

Notes

1 Introduction

1. *Gloucester Journal*, 11 February 1755.
2. N. Cooper, *The Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (London and New Haven, 1999), 244; G. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995). Cooper calls rectangular, hipped-roof houses for the gentry ‘ubiquitous’ by the end of the seventeenth century.
3. C. Woodward, ‘Castle Godwyn’, *Country Life* (27 September 2007), 130–135, at 131. The house became known as Castle Godwyn in the later eighteenth century; D. Verey and A. Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire I: The Cotswolds* (London, 2002), 555.
4. J. Milne and T. Mowl, *Castle Godwyn: A Guide and an Architectural History* (Painswick, 1996), 6–7 suggests mason John Bryan. Dan Cruikshank posits architect John Strahan in Woodward, ‘Castle Godwyn’, *Country Life* (27 September 2007), 132.
5. Detailed analysis of Stenton’s construction is in R. Engle, ‘Historic Structure Report: Stenton’ [hereafter HSR] (Unpublished MS for The NSCDA/PA, 1982).
6. F. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston, 1957). For a discussion of the word genteel and its associations, see R. L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 61–63.
7. For example P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989) emphasizes change and the middle class. J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 2000) advocates seeing Britain as an *ancien régime* confessional state with emphasis on aristocratic rule.
8. J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (New Haven, ninth edition, 1993), passim; Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 10–12, 29–31, 169–173; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*; For North America, H. Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (Oxford, 1952); J. Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York, expanded and revised 1996), 156–158.
9. James Logan to Thomas Story, 9 November 1721, James Logan Letterbook, HSP, 209, quoted in Stenton HSR, 8.
10. W. Whyte, ‘How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture’, *History and Theory*, 45 (May 2006), 153–177.
11. L. Stone and J. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984).
12. E. Spring and D. Spring, ‘The English Landed Elite, 1540–1879: A Review’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer 1985), 149–166, especially 151.
13. M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978); J. Summerson, ‘The Classical Country House in 18th Century England’, in *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (London, 1990), 79–120; H. Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (London, 1982); C. Saumarez Smith, ‘Supply and Demand in English Country House Building, 1660–1740’, *The Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1988); C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 2000); D. Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, 2003); R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1880* (London, 2000).

14. P. Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London* (New Haven and London, 2004), 10; R. J. Lawrence, 'Integrating Architectural, Social and Housing History', *Urban History*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1992), 39–63; R. Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (London and New Haven, 2009); B. Arciszewska and E. McKellar, (eds), *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture* (Aldershot, 2004).
15. P. Borsay, 'Why Are Houses Interesting?', *Urban History*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2007), 338–346, at 346.
16. K. Harvey, (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London, 2009); B. L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005); D. Hicks and M. C. Beaudry, (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford, 2010); R. Blair St George, (ed.), *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston, 1988).
17. A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 1998); H. F. French, "'Ingenious and Learned Gentlemen": Social Perceptions and Self-fashioning among Parish Elites in Essex, 1680–1740', *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (January 2000), 44–66; R. G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds, 1700–1830* (Manchester, 1971); T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, c. 1740–90* (Edinburgh, 1975); P. Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640–1790* (Cambridge, 1983); Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (Oxford, 1999).
18. E. McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City, 1660–1720* (Manchester, 1999), 3. R. W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture: An Illustrated Handbook* (London, 2000), 27–30; A. Green, 'The Polite Threshold in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 41 (2010), 1–9. M. Johnson, *English Houses 1300–1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow, 2010), chapter 8. On politeness more generally, see L. E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 869–898, 870; P. Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12 (2002), 311–331.
19. On landed society, see G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963) and *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London, 1976); J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1984); J. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society 1650–1750* (London, 1998). 'The 'Middling Sort' are Well-Covered', in J. Barry and C. Brooks, (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke, 1994), M. R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, CA and London, 1996); H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600–1750* (Oxford, 2007).
20. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 14; J. Flavell, *When London Was Capital of America* (New Haven and London, 2010); N. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture 1680–1760* (Cornell, 1997); S. Conway, 'From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners: British Perceptions of the Americans, circa 1739–1783', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, vol. 59, no. 1 (January 2002), 65–100.
21. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 76.
22. The subject of social status has preoccupied British historians of the long eighteenth century but has been largely absent in accounts of early America. K. Wrightson, 'Class', in D. Armitage and M. J. Braddick, (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2002), 304–305; S. Middleton and B. G. Smith, (eds), *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2008).
23. C. Carson, 'The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand?' in C. Carson, R. Hoffman, and P. J. Albert, *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, 1994), 483–697, 687. See also C. D. Hemphill, 'Manners and Class in the Revolutionary Era: A Transatlantic Comparison', *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 2 (April 2006), 345–372.

24. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*; J. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2011), 885–904, 899. On consumption, see J. White, 'A World of Goods? The Consumption Turn and Eighteenth-Century British History', *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 3 (2006), 93–104; N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982); J. Brewer and R. Porter, (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); A. Bermingham and J. Brewer, (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995); C. Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990); L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture 1660–1760* (London,, second edition, 1996).
25. T. H. Breen, 'An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1986), 467–499.
26. A. Vickery and J. Styles, (eds), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006); Special issue on Georgian interiors in *Journal of Design History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (Winter 2007); H. Barker and E. Chalus, *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London, 1997); A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter and Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009); N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2000); A. Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2007); J. Lewis, 'When a House Is not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48 (April 2009), 336–363.
27. N. Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, vol. 151, no. 1 (May 1996), 111–140; K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), 12–13.
28. Flather, *Gender and Space*, especially chapter 2. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*.
29. Harvey, *The Little Republic*. M. Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (May 2000), 133–155; K. Harvey and A. Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2005), 274–280; K. Harvey, 'Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Gender and History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (November 2009), 520–540; H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012), especially chapter 4.
30. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 169–173; D. Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* (London, 1986); B. B. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008).
31. S. G. Hague, 'Historiography and the Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World', in O. Horsfall Turner, (ed.), *The Mirror of Great Britain': National Identity in Seventeenth-Century British Architecture* (Reading, 2012), 233–259.
32. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 170.
33. G. Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 42.
34. C. Carson and C. R. Lounsbury, (eds), *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigations by Colonial Williamsburg* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), 18.
35. M. Johnson, *English Houses 1300–1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow, 2010), 179, 187–189.
36. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials*, 7. The difficulty Americans encountered in jettisoning their connection with Britain is treated in K. Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Post-colonial Nation* (Oxford, 2011).
37. M. Dresser and A. Hahn, *Slavery in the English Country House* (Swindon, 2013); M. Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in Bristol* (Bristol, 2007).
38. D. Armitage, 'Three Concepts of Atlantic History', in Armitage and M. Braddick, (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (London, 2002), 11–27, especially 18–21.

39. C. B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660–1780* (Manchester, 1998), 3, 152.
40. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 5–9; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 3.
41. J. S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, 1995); M. Airs and G. Tyack, (eds), *The Renaissance Villa in Britain, 1500–1700* (Reading, 2007); D. Arnold, (ed.), *The Georgian Villa* (Stroud, 1998); B. Arciszewska, (ed.), *The Baroque Villa: Suburban and Country Residences, c. 1600–1800* (Wilanow, Poland, 2009); J. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis and London, 2005).
42. Williamson noted this feature in relation to larger estates, see T. Williamson, 'Archaeological Perspectives on Landed Estates: Research Agendas', in J. Finch and K. Giles, (eds), *Estate Landscapes: Design, Improvement and Power in the Post-medieval Landscape* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007), 1–16.
43. P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689–1798* (Oxford, 1991), especially 58–70.
44. J. Fowler and J. Cornforth, *English Decoration in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1978); Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (New York, 1993); J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (London and New Haven, 2004); Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*. For objects, A. Bowett, *English Furniture 1660–1714: Charles II to Queen Anne* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2002) and *Early Georgian Furniture 1715–1740* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2009); C. Edwards, *Eighteenth-Century Furniture* (Manchester, 1996); S. Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester, 1999); P. Glanville, *Silver in England* (London, 1986). T. Murdoch, (ed.), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Households: A Tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge, 2006). J. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition 1500–1850* (New Haven and London, 2003); P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (London, 1989); Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*; M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean, and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London, 2004).
45. The idea of emulation draws largely on T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York, 1899). The work of Pierre Bourdieu, however, has suggested a measure of differentiation, where different social ranks exhibited consumption practices unrelated to a concept of 'taste' from above. P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London, 1984); Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, 194–196; Hunt, *The Middling Sort*.
46. The former view is in Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?*; M. Girouard, 'The Power House', in G. Jackson-Stops, (ed.), *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (New Haven, 1985), 23; D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995).

2 The Gentleman's House in Context

1. N. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480–1680* (New Haven and London, 1999) and 'Rank', in M. Johnson, *English Houses 1300–1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow, 2010); B. B. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008); D. Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* (London, 1986).
2. The essential survey for country houses is N. Kingsley, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire: Volume Two 1660–1830* (Chichester, 1992) [hereafter CHG II].

3. R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* [Electronic Resource] (London, 1712). His monumental work documents the county, describes its administrative structures and offers a detailed parish by parish analysis at the beginning of the eighteenth century. S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (Cirencester, 1779) [hereafter Rudder].
4. Kingsley, *CHG II*; for vernacular architecture L. J. Hall, *The Rural Houses of North Avon and South Gloucestershire, 1400–1720* (Bristol, 1983); D. Verey and A. Brook, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire I: The Cotswolds* (London, 2002) and *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire II: The Vale and the Forest of Dean* (London, 2002) [hereafter *BoE: C* and *BoE: VF*]; for Bristol, A. Gomme, M. Jenner, and B. Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History* (London, 1979), with the relevant chapters for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by M. Jenner, and A. Foyle, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Bristol* (London, 2004) [hereafter *PAGB*].
5. Verey and Brooks, *BoE: VF*, 23.
6. Rudder, v.
7. Verey and Brooks, *BoE: VF*, 96.
8. B. Smith and E. Ralph, *A History of Bristol and Gloucestershire* (Chichester, third edition, 1996), 73–77.
9. Quoted in J. D. L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880* (Oxford, 1971), 227; Rudder, 61; D. Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500–1800* (London, 1992), 27.
10. J. Johnson, *The Gloucestershire Gentry* (Gloucester, 1989), 4; R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1880* (London 2000), 204.
11. Rudder, 21, 25; Smith and Ralph, *A History of Bristol and Gloucestershire*, 79.
12. N. Herbert, *Road Travel and Transport in Georgian Gloucestershire* (Ross-on-Wye, 2009); Smith and Ralph, *A History of Bristol and Gloucestershire*, 104–107.
13. Smith and Ralph, *A History of Bristol and Gloucestershire*, 106, Image 121: Turnpike Roads. Also, P. T. Marcy, 'Bristol's Roads and Communications on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 87 (1968), 158.
14. D. Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-industrial England: Bristol and its Region, 1680–1730* (Exeter, 2000).
15. Herbert, *Road Travel and Transport*, chapter 8; Verey and Brooks, *BoE: VF*, 98; Johnson, *The Gloucestershire Gentry*, 162.
16. Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester/D149/A8: 1731–1733, 'Estimates and Vouchers of Rich. Clutterbuck for Stonework during Construction of Frampton Court' [Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucestershire hereafter GA].
17. See, for instance, A. Gomme, *Smith of Warwick: Francis Smith, Architect and Master-BUILDER* (Stamford, 2000); G. Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses* (Chichester, 1994).
18. B. Donne, *This Map of the Country 11 Miles Round the City of Bristol* (London, 1769), also found at BRO/Bristol Plan 232c/30120(3).
19. GA/D1833/E1 (1–8): c. 1770–1797, 'Survey of Estates of Jas. Rooke of Bigsweat'.
20. Amongst the more helpful volumes on Bristol's history are: J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol: The Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893, reprinted with an introduction by P. McGrath, 1970); C. M. MacInnes, *A Gateway of Empire* (Bristol, 1939); P. McGrath, (ed.), *Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Newton Abbot, 1972); B. Little, *The City and County of Bristol: A Study in Atlantic Civilisation* (London, 1954); Smith and Ralph, *A History of Bristol and Gloucestershire*; D. H. Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700* (Berkeley and Oxford, 1991); K. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1993); Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660–1780* (Manchester, 1998). The best works on Bristol's architecture are W. Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of*

