

The Baillies of Mellerstain:
The Household Economy in an Eighteenth-Century Elite Household

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Abstract

Account books of household expenses provide details of people's social and economic life. For Scotland during the seventeenth and eighteenth century few, if any, account books are as detailed as those of Lady Grisell Baillie of Jerviswood who lived from 1665-1746. Lady Baillie (nee Hume) is a well-known upper class woman in Scottish history, both in her own right and in relation to the tumultuous political careers of her father (Patrick Hume) and husband (George Baillie). A scholarly edition of the accounts, augmented by an 1822 biography written by her daughter, can provide insight into women's social history in eighteenth-century Scotland. The household accounts, in particular, provide the opportunity to examine what the everyday lifestyles were like for upper-class families in Scotland. These accounts include the expenses of raising and educating children, feeding a large household of family and servants and the extravagant costs involved in overseas travel. What makes Lady Grisell's accounts unique is their level of detail and organization spanning over forty years, from 1692 to 1746. In addition to the accounts the biography, written in the style of times, provides valuable information about the Baillies' marriage, family life and the Baillie girls' upbringing. These sources add to the understanding of the household and marital economy in Scotland during the long eighteenth century.

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Introduction: Moving Beyond the History of a Heroine

For women to be recognized in traditional histories they often had to be depicted as fictionalized versions of themselves with their most scandalous or heroic deeds exaggerated to emphasize their importance and interest readers. While the stories of their lives may make an interesting read, they can seldom be taken at face value, and may say more about the author in his or her times than about the life of the subject herself. Lady Grisell Baillie was one of these women who have been written about so much that her actual biography has become distorted. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries her childhood adventures were described by multiple authors, who portrayed her as a Covenanting heroine.¹ For a time the British public was fascinated by the little Scottish girl who carried secret notes from her father, Patrick Hume, to his imprisoned friend Robert Baillie. Respect and acclaim was given to the young woman who snuck through a grave yard at night in Scotland to bring food and news to her father when he was in hiding.² Lady Grisell was described as a brave, strong young lady who sacrificed her childhood and personal comforts to help her family and care for her multiple siblings. Yet for all that was written of the young Grisell, there has been little to nothing that focuses on who Lady Grisell was as an adult, wife and mother. This study will center on the period of Lady Grisell's

¹ Kenneth Boyd, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family 1850-1914* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers LTD, 1980), 1-3. Covenanters were a group of people who advocated against the Scottish crown ruling from England, and leaning more to Episcopacy than their preferred Presbyterianism. Women were crucial during the Covenanting movement because they set up a system for Covenanters to communicate with each other. James Anderson, *The Ladies of the Covenant: Memoirs of Distinguished Scottish Female Characters, Embracing the Period of the Covenant and the Persecution*. (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1857. Reprinted by Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005), xiii, 570-5. Anderson says he picked the women he wrote about because "whether in humble life or exalted stations, were distinguished by their zeal or by their sufferings". Anderson considered Lady Baillie one of these "Ladies of the Covenant", but most of the chapter in his book dedicated to her is concentrated on her father and father-in-law. Helen and Keith Kelsall, *Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago: New Light on Edinburgh and Border Families* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 19. There has been some debate about what age Lady Grisell was when she first visited Robert Baillie in his cell; the general consensus is that she was eleven.

² Michael F. Graham, "Women and the Church Courts in Reformation Era Scotland" in *Women in Scotland: c. 1100-1750* ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 324. Sir Patrick Hume was forced to hide in the family's vault when Scotland's authorities were searching for him. After his friend, Robert Baillie, was executed Hume was forced to leave the country and travel to Holland.

life after she was married in 1692, at the age of twenty-six, which reveals more about social life in Scotland during the long eighteenth century than any tales of her youthful heroism.³

