of Grafton Underwood which bordered the Boughton estate. This was a short period in his life when he had at last found financial stability from both his public appointments and the fulfilment of his inheritance from the Lancashire estates.

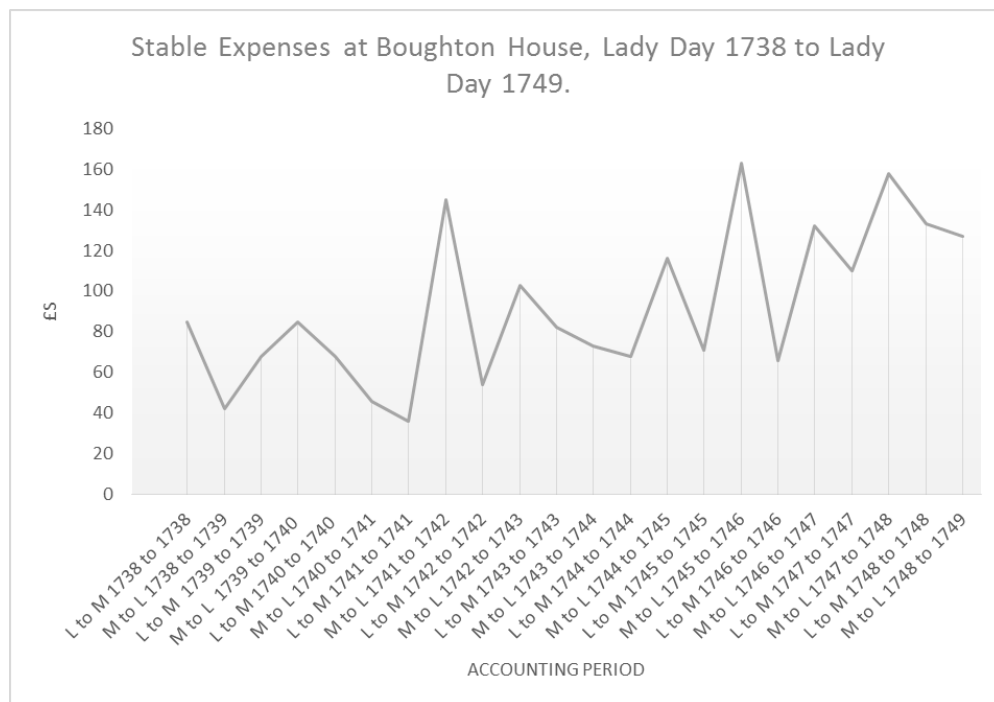
Another element that stands out in the accounts during the 1745 crisis and beyond relates to the treatment of horses. As previously discussed in chapter one, the Duke is particularly remembered for his love of animals.⁷⁷⁵ The Boughton accounts demonstrate that the Duke covered many additional expenses associated with the horses that were attached to his volunteer regiment of horse. The large number of horses present on the estate during the preparations to advance north in the autumn of 1745 put the harvest at risk which meant men had to be paid to watch the crops during the day and night and keep the troopers' horses out of the fields. The increase of horses on the estate, possibly associated with the officers quartered at Boughton and then returning after the conflict, is reflected by the large increase in stable expenses. From October 1745 to October 1746, they rose to £163 16 shillings. Chart 5.2 demonstrates that this was the highest spend between 1739 -49.⁷⁷⁶ Most of the 1745/1746 expenses related to the purchase of additional food such as oats, hay and beans for the increased numbers of horses. In times of peace these were generally supplied by one or two people who regularly appear in the accounts supplying other items for the household. However during the crisis a multitude of suppliers who mainly appear to have been the Duke's tenants from Boughton and Barnwell were appointed to provide this food and other items required for the horses such as saddles, harness and rope.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁵ See chapter one, p.31.

⁷⁷⁶ Payments uncertain, Boughton estate accounts, M to LD 1746, NRO, M(B) 107.

⁷⁷⁷ Stable and team expenses, Boughton estate accounts, M to LD 1746 and LD to M 1746, NRO, M(B)107 and 109.

Chart 5.2: Stable Expenses at Boughton House, Lady Day 1738 to Lady Day 1749.



Source: Boughton Estate Accounts, NRO.