- Bristol* (Bristol, 1952), Gomme, Jenner, and Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History*, and Foyle, *PAGB*; P. Aughton, *Bristol: A People's History* (Lancaster, 2000) is the most recent modern effort.
21. R. Sweet, *The English Town: Government, Society and Culture, 1680–1840* (Harlow, 1999), 3, table 1.
 22. Quote in Foyle, *PAGB*, 20. See also P. T. Marcy, 'Eighteenth-Century Views of Bristol and Bristolians', in P. McGrath, (ed.), *Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Newton Abbot, 1972), 11–40; J. H. Bettey, *Bristol Observed: Visitors' Impressions of the City from Domesday to the Blitz* (Bristol, 1986). Alexander Pope commented, 'The City of Bristol itself is very unpleasant and no civilized company in it. Only the Collector of the Customs would have brought me acquainted with the Merchants, of whom I hear no great character'. Quoted by Bettey, 69.
 23. W. E. Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol. 4 (1954), 69–89; W. E. Minchinton, *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, Bristol Record Society, vol. 20 (1957).
 24. D. Richardson, (ed.), *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America*, Bristol Record Society, vols 38, 39, 42, 47; Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*; C. M. MacInnes, *A Gateway of Empire*; Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in Bristol* (Bristol, 2007); M. Dresser and A. Hahn, *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon, 2013), especially the chapters by Dresser and Longmore.
 25. Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, especially chapter 3.
 26. T. Mowl, *To Build the Second City: Architects and Craftsmen of Georgian Bristol* (Bristol, 1991), 9.
 27. The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) has contributed significantly to this effort. See HABS website at <http://www.nps.gov/history/hdp/habs/>.
 28. J. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in 18th Century England', in *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (London, 1990), 79–120; L. Stone and J. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford 1984), especially 384, table 11.9; Saumarez Smith, 'Supply and Demand in English Country House Building, 1660–1740', *The Oxford Arts Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1988), 3; R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1880* (London, 200), 205, figure 2; H. Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (London, 1982), 49, figure 3.1; M. W. Barley also suggests a decline in gentry and aristocratic house-building in the two decades 1730–1750 in 'Rural Building in England', in J. Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 5, 1640–1750: Agrarian Change* (Cambridge, 1985), 590; Kingsley, *CHG II*, 8.
 29. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 3–6; for building figures, 7–8.
 30. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 236.
 31. Johnson, *English Houses*, 168.
 32. The table draws on Wilson and Mackley's sample of six English counties, extrapolated numbers from Kingsley for country house building in Gloucestershire, and figures for the eighty-one small classical houses in Gloucestershire identified for this study. Kingsley does not provide numbers related to building construction, hence this graph reflects the overall trends he identifies rather than reflecting actual building campaigns. Also, I have included two houses in my figures for 1680–1690, Lower Slaughter Manor and Fairford Park, which were completed before that decade.
 33. Eshott Hall Papers, LWL.
 34. S. Buck, *Samuel Buck's Yorkshire Sketchbook Reproduced in Facsimile from Lansdowne MS. 914 in the British Library with an Introduction by Ivan Hall* (Wakefield, 1979).
 35. J. Longmore, 'Rural Retreats: Liverpool Slave Traders and their Country Houses', in Dresser and Hahn, (eds), *Slavery and the British Country House*, 30–45.
 36. D. Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Slave Merchants of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in D. Richardson, S. Schwarz, and A. Tibbles, (eds), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool, 2007), 164–226.

37. R. G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds, 1700–1830* (Manchester, 1971), 203–204.
38. Pennsbury quote in G. Thomas, *An Account of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey* (London, 1698), 29.
39. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia*, 10, and table 1, 15.
40. K. Sweeney, 'Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid Eighteenth Century', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 1984), 231–255.
41. R. L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 16.
42. E. Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesville and London, 2010).
43. Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, chapter 1; P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989); Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 5; Longmore, 'Rural Retreats'.
44. T. H. Breen, 'An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1986), 467–499.
45. Johnson, *English Houses*; Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 95–97.
46. P. Mathias, 'The Social Structure in the Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1957), 30–45; G. Holmes, 'Gregory King and the Social Structure of Pre-industrial England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol. 27 (1977), 41–68; P. H. Lindert and J. G. Williamson, 'Revising the Social Tables for England and Wales, 1688–1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, vol. 29 (1982), 385–408.
47. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 105–107, table 9.
48. Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?* 142–147, 191; H. J. Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership 1650–1950* (Oxford, 1994), especially chapters 1–3; K. Harvey, *Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), 102–106; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), 89, 133; Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*, 211–212.
49. Nuffield Health, St Mary's Hospital archive: Indenture, 17 August 1742.
50. Gomme, Jenner, and Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History*, 151; Beacon Planning, 'Chesterfield, No 3 Clifton Hill, Clifton, Bristol: Historic Building Assessment' (Unpublished report, October 2010), 5.
51. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 85–87, 103–105.
52. These have been calculated where birth dates are known and where the construction date of the house is fairly precise, allowing for estimation of which decade of life builders undertook construction. The three peers who built these houses are not included.
53. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House', 86. The Stones noted but did not particularly emphasize this trend. Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?* 191–192. Compare with Mooney, *Prodigy House*, 87–89.
54. Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', 35–36, 39.
55. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 88.
56. James Logan to Thomas Story, Philadelphia, 26 June 1714, James Logan Letterbooks 1712–1715, 199, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).
57. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 9–15.
58. A. Harford, *Annals of the Harford Family* (London, 1909), 33–34, 161.
59. Merchants may have been more cognizant of building costs than landowners as a result of their business background, which prompted them to wait before investing in a gentleman's house, see Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 248.
60. Aspects of Mrs Hort's nearly forty year tenure will be considered in Chapter 7.
61. *Gloucester Journal*, 11 February 1755; J. Milne and T. Mowl, *Castle Godwyn: A Guide and Architectural History* (Painswick, 1996), 9–10.
62. These findings agree with some scholarship on English country houses and Virginia plantations, see Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*; Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2011), 888; L. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure & Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010)..

63. I. Christie, *British 'Non-Elite' MPs 1715–1820* (Oxford, 1995), 18.
64. W. R. Williams, PHG; *History of Parliament Trust: The House of Commons* on CD-ROM, volumes for 1660–1690, 1715–1754, 1754–1790; E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, and D. W. Hayton, (eds), *The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 2002).
65. G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London, 1976), 13–15.
66. Eight served as High Sheriff of Gloucestershire and one, Joseph Harford, as High Sheriff of Bristol. Rudder, 54; Harford, *Annals of the Harford Family*, 33.
67. N. Landau, *The Justices of the Peace, 1679–1760* (Berkeley, 1984), Appendix A.
68. It is worth noting that of the persons listed in each commission, a number were perfunctory appointments of Privy Councilors and other government officials with few or no local connections, see L. K. J. Glassey, *Politics and the Appointment of the Justices of the Peace 1675–1720* (Oxford, 1979), 4.
69. Commissions of the Peace, GA/CMS/202: Justices of the Peace of 1736 [Transcription of GA/Q/JC/3], GA/Q/JC/4, 1740; GA/Q/JC/5, 1746; GA/Q/JC/6, 1754; GA/Q/JC/7, 1762.
70. Landau, *The Justices of the Peace*; Glassey, *Politics and the Appointment of the Justices of the Peace*, 15–17.
71. J. E. Johnson, 'A Quaker Imperialist's View of the British Colonies in America: 1732', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 60, no. 2 (April 1936), 97–130, at 103.
72. A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville, TN, 2007), 60–61.
73. J. T. Flaxner, *Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson* (Syracuse, 1989); F. O'Toole, *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* (New York, 2005).
74. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 113; Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 261–267.
75. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 265.
76. Sweeney, 'Mansion People', 233.
77. GA/D678/1 F12/1/87: 18 September 1739, Revd Thomas Baker, Bibury, to Sir John Dutton.
78. Bristol Record Office, Bristol/RO/35893/1/a: Bristol Royal Infirmary Minute Book, 1736–1772 [Bristol Record Office, Bristol hereafter BRO].
79. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963), 8; H. R. French, "'Ingenious and Learned Gentlemen": Social Perceptions and Self-fashioning among Parish Elites in Essex, 1680–1740', *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (January 2000), 44–66.
80. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 890.
81. P. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700–1800* (Oxford, 1982), 40, table VI.
82. Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, for one example. A brief essay is H. G. M. Leighton, 'Country Houses Acquired with Bristol Wealth', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* [hereafter TBGAS], vol. 123 (2005), 9–16.
83. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 3, 5–6.
84. S. G. Hague, "'A MODERN-built house...fit for a gentleman": Elites, Material Culture and Social Strategy in Britain, 1680–1770' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2011), 61.
85. F. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: Quaker Merchants in Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 109.
86. For provincial cities in England, see Sweet, *The English Town*, 3. For American cities from 1740–1783, see B. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (Oxford, 2007), 225, Appendix I.
87. J. J. McCusker and R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985); C. Matson, (ed.), *The Economy of Early America: Historical Perspectives and New Directions* (University Park, PA, 2006).
88. C. Hobson, *The Raymond Barkers of Fairford Park*, Fairford History Society Monograph 3 (November 2007), 13.

89. J. Day, *Bristol Brass: A History of the Industry* (Newton Abbot, 1973); A. Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry: Being an Account of the Quaker Contributions to Science and Industry During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1968); H. Lloyd, *The Quaker Lloyds in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1975); R. C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2009), 222, 264, 269.
90. For Quakers in the Bristol region, see Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England*, 239–244.
91. For Warmley, see Atkins Heritage, ‘Champion’s Brassworks and Gardens Conservation Management Plan’ (Unpublished report, January 2007).
92. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England*, 239–244.
93. F. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston, 1957), 154–155. ‘James Logan on Defensive War, or Pennsylvania Politics in 1741’, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 6 (1882), 402–411, at 408.

3 Building Status

1. GA/D45/E17: Articles of Agreement, Richard Whitmore and Valentine Strong, 23 January 1655/1956. See also National Monuments Record [hereafter NMR] 87132; NMR Images of England 129913; N. Cooper, *The Houses of the Gentry 1480–1680* (New Haven and London, 1999), 47–48; J. Johnson, *The Gloucestershire Gentry* (Gloucester, 1989), 66–67; Kingsley, *CHG I*, 139–141. Kingsley notes that Whitmore’s cousin Sir George Whitmore built a five-bay hipped roof house slightly earlier, Balmes house, in Hackney near London, which may have served as a model. On Balmes, see C. Knight, *London’s Country Houses* (Chichester, 2009), 159–160.
2. GA/D45/E17: Articles of Agreement, Richard Whitmore and Valentine Strong.
3. L. Hall, ‘Yeoman or Gentleman? Problems in Defining Social Status in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gloucestershire’, *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 20 (1991), 2–19.
4. R. W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture: An Illustrated Handbook* (retitled) (London, fourth edition, 2000), 27–28.
5. Cooper, *The Houses of the Gentry*, 48; N. Cooper, ‘Rank, Manners and Display: The Gentlemanly House, 1500–1750’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12 (2002), 291–310, 301.
6. Atkyns, 655.
7. Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 886.
8. M. Craske, ‘From Burlington Gate to Billingsgate: James Ralph’s Attempt to Impose Burlingtonian Classicism as a Canon of Public Taste’, in B. Arciszewska and E. McKellar, (eds), *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture* (Aldershot, 2004), 97–118, especially 97.
9. For instance, J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (New Haven and London, ninth edition, 1993) and Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995).
10. G. Gross, *Great Houses of New England* (New York, 2008), text by Robert Blackburn, 23.
11. P. Borsay, ‘Why Are Houses Interesting?’ *Urban History*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2007), 338–346, 343. Also, Arciszewska and McKellar, (eds), *Articulating British Classicism*, preface.
12. Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 477.
13. Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 93.
14. J. Ayres, *Building the Georgian City* (London and New Haven, 1998), 145.
15. Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 96, 684; Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition 1500–1850* (New Haven and London, 2003), 75–78. Ayres notes on 78 that sash are often found on principal elevations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but casement in other areas. Nether Lypiatt, for instance, has cross-mullioned windows on the north side, and sash windows on the front, which Kingsley suggests may have been installed after John Coxe inherited the house in 1728. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 182.