Both men and women during this period left behind personal writings, for the most part they were diaries, autobiographies or even letters. Instead of these usual forms of writing, Lady Grisell left meticulously kept account books that spanned from 1692 to 1746. Her entries begin late into her first year of marriage and finish just before her death. Account books can reveal a great deal about the social and economic life of a family, depending on the detail of the records. Some accounts, such as those of Lady Grisell's mother, contain only a few years of entries recorded on scraps of papers. There are few, if any, Scottish accounts that are as extensive as the Baillie accounts, which consisted of more than a thousand pages of entries. She kept track of her household expenditures in multiple account books, the largest and most important of which were the "Day Books". The original manuscripts are not accessible to the public since they have remained in the family's possession; however, the Scottish Historical Society published a four hundred-page scholarly edition of the accounts in 1911. This edition, edited by Robert Scott-Moncrieff, focused mainly on Lady Grisell's first day book of 1692 to 1718, which gives extensive details about the early days of the Baillies' marriage, the births and upbringing of their children, and the marriages of their daughters.

Historians have often dipped into the accounts for illustrative examples of various aspects of life in eighteenth-century Scotland. In 1912, Rose Bradley sampled the London entries of the accounts to demonstrate the higher cost of goods in London compared to Scotland.⁴ More

³ Barbara C. Murison, "Baillie, Lady Grisell (1665-1746)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004). Lady Murray, Grisell Baillie, *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Right Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, and Lady Grisell Baillie, by their Daughter Lady Murray of Stanhope* (Edinburgh: J Pillans Printer, 1824), 33. Most biographers describe the little girl as being brave, because Lady Grisell's daughter says that her childhood was filled with "many afflicting, terrifying hardships".

⁴ Rose Bradley, *The English Housewife in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: E. Arnold, 1912), 247.

recently, T.C. Smout and A.J.S. Gibson used the accounts for evidence of what servants' caloric intake was during this period.⁵ However, the accounts have yet to be used in a comprehensive manner to detail the workings of an eighteenth-century marital economy. The "marital economy" is a relatively recent term used by historians intent on factoring the relationship between a husband and wife into their analysis of what is more usually referred to simply as the "household economy". The marital relationship itself was truly the core of every household.⁶ A husband and wife set the tone for a home, with the household being the foundation of society.⁷

Any accounts that mention Lady Grisell as a wife, always depict her as possessing all the virtues and mannerisms that were desired in a woman during this time. There is almost no mention, however, of the actual relationship between Lady Grisell and George aside from vague descriptions.⁸ The purpose of this study is to fill in that missing information regarding Lady Grisell and George's marriage and their family through the entries in the account books.

In addition to the Scott-Moncrieff edition of the accounts, we also have a biography of the Baillies' written by their daughter, Lady Grisell Murray of Stanhope.⁹ The biography, as with the accounts, was a personal project that was never intended for publication. It was, apparently,

⁵ A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food, and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (New York: Cambridge University, 1995) 235-6, 238-9. Smout and Gibson describe the food provided for the Baillies' staff as "might seem to be coming a little close to the margin with her employees, and she was indeed known to be a careful mistress unlikely to provide much over the odds". To a degree this was correct since she was reluctant to provide recently hired servants with much since so many left after a short period of time. However, servants who remained in her employment for a significant amount of time would receive many bonuses.

⁶ Amy Louis Erickson, "The Marital Economy in Comparative Perspective", in *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain*, ed. by Maria Agren and Amy Louise Erickson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 3. Erickson has said this was the "fundamental economic relationship".

⁷ Katie Barcaly, "And Four Years Space, Being Man and Wife, They Lovingly Agreed": Balladry and Early Modern Understandings of Marriage", in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 23.

⁸ Barbara Murison, "Lapidary Inscriptions: Rhetoric, Reality and the Baillies of Mellerstain", in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 107. The nineteenth-century poet, Johanna Baillie, who claimed to be distant relative of Lady Grisell's said, "a more perfect female character could never be imagined".