Some of these horses were injured or died in the campaign. The estate records detail that their owners were compensated by the Duke for this loss. He paid the fees of horses that had their army career cut short and needed to be stabled until they recovered. For example, he paid £1 19s to John Huskins Bayles ‘for Kepin a Black Hors belonging to His Grace the Duke of Montagu Regiment ... left lame at my House in Welin, Kent.’⁷⁷⁸ Similarly he paid 14s 4 d to cover the costs of ‘hay & corn ... farrier’ and ‘charge bringing down’ for a ‘troop horse left lame at The Goat St Albans.’⁷⁷⁹ Horses were property and had a value - hence Peter Horn received ‘Two pounds four shillings’ for ‘the money I lost by the horse I bought for the service of Caribineers.’⁷⁸⁰ Thomas Billing received ‘Four Pounds for a horse which dyed near Carlile’ and Silvester Nickolas of ‘Great Oakley’ received ‘Seven pounds fifteen shillings for a horse ... lost in the Servise in the Carabiniers at Canterbury’.⁷⁸¹ Elizabeth Wood, possibly a widow, fared even better with ‘Eight pound ten shillings for a horse which William Wood of Denford rode on in his Grace’s regiment.’⁷⁸² There is evidence that the horses that were considered lame or in

⁷⁷⁸ Vouchers, LD to M 1746, BHA, X8700/23/10, no.6.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., no. 45.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., no.17.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., nos. 36 and 195.

⁷⁸² Ibid., no.16.

poor condition were returned to Boughton to recuperate. They were cared for in a field in Little Oakley.⁷⁸³ Others were cared for in Weekley Hall Barn in one of the estate villages.⁷⁸⁴ Owners were also paid additional money if their horses were ‘very poor when returned from the Regiment’ or ‘out of condition’.⁷⁸⁵ The estate accounts contain references to payments to owners for ‘joysting’ their horses, in other words helping them to regain weight lost whilst on the campaign. Hence William Brown received ‘fifteen shilling for Joysting my horse which I Roade in the Regmt of Caribeeners from 21 June he being very poor when Returned from the Regiment’.⁷⁸⁶

5.9 Final days and military reputation commemorated in death.

The stress of the Duke’s military appointments took a toll and by November 1748, despite the return of peace, he was ‘hartely tired’ of them. It is arguable that they eventually contributed to his death. The civil appointment that he craved never materialised and one of his final recorded ventures as Master-General of the Ordnance was to organise and facilitate the extravagant celebratory fireworks display on 27 April 1749 which belatedly marked the peace treaty of Aix-La-Chappelle. As the site was set up ‘many thousands of people crouded into the park’ to view it. As well as a display of artistry, it bore the hallmarks of a military display of strength with over ‘101 pieces of cannon’ from the Tower, used to launch the fireworks.⁷⁸⁷ Unfortunately the display ended in disaster: Stukeley reported that the ‘wonderful spectacle’ which ‘imitated the last conflagration’

Join’d with thundrings & a great variety of rockets: that the whole hemisphere seem’d cover’d with rising and falling stars, thunderings and lightnings. It was conducted with great art, till a tabernacle, that on the north took fire. The water engines extinguished it, but that discompos’d the illuminations & other intended works but I thought there was enough of the most amazing sight, I ever saw.⁷⁸⁸

The newspapers reported that the Italian designer of the fireworks, Servandoni, had attacked a ‘Charles Frederick Esq’ with his sword when the fire was put out.⁷⁸⁹ Frederick was Clerk of Deliveries at the Ordnance and Servandoni may have blamed him for

⁷⁸³ Ibid, no.140.

⁷⁸⁴ Boughton estate accounts stable and team expenses LD to M 1746, NRO, M(B) 107.

⁷⁸⁵ Vouchers, LD to M 1746, BHA, X8700/23/10, no.22.

⁷⁸⁶ Vouchers, LD to M 1746, BHA, no.28.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ipswich Journal*, 6 May 1749, p.1.

⁷⁸⁸ Stukeley’s notebook, 27 April 1749, Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 126, ff.52-3.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ipswich Journal*, 6 May 1749, p.1.

curtailing the display.⁷⁹⁰ By the twentieth century it was suggested that it was the Duke of Montagu that was attacked by Servandoni.⁷⁹¹ Stukeley (a medical doctor) made no report of a stabbing, but the great failure must have been the talk of London and the thousands who had viewed the installation. Indeed the newspapers were full of gossip, speculation and criticism about ‘the gaudy blaze’ and what the firework symbolised as well as reports of the death and injury of spectators which may have added to the Duke’s disappointment.⁷⁹² When the Duke died at Whitehall, ten weeks after the fireworks on 5 July 1749, Stukeley described the cause of death as due to ‘a nervous fever’ and that ‘he had languished under nervous disorder for 6 weeks before’ which suggests that his demise began around a month after the fireworks fiasco.⁷⁹³ The Duke’s funeral procession back to Boughton passed the Ordnance Head-Quarters in the Tower of London, where his military service was recognised in a ‘fifty-nine minute gun’ salute, presumably one shot fired, for every year of his life.⁷⁹⁴ In Northamptonshire, an entourage of ‘500 of the Duke of Montagu’s tenants met the horse’ with ‘above 10,000 other company’.⁷⁹⁵