16. J Ayres, *Two Hundred Years of English Naïve Art 1700–1900* (Art Services International, 1996), 62–63. Many thanks to James Ayres for drawing my attention to this painting.
17. C. Carson and C. Lounsbury, (eds), *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigations by Colonia Williamsburg* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), 110, figure 6.21.
18. M. Binney, 'Poulton Manor', *Country Life* (27 May 1976), 1400.
19. This date is found on a rainwater-head on the building.
20. Atkyns, 307.
21. The National Archives/PROB11/629 (12 May 1729); *VCH: G*, vol. 11, Bisley and Longtree Hundreds (1976), 111–119 [The National Archives hereafter TNA].
22. Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 94.
23. Atkyns, between 400 and 401.
24. Atkyns, 400.
25. L. B. Namier, 'Three Eighteenth-Century Politicians', *English Historical Review*, vol. 42, no. 167 (July 1927), 408–413; Williams, *PHG*, 66. See also Rudder, 817.
26. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 218–221 and plate II. See also GA/PA117/1.
27. S. Buck, *Samuel Buck's Yorkshire Sketchbook Reproduced in Facsimile from Landsdowne MS. 914 in the British Library with an Introduction by Ivan Hall* (Wakefield, 1979).
28. L. Stone and J. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984), 6–8.
29. *VCH: G*, vol. 6, 'Lower Slaughter', 128–134.
30. C. Hobson, *The Raymond Barkers of Fairford Park*, Fairford History Society Monograph 3 (November 2007), 2–4, 6–7; Kingsley, *CHG I*, 94–95; Kip illustration in Atkyns, 226.
31. D. W. Hayton, 'Sir Richard Cocks: The Political Anatomy of a Country Whig', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer 1988), 221–246. Hayton memorably described Cocks as, 'a rare bird among the crook-taloned specimens perched on the back benches of King William III's House of Commons', 221. See also Atkyns, 406 and image between 406 and 407.
32. *VCH: G*, vol. 4, 'Gloucester: Outlying Hamlets', 398; Williams, *PHG*, 207.
33. The date for Bigsweir is somewhat open to question. Rudge specifically notes rebuilding in 1755, T. Rudge, *The History of Gloucestershire: Brought Down to the Year 1803*, 2 vols (Gloucester, 1803), ii, 109. Kingsley uses this date. A 1930 report from estate agents suggests 1702, see GA/D2299/4342: 1930 Bruton, Knowles and Co, Gloucester, estate agents, Bigsweir House, St Briavels, Report Correspondence.
34. Bigland, 236.
35. Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 38.
36. William Byrd to Mr Spencer, 28 May 1729 in M. Tinling, (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684–1776* (Charlottesville, 1977), vol. 1, 399.
37. D. Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* (London, 1986), 238–240 for Indian Banks and Ampthill; for Wilton, 253–255. Tolles briefly but somewhat ineffectively compares Westover and Stenton in *Meeting House and Counting House: Quaker Merchants in Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1948), 127 fn 47.
38. R. North, *Of Building*, H. Colvin and J. Newman (eds) (Oxford, 1981), 62.
39. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989).
40. Foyle, *PAGB*, 19, 154–168; Mowl, *To Build the Second City: Architects and Craftsmen of Georgian Bristol* (Bristol, 1991), chapter 1; A. Gomme, M. Jenner, and B. Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History* (London, 1979), 94–105.
41. BRO/SMV/4/6/1/40: Charities, St Monica Home, Cote Deeds explained, n.d., probably c. 1930.
42. Atkyns does not mention it, suggesting it post-dates 1712, Atkyns, 804–805.
43. Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, 230–231; Gomme, Jenner, and Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History*, 100–101.

44. This conclusion is based on physical examination of the buildings at Cote. I am grateful to Professor Roger Leech, Dr James Ayres and Laura Keim for their expertise in evaluating Cote. Elisabeth Robinson, 'Some Notes about Cote' (Unpublished MS, April, 1971), typescript on file at Cote House, relates that the service wing was an older structure, but without firm evidence. Ms Robinson's parents acquired Cote in 1919.
45. BRO/AC/WO/10/4: 3 March 1724/1725, Copy will of Thomas Moore; BRO/SMV/4/6/1/40: Charities, St Monica Home, Cote Deeds explained, n.d.
46. E. Ralph and M. Williams, (ed.), *Inhabitants of Bristol in 1696*, BRS vol. 25 (1968), 125; BRO/AC/WO/10/22.
47. BRO/34328/a: D. Jones, 'The Elbridge, Woolnough and Smyth Families of Bristol, in the Eighteenth Century: With Special Reference to the Spring Plantation, Jamaica' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 1972), 45. It should be noted, however, that Jones wrongly recorded Thomas Moore's death date as 1724, when in fact Moore did not die until 1728. Given that Elbridge therefore did not inherit Cote until 1728, it seems less likely that he was responsible for construction.
48. The second canto of 'Clifton' is reproduced in Rudder, 380–381.
49. K. Ross, 'Report on Bishop's House Clifton Hill Bristol' (Unpublished report, n.d. 2004?), 24–25. Many thanks to Kay Ross of McLaughlin Ross, The House Historians for kindly sharing this report with me. Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, 13–14, argues strongly for John Strahan as the architect, but this seems unlikely given its early date. Another possibility is George Townesend of Bristol, a member of the illustrious Oxford family of masons, see Colvin, 1045.
50. I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), 405–406.
51. Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, chapter 1; Gomme, Jenner, and Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History*, 133–134.
52. GA/D149/P18: Thomas Fassett plans.
53. Colvin, 992.
54. J. Charlton and D. M. Milton, *Redland 791 to 1800* (Bristol, 1951), 40–41; E. Shiercliff, *Bristol & Hotwells Guide* (Bristol, 1789) states that Strahan, was 'the architect who built Redland-Court House, and many other capital mansions in and near Bristol'. In addition, a drawing in the British Library of Redland Court lists Strahan as the architect; see *King's Maps* xiii, 77. 3b as noted in Colvin, 992.
55. GA/D149/F21 and BRO/AC/WO/17/3 and AC/WO/20/1.
56. Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, 17.
57. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 5.
58. GA/D3921/III/5, 1950–1954, Notes concerning the history of English Bicknor compiled by H. A. Machen, 5.
59. Rudder, 312.
60. Johnson, *Gloucestershire Gentry*, 151.
61. C. Lounsbury, *Essays on Early American Architecture: A View from the Chesapeake* (Charlottesville and London, 2011), 22.
62. K. Sweeney, 'Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid Eighteenth Century', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 1984), 231–255, 235–236, 241–242, figure 7 and 244.
63. Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses*, 248.
64. James Logan to Thomas Penn, *Penn Manuscripts: Official Correspondence, 1728–1734*, vol. 2, 41, HSP.
65. Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, 40.
66. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in 18th century England', in *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (London, 1990), 79–120, 86.
67. GA/D149/A8, 1731–1733, 'Estimates and Vouchers of Rich. Clutterbuck for Stonework during Construction of Frampton Court'.

68. BRO/09467/12/a: 'Notes and Receipts for House Building at Clifton 1746–47–48–49 + 1750 +c'.
69. R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1880* (London, 2000), especially chapter 8; B. B. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008), 159.
70. A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), 156; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 185–186.
71. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, chapter 5 offers a useful discussion of construction.
72. E. Clutterbuck, *The Clutterbuck Diaries, being the Journey with my Wife and Daughter Sally into Gloucestershire on a Visit to my Cousin Clutterbuck at King Stanley*, with notes by The Rev. Robert Nott and T. E. Sanders (Stroud, 1935). Photocopy at Frampton Court, 6. Entry for Wednesday, 14 July 1773.
73. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782), 'An Estimate for Stables for the Honbl Genl Whitmore at his Sete at Slaughter March ye 11th 1765'.
74. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 92–93. GA/Palling-Carruthers Papers/Bundle 55: Accounts of materials for building, 1788–1790.
75. Rudder, 629. See also *VCH: G*, vol. 11 (1976), 224.
76. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 212–214. These can be seen in an image of the house in S. Lysons, *An Account of Roman Antiquities Discovered at Woodchester* (London, 1797), plates II and III. GA/D589, accounts of Sir G. O. Paul, 1767–1813.
77. Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, especially chapter 1. The interplay between client, architect and craftsman is captured in an account from Norfolk, Virginia in B. L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), 51–53.
78. See GA/D45/E17; Colvin, 995.
79. J. Milne and T. Mowl, *Castle Godwyn: A Guide and an Architectural History* (Painswick, 1996), 6.
80. G. Priest, *The Paty Family: Makers of Eighteenth Century Bristol* (Bristol, 2003). I am grateful to Zara Anishanslin for drawing my attention to Paty's work for the Shippen family of Philadelphia.
81. GA/D149/A8.
82. Hood, *The Governor's Palace*, 42.
83. C. Lounsbury, 'The Design Process', in Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *The Chesapeake House*, chapter 5, 64–85, 66.
84. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840* (New Haven and London, fourth edition, 2008) is invaluable as it comprehensively documents actual and attributed work for this period.
85. A. H. Gomme, *Smith of Warwick: Francis Smith, Architect and Master-BUILDER* (Stamford, 2000); Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 390.
86. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 198; Verey and Brooks, *BoE: C*, 552.
87. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 291. Tully designed Andrews' house at Hotwells and was a trustee of a bequest to Andrews' daughter in 1743. W. Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bristol* (London, 1952), 47–48; BRO/AC/AS/57/3: Copy Will of John Andrews, drawn up on 10 June 1743 with a codicil of 3 December 1743.
88. Colvin, 467–469; Poet Robert Lloyd wrote: 'With Angles, Curves, and Zigzag Lines/ from Halfpenny's Exact Designs', in 'The Cit's Country Box, 1757', see W. Kenrick, *The Poetical Works of Robert Lloyd*, 2 vols (London, 1774), vol. 1, 41–46. Mowl terms Halfpenny's work 'bizarre but lively', Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, 41.
89. Colvin, 468.
90. E. Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785* (Cambridge, 1990); J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715–1842* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1985). For gentlemanly libraries, see chapter 6; K. Sweeney, 'High Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite', in Carson et al., (eds), *Of Consuming Interest*, 1–58, at 11.

91. W. Halfpenny, *Practical Architecture, or a Sure Guide to the True Working According to the Rules of that Science* (London, c. 1724).
92. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 278 and 304.
93. A. H. Gomme and A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven and London, 2008), 289.
94. M. Johnson, *English Houses 1300–1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow, 2010), 175–177, overemphasizes pattern books. Nevertheless, gentlemanly building may have had an influence on the perceived market for pattern books and design manuals.
95. D. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New Haven and London, 1997), 27–28.
96. Lounsbury, 'The Design Process', in Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *The Chesapeake House*, chapter 5.
97. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 149–151.
98. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 240, 247.
99. There is a curious absence of work that engages with consumption as it relates to building. An exception is Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, a major contribution that extensively evaluated country house building in this period.
100. W. Halfpenny, *A New and Complete System of Architecture Delineated, Delineated in a Variety of Plans and Elevations of Designs for Convenient and Decorated Houses* (London, 1749), plates 13, 14 and 16.
101. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 290, table 15. For costs per cubic foot, see also figure 4 and 5, 291.
102. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2011), 885–904, 888.
103. Payments of £286.10.0, £560.2.8, and £1129.9.2 are in BRO/09467/12/a: 'Notes and Receipts for House Building at Clifton 1746–47–48–49 + 1750 + c'. See also G. Priest, *The Paty Family*, 51. Thomas Paty was from a prominent family of Bristol mason-architects.
104. GA/D3921/III/5, 1950–1954, Notes concerning the history of English Bicknor compiled by H. A. Machen, 5. In the 1950s the building accounts were in the possession of the family and were consulted by Machen, but these are now missing.
105. Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', in Dresser and Hahn, (eds), *Slavery and the English Country House* 35.
106. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 244. No calculation of cost per cubic foot is included for Crowcombe.
107. Hood, *The Governor's Palace*, 39, 44, 58; H. R. McIlvaine, (ed.), *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1702–1712* (Richmond, VA, 1912), 240. The additional figure are in W. W. Hening, (ed.), *Hening's Statutes at Large, vol. 3, 1684–1710* (Philadelphia, 1823), 482–486, October 1710.
108. M. Tinkcom, 'Cliveden: The Building of a Country Seat', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 88, no. 1 (January 1964), 3–36. For Mt Pleasant, see Thomas Nevil Daybook, 1762–1784, Ms Codex 1049, The Wetherill Papers (1721–1797), University of Pennsylvania, and E. E. Kuykendall, 'Philadelphia Carpenters, Cabinetmakers and Captains: The Working World of Thomas Nevell, 1762–1784' (Unpublished Winterthur M.A. Thesis, 2011).
109. Jeremiah Lee inventory, 1775–1776, transcript on file at Jeremiah Lee Mansion, kindly provided by Judy Anderson.
110. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, chapter 7, especially 290–292.
111. *Ibid.*, 247; Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture*, 27–30; A. Green, 'The Polite Threshold in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 41 (2010) 1–9.
112. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 248.
113. L. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure & Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010), 265.
114. Walsh seems to suggest that planters both adopted moderate courses of action with respect to debt and expenditure, but also built 'mansions emulating aristocratic country houses', see Walsh, *Motives*, 235–237 and 416.

115. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 130–131.
116. Hague, 'A MODERN-BUILT HOUSE', chapter 2.
117. Sweeney, 'Mansion People', 232.
118. For quotes, see Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 10; Sweeney, 'High Style Vernacular', 24.
119. LWL/MSS 2: Adams, Thomas, Records relating to Eshott House: addition, 1589–1815 (bulk 1758–1803).
120. M. Rothery and J. Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738–1806', *Continuity and Change*, vol. 27, no. 3 (2012), 379–407.
121. GA/D45/E14: 'Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782).
122. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782), Bill from Samuel Archer, 1759.
123. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782), 'A Estimate for Alterations at Gen; Whitmores' Letter describing the work. Detailed bill from Thomas Collett for work, including panelling and staircase. For discussion of timber construction, carpentry and joinery, see Ayres, *Building the Georgian City*, chapter 6, especially 122–124 for oak and 152–156 for staircase construction.
124. Ibid.
125. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782), 1765 'A Bill of timber for the Honble Genl Whitmores Stables March ye 5th 1765'. 1765 'An Estimate for Stables for the Honbl Genl Whitmore at his Sate at Slaughter March ye 11th 1765'. 'The Honble Genl Whitmore to Thos Collett for Work and Materials at His New Stables 1766', 'The Honble Genl Whitmore to Thos Andrews for Work at His Stables 1766'. 'The Honble Genl Whitmore to George Laurence for Freestone Usd at His Stables 1766'.
126. Charlton and Milton, *Redland 791 to 1800*, especially Appendix II, 61–75; Kingsley, *CHG II*, 203.
127. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782), 1 October 1761, 'A Particular of the Mannor of Slaughter and Norton'.
128. GA/B325/51387: F. A. Hyett, *The Hyetts of Painswick* (1907, Transcript), 31. Also GA/D6/E1: Estate Accounts of Nicholas Hyett; GA/D6/E4: Survey of Certain Estates belonging to Benjamin Hyett, Esq. in the County of Gloucester 1780; For rental values, see GA/D6/E6: Ben. Hyett's Estates, Miscellaneous, Including Summary Statement of Acreage, c. 1780.
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137. GA/Palling-Carruthers Papers, Bundle 61 [MF1443].
138. Report from the Egerton MS 3440 (Leeds Papers vol. cxvii) appearing as Appendix 5 in Christopher Phillpotts, 'Stroudend Tithing Painswick, Gloucestershire Final Documentary Report' (unpublished report for the Stroudend Tithing Educational Trust, 2010), 162. I am grateful to Mr Michael Little for making available his copy of this report.
139. Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 298; Rothery and Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns'; Walsh, *Motives*, 235–237, 462–471.
140. Cooper, *The Houses of the Gentry*, 18. Wilson and Mackley describe 'highly emulative social structures', *Creating Paradise*, 236.
141. *Ibid.*, 112–117; Kingsley, *CHG II*, 128–133; *Dyrham Park* (London, 2002).
142. On Kings Weston see Kingsley, *CHG II*, 167–170; Gomme, Jenner, and Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History*, 107; Foyle, *PAGB*, 291–292; J. Musson, *The Country Houses of John Vanbrugh* (London, 2008).
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145. Mowl, *To Build the Second City*, 14; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 362–363.
146. A. Bantock, *The Earlier Smyths of Ashton Court from Their Letters, 1545–1741* (Bristol, 1982), 256–257.
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148. Atkyns, and Rudder, 796.
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151. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (London and New Haven, 2004), 8.
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4 Situating Status

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3. P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689–1798* (Oxford, 1991); E. Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesville and London, 2010), 114.
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96. Rudder, 442; Hobson, *The Raymond Barkers of Fairford Park*, Fairford History Society Monograph 3 (November 2007) 14–15.
97. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 68.
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105. M. Binney, 'Poulton Manor', *Country Life* (26 May 1976), 1400.
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109. J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (London and New Haven, 2004), 23; G. Worsley, *The British Stable* (New Haven and London, 2004).
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111. Compare GA/D149/P17, Plan of Frampton House, 1730, and the 1768 estate map, Frampton Court collection, with accompanying terrier, GA/D149/E6. See E. Clutterbuck, *The Clutterbuck Diaries, Being the Journey with my Wife and Daughter Sally into Gloucestershire on a Visit to my Cousin Clutterbuck at King Stanley [1773]*, with notes by The Rev. Robert Nott and T. E. Sanders (Stroud, 1935) for Wednesday, 14 July 1773, describing a visit to Frampton Court, including the greenhouse, plants in it, and the use of various parts of the house.
112. Bigland, part 2, vol. 3, 618.
113. BRO/SMV/6/5/4/3: de Wilstar survey (1746).
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118. J. Oldmixon, *The British Empires in North America* (London, 1708) vol. 1, 176.
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124. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason*, 41, figure 19.
125. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 257, figure 137.
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129. Atkins Heritage, 'Champion's Brassworks and Gardens Conservation Management Plan' (Unpublished report, January 2007), figure 2 and especially 28–34.
130. All this in 1754 according to Swedish industrial spy Reinhold Angerstein, quoted in Atkins Heritage, 'Champion's Brassworks and Gardens Conservation Management Plan', 21.
131. A. P. Woolrich, (ed.), *Ferner's Journal, 1759–1760: An Industrial Spy in Bath and Bristol* (Eindhoven, 1986), 32.
132. A. Young, *A Six weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales* (London, 1768), 150.
133. Atkins Heritage, 'Champion's Brassworks and Gardens Conservation Management Plan', 22.
134. Quoted in Lambert, 'The Prospect of Trade: The Merchant Gardeners of Bristol in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in M. Conan, (ed.), *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*, vol. 23 (Washington, DC, 2002), 123–145, 137.
135. A. Vickery, 'An Englishman's Home Is His Castle? Thresholds, Boundaries and Privacies in the Eighteenth-Century London House', *Past and Present*, no. 199 (May 2008), 153–158.

5 Arranging Status

1. A. Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 2.
2. For discussion of their methodology, see L. Stone and J. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984), Appendix 2, 437–458.
3. Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?* especially tables 2.6 and 2.7.
4. The average gentleman's house contained 6,000 square feet within its main block. Allocating space for service functions yields a total of 4,000 square feet, or forty Stone units.
5. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), 171 and Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* (London, 1986), 323, Appendix 2, table 6, contend American houses were larger. The alternate view, S. G. Hague, 'Historiography and the Origins of the Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World', in O. Horsfall Turner, (ed.), *The Mirror of Great Britain: National Identity in Seventeenth-Century British Architecture* (Reading, 2012), 233–259, table 1, 254.

6. See, for example, the comparison of double and single-storey entrance halls in Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (London and New Haven, 2004), 23–38.
7. An unusual example is Tazewell Hall in Virginia, see M. Wenger, 'The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space', *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 2 (1986), 137–149, 142–145, especially figure 10.
8. J. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition 1500–1850* (New Haven and London, 2003), viii; B. L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), 39.
9. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 3. The compact floor plan has received its fullest treatment in A. H. Gomme and A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven and London, 2008). See also M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978), 150–151; Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 10–19, 21–31; N. Cooper, *The Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* (New Haven and London, 1999), 244–249; J. Bold, 'The Design of a House for a Merchant, 1724', *Architectural History*, vol. 33 (1990), 75–82; P. Smith, 'Plain English or Anglo-Palladian? Seventeenth-Century Country Villa Plans', in M. Airs and G. Tyack, (eds), *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500–1700* (Reading, 2007), 89–110.
10. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, chapter 5 'The Formal House' and 7 'The Social House', especially 123–128, 144, 194.
11. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 869–898, 887.
12. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 151.
13. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 73, 289–290.
14. E. Chappell, 'Fieldwork', in C. Carson and C. R. Lounsbury, (eds), *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigations by Colonia Williamsburg* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), 29–47, at 38–39.
15. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan*, 282.
16. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 7. See also Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses*; B. B. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008).
17. Hall, 'Yeoman or Gentleman? Problems in Defining Social status in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gloucestershire', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 20 (1991), 2–19, 5, 8. It should be noted that Hall's sample is not restricted to classical houses. Rooms and room use are also explored in M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean, and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London, 2004), chapter 6.
18. My calculations based on P. Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640–1790* (Cambridge, 1983), Appendices 2 and 3, 292–293.
19. E. T. Cooperman, 'Historic Context Statement: Cluster 1: Frankford, Tacony, Wissinoming, Brideburg' (Unpublished report for Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, July 2009), 10–12.
20. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 23.
21. Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 123, 139. These are what Mooney describes as vestigial hall plans, *Prodigy Houses*, 62–65.
22. BRO/14581/HA/D/313: Particulars and Conditions of Sale, Hill House, Mangotsfield, 9 April 1874. The floor plan shows the main house from the 1730s as about forty-five foot by forty foot, with later additions.
23. Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 133, 137.
24. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 68; Wenger, 'The Central Passage'.
25. A. Gomme, 'Halls into Vestibules', in M. Airs and G. Tyack, (eds), *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500–1700* (Reading, 2007), 38–63, quote on 40. Cornforth argues that in larger country houses, the main door was seldom used, with the preference for side entrances. The number of entrances in compact plans tended to be rather smaller, suggesting that

- this practice was less likely to have been true of gentlemen's houses. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 19–20.
26. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, chapter 5.
 27. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 3.
 28. Atkyns, between 428 and 429.
 29. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
 30. R. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1998), 96.
 31. Eighteenth-century architectural books 'emphasize the symmetry and geometry of the house but seldom explain how they worked'. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 275.
 32. A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), 203.
 33. GA/D45/F2: Inventory and valuation of goods of Richard Whitmore of Lower Slaughter, 31 January 1687/1688.
 34. At Paradise, for instance, there are four main rooms on the ground floor, not including the hall/passage. Mark Wenger describes the development of halls in Virginia houses from a passage to a living space, a shift 'approaching the old hall in importance'. Wenger, 'The Central Passage'.
 35. For rooms in Chesapeake houses, see Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 132–140, 334–342; Sweeney, 'High Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite', in C. Carson, R. Hoffman, and P. J. Albert, *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville and London, 1994), 1–58, 18–20; Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 118–120.
 36. Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 146.
 37. R. Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1982), 75.
 38. GA/D149/F7: 1683 Note of personal estate of John Clifford, with inventory of goods.
 39. R. B. St George, 'Reading Spaces in Eighteenth-Century New England', 90–103 and K. Lipsedge, "'Enter into thy Closet": Women, Closet Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel', 107–122, especially 109–112, in J. Styles and A. Vickery, (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006); J. Bold, 'The Design of a House for a Merchant, 1724', 80; Vickery, 'An Englishman's Home Is His Castle?' 147–173.
 40. Hall, 'Yeoman or Gentleman?' 2–19; On stairs, Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 152–172; For Parlor and Stair Halls, see also Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 114–122.
 41. Ayres, *Building the Georgian City* (New Haven and London, 1998), 120.
 42. GA/D45/E14: Bill of Thomas and Samuel Collett, 'From ye 1st of March 1759 to the 25th of December 1760 My Self 45 days Drawing Defining and Making Moulds for Masons and Attending the Workmen'.
 43. R. Leech, 'Clifton Wood House, Randall Road, Clifton, Bristol: An Archaeological Desk-based Assessment' (Unpublished report, 2003), 17. Many thanks to Prof. Leech for kindly sharing this report.
 44. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture 1660–1760* (London, second edition, 1996), 11–13.
 45. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
 46. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (New York, 1993), plates 37, 73, 76, 81, 89, 90, 105, 106, 133, 137, 138, 157.
 47. Cornforth argues that because of the use of the Common Parlour for a range of daily activities, it should attract more attention as a room of key importance. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 38–40.
 48. *Ibid.*, 121, notes the importance of marble for chimneypieces.
 49. *Ibid.*, 195 and figure 259. At Frampton Court tiles appear in fireplaces on the ground and first floor.
 50. *Ibid.*, 49–50.

51. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 185.
52. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 151.
53. The presence of a separate kitchen was an important shift in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 266.
54. Information from physical examination and from owner.
55. J. M. Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, 1993), chapter 4.
56. GA/D149/E6 and map in Frampton Court collection, June 1768.
57. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 138, 151.
58. A. Bantock, *The Earlier Smyths of Ashton Court from their Letters 1545–1741* (Bristol, 1982), 256–257.
59. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 140–143, 206–208.
60. BRO/AC/WO/10/19: 2 April 1739, Inventory of the goods of John Elbridge at his house at Stoke, Westbury [Cote House].
61. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (Oxford, 1999), especially 100–107.
62. Despite Ian Bristow's work cited below, paint analysis is lacking for British interiors especially at the level of housing considered here. This is an area where more technical investigation could yield rich research results. See H. Hughes, (ed.), *Layers of Understanding: Setting Standards for Architectural Paint Research* (London, 2002); M. A. Jablonski and C. R. Matsen, (eds), *Architectural Finishes in the Built Environment* (London, 2009).
63. C. Carson, 'Introduction', in Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 9. For detailed analysis, see chapters 12–16.
64. HSP/Chew Papers, copy on file at Cliveden, Receipt for 'Painting a Carpitt' at Cliveden, 3 April 1767.
65. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 86–90; C. Gilbert, J. Lomax, and A. Wells-Cole, *Country House Floors, 1660–1850* (Leeds, 1987). Leech, 'Clifton Wood House', 17.
66. I. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors, 1615–1840* (New Haven and London, 1996), 53.
67. Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 318.
68. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 113.
69. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 54; Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 38.
70. I am particularly grateful to James Ayres and Laura Keim for their observations about these features.
71. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 1, 11–12, 31–34.
72. Kingsley, *CHG II*, 83.
73. Will of Thomas Goldney II, quoted in P. K. Stembridge, *The Goldney Family: A Bristol Merchant Dynasty* (Bristol, 1998), 111; UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
74. A. Bowett, 'The Commercial Introduction of Mahogany and the Naval Stores Act of 1721', *Furniture History*, vol. 30 (1994), 116–123; C. Edwards, *Eighteenth-Century Furniture* (Manchester, 1996), 77–78.
75. M. Reinberger and E. McLean, 'Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Winter 1997), 243–274, 251.
76. Examples may be seen at Frampton Court and Goldney house.
77. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 57.
78. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 53. Cornforth notes that there a major change in the way houses were painted between 1700 and 1740 coincided with a move away from wood paneling left in its natural state. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 114.
79. I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), 469; BRO/09467/12/a: 'Notes and Receipts for House Building at Clifton 1746–47–48–49 + 1750 + c'.

80. Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 330.
81. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*. Descriptions of painting techniques and materials can be found in I. Bristow, *Interior House-Painting Colours and Technology, 1615–1840* (New Haven and London, 1996). E. Chappell, 'Fieldwork', in Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, at 40, and chapter 15 in the same.
82. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 40, 48.
83. *Ibid.*, 51.
84. W. Salmon, *Palladio Londinensis* (London, 1734), 57–58. Prices ranged from 'best white lead' at 4d. per pound to 2s. 6d. per pound for 'fine deep green'. Paint costs drawn from surviving accounts can be found in Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 35, and *Interior House-Painting Colours and Technology*, Appendix A.
85. L. C. Keim, 'Stenton Room Furnishings Study' (MS report, 2010, on file at Stenton); M. Mosca, 'Stenton Paint Analysis' (Unpublished report, 2000, on file at Stenton); J. G. Volk, (ed.), *The Warner House: A Rich and Colorful History* (Portsmouth, NH, 2006), chapter 2, figure 2.7. W. Graham, 'Architectural Paint Research at American Museums: An Appeal for Standards', in Jablonski and Matsen, (eds), *Architectural Finishes in the Built Environment* (London, 2009), 3–18.
86. Mosca, 'Stenton Paint Analysis'.
87. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*, for example, plates 80, 81, 90, 96 and 97.
88. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 113–121; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 173–175. Blue particularly became more popular during the eighteenth century, Cornforth, 120.
89. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 121.
90. BRO/AC/WO/10/18: March 1738/1739, Inventory and Appraisalment of Royal Fort, St Michaels Hill. This might possibly refer to a stuccoed room, but this seems unlikely, see Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 54.
91. E. S. Cooke, Jr, (ed.), *Upholstery in America and Europe from the Seventeenth Century to World War I* (New York and London, 1987); P. Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior, 1660–1920* (New York, 1984), especially 57 and 100 for window curtains. F. Montgomery, *Textiles in America 1650–1840* (New York, 1984) has much to say of relevance to England.
92. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 125.
93. GA/D45/F2: Inventory and valuation of goods of Richard Whitmore of Lower Slaughter, 31 January 1687/1688; For slips, see M. M. Brooks, *English Embroideries of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum* (London, 2004), 94.
94. GA/D149/F18: draft will of Wm Clutterbuck, gent. (1726) and TNA/PROB11/623 (1 July 1728).
95. Surviving tapestries at Bigsweir seem to have been fitted into the wall.
96. Thornton comments that, 'The windows in most rooms of any importance were furnished with curtains by 1720', but this is based on study of grander interiors. Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, 100.
97. BRO/AC/WO/10/19: 2 April 1739, Inventory of the goods of John Elbridge at his house at Stoke, Westbury (Cote House).
98. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 120, suggests that green was sometime thought 'a more agreeable colour for furnishing' and often chosen for best beds.
99. BRO/AC/WO/10/19: 2 April 1739, Inventory of the goods of John Elbridge at his house at Stoke, Westbury [Cote House].
100. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
101. G. Beard, *Upholsters and Interior Furnishings in England 1530–1840* (New Haven and London, 1997).
102. G. Saunders, *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration* (London, 2002); Hoskins, (ed.), *The Papered Wall: History, Pattern, Technique* (New York, 1994, also new and expanded edition, 2005), especially chapters 2, 3, and 7; R. C. Nylander, *Wallpapers for Historic Buildings*

- (Washington, DC, second edition, 1992); Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 160–162. Ayres comments that taxation may have resulted in high cost hence low use of wallpaper, 160; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, chapter 6, suggests that Ayres has offered ‘too pessimistic an assessment of the dissemination of paper’, 168, fn 5. The accounts on which her chapter is based, however, are from 1797 to 1808, by which time wallpaper was much more commonly available. C. Taylor, ‘“Figured Paper for Hanging Rooms”: The Manufacture, Design and Consumption of Wallpapers for English Domestic Interiors, c. 1740 to c. 1800’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, The Open University, 2010).
103. One house in Gloucestershire, Berkeley House, had hand-painted Chinese-style wallpaper dating from 1740–1760, which is now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This remarkable survival demonstrates that at least some wealthy merchants had access to this form of adornment, although it may have been comparatively unusual. G. Saunders, ‘The China Trade: Oriental Painted Panels’, in L. Hoskins, (ed.), *The Papered Wall: History, Pattern, Technique* (London, new and revised edition, 2005), 42–55, who dates the paper to c. 1740, see 55. Images of England 128159 and Victoria and Albert Museum No W.93–1924 Berkeley House.
 104. Frampton Court collection, Richard Clutterbuck account book, 1768–1772.
 105. Quoted in M. B. Pritchard, ‘Wallpaper’, in Carson and Lounsbury, *Chesapeake House*, 378.
 106. J. Anderson, *Glorious Splendor: The 18th-Century Wallpapers in the Jeremiah Lee Mansion* (Virginia Beach, VA, 2011).
 107. E. C. Carter, (ed.), *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1795–1798*, 2 vols (New Haven, 1977), vol. 1, 75–76.
 108. G. Priest, *The Paty Family: Makers of Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol, 2003), 51–60; BRO/09467/12/a: ‘Notes and Receipts for House Building at Clifton 1746–47–48–49 + 1750 + c’; A. Gomme, M. Jenner, and B. Little, *Bristol: An Architectural History* (London, 1979), 174; Mowl, *To Build the Second City: Architects and Craftsmen of Georgian Bristol* (Bristol, 1991), 64 fn 10, 71–73, cautions against the Stocking attribution at Royal Fort.
 109. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors*, 26.
 110. Pritchard, ‘Wallpaper’, in Carson and Lounsbury, (eds), *Chesapeake House*, 374.
 111. The hall may have been painted originally and was certainly painted by the early nineteenth century, before having the paint removed in the late twentieth century. The two parlours have never been painted, although they seem to have had a dark stain applied to them in the nineteenth century.
 112. Family tradition claims that shipwrights from Bristol were involved in this work but there is no documentary evidence to support this. Visual connections with Bristol work at such houses as Goldney House lend support.
 113. ‘The Study at Frampton Court’, Frampton Court collection, Image 41, c. 1840s. Physical examination of this small and asymmetrical room indicates that the shelving is likely original. I am grateful to Dr Susie West for her thoughts on this subject.
 114. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 140–147.

6 Furnishing Status

1. For the following account see BRO/AC/WO/11/1/a: 9 April 1739 ‘Case on the Will of John Elbridge Esq. deceased on behalf of Henry Woolnough and Rebecca his wife’.
2. J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (London and New Haven, 2004), x.
3. A. Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 1998), 229.
4. The idea draws largely on T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York, 1899), and tends to be the more usual line taken by architectural and decorative arts historians. See also N. McKendrick, ‘The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England’, in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, (eds), *The Birth of Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), 9–33.

5. P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London, 1984). See also Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, CA and London, 1996). A recent discussion is B. Blondé, N. Coquery, J. Stobart, and I. Van Damme, (eds), *Fashioning Old and New: Changing Consumer Patterns in Europe (1650–1900)* (Turnhout, Belgium, 2009), especially the essay by Blondé, ‘Conflicting Consumption Models’.
6. See, for example, J. Styles, and A. Vickery, (eds), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006); H. Greig and G. Riello, (eds), Special Issue on Georgian Interiors in *Journal of Design History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (Winter 2007); K. Harvey, ‘Barbarity in a Tea Cup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Design History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (autumn 2008), 205–221; D. Goodman and K. Norberg, (eds), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past* (New York and London, 2007); A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009).
7. L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture 1660–1760* (London, second edition, 1996); C. Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990); M. Overton J. Whittle, D. Dean, and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London, 2004).
8. H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600–1750* (Oxford, 2007), especially chapter 3; P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (London, 1989), chapter 8.
9. H. Greig and G. Riello, ‘Eighteenth-Century Interiors – Redesigning the Georgian: Introduction’, *Journal of Design History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (Winter 2007), 279. Peter Earle commented that a huge literature on the decorative arts is ‘addressed mainly to art historians, collectors and restorers rather than the social historian’. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 292 fn 39; J. Fowler and J. Cornforth, *English Decoration in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1978); P. Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior, 1660–1920* (New York, 1984); C. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (New York, 1993); Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*; T. Murdoch, (ed.), *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Households: A Tribute to John Cornforth* (Cambridge, 2006). J. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition 1500–1850* (New Haven and London, 2003), emphasizes smaller dwellings and craftsmen.
10. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 130.
11. K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012). See also K. Harvey and A. Shepard, ‘What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950’, introduction to a special feature on masculinities in *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2005), 274–280; M. Finn, ‘Men’s Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution’, *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (May 2000), 133–155; K. Harvey, ‘Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Gender and History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (November 2009), 520–540; M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005), 243.
12. J. Stobart, ‘Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Economic History Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2011), 885–904, 888.
13. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*, 6.
14. Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer*, 179.
15. In England this was especially the case from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century, whilst evidence for Massachusetts sees a steep decline between the 1670s and 1770s. See C. Shammas, ‘Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800’, in J. Brewer and R. Porter, (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 190–193, especially tables 9.7 and 9.8. Cornforth calls this the ‘primacy of upholstery’, see Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 75.

16. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*, tables 8.1 and 8.2. Weatherill includes all pictures and prints in her account, but makes no distinction between, for example, a fine portrait and cheaper prints, 207.
17. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 21; E. Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785* (Cambridge, 1990).
18. K. Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London, 2006); K. Retford, 'Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteenth-Century Country House', in Styles and Vickery, (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, 323–352; D. Johnson, 'Living in the Light: Quakerism and Colonial Portraiture', in E. J. Lapsansky and A. Verplanck, (eds), *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption* (Philadelphia, 2003), 122–146.
19. Report from the Egerton MS 3440 (Leeds Papers vol. 117) appearing as Appendix 5 in C. Phillpotts, 'Stroudend Tithing, Painswick, Gloucestershire Final Documentary Research Report' (Unpublished report for Stroudend Tithing Educational Trust, 2010).
20. GA/D45/F2: Inventory and valuation of goods of Richard Whitmore of Lower Slaughter, 31 January 1687/1688.
21. Slippings were embroidered elements applied to textiles. Purple was an unusual choice of colour.
22. It is unclear whether the carpets were on furniture, as often depicted in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, or on the floor. See Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*, plates 15 and 38.
23. A. H. Gomme and A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven and London, 2008), 213, plan 159; GA/D45/F3: Inventory and copy will of William Whitmore of Lower Slaughter, 1724–1725.
24. GA/D45/F3: Inventory and copy will of William Whitmore of Lower Slaughter, 1724–1725.
25. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*, table 8.1 indicates that only 6 per cent of gentry families owned china and 7 per cent utensils for hot drinks in the 1675–1725 period. Overton, Whittle, Dean, and Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, table A4.1, 192, states that between 1700 and 1740, only 20 per cent of Cornish gentlemen and 23.1 per cent of Kentish gentlemen possessed material goods related to hot drinks.
26. K. Lipsedge, "'Enter into thy Closet": Women, Closet Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel', in J. Styles and A. Vickery, (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006), 107–122; R. B. St George, 'Reading Spaces in Eighteenth-Century New England', in J. Styles and A. Vickery, (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006), 90–103.
27. GA/D45/F4: Inventories of goods, linen, etc. belonging to Elizabeth Whitmore of Slaughter House, 1724–1735.
28. This room almost certainly functioned as a personal informal sitting area. Cornforth, for instance, notes that comfortable seating furniture, such as easy chairs, only began to appear in parlours from the 1730s. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 42. See also J. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and America* (Baltimore, 2001), 145–146.
29. GA/D45/F4: Inventories of goods, linen, etc. belonging to Elizabeth Whitmore of Slaughter House, 1724–1735.
30. Cane chairs were out of fashion by about 1720, but they were still in widespread use by gentlemanly owners for many years afterward, see Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, 102.
31. Vickery asserts the importance of feminine intervention in the domestic interior, suggesting 'evidence of female designs and patronage dates from 1600 at least'. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 131. Cornforth and Saumarez Smith see the eighteenth century as the period when ladies became central to interior decoration, although Cornforth argues this occurred in the 1720s whilst Saumarez Smith contends it was not until the 1760s. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 206; Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*, 233.

32. Records relating to Cote house have remained virtually unexplored. A 1972 doctoral thesis by Donald Jones mined some of the papers, but with more emphasis on Elbridge's plantation in Jamaica. See BRO/34328/a: Donald Jones, 'The Elbridge, Woolnough and Smyth Families of Bristol, in the Eighteenth Century: With Special Reference to the Spring plantation, Jamiaca' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 1972).
33. This account is based on BRO/AC/WO/10/19: 2 April 1739, Inventory of the goods of John Elbridge at his house at Stoke, Westbury (Cote House) and E. Robinson, 'Some Notes about Cote' (Unpublished MS at Cote, April, 1971), and physical examination of the surviving house.
34. Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, 24, 59; A. Bowett, *English Furniture: 1660–1714: Charles II to Queen Anne* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2002), 76–79.
35. Both Virginia walnut and mahogany became much more readily available after the passing of the Naval Stores Act in 1721. See A. Bowett, 'The Commercial Introduction of Mahogany and the Naval Stores Act of 1721', *Furniture History*, vol. 30 (1994), 43–57; A. Bowett, 'After the Naval Stores Act: Some Implications for English Walnut Furniture', *Furniture History*, vol. 31 (1995), 116–123.
36. Bowett, *English Furniture*, 80–83, discusses leather. Matted bottoms are mentioned on 272. Common parlours usually had chairs with cane or rush seats until about 1725, but leather more often after that. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 40.
37. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 82; G. Beard, *Upholsterers and Interior Furnishings in England 1530–1840* (New Haven and London, 1997).
38. N. Rothstein and S. M. Levy, 'Furnishings, c. 1500–1780', in D. Jenkins, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2003), vol. 1, 631–658, 633. For comparative bed values, see Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 91–92. Cornforth notes how rare were survivals of 'simple beds hung in woollen materials and cotton'.
39. B. Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons: Asian Trade, Domestic Industry and Consumer Demand, 1660–1780', in D. Jenkins, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2003), vol. 1, 493–512; Idem, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain 1660–1800* (Oxford, 1991), 12–42.
40. Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite*, 41. The restrictions were ineffective, however, and by the 1730s cotton manufacturing had resumed in Britain. Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons', 504; G. Riello and P. Parthasarathi, (eds), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford, 2009), especially chapters 10, 11, and 13.
41. As suggested by Elisabeth Robinson's recollection that, at the top of the stairs, 'the first door on the left was...panelled in dark oak'. Robinson, 'Some Notes about Cote', 8: Laura Keim pointed out that the unfinished inside of cupboards in this room is oak.
42. Likely cushions for window seats in this room.
43. On gilt leather hangings, see Saunders, *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration* (London, 2002), 121–123.
44. BRO/AC/WO/10/18: Inventory and Appraisalment of Royal Fort, St Michaels Hill, March 1738/1739; W. D. [William Darrell], *The Gentleman Instructed, in the Conduct of a Virtuouse and Happy Life* [Dublin], 1725. Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, accessed 4 June 2010.
45. Floor coverings such as carpets and floor cloths were unusual in genteel houses until well into the eighteenth century. Ayres, *Domestic Interiors*, 93.
46. GA/D45/F4: Inventories of goods, linen, etc. belonging to Elizabeth Whitmore of Slaughter House, 1724–1735. This object was valued at £1.1.0, indicating a modestly priced piece with an exotic flavor.
47. BRO/09467/12/a: 'Notes and Receipts for House Building at Clifton 1746–47–48–49 + 1750 + c'. BRO/09467/12/b: 'Notes and Rects for Mr P Fishers Private Affairs/Bundle No 12/1729' and 'Notes + Receipts for Furniture + c at Clifton (Bundle 13)'.
48. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
49. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 88–89, 92; Rothstein and Levy, 'Furnishings, c. 1500–1780', 653. For textile prices, see C. Shamma, 'The Decline of Textile Prices in

- England and British America Prior to Industrialization', *Economic History Review*, vol. 47, no. 3 (1994), 483–507.
50. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
 51. For discussion of scientific instruments in the domestic setting see Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 261–265.
 52. C. L. and K. A. Wulf, (eds), *Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America* (University Park, PA, 1997), 209.
 53. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, chapter 6, especially 167.
 54. GA/MF1442: Palling-Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 57, 16 February 1733/1734.
 55. Bowett, *Early Georgian Furniture*, 116–117.
 56. The first recorded instance of the compass or rounded seat was in 1726, and shell carving at the knees on a chair leg appears in a furniture bill of November 1728. Bowett, *Early Georgian Furniture*, 171–175.
 57. *Ibid.*, especially 178–180; A. Bowett, 'The India-Back Chair, 1715–1740', *Apollo* (January 2003), 3–9.
 58. Bowett, *Early Georgian Furniture*, 171.
 59. Frampton Court collection, Richard Clutterbuck account book, 1768–1772, 24 December 1771.
 60. Description from Frampton Court files, Christie's Report (November 2003). GA/D149/F18: draft will of Wm Clutterbuck, gent. (1726) and TNA/PROB11/623(1 July 1728). William's final will leaves the 'hangings and chairs in the Parlour Chamber' specifically to Richard.
 61. This despite the fact that pewter was 'gradually being usurped by earthenware and china' and gradually moved to the 'backstage' of the house, see Overton, Whittle, Dean, and Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, 135.
 62. Harvey, *Little Republic*, 101. A 1766 inventory of Hinwick House, Bedfordshire, 'shows a conservative addition of pieces to the furnishings rather than wholesale replacement under the pressures of changing fashions'. J. Collett-White, (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses, 1714–1830*, Publications of the Bedfordshire Record Society, vol. 74 (Bedford, 1995), 93. Sharnbrook house, fitted out in the late 1740s or early 1750s, demonstrates a similar mix in the principal rooms, 205. Stobart traces similar processes at Stoneleigh Abbey in 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers'.
 63. L. G. Carr and L. S. Walsh, 'Changing Lifestyle and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake', in C. Carson, R. Hoffman, and P. J. Albert, (eds), *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, 1994), 59–166, at 65–66.
 64. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, chapter 8.
 65. W. Hening, (ed.), *Hening's Statutes at Large, vol. 3, 1684–1710* (Philadelphia, 1823), 484, October 1710.
 66. Quoted in Carr and Walsh, 'Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior', 64.
 67. Library of Congress, Robert Beverly Letterbook, 27 December 1762 and 15 April and 16 July 1771, quoted in Carr and Walsh, 'Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior', 68.
 68. Carr and Walsh, 'Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior', 103–104. See also W. B. Gusler, *Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710–1790* (Williamsburg, VA, reprint edition, 1993), 178–181.
 69. W. Eddis, *Letters from America*, in A. C. Land, (ed.) (Cambridge, MA, 1969), 19.
 70. R. C. Nash, 'Domestic Material Culture and Consumer Demand in the British Atlantic World: Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1770', in D. Shields, (ed.), *Material Culture in Anglo-America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry and Caribbean* (Columbia, SC, 2009), 221–266.
 71. Sweeney, 'Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid Eighteenth Century', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 1984), 231–255, 246, 249–150.
 72. J. G. Volk, (ed.), *The Warner House: A Rich and Colorful History* (Portsmouth, NH, 2006), 55.

73. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville, TN, 2007), 106, Table 6.
74. J. K. Hosmer, *The Life of Thomas Hutchinson* (Boston and New York, 1896), Appendix A, 351–362.
75. W. Burch, 'Furnishing Plan: Johnson Hall State Historic Site' (Unpublished report on file at Johnson Hall, 2003); John Weatherhead, New York, to WJ, *PSWJ*, vol. 7, 173; 14 October 1771, Carpenter Wharton to WJ, *PSWJ*, vol. 8, 293–294.
76. L. C. Rubenstein, 'Johnson Hall' (Unpublished Winterthur/University of Delaware M.A. Thesis, 1958), 118–119; W. Burch, 'Furnishing Plan'.
77. R. V. Shepherd, 'James Logan's Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia' (MA Thesis, Winterthur/University of Delaware, 1968), is a reliable guide to Logan's furnishing of Stenton, although it somewhat overemphasizes the Quaker plainness idea. This has been supplemented and corrected in parts by recent research on the Stenton collection, especially the furniture. See L. C. Keim, 'Stenton Room Furnishings Study' (MS report, 2010, on file at Stenton). P. D. Zimmerman's series of articles: 'Philadelphia Case Furniture at Stenton', *The Magazine Antiques* (May 2002), 94–101; 'Eighteenth-Century Chairs at Stenton', *The Magazine Antiques* (May 2003), 122–129; 'Early American Tables and Other Furniture at Stenton', *The Magazine Antiques* (May 2004), 102–109.
78. On currency exchange, see J. J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1978), especially 175–188. For comparative costs for beds see John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 83, 91.
79. O. Bradbury, 'Handel at Home', *Country Life*, 15 December 2005 for the recent recreation of a similar bed at a London house museum.
80. Transcript of James Logan Inventory, 1752, on file at Stenton.
81. Around 1700 chairs made of walnut for great country houses cost £1 or £2, only becoming more expensive with the addition of fine upholstery, Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 100.
82. Several archaeological investigations were conducted by Barbara Liggett between 1968 and 1983, see especially, 'Archeological Notes on Stenton' (Unpublished MS at Stenton, 1983[?]) but materials have been most usefully catalogued and evaluated by Deborah L. Miller and Dennis S. Pickeral.
83. In their study of Cornwall and Kent, for example, 'gentlemen' and 'esquire' made up less than 6 per cent of the sample between 1700 and 1749. Overton, Whittle, Dean, and Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households*, 22, table 2.2.
84. Inventories collected and transcribed by Gunston Hall are suggestive of this trend. http://www.gunstonhall.org/library/probate/probate_list.html. See, for example, Inventory of Henry Fitzhugh, who matriculated at Christ Church Oxford in 1722, died in 1742, and had a chintz bedstead with raised tester worth £20 VA, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/pdfs/ftzhgh42.pdf>. Thomas Lee's 1758 inventory of Stratford Hall reflects values for household goods similar to those seen in England <http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/pdfs/lee58.pdf>.
85. Inventory takers examining the same house at Lower Slaughter Manor delineated certain spaces separately, which accounts for the variation in number across the three Whitmore inventories.
86. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*, 6, 168, table 8.1.
87. Overton, Whittle, Dean and Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*, table 2.1.
88. G. L. Main and J. T. Main, 'Economic Growth and the Standard of Living in Southern New England, 1640–1774', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 48, no. 1 (March 1988), 27–46.
89. Nash, 'Domestic Material Culture and Consumer Demand', 234–242.

90. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*; Murdoch, *Noble Households*; Collett-White, (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses*.
91. Murdoch, *Noble Households*, 143–165.
92. *Ibid.*, 152.
93. M. Rothery and J. Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738–1806', *Continuity and Change*, vol. 27, no. 3 (2012), 379–407, 388.
94. Murdoch, *Noble Households*, 243.
95. Collett-White, (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses*. Some of the smaller houses described include Colworth House (1723, £365) and Hinwick House (1766, £570); G. Glanville and P. Glanville, 'The Art Market and Merchant Patronage in London 1680 to 1720', in M. Galinou, (ed.), *City Merchants and the Arts* (London, 2004), 11–24, especially 11–12.
96. Murdoch, *Noble Households*, 119. What is more is that the Drayton House inventory lists 82 separate spaces, more than three times the number of spaces in most gentlemen's houses.
97. D. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven, 2006), 86.
98. Carr and Walsh, 'Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior', 67.
99. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 8; Collett-White, (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses*, 93, 207; Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers'.
100. Quoted in R. Hoffman, 'Preface', in Carson et al., (eds), *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, 1994), xi.

7 Enacting Status

1. On letters, letter-writing and communication see, S. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1660–1800* (Oxford, 2009); R. Earle, (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945* (Aldershot, 1999); C. Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke, 2006); I. K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (Oxford, 1986); S. M. S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2008); K. Dierks, *In my Power: Letter Writing and Communications in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2009).
2. A. Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 2.
3. H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600–1750* (Oxford, 2007), 265.
4. M. R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, CA and London, 1996), 47–48.
5. P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989), 6.
6. L. Stone and J. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984), 298–322; M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978), 2–3. See also M. Girouard, 'The Power House', in G. Jackson-Stops, (ed.), *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (New Haven, 1985), 22–27, 22.
7. A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), 146.
8. BRO/AC/WO/11/2/f-m: Woolnough v. Scrope.
9. S. West, 'Social Space and the English Country House', in S. Tarlow and S. West, (eds), *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain* (London and New York, 1999), 103–122, 104; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 201.
10. B. Heller, 'Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 53, no. 3 (2010), 623–645, 627. See also J. Melville, 'The Use and Organisation of Domestic Space in Late Seventeenth-Century London' (University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1999); A. Vickery, 'An Englishman's Home Is His Castle? Privacies, Boundaries and Thresholds in the Eighteenth-Century London House', *Past and Present*, vol. 199 (May 2008), 147–173, especially 153–158.

11. Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, vol. 151, no. 1 (May 1996), 111–140; Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), 12–13.
12. R. C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2010), 63. The numbers of servants in gentlemanly households do not compare with many gentry and aristocratic households, which often had ten or more, 65. J. M. Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, 1993); A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville, TN, 2007).
13. Access tools have helped to illustrate how spaces interconnected and interacted. B. Hillier and J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge, 1984). See also West, 'Social Space and the English Country House', especially 108–109; S. Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History: The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1998), 201–216.
14. T. Meldrum, 'Domestic Service, Privacy and the Eighteenth-Century Metropolitan Household', *Urban History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1999), 27–39, especially 34.
15. Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 30.
16. Flather, *Gender and Space*, 44.
17. See especially Harvey, *Little Republic*.
18. J. Lewis, 'When a House Is not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48 (April 2009), 336–363, 363; Harvey, *The Little Republic*; K. Harvey, 'Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (autumn 2008), 205–221, especially 217–218; J. Styles and A. Vickery, (eds), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006), 4–6; Heller, 'Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London', 624, suggests 'the relative under-representation of men in historians' analyses of domestic space is problematic'.
19. K. Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650–1800', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 296–311, 305.
20. Flather, *Gender and Space*, 60–74; Richardson, *Household Servants*, 97–101.
21. BRO/AC/WO/10/19: 2 April 1739, Inventory of the goods of John Elbridge at his house at Stoke, Westbury [Cote House].
22. L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture 1660–1760* (London, second edition, 1996), 9–11.
23. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 265.
24. Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History'.
25. BRO/AC/WO/10/19: 2 April 1739, Inventory of the goods of John Elbridge at his house at Stoke, Westbury [Cote House]. On kitchens and their equipment see Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History'; S. Pennell, 'The Material Culture of Food in Early Modern England, c. 1650–1750', in S. Tarlow and S. West, (eds), *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain* (London and New York, 1999).
26. C. Carson and C. R. Lounsbury, (eds), *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigations by Colonial Williamsburg* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), 163–164.
27. Richardson, *Household Servants*, 79.
28. BRO/AC/WO/10/14/b–d: Copy wills of John Elbridge. BRO/AC/AS/57/3: Copy Will of John Andrews, drawn up on 10 June 1743 with a codicil of 3 December 1743; TNA/PROB11/629, Will of Charles Cox; TNA/PROB11/808, Will of William Springett; GA/D149/T358, Will of William Clutterbuck, 1726; J. R. Soderlund, 'Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania', in J. W. Trotter and E. L. Smith, (eds), *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives* (University Park, PA, 1997), 73–92, 73–74.
29. Report from the Egerton MS 3440 (Leeds Papers vol. cxvii) appearing as Appendix 5 in C. Phillpotts, 'Stroudend Tithing, Painswick, Gloucestershire Final Documentary Research Report' (Unpublished report for Stroudend Tithing Educational Trust, 2010), 162–165.

30. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
31. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 27; Richardson, *Household Servants*, 79; T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, 2000); T. Meldrum, 'Domestic Service, Privacy and the Eighteenth-Century Metropolitan Household', 27–39; B. Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996).
32. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 138.
33. See especially Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, chapter 1.
34. See GA/D45/E14: 'Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782)', including 7 May 1729, Bill from John Collett for 'repareing ye stables'; May and August 1729 from Giles [Laurence?] for work on the Stables and 'ye dogkennel wall'; 'A particular of the Materials Bout & repairs done at Slaughter House... in the Year 1730'; 'Work done for Mrs Whitmore 1730'.
35. J. Johnson, *The Gloucestershire Gentry* (Gloucester, 1989), 153.
36. TNA/PROB11/629 (12 May 1729), where Coxe's will identifies him as 'of Lincolns Inn in the County of Middlesex'.
37. BRO/AC/WO/11/2/p: 3 June 1740. 'The joint & separate answers of John Scrope and John Cossins Esqr'.
38. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782), Letter, 25 May 1756, William Whitmore to Richard Jervis.
39. GA/D45/E6: Cash accounts of Richard Jervis, steward to William Whitmore (1735–1773); GA/D45/E13: Estate papers, 1674–1837, Farm accounts (1741–1774). On 19 March 1735, William Whitmore appointed his brother and 'my Trusty friend Richard Jervis of Lower Slaughter aforesaid Gentleman My Joint Attorneys for Me'. GA/D45/F8: Bills of books, clothing, harness, household, etc. of Whitmore family, 1673–1796.
40. GA/D45/F8: Bills of books, clothing, harness, household, etc. of Whitmore family, 1673–1796. Slaughter – Bills – 1773–1782 – Household Accounts – Bread, Meat, Coal, Candles, Tea, Wines, etc., 7 February 1775.
41. Quoted in Johnson, *Gloucestershire Gentry*, 141.
42. GA/D45/F8: Bills of books, clothing, harness, household, etc. of Whitmore family, 1673–1796. Slaughter – Bills – 1774–1782 – Clothing – including jewellery, tailor, gloves, boots, shoes, weaving, Haberdashery, etc.; A 1774 bill records 'Making the Butler a Livery 0.12.0' and 'Making the Groom a Livery 0.12.0'. For discussion of livery, which seems to have been the province of larger households, see Richardson, *Household Servants*, 107–109; J. Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2011), 885–904, 898, highlights servants in livery as a form of conspicuous consumption.
43. GA/D45/F8: Bills of books, clothing, harness, household, etc. of Whitmore family, 1673–1796. Slaughter – Bills – 1774–1782 – Clothing – including jewellery, tailor, gloves, boots, shoes, weaving, Haberdashery, etc.; Slaughter – Bills – 1775–1781 – Books and Binding; Slaughter – Bills – 1728–1796 – Miscellaneous – Shot, Timber, Hops, Malting, Medicine, Musical Instruments, Shaving, Seeds, Veterinary fees Impounding, Legal Charges'.
44. R. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1998), 162.
45. W. Penn, *Fruits of Solitude* (New York, 1693, reprint in 1903), 49.
46. R. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1982), 76–80, 301–305.
47. H. R. French, "'Ingenious and Learned Gentlemen": Social Perceptions and Self-fashioning among Parish Elites in Essex, 1680–1740', *Social History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (January 2000), 44–66, 46.
48. W. E. Minchinton, 'The Merchants in England in the Eighteenth Century', *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, vol. 10, no. 20 (December 1957), 62–71, 69.
49. 'Warrant Books: December 1708, 1–10', *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 22: 1708 (1952), 8 December 1708. 'By his personal unwearied care and great skill the said Elbridge hath

- carried on the accounts of the said port of Bristol which were left by the late Collector in the utmost confusion’.
50. BRO/04356/9: Apprentice Book, 1709–1719, 112, May 1718, no. 139. Henry Bodman fils Abraham Bodman pilot of Shirehampton, for seven years. BRO/AC/WO/11/2/l: [1740?]. Henry Bodman Answer.
 51. BCL/No. B19716, Letter from Custom House, 26 March 1739.
 52. BRO/AC/WO/11/2/v: January 1740/1741, Depositions.
 53. BRO/AC/WO/11/2/n: n.d. [likely 1740] Thomas Elbridge Answer.
 54. BRO/AC/WO/11/2/x: Depositions in favour of Henry and Rebecca Woolnough.
 55. Girouard, *Life in the English Country Jouse*, 143.
 56. BRO/09474/1: Copy will of Henry Bodman, 4 June 1768.
 57. J. Flavell, *When London Was Capital of America* (New Haven and London, 2010); B. B. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008), 198–207.
 58. UBL/DM1466/11: ‘Journal of a Tour of Europe’; For Goldney correspondence with James Logan of Philadelphia see, for example, James Logan Letterbooks, Box 2, copies at Stenton, originals at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 59. P. K. Stembridge, *The Goldney Family: A Bristol Merchant Dynasty* (Bristol, 1998), 21.
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 61. C. L. and K. A. Wulf, (eds), *Milcah Martha Moore’s Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America* (University Park, PA, 1997), 208–209.
 62. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768.
 63. UBL/DM1398/A: Copy Inventory of furniture and effects at Goldney House, 1768. Also, UBL/DM1398: Memorandum Book kept by Thomas Goldney III, entry for Deaths 1756, ‘Mr Stranover, the Painter, at Bath, 22 February 1756’, quoted in Stembridge, *The Goldney Family*, 157.
 64. *Milcah Martha Moore’s Book*, 208–209.
 65. Rudder, 592.
 66. Phillpotts, ‘Stroudend Tithing Report’, 79.
 67. Report from the Egerton MS 3440 (Leeds Papers vol. cxvii) ff 289–289v, 10 May 1758, appearing as Appendix 5 in Phillpotts, ‘Stroudend Tithing Report’, 162–165.
 68. GA/MF1443: Palling-Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 59, Thomas Merrett to William Palling, n.d. [possibly 1746].
 69. GA/MF1443: Palling-Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 59, Edmund Clutterback to John Wathen, 14 October 1754.
 70. GA/MF1442: Palling-Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 54, ‘Memorandum my sister Sarah Palling tabl’d with me 2 years and a Quarter’ and ‘my sister Mary Palling tabl’d with me 2 years and 6 weeks’. GA/MF1442, Palling Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 57, ‘February 3d 1737/8...to put his two Sisters Sarah Palling and Mary Palling to School’.
 71. GA/MF1443: Palling-Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 65; GA/MF1445: Palling-Caruthers (Smith) Papers, Bundle 70.
 72. Report from the Egerton MS 3440 (Leeds Papers vol. cxvii), in Phillpotts, ‘Stroudend Tithing Report’, Appendix 5, 162.
 73. *Ibid.*, 163.
 74. Melville, ‘The Use and Organisation of Domestic Space’, 176–182 about keys. Locked rooms are in Flather, *Gender and Space*, 46–47.
 75. On men and kitchens, see Harvey, *Little Republic*, 126–132.
 76. Report from the Egerton MS 3440 (Leeds Papers vol. cxvii) in Phillpotts, ‘Stroudend Tithing Report’, Appendix 5.
 77. Physical exterior survey, 22 November 2010. A rococo chimneypiece inscribed ‘William Palling, Brownshill, MDCCLX’ provides the date for reconstruction, Kingsley, *CHG II*, 92.