⁹ Lady Murray, Grisell Baillie, *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Right Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, and Lady Grisell Baillie, by their Daughter Lady Murray of Stanhope* (Edinburgh: J Pillans Printer, 1824).

simply a way for Lady Murray to memorialize her parents. A biography of parents written by a daughter was unusual, since most women's biographical writings concentrated on their husbands. Lady Murray devoted a few sentences to her own disastrous marriage, but the overall concentration was on depicting her parents and their marriage in a positive light.¹⁰ With the sort of hyperbole that genre and custom required, she wrote that in their forty-eight years of marriage her parents "never had a shadow of a quarrel, or misunderstanding, or dryness betwixt them, not for a moment".¹¹ Beautiful lines like these are what historians have previously focused on when sketching the Baillie marriage. Lady Murray herself recognized in writing the biography she would have to struggle to not be biased, saying of her mother "my affection to the best and tenderest of mothers possibly may bias and blind me".¹² The biography was sincerely intended to be an honest depiction about her parents, despite the lavish language.

Lady Murray wrote the biography in two parts. The first was written in 1739 after her father's death and the second in 1746 after Lady Grisell's death.¹³ The first published reference to the biography was in the appendix of George Rose's *Observations on the Historical Work of the Right Honorable Charles James Fox*, under the title "Lady Murray's Narrative".¹⁴ Only the

¹⁰ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 8-9. The biography is crucial because while there has been a great deal written about Lady Grisell from her childhood to her adult life, there has been very little written on George Baillie's life and character. Murray describes her father as a devout individual who was patient, kind and deeply respected. Victoria E. Burke, "Introduction" in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writings: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 1-3. One of the reasons she may have devoted as much time on her parents, was to help put her own marriage into perspective. Lady Murray, 12-13, 17. When referring to her own marriage Lady Murray takes responsibility in her choice to marry Alexander Murray by saying, "it turned out to be the most unfortunate choice I could have made, which gave him (George Baillie) a great deal of uneasiness and trouble". Lady Murray, whose marriage was governed by jealousy and suspicion, described her father as trusting his wife "absolutely free of all jealousy and suspicion".

¹¹ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 3-5.

¹² Lady Murray of Stanhope, 32.

¹³ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 30-1. Lady Murray wrote her mother's biography in December, this month was of significance to Lady Grisell since it was the month she was born in and subsequently died in.

¹⁴ Lady Grisell Murray, "A Narrative of the Events Which occurred in the Enterprize of the Early of Argyle, in 1685, by Sir Patrick Hume" in *Observations on the Historical Work of the Late Right Honorable Charles James Fox* ed. by George Rose (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1809). Thomas Thomson, "Preface" in *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Right Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, and Lady Grisell Baillie, by their Daughter Lady Murray of Stanhope* (Edinburgh: J Pillans Printer, 1824), vii. The selection of the memoirs appeared

adventures of young Grisell and the political persecution of Patrick Hume were used in this edition. However, this book sparked the interest of British readers and writers, and other publications of young Grisell Baillie soon followed. In particular, the Scottish poet Joanna Baillie, who claimed to be a distant relative of Lady Grisell, published her *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters* in 1821.¹⁵ Joanna Baillie's poem emphasized the heroism and courage of the young Grisell. The poet depicted the girl as having all the necessary qualities as to be "made a most able and magnanimous queen".¹⁶ A year after *Metrical Legends* appeared the full biography of Lady Grisell and George Baillie was published by Thomas Thomson for the Bannatyne Club.¹⁷

Lady Murray's biography of her parents is useful for this study because it gives details about both George and Lady Grisell not found in the household accounts. It is especially useful for additional information about George Baillie, who has had significantly less written about him than his wife. Lady Murray, for example, describes her father as being kind and modest, the type of person who was not prone to judgment and who cared a great deal about his family. As for her mother, she continued to insist on her own objectivity, "I am desirous of nothing so much as to preserve and make known to her family what I have observed in my dear mother's life and character".¹⁸

This study of the Baillies' marital economy will be based primarily on the household accounts, with certain details being augmented by the biography. Additional publications on

in the appendix of Mr. Rose's publication. The sections that were chosen from the biography were used to defend Sir Patrick Hume and the political choices he made.