In 1754, his funerary monument (figure 5.5), designed by Roubiliac and commissioned by his widow, Duchess Mary, prior to her death, was installed in St Edmund’s, Warkton, a short walk from Boughton House. The newspapers reported that the design reflected ‘the Office the Duke enjoyed of Master of the Ordnance expressed by a Triumphal Arch, Engines of War, &c’.⁷⁹⁶ Although the figure of Charity symbolising ‘his public virtue’ predominates, the main body of the structure is certainly ‘symbolic’ of his position at the Ordnance.⁷⁹⁷ The design of the monument therefore provides unequivocal proof that despite a lack of scholarly interest in his military activities, they were of paramount importance in his life, or certainly were from his widow’s perspective. Rather than employing extensive classical imagery, Roubiliac’s design is dominated by humble every-day components of contemporary warfare including mortar, cannon balls and ram-

⁷⁹⁰ D. W. Bailey, ‘Frederick, Sir Charles (1709–1785)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53922> [accessed 6 Nov 2017].

⁷⁹¹ *Daily Herald*, 20 May 1939, p.10.

⁷⁹² For satirical poetry see: ‘For the night of the fireworks’ *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 May 1749, p.2 and ‘On the Fireworks’, *Ibid.*, 29 May 1749, p.2. *Pue’s Occurrences*, 6 May 1749, p.2, suggested one of the ‘directors had a fit’ on the night. For reports on injuries and fatalities see: *Pue’s Occurrences*, 9 May 1749, p.2 and *Derby Mercury*, 12 May 1749, p.3.

⁷⁹³ Stukeley’s notebook, 5 July 1749, Bodl. MS Eng. misc. e. 126, f.76.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 July 1749, f.78.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 July 1749, f.80.

⁷⁹⁶ *Derby Mercury*, 1 November 1754, p.2.

⁷⁹⁷ P. Lindley, ‘Roubiliac’s Monuments for the Second Duke and Duchess of Montagu and the Building of the New Chancel at Warkton in Northamptonshire’, *The Walpole Society*, 76 (2014), p. 266.

rods. They spill out of a structure which reflects perhaps an Ordnance store-house and the work that the Duke did to ensure the nation's army and navy were supplied with these goods. This is made clearer on Roubiliac's design-stage models of the monument. The initial terracotta model (figure 5.5) suggests that the military element of the design would be displayed on a panel although it would still be an integral part of the design. The later wooden model (figure 5.6) then advanced this idea so that the military theme was more prominent with the three-dimensional sculptured objects. This model shows a statue of Charity maintaining her balance as she stretches out, by steadying her foot with a mortar which reflects a description of the celebratory fireworks which the Duke directed in 1749 that included the 'Statue of Peace on a pedestal, with her foot upon a cannonball'.

Figure 5.5: L. F. Roubiliac, terracotta model for monument to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu.

NB This image was removed as copyright permission could not be determined.

Source: Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A).⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁸ Figures 5.5 and 5.6 were brought to my attention by Lindley, 'Roubiliac', p.246-8.

Figure 5.6: L. F. Roubiliac, wood and plaster model for monument to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu. Dean and Chapter of Westminster, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

NB This image was removed as copyright permission could not be determined.

Source: V&A.

Figure: 5.7: The 2nd Duke's monument prior to restoration.



Source: Helen Bates

If Duchess Mary was influential in the design, then the inclusion of the weapons is in complete contrast to her father's funerary monument, which had been commissioned by her mother Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough and installed in the private chapel at Blenheim in 1732. All the figures on the Blenheim monument are presented in 'antique style' and it features 'antique armor, weapons, and standards' in the design which assists in the creation of Marlborough as 'a heroic figure'.⁷⁹⁹ Although the head and shoulders of the Duke of Montagu are depicted on his tomb in Roman style, the 'engines of war' are contemporary and would have been easily recognisable to all those who had participated in military service, which may have included some of the tenants who had served in the Duke's regiments in the 45 and would have attended Warkton church. Indeed, the installation of the Duke's monument into the public space of Warkton church

⁷⁹⁹ K. Spilza, 'An eighteenth-century English Artemisia. Sarah Churchill and the invention of the Blenheim memorials' in C. Lawrence (ed.), *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe. Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1999), pp.202-3.

is an echo of the time when the Duke's friend, Reverend Jeffrey Barton, told him that 'the vassalage' of Warkton had proposed to 'erect ... a statue' in St Edmund's to mark the Duke's 'great goodness' when he had agreed not to impose a rent rise in 1720. This had instilled such good feeling that Barton suggested even elderly men who 'could hardly crawl upon ye earth' had become as 'brisk as boys of 17 & don't care for dying. Unless it be in your Graces Service'. No evidence exists to suggest what the Duke's reaction was to the proposal but the Roubiliac monument, which was finally installed in Warkton three decades later, represented the 'public' perception of his 'great goodness' through the figure of Charity, while the inclusion of the 'engines of war' represented not only the Duke's national military service and interests but also acknowledged local service too. His quest to raise regiments in the 45 meant his tenants and their dependents had indeed stepped up to potentially die in his 'Service' and the sculpted 'engines of war' would have been familiar to many of them when the monument and rebuilt chancel was completed and on view. The monument is therefore a lasting commemoration of the impact that the Duke's military interests had not only nationally but also locally on his estates and his tenants at Boughton and beyond.