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79. D. Defoe, *A Tour through England and Wales*, 2 vols (London and New York, 1928), vol. 1, 281.
80. A. Randall, 'Paul, Sir Onesiphorus, first baronet (*bap.* 1706, *d.* 1774)', *ODNB* (Oxford, online edition, 2004).
81. Museum in the Park, Stroud, Patent 1748/no. 630: 'Preparation of Cloth for Dying'.
82. *Gentleman's Magazine*, first series, vol. 20 (20 July 1750), 331; E. A. L. Moir, 'Sir George Onesiphorus Paul', in H. P. R. Finberg, (ed.), *Gloucestershire Studies* (Leicester, 1957), 195–224, 196.
83. Rudder, 629.
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89. H. D. Farish, (ed.), *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian* (Colonial Williamsburg, 1957).
90. A. C. Meyers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship* (Philadelphia, 1904), 252.
91. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 169. See C. B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660–1780* (Manchester, 1998), chapter 7; Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*, especially tables 8.1 and 8.2.
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93. E. Wolf, 2nd, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1751* (Philadelphia, 1974).
94. Minutes of LCP, 29 March 1732.
95. W. Black, 'The Journal of William Black', 1 June 1744, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1877), 406–407.
96. *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4 (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 November 1751), 207.
97. Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 216.
98. Rudder, 452.
99. D. S. Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol. 1 (London, 1974) and vol. 2 (London, 2004), especially 9 and 815 for numbers produced.
100. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 375, with another set carrying the Clifford coat of arms on 479. Although D. S. Howard initially dated the set to c. 1755 during the peak decade in the form's production (Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol. 1, 31), further study suggests a date 'five or six years earlier', see personal correspondence, 21 November 2005, Angela Howard to Jean Speed, Frampton Court Archives.
101. Carson and Lounsbury, *Chesapeake House*, 155.
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104. Frampton Court Collection, portrait by Samuel Besly, 1741, and Cane.

105. E. Clutterbuck, *The Clutterbuck Diaries, Being the Journey with my Wife and Daughter Sally into Gloucestershire on a Visit to my Cousin Clutterbuck at King Stanley* [1773], with notes by The Rev. Robert Nott and T. E. Sanders (Stroud, 1935), entry for Wednesday 14 July 1773.
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8 Social Strategies and Gentlemanly Networks

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2. N. Mereness, (ed.), 'Journal of Lord Adam Gordon', in *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 417–418.
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7. Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, 298, fn 4.
8. See BRO/P/St.A/OP/1 (a): Overseers to Clifton Parish 1708 to 1732 and BRO/P/St.A/OP/1 (b): Overseers to Clifton Parish 1732 to 1749.
9. GA/D149/F19; Rudder, 452.
10. See GA/D149/F18: 10 November 1702, Coll. Colchester to WC, and GA/D421/B1.
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12. P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989), 176–177.
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23. J. M. Price 'Who Cared about the Colonies?: The Impact of the Thirteen Colonies on British Society and Politics, circa 1714–1775', in B. Bailyn and P. Morgan, (eds), *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 395–436, 423.
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30. F. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston, 1957), 188–189.
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34. Hoon, *The Organization of the English Customs System*, 6–11.
35. D. Jones, 'The Elbridge, Woolnough and Smyth Families of Bristol, in the Eighteenth Century: With Special Reference to the Spring Plantation' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bristol, 1972) [BRO/34328/a], 42.
36. See table of apprentices in Jones, 'The Elbridge, Woolnough and Smyth Families of Bristol', 42.
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38. GA/D149/F21: WC to Richard Clutterbuck [RC], 19 October 1723.
39. GA/D149/F21: WC to RC, June 1725.
40. GA/D149/F21: WC to RC [probably March] 1725. Strikeouts in the original.
41. GA/D149/F21: WC to RC, June 1725.
42. BRO/AC/WO/11/4/k: Results from auction of Elbridge goods.
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44. Mortimer, (ed.), *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol*, 233.
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46. G. Munro Smith, *A History of the Bristol Royal Infirmary* (Bristol, 1917), 9.

47. See, for example, HSP/James Logan Ledger, 1720–1727, vol. 10, 268: ‘1726 12 Mo 27 To Jno Andrews Sterl Accot for wines.....£8.6.2’.
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53. GA/D678/1 F12/1/100–101: William Bell to Sir John Dutton [JD], 11 July 1739 and 22 September 1739.
54. GA/D678/1 F12/1/172: 12 January 1739/40, Samuel Creswicke to JD and D678/1 F12/1/175: 28 June 1740, Samuel Creswicke to JD.
55. GA/D678/1 F12/1/235: 12 September 1739, James Lambe to JD.
56. GA/D678/1 F12/1/23: 20 July 1733, John Small to JD.
57. GA/D678/1 F12/1/87: 18 September 1739, Revd Thomas Baker, Bibury to JD.
58. GA/D149/F18: 10 November 1702, ‘Coll. Colchester to WC, To Capt. Clutterbuck’, with William Clutterbuck’s lengthy response; see also 2 December 1710, Col. M[atthew] Ducie Morton to William Clutterbuck, and WC’s response.
59. GA/D149/F18: 11 October 1716, Henry Colchester to William Clutterbuck and quote in October 1716, WC to Henry Colchester about Colchester standing. See related correspondence: 26 April 1717, Coll. Matthew Ducie Morton to WC, To Capt. Clutterbuck, and May 2d. 1717, Henry Colchester to WC.
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65. GA/D149/F21: 5 April 1725, WC to RC.
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69. GA/D149/F18: 23 June 1714, Mr Joseph Denham to WC, and WC’s response.
70. GA/D149/F18: 4 November 1720 and 29 November 1720, Dr William Cradock to WC. On advowsons, see Johnson, *Gloucestershire Gentry*, 147–148.
71. GA/D149/F18: 12 November 1720, WC to Dr William Cradock.
72. BRO/34328/b: Photocopies, correspondence and notes used by Donald Jones in his thesis. Letter from Pauline King, Librarian, New England Genealogical Society, 18 March 1970.
73. BRO/28049 (25) a (i): n.d. [early C20?] ‘Certain Extracts & Abridgements of the Will of John Elbridge Esqr, deceased, together with a Set of Orders & Regulations for the

- well governing of the Charity School on St Michaels Hill by him lately founded for ye instruction of twenty four poor Girls'; BRO/35893/1/a: *Bristol Infirmary Minute Book*, for 1736 ff.
74. BRO/35893/1/a: *Bristol Infirmary Minute Book*, 1736–1772, Minute of 6 January 1737/1738 and 12 December 1738.
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 78. A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville, TN, 2007), 61.
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 80. GA/D45/E14: Bills for carpenter's work, rates, repairs and legal proceedings (1707–1726), building repairs, etc. (1728–1782) 4 April 1767, John Dolphin to William Whitmore, and Whitmore's response.
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 82. BRO/AC/WO/14/8: 15 October 1744. Declaration of Ejectment; BRO/AC/WO/14/10/a: n.d. [prob. October 1744], Henry Woolnough to John Baker.
 83. BRO/AC/WO/14/16: 1747, Advertisement concerning Cutting or Stealing of Wood.
 84. BRO/AC/WO/14/19/a: Richard Wallington to RW, 20 July 1749; BRO/AC/WO/14/19/c: 20 July 1750.
 85. BRO/AC/WO/14/19/b: 20 July 1750, RW to David Thomas; BRO/AC/WO/14/19/d: 7 April 1753, David Thomas to Rebecca Woolnough.
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 89. B. B. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008), 271–276; G. Hood, *Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 38–39.
 90. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 276–280.
 91. Price, 'Who Cared about the Colonies?' 416.
 92. Price, 'Who Cared about the Colonies'; Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*; D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); A. G. Olson, *Making the Empire Work: London and American Interest Groups, 1690–1790* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1992); P. Gauci, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London, 1660–1800* (London, 2007).
 93. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason*, 47–50.
 94. Quotes in Tolles, *James Logan*, 93.
 95. JL Correspondence Letterbooks, Box 2, B1, 86–87, JL to Thomas Goldney, 23 October 1727. Copies at Stenton.
 96. Stenton HSR, 16–17.
 97. James Logan Letterbooks, Box 2, B2, 69–70 JL to Dr WL, 28 September 1729; 83–84, JL to WL, 23 May 1730; 86, JL to Thomas Goldney, 30 June 1730. Copies at Stenton.
 98. R. D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (Oxford, 1989), 63.
 99. R. Hoffman, 'Preface', in Carson et al., (eds), *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, 1994), vii–xii, at vii.

100. F. O'Toole, *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* (New York, 2005), 288.
101. Rozbicki, 'The Curse of Provincialism: Negative Perceptions of the Colonial American Plantation Gentry', *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 63, no. 4 (November 1997), 727–752 claims a great deal; S. Conway, 'From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners: British Perceptions of the Americans, circa 1739–1783', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, vol. 59, no. 1 (January 2002), 65–100; E. G. Evans, *A 'Topping People': The Rise and Decline of Virginia's Old Political Elite, 1680–1790* (Charlottesville, VA, 2009); J. Flavell, *When London Was Capital of America* (New Haven and London, 2010) suggest less.
102. Tolles, *James Logan*, 95; James Logan to Johann Fabricius, 11 November 1721, *James Logan Letterbooks 1717–1731*, vol. 3, 20–22. 'Common American' quoted in *James Logan 1674–1751: Bookman Extraordinary* (Philadelphia, 1971), 3.
103. N. Landsman, *From Colonial to Provincials: American Thought and Culture 1680–1760* (Cornell, 1997), 3.
104. *Ibid.*, 177.
105. T. Burnard, *Creole Gentlemen: The Maryland Elite 1691–1776* (New York and London, 2002), 226.
106. M. Rozbicki, *The Complete Colonial Gentleman: Cultural Legitimacy in Plantation America* (Charlottesville, VA, 1998), 2.
107. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 269.
108. Rozbicki, *The Complete Colonial Gentleman*, 141.
109. T. H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain": The American and Consumer Revolutions in the Eighteenth Century', in Carson et al., (eds), *Of Consuming Interest*, 444–482.
110. R. L. Bushman, *Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 5; Mooney, *Prodigy Houses*, 268.
111. K. Sweeney, 'Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid Eighteenth Century', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 1984), 231–255, 231, 250.
112. B. Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, MA, 1974).
113. Quoted in O'Toole, *White Savage*, 326.
114. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*, 231.

9 Conclusion

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2. R. E. Carr, *The History of the Family of Carr of Dunston Hill, Co. Durham*, 3 vols (London, 1893–1899), vol. 3, 64.
3. LWL MSS 2/Box 2 /Folders 4–5.
4. LWL MSS 2/Box 6/ Folder 4: 4 April 1791. Thomas Adams [TA] to Robert Hopper Williamson Esqr, Newcastle upon Tyne.
5. LWL MSS 2/Box 26/ Folder 1: 30 April 1785, Thomas Carr to TA.
6. LWL MSS 2/Box 20/ Folder 1: 2 September 1799, TA to J. J. Powels, Lincolns Inn, London.
7. L. E. Klein, 'Politeness for Plebes: Consumption and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England', in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer, (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995), 362–382, 364; P. J. Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen', in N. Harte and R. Quinault, (eds), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 1996), 1–33, 21.
8. L. E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 869–898, 896.
9. N. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture 1680–1760* (Cornell, 1997).
10. Several historians, especially Amanda Vickery, have made efforts along these lines recently, for example, A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009).

11. C. Carson, 'The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand?' in C. Carson, R. Hoffman, and P. J. Albert, *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, 1994), 691.
12. For example, William Hamilton of the Woodlands in Philadelphia, and States Dyckman of Boscobel in New York.
13. K. Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Post-colonial Nation* (Oxford, 2011).
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