¹⁵ Joanna Baillie, *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters* (New York: Garland Pub., 1976).

¹⁶ Joanna Baillie, xxvii.

¹⁷ Thomson, x-xii. Thomson printed the biography in its entirety in 1822; he wrote the ten page preface and added any relevant documents of the family in the appendix of the biography. Thomson describes these documents as being used by Lady Murray to attempt to prove her parents' character, rather than force her descendants to only have her opinion of her parents. Kelsall, 13. Kelsall says that it was published by Thomas Thomson, a lawyer who had done numerous publications for the Bannatyne Club.

¹⁸ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 31-2.

Lady Grisell will also be used, to help demonstrate what has already been completed by other historians and how this study will differ. These sources will be used for three chapters. The first chapter will outline the nature of the marital economy in Scotland in general and that of the Baillie family in particular. It will include a brief sketch of Lady Grisell and George Baillies' meeting and marriage, along with the birth of their three children. This chapter will outline the type of marriage the Baillies had and how this may have differed from other relationships during the eighteenth century and also how marriages reflected the organization of the state. The second chapter will concentrate on the accounts themselves; because the accounts are so extensive this study is limited to specific categories which have not been previously looked into by other researchers. Exploring expenses such as those which demonstrate the money the Baillies spent on their children and how these costs compare to other families during this period. The last chapter will look at the medical expenses of the family, which have previously been overlooked by historians. These expenses demonstrate the lengths the family went to take care of each other when they were ill. Overall, these chapters will help to demonstrate the kind of compassionate marriage and close knit family that existed during this time.

Chapter One: Understanding the Marital Economy

The Marquis of Halifax said in 1688 that marriage is, “an Establishment upon which the Order of Humane Society doth so much depend”.¹ Marriage was the social and economic contract that was understood in the long eighteenth century as the basis of every household, and the foundation of society. The Greek root word for economy actually means “one who manages a household”, and it was the marital relationship which determined the strength of the home.² The state in many ways was a larger representation of the family. The monarchy ruled and protected the country just as the father stood as head and protector of the household.³ This appears simplistic, but the motivations for these commitments and the dynamic in these unions varied a great deal. For all classes, marriage was seen as an opportunity for family advancement by gathering land and wealth. These marriages could be more like a business agreement than a holy union, and there was no guarantee of compatibility for the couple. This idea of the rich, loveless marriage has been further promoted by the popular culture of the time commenting about a caring husband being “esteemed an ingenious man, but weak, as being devoted to the female sex”.⁴ The landed class’s marriages were usually depicted as being burdened under the patriarchal mould, husbands seen as tyrannical to their wives and indifferent to their children.⁵

¹Vivien Jones, *Women in the Eighteenth-Century: Constructions of Femininity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 15.

² Lynn Abrams, “Introduction: Gendering the Agenda”, in *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, ed. by Lynn Abrams (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 27. Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent, “Introduction: Where is the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland”, in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 8. Sylvana Tomaselli, “Civilization, Patriotism and Enlightened Histories of Women” in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 127-8, 133. The importance of the family as the basic economic unit seems to have always been understood.

³ Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York, NY: B. Blackwell, 1988), 1-4.

⁴ Susan Gushee O’Malley, “*Custome Is an Idiot*” *Jacobean Pamphlet Literature on Women* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 168. These comments were among those featured in pamphlets circulated 1609-1620, that the author pulled together and edited.