Chapter Six

Conclusion: Boughton and Beyond

6.1: Overview of the importance of the new material presented in this thesis.

This thesis has provided an opportunity to explore a little known eighteenth-century aristocrat and to offer a new interpretation of his activities and interests. As discussed in chapter one, the historic record has frequently depicted John, 2nd Duke of Montagu as a hoaxer and buffoon, an image which was propagated by the acid remarks of his mother-in-law: Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.⁸⁰⁰ In addition he has been portrayed as a whimsical character, benevolent to people and fond of animals.⁸⁰¹ This emphasis has detracted attention from the role he played in public life and discouraged investigations of his personal life in as far as it related to managing and developing his estates from an economic perspective. As Cornforth suggested, the 2nd Duke has been overshadowed by his father, Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu, who is widely known by political, art and architectural historians as the roguish intriguer who left the sublime legacies of Boughton and Montagu House.⁸⁰² In contrast the son has become chiefly remembered as John the Planter, due to his excessive fondness for planting trees.⁸⁰³ The perception of Duke John as the buffoon, the hoaxer and simply a tree planter has been overturned, and new light has been shed on his roles on the national stage through his attempt to colonise St Lucia and his service in public and military office. In addition, his interaction with his estates and the schemes he pursued to improve and develop them has been unpicked, uncovering an entrepreneurial approach that had more in common with business acumen than buffoonery.

This new interpretation of the 2nd Duke has been arrived at through analysis of a wide range of archival material in the archive at Boughton House of other relevant material identified in record offices and archives across England. The material at Boughton has historically not been accessible to scholars and the vast majority of the documents discovered in other repositories appear to have been overlooked too.

⁸⁰⁰ Chichester, '2nd Duke of Montagu', p.253.

⁸⁰¹ N.K (ed.), *Walpole*, p.65 and Wright (ed.), *Walpole*, II p.39.

⁸⁰² Cornforth, 'Impressions' in Murdoch (ed.), *English Versailles*, p.23.

⁸⁰³ See chapter one, p.31.

The discovery of the St Lucia Letter Book in particular opened up a new perspective on the Duke's motivation in petitioning for a proprietorial grant for the islands of St Lucia and St Vincent in 1722 and consequently reveals how the expedition was organised, who was involved and why it failed. These were all aspects of the expedition which had not previously been understood by the team at Boughton House, and it is hoped that this new interpretation of the expedition will provide material which they can disseminate in the present interpretation on site or form the basis of one of their popular annual summer exhibitions. One of the questions that was immediately raised by the archival material relating to St Lucia was how the 2nd Duke of Montagu was able to afford to pay the reputed costs of £32,000 to fund the expedition when he had been left saddled with debt by his father, and had been forced to sell some of his outlying estates in 1717 to stabilise his position.⁸⁰⁴ The St Lucia Expedition therefore became the lynch pin of the thesis in an attempt to understand why the Duke had decided to launch it, how he had managed to afford it and what impact it had on his lifestyle after its failure, both in terms of the Duke's financial situation and the damage it might have done to his reputation at court.

6.2 The significance of the South Sea Bubble discoveries.

Contextual research in the period prior to the launch of the St Lucia expedition soon began to suggest that the answer to the question of how the Duke afforded it lay with the South Sea Bubble. Careful analysis of his personal papers in the estate archive provided evidence to suggest that the Duke had engaged in both Mississippi and South Sea Company speculation. However, there was scant detail to prove the outcome of his speculation as Yamamoto had done for Chandos, Shea for Portland and Beckett for the Cumbrians he studied.⁸⁰⁵ The discovery of the pamphlet, *Index Rerum & Vocabulorum*, appeared to provide evidence that the Duke had received large loans from the South Sea Company, but due to the constraints of time and the relatively late discovery of this in the final stages of writing the thesis, there was no opportunity to visit the House of Lords archive and carry out further research on the South Sea Company papers held there which might have provided further information.⁸⁰⁶ There was no evidence to suggest that the Duke sold his stock early and advantageously like his in-laws, the Marlboroughs, but

⁸⁰⁴ Account of Duke of Montagu's memorial for relief, n.d., Ch(H), Political Papers, 86, 17.

⁸⁰⁵ Yamamoto, 'Chandos'; G. Shea, 'Portland'; Beckett 'Cumbrians'.

⁸⁰⁶ Anon, *Index Rerum*.

again comparisons with his contemporaries who were losers suggested that it was possible that he had made gains. During the post-Bubble period he embarked on ambitious schemes which were a clear contrast to the experience of investors like Lord Lonsdale who were forced to sell some of their estates.⁸⁰⁷ The Duke's schemes were both practical (the flood defences at Beaulieu) and decorative (the garden designs at Boughton) and potentially would have created major change in the landscape and social structure (the proposed enclosure of Geddington Chase). Finally his most ambitious and costly plan to occupy two Caribbean islands and establish a British colony further endorsed the likelihood that he gained from the South Sea Bubble. In the words of the *Index Rerum*, his gains may have made him keen to prove that he was a 'Patriot' and not simply a 'Gamester'.⁸⁰⁸ His plans to secure the islands as a British territory from his own purse would have checked French ascendancy in the Caribbean and strengthened the protection of the Sugar Islands.

By 1723, the expedition was confirmed a failure, with evident repercussions for his estates. This may have been a reason for the halting of the enclosure of Geddington Chase. However the Duke appears to have commenced his ambitious landscape designs at Boughton by June 1721, prior to the St Lucia campaign, and he saw these come to fruition even after the failure.⁸⁰⁹ This included the work on the 'Broad water' and the creation of the monumental mound from its spoil together with the castle-type embellishment of the grounds at Palace House, Beaulieu with the restoration of the moat and the addition of drawbridges. The context of the creation of these landscapes thus fits Peter Willis's concept of the 'Bubble landscape', and it is hoped that this new interpretation will be considered by Boughton House in future discussions of the 2nd Duke's garden: an angle which was missing from the interpretation of the 2017 summer exhibition which focussed on the landscape.⁸¹⁰

Cross-referencing the Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Hampshire estate correspondence which had survived for the post-Bubble era revealed evidence of a financial crisis in the local economy that was unexpected and previously unknown. This significant discovery provided fresh understanding of how people (who were not likely

⁸⁰⁷ Beckett, 'Cumbrians', p.148.

⁸⁰⁸ Anon, *Index Rerum*, preface.

⁸⁰⁹ McKay and Hall (eds), *Estate Letters*, p.123, mentions a plan 'of a garden' in June 1721 which may relate to the works.

⁸¹⁰ P. Willis, *Bridgeman*, p.59.

to be speculators themselves) were affected by what appears to have been a lack of ready money in circulation created by the South Sea Bubble. More broadly, it has challenged Hoppit's conclusion that there was a minimal effect on the local economy in the provinces, and it has reinforced Walsh's theory that the impact of the Bubble reached far beyond the Metropolis.⁸¹¹ Recognition of this financial crisis then led to the reinterpretation of the labour-intensive landscape schemes from being projects with a purely aesthetic focus to beautify the Duke's gardens to serving as work creation programmes commissioned by the Duke. Instead of small-scale costly decorative or new architectural programmes that would have required more skilled labour, perhaps sourced from beyond the estate, the digging out of the canals, the extension of the broad water, the construction of the vast mound and the restoration of the moat at Beaulieu required mainly unskilled labour. This in turn ensured the cash that was being paid to local people involved in this work would ultimately find its way back in part to the Duke as payment of rent. Further research is required to analyse the estate vouchers and identify further evidence of who the workforce were and where they were living. In addition more research is required to determine whether other estate owners launched similar schemes during the post-Bubble era.

6.3 Significance of the St Lucia Expedition discoveries.

Although the people on the estates became impoverished by the national turn of events, the Duke's finances appeared to have been bolstered, making him ambitious to expand his estates globally. The St Lucia expedition has received little attention from historians probably because it was a short-lived failure, and because nobody appeared to be aware of the survival of the Letter Book, which is a unique collection of over a hundred letters relating not only to the St Lucia Expedition but also touching on a variety of aspects of the Atlantic World and its people during the first half of the eighteenth century. It contains a wealth of new material which can tell us about the relationships between different groups of people in the Caribbean during this period: between planter and indentured servant, French and British migrants and military officers, the indigenous

⁸¹¹ Hoppit, 'Myths of Bubble', p.154; Walsh, 'Anglo-Irish, and Bubble', pp.131-54; Walsh, 'Scotland and Bubble', pp.106-24.

people and the colonisers and the Africans and the Europeans. This material presents important new evidence for historians of the Atlantic World researching the motivations of would-be colonisers and the mechanisms involved in establishing a colony, and increases understanding of the circumstances in which individuals risked their lives to start new lives far from Britain. Historians view the period of proprietorial colonisation and the use of indentured labour as belonging to an earlier period, and by the 1720s the focus was thought to be on the development of Crown colonies and the use of enslaved labour. The material related to the St Lucia expedition (together with the discovery in the British Library of the letters exchanged between Governor William Mathew of Antigua and the Duke) is therefore an important resource to discover more about proprietorial colonisation and the continued use of indentured labour during this period.