⁵ Mabell Airlie, Countess of, *In Whig society, 1775-1818 : compiled from the hitherto unpublished correspondence of Elizabeth, Viscountess Melbourne, and Emily Lamb, Countess Cowper, afterwards Viscountess Palmerston*

This sort of family undoubtedly existed during the Baillies' period, and it is accurate to say that women were often legally constrained by society, but this was not the sole type of marriage that existed.⁶ The Baillies had a loving companionate marriage where both husband and wife enjoyed a personal equality with overlapping individual domains. George and Grisell Baillie do not represent every marriage during this period, but they are an example of a kind of marriage that could exist. When mentioning the couple, historian Barbara Murison wrote that "little effort has been made to sit these two individuals side by side. Although their almost fifty-years of married life suggests the value of such an approach".⁷ The purpose of this study is to examine the interpersonal dynamics of a specific family which will also give a broader understanding for other happy and stable families in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Understanding the Baillie family is important because of the slow development of the historiography of family, women and gender in Scotland. Scottish historians had previously been concerned with asserting Scotland's national identity, which involved an emphasis on the masculine and political aspects of the country's history. Consequently other social histories were overlooked.⁸ Historians have dismissed the home and marriage as agents of oppression for women and when they have paid sustained attention to women's history the concentration was

(Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921), 241-243. Gordon DesBrisay and Elizabeth Ewan with H. Lesley Diack, "Life in Two Towns", in *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History* ed. by E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn and Michael Lynch (Scotland: Tuckwell Press, LTD, 2002), 53-6. Lisa Smith, "The Relative Duties of a Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca. 1685-1740", *Journal of Family History* (2006; 31; 237), 238. Smith points out that for the most part, historians have looked at and written about men in public terms, with their family role, whether negative or positive, being overlooked. It has often been dismissed that according to this model, men were charged with ensuring the physical and financial well-being of their family.

⁶ R.A. Houston, "Women in the Economy of Scotland, 1500-1800", in *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, ed. by R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 143-7. Historians like Houston have proposed that the person with the dominant personality ruled the house. Joan Larsen Klein, *Daughters, Wives and Widows: Writings by Men About Women and Marriage in England, 1500-1640* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 170-2.

⁷ Murison, "Lapidary Inscriptions", 100. Murison concentrated on the lengthy grave stone inscriptions of both Lady Grisell and George Baillie.

⁸ Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.

almost entirely focused on remarkable female characters.⁹ Family history was neglected on two sides; women's history was underdeveloped in the secondary literature and primary sources often recorded men's public lives.¹⁰ Making the matter more obscure was that the only sources available for all classes, the Kirk and Consistory Court records, are of failed and unhappy marriages.¹¹ These records provide invaluable information which cannot be found elsewhere, but have led historians to focus on changes to marriage laws post-Reformation, particularly on divorce and separation.¹² Historians have to find alternative sources when looking to study stable and long-lasting marriages. One such source is the records from the household of Lady Grisell and George Baillie who were married for over forty years. Families like the Baillies need to be studied because for any country's history to be inclusive, the study of women's, gender and family history needs to be completed since according to Amy Erickson it was the family that "provided the foundation for order in pre-industrial Europe".¹³

The past decade, however, has seen advances in the historiography of women and the family, but as recently as 2008 Scottish historian Elizabeth Ewan noted that "the study of medieval and early modern family is still in its infancy".¹⁴ This problem was not exclusive to

⁹ Eleanor Gordon, "The Family", in *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, ed. by Lynn Abrams (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 237.

¹⁰ Lisa Smith, "The Relative Duties of a Man", 238.

¹¹ Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 136-7. R.A. Houston, "Women in the Economy of Scotland, 1500-1800", 143. Official records refer to birth, marriage and death records kept by parishes.

¹² A.D.M Forte, "Some Aspects of the Law of Marriage in Scotland: 1500-1700", in *Marriage and Property: Women and Marital Customs in History*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Craik (Great Britain: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), 104-7, 114. The major literary work that influenced Scotland's ideas on marriage and divorce was the *First Book of Discipline* which was published after the Reformation of 1560. And while the Reformation did little to change the concept of marriage in Scotland, it did alter the practice. Leah Leneman, *Alienated Affections: the Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684-1830* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 1-5. Rosalind Mitchinson and Leah Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control 1660-1780* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell LTD, 1989), 80. R.A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 24-5. These records reference separations, desertion and irregular marriages. Irregular marriages, which were marriages outside the church, were more common pre-Reformation.