The Letter Book has particularly enhanced our understanding of people like Captain Woods Rogers, a figure who has long captured public imagination through his suppression of pirates, and it has filled a gap in his biography. It also added to the knowledge of the lives of many individuals who currently stand in varying degrees of anonymity. These include the expedition leader, Nathaniel Uring, the London-based project manager, William Wood, and the Duke's friend and colonial governor, William Mathew, as well as many others who have completely escaped the historical record. It also (along with Mathew's letters) gave a snap-shot of attitudes in London, the provinces and the Caribbean towards indentured servants, the motives of people who considered starting new lives there and how they perceived such alien territory. In addition this material casts new light on international relations at the time, particularly through the interactions of the expedition officers and the naval officers with the French and the Duke's personal attempts to interact with the French court following the project's failure. The role of the enclave of St Vincent as a protected territory for indigenous people and Africans who had escaped enslavement, is also brought into sharper relief.

Research into the mechanisms of the ways in which the Duke planned to populate the colony also revealed three particularly significant points which deserve further exploration in the future. The first relates to the people who the Duke sent to St Lucia, of whom some were paid and some were listed as receiving no pay. Out of the latter group only a small percentage could be linked to the surviving indentures in the London Metropolitan Archive which were legally required by this period to prevent coercion and

kidnapping of servants. Galenson has suggested that indentures were missing (i.e. lost) for many people that went to the British colonies; however the evidence in the Letter Book suggested that some of the St Lucia servants were recruited without legal indentures, as the agent Blackham is absent from Galenson's list of agents who operated then.⁸¹² There is also evidence that some element of coercion may have been present, as Blackham stated that he gave some a few shillings of his own money so that they would go 'charefully' (perhaps through alcohol), and he intentionally targeted the marginalised as 'none would goe ... without salleries but vagabonds'.⁸¹³ The second point relates to the surprising discovery of the French 'refugee' officers and 'French servants' who accompanied the expedition and formed at least twenty percent of the expedition force.⁸¹⁴ I have suggested that the 30 French weavers on the list of exhibition recruits may represent the weavers that were present on the Beaulieu estate in 1721, but further research is required to determine this.⁸¹⁵ Although it is assumed that the French servants were also Huguenot refugees, the ease with which some of them deserted to join the French camps who claimed them as 'people of their owne nation' raises questions as to whether they were refugees fleeing religious persecution or simply economic migrants.⁸¹⁶ The third element which raises additional research questions was the action that the Duke took to attract settlers from within the Caribbean region or beyond by issuing the 'Ordinance for the Encouragement of the free Indians and free Negroes, and free Mulattoes', which suggested that they would be treated under law as 'if natural born Subjects of Great-Britain'.⁸¹⁷ There have not been enough comparative studies for this period on the rights of free Blacks in British colonies, and further research is necessary to understand the full significance of the ordinance and whether this provides further evidence of the Duke's reputation as being more altruistic to Black people than his contemporaries.

⁸¹² Galenson, 'Colonial indenture system', pp.41-66.

⁸¹³ Blackham to Montagu, 27 June 1724, BHA, SLLB, f.86.

⁸¹⁴ Mathew to Montagu, 21 March 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.60 describes two of the officers who sailed on the first ship with Captain Paul George as 'refugees'. Paul George discussed the 'French servants' in his letter to the Duke, 14 Feb 1723, BHA, SLLB, f.56, which suggests the Duke was fully aware of the French presence.

⁸¹⁵ Account of the Duke of Montagu's Settlement, 1722-24, TNA, CO 258/3 lists the 'weaver' group of French names.

⁸¹⁶ Uring, *Settlement*, p.25.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.27-8.

6.4 Overview of the importance of the revival of seigneurial rights.

My research revealed that the Duke proposed that he should be granted proprietary ownership of St Lucia and St Vincent modelled particularly on the seigneurial rights that he held on his coastal Beaulieu estate. It soon became evident that he was preoccupied with reviving and extending his seigneurial rights and privileges associated with his English estates, and which assisted in generating an income stream from sources like manorial rents and court fees through to leasing mineral rights and those associated with the sea, inland waterways and timber. His quest to transpose these rights to his colony therefore simply fitted his approach to estate management. Due to the absence of historiographical discussion on this subject it is unclear whether other members of the aristocracy were also preoccupied with reviving and extending these types of rights. In terms of British history, seigneurialism (as a subject) does not appear to feature in the eighteenth-century narrative and tends to be associated with Medieval feudal societies, although in France it is a historical orthodoxy that the abuse of seigneurial rights among the French aristocracy was one of the underpinning causes of the revolution. Wider research is needed to clarify the significance of the Duke's obsession with reviving and restoring his seigneurial rights and privileges and whether other aristocrats also pursued such rights with similar enthusiasm.

The revival of these rights occupied a great deal of the Duke's time and impacted on his daily life as he micro-managed the campaign to restore them, as the evidence of his correspondence with his stewards and neighbours demonstrated. The Duke's deliberate policy of establishing an evidence room at Montagu House and his efforts to commission the acquisition, transcription and storage of documents establishing his rights need to be seen as crucial elements in this campaign. The way in which he used and exploited these materials conjures up the image of a would-be archivist and scholar intent on (as an absentee landlord) instructing his estate stewards on how to catalogue the documents for ease of use and recommending further reading so that they might improve their knowledge on the subject.

The constraints of this thesis have meant that there was no scope to consider the wider remit of seigneurial rights or to explore other relevant sources related to the Duke's estates. It would have been desirable, for example, to examine the estate papers (if surviving) of some of the Duke's neighbours who were disputing these rights, to create

a less-one sided view. It would also have been useful to explore the surviving manorial, wapentake or hundred court records in the areas where the Duke was attempting to exercise his rights. Further work is also necessary to fully understand the long-term impact of the Duke's revival strategy and how this benefitted his descendants, particularly in areas like Furness where they continued to benefit from the surge in iron ore mining and port development at Barrow-in-Furness.

I have suggested that the Duke's preoccupation with his seigneurial rights and his need to promote these privileges to a wider audience resulted in physical legacies that we can still see today but which have not previously been connected to these interests. These include architectural and decorative schemes and even the continued practice of archaic ceremonies. The creation of his embattled steward's residence and courthouse at Clitheroe and his early historicist repairs and restoration of his 'castle-house' at Beaulieu, complete with moat and drawbridge, where his Lancashire and Hampshire residents respectively interacted with his regional estate hubs, are examples of his architectural schemes. At Boughton his hopes for his own 'castle-farm' were not realised but his decorative schemes within the hall, including the heraldic shields in the long gallery where his Northamptonshire tenants attended his gatherings, are a visual reminder of his privileges. In Warwickshire, where no ancestral seat stood, he encouraged the continuation of the feudal Wroth Silver ceremony and embellished the site with a ceremonial avenue of trees which led from the estate hub at Dunchurch.

Architectural historians tend to explain elite taste for the neo-gothic during the eighteenth century as influenced by fashion, an interest in the wider antiquarian movement or carrying politically symbolic overtones.⁸¹⁸ There is certainly a lacuna in the existing literature which investigates the links between an architectural gothic revival and an economically driven revival of feudal rights and privileges. This makes it difficult to assess the extent to which the Duke of Montagu's motivation to introduce 'front stage' medievalism on his seigneurial estates was part of a wider strategy to reinforce his ancient rights, and further research is necessary to fully understand the Duke's intentions.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁸ Christie, *Country House*, p.132.

⁸¹⁹ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p.9.

6.5 Overview of the new discoveries relating to the Duke's military interests.

The Duke's life-long preoccupation with military matters was another unexpected finding of this thesis, given that the historical record refers so often to his 'little taste for the carnage of war' but is largely silent on his military activities during the following 33 years.⁸²⁰ Rather his military interests continued to shape his public career and to have a bearing upon properties and estates: the prominence of the military theme on his monument befitted a memorial to a man who had declared that he 'saw nothing so desirable as being [a] military officer'.⁸²¹ The Duke's creation of his armoury at Boughton in 1718, which consequently developed into what Wilcock has described as 'the most important and historic family gunroom to survive in the British Isles', was due to the varied military-focussed offices that the Duke held. The collection contains items from Marlborough's Flanders campaign, his St Lucia expedition, decommissioned items from the Ordnance and may also hold weapons associated with the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745.⁸²²

His military interests also help to answer the question of why he pursued the possession of Caribbean islands. His appointment as Captain-General of St Lucia afforded him the opportunity to indulge his interest in designing fortifications, to raise troops and to call on his Flanders network to assist him. Due to the constraints of this thesis, his duties as Colonel of a troop of Horse Guards, Master-General of the Ordnance and his appointment as General later in life have been glossed over in terms of determining to what degree these were simply sinecures, how actively he was involved or the benefit that he derived from them (which might have fed back to his estates). The Ordnance papers at Boughton certainly suggest that he employed his micro-management techniques at the Ordnance between 1740 to 1749, and further research is required to establish whether this led to less hands-on involvement with his estates due to the demands on his time during a period of war.