¹³ Erickson, 3-7. Abrams, 3.

¹⁴ Ewan and Nugent, 1.

Scotland since other European countries were also slow to extend their scope of study to include women and family.¹⁵ In terms of publications, the first major modern work on Scottish social history was *A History of the Scottish People* by T.C Smout.¹⁶ This 1969 publication was considered groundbreaking for Scottish social history, but did little to advance the country's women and gender history. In England, a similarly landmark social and women's history was *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth-Century* published in 1919 by Alice Clark, but unlike Scotland it was followed with further research by other English historians.¹⁷ Clark's research did not immediately focus on women's role in the household, but the later work on England's social history provides evidence that studying the history of the family develops research in many other areas such as agriculture, government control, politics and religious changes.¹⁸ Unfortunately, these early English works were part of the reason Scotland's social history was overlooked. Scotland as a nation has been extensively influenced by England and it is fairly common within British history to lump Scotland and England together, while only drawing upon English sources and historiography.¹⁹ However, the primary and secondary literature indicates that for women marriage was different in Scotland than in England, which would mean that the households might be significantly different also.²⁰ Both countries supposedly adhered to the patriarchal model, but they differed in the legal rights of married women and their ability to divorce.²¹ Court

¹⁵ Rosemary Sweet, "Women in Civic Life" in *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England: On the Town* ed. by Rosemary Sweet and Penelope Lane (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003), 24.

¹⁶ T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London: Collins, 1969).

¹⁷ Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth-Century* (New York: Routledge, c1992). This is not to say that the history of the family is complete, as Naomi Tadmor explains significant research has been done but in some ways there is still a significant amount of work still required to do.

¹⁸ Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4. Ewan and Nugent, 3. Refer to *The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760* by Myra Reynolds (1920) and *English Women* by Edith Sitwell (1942) for more information on early publications on English women's history.

¹⁹ H.T. Dickinson, *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2002). This source contains thirty-eight chapters on British history, but focuses almost entirely on English historiography.

²⁰ Sweet, "Introduction", 4.

²¹ Amussen, 3.

records reveal that in Scotland and England annulments and legal separations were possible for women in violently abusive marriages.²² Additionally, for Scotland after 1560 divorce was possible for all classes, whereas in England divorce was more difficult to obtain.²³ The laws were more lenient for women in Scotland than England in some ways, although this does not mean men and women were on equal footing in Scotland during the eighteenth century.²⁴ In regards to the legal rights of married women, in Scotland a wife would be legally covered under the “coverture” which allowed women to enter into contracts and be involved in legal suits under their husband’s name. The rationale for this was that women needed these abilities to help run their husband’s household.²⁵ Despite the differences between England and Scotland, historians for both countries rely on similar sources such as, letters, biographies, religious diaries, poverty records, accounts and memoirs along with court records.²⁶ For the Baillie family several of these sources will be relied on, specifically the accounts and biography.

²²Boyd, 49. After 1560 adultery became grounds for divorce for men and women, desertion was added in 1573. Annulments were granted if the marriage was made under duress or it could not be consummated. Amussen, 46-7.

²³ Leneman, *Alienated Affections*, 1-3. Divorce was a relatively quick and less prejudicial process in Scotland than England. A man’s adultery in England was considered “a regrettable but understandable foible” and divorce was not granted for women on this basis until 1923. The actual divorce rate in Scotland from the sixteenth to twentieth-century was “almost negligible”. Coutts, 176. Coutts points out that although the legal position of men and women was not equal in Scotland, the Kirk held both sexes to the same moral standards. When parents were not married they were pressured to do so, and if this was not possible they were “zealous efforts to see both child and mother cared for by pressuring the fathers”. Melissa Hollander, “The Name of the Father: Baptism and Social Construction of Fatherhood in Early Edinburgh” in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 69-71. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 25. The Kirk believed a normal Scottish family was a couple married with children.