The focus on the Duke's military interests and the impact that they had on his estates highlighted three significant elements which again require further research. The first discovery related to the role that the Duke's influence at the Ordnance had on his estates. Analysis of the production of ordnance and naval supplies on his Beaulieu and Furness

⁸²⁰ Metzger, 'Second Duke of Montagu'.

⁸²¹ Montagu to Newcastle, 6 November 1748, UNMD, NeC 861, p.1.

⁸²² Wilcock, 'Armoury', p.181.

estates demonstrated that the iron ore mined on his seigneurial lands provided raw materials for this production. Furnaces and forges situated on this land in Furness and also at Beaulieu were involved in the manufacture of weapons. This activity, like the St Lucia expedition, demonstrates that the Duke was involved in displays of patriotism by encouraging conditions for manufacture of ordnance and naval weapons to assist the war effort whilst also boosting his prospective revenue through increased iron ore duties and estate rents.

The second discovery related to the Duke's interactions with the 1743 Highland mutineers. Although this has been discussed previously, a new interpretation of the Boughton estate's role in attempting to facilitate the surrender and pardon of the Highlanders through the actions of the Duke's estate steward, his troops, local dignitaries and his own actions has been offered.⁸²³ Exploration of the extraordinary estate audit revealed that the presence of the Highlanders had some impact given the evidence for disruption on the Brigstock estate. The Duke's involvement with the Highlanders as their 'friend' may also account for the appearance of young Walter Mackfarnon at Boughton after June 1743, possibly a Highlander's son or even a boy soldier.⁸²⁴

The lack of estate letters surviving in the 1740s, which might have provided further information about the events surrounding the Highlanders in Northamptonshire and helped to establish whether the Duke's work at the Ordnance had any further impact on his northern and southern estates, was problematic. Nonetheless it proved surprisingly possible to reconstruct estate activity from the wider estate accounts and their detailed vouchers during this period. This led to the third unexpected discovery that troops were raised on the Duke's estate following the declaration of war in 1743 and in the Jacobite Rising of 1745. These sources also described how the Boughton estate and surrounding area contributed to these campaigns by supplying provisions for the troops during this period, which had never been analysed before. The vouchers recorded the material culture of war, reflecting the details and costs associated with how the troops were equipped with weapons, horses and various supplies relating to food and regalia sourced from both London and Northamptonshire. The accounts also revealed that during the 45, the Duke spent his Boughton estate profits specifically on the campaign, which counters

⁸²³ Macwilliam, *Mutiny*.

⁸²⁴ *Derby Mercury* June 9 1743, p.1.

some of the criticism made by his contemporaries that he set out to profit from the national crisis. These discoveries all enabled me to conclude that the military focus was a significant part of the Duke's life which shaped numerous of his activities and had a direct impact on his estates, the extent of which had not been realised before. The constraints of this thesis have not allowed a full scoping and analysis of this material but have demonstrated the potential value of further analysis and of carrying out searches in other estate archives to gain a richer understanding of the impact on local communities in Britain during the 45.

6.6 Overall Conclusion.

Drawing on a wide range of previously unused archival material, this thesis has generated important new insights that are of significance across a range of historical sub-disciplines. Not only has new light been cast on the activities of a little-known Georgian aristocrat, but most importantly on much broader questions of eighteenth-century history, including a wide range of new sources which illustrates the financial turmoil experienced during and after the South Sea Bubble era across different regions in England. The thesis has re-evaluated the Duke's campaign to colonise St Lucia, providing fresh insights into the experience of those who participated in the expedition, and has exposed the reactions of the French in both France and the Caribbean to the incursion. In addition it has shed new light on how the concept of feudal rights still lingered in the eighteenth century and how the aristocracy perceived and displayed their feudal role as part of their identity. It has also offered new insight into the thinking of English noblemen who raised regiments in the 1745 Jacobite Rising, and how they used their estate resources to achieve this.

From a local history perspective, this thesis has provided an alternative interpretation of developments on the 2nd Duke of Montagu's estates and challenged the traditional narratives associated with his life and activities. In particular, it has demonstrated how the rich vein of material held in estate archives can be used to reconstruct events of local and national importance even in the absence of correspondence. Because of the elite status of the Duke and the activities that he involved himself with, the discoveries presented in this thesis have enhanced understanding of local, national and even global events during his dukedom. It is hoped that these new findings will assist new interpretation at Boughton House with the wider publication of some of the material

presented in this thesis, other historians may be encouraged to reflect on the value of country houses and their archives not simply for the study of art or architectural history but for unlocking histories which reflect the local, national and global interests of their owners.

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