²⁴ Gordon, 238-9. Forte, 109-111. Amussen has pointed out that when women were in an abusive marriage they often had a network of family and friends to provide some support and even shelter.

²⁵ Gordon DesBrisay and Karen Sander-Thompson, “Crediting Wives: Married Women and Debt Litigation in the Seventeenth-Century” in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 86-8.

²⁶Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 185-89. Lesley Diack, “Motherhood and Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Aberdeen”, in *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach*, ed. by Terry Brotherstone, Deborah Simonton, and Oonagh Walsh (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1999), 173-5. Poverty records reveal historical facts about lower class families, although like court records they only represent women in undesirable and unhappy situations. These women were often described as being notable because of their “moral fall from grace”. David G. Mullan, “Parents and Children in Early Modern Scotland”, in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 73-4.

Multiple sources have depicted George and Grisell Baillie as the type of couple destined to be together since they met at the age of twelve and supposedly fell in love upon that first meeting. Lady Murray said in the biography that her mother, “Having had her union with my father always in view, their affection for one another increased in exile”.²⁷ The couple’s fathers were close acquaintances and both George and Lady Grisell were exiled to Holland with their families at the same time, which is probably where their romantic relationship began. Historians have assumed that since their families were close there would be no obstacles for the couple to be together. However, Lord Patrick Hume fell into the category of upper class that believed in arranged, possibly even forced, marriages. Lord Hume partook in the abducting of the eleven year old Ayton heiress and forced her to marry his seventeen year old cousin, George Hume. Lord Hume’s social and financial situation was elevated after his four year exile in Holland, since he had become acquainted with future monarchs William and Mary of Orange. Accusations of partaking in the Rye House Plot had forced him and his family “off the kingdom 11th September 1684”, but they were able to return after the 1688 Revolution.²⁸ Hume’s support of the House of Orange was rewarded with the uncommon honour of being elevated to the nobility as Lord Polwarth.²⁹ This new title and his friendliness with the new monarchs meant that Lady

²⁷ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 57.

²⁸ Kelsall, 120, 19. Forced marriage was one thing, but abduction was quite another for the Scottish courts. The heiress was taken to England the marriage ceremony was conducted by an English minister which was unacceptable, and the Hume family was fined for their involvement. The Rye House Plot was the plan to assassinate King Charles II and his brother, which Hume claimed for his entire life he never took part in. Hume had left ahead of his family under the guise of Doctor Wallace to avoid endangering his wife and children. He traveled as a surgeon, carrying lancets with him at all times in case he was discovered. Some authors claim he had the ability to bleed people. Anderson, 571-4. Hume first escaped to Ireland, then France, then Geneva before finally reaching Holland. Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003), 152. The plot was brought about by the English Whigs, and although Robert Baillie did not survive to deny his involvement like Patrick Hume, the court had little to no evidence of either man’s participation of the plot. Graham, 325. The family was happy to return to Scotland, but one author noted that the Hume’s “exchanged readily the excruciating cleanliness of Holland for the dirt of Scotland, with its ragged people, its filthy huts, its slatternly servant lasses, its emaciated cattle, its bogs, and the blackened moorland landscape of the Merse.”

²⁹ Kelsall, 21. The family’s estates were seized in 1685 leaving Lady Grisell and her mother to travel to London to beg a salary from the estates that they could live off. Along with this small allowance they had the mother’s jointure

Grisell would have advantageous marriage prospects. The teenager who was described by suitors as a “handsome girl with light chestnut hair, and a fair complexion that looked charming beneath the high-crowned Dutch hat and hood” with “lithe figure with delicate features” had other ideas for her future (Illustration I).³⁰ Lady Grisell turned down the opportunity to be one of Queen Mary’s maids-of-honour, spurned the advances of lords in both Holland and Scotland, and kindly informed her parents that she would either marry George Baillie or die an old maid.³¹ Although Lady Grisell and George Baillie did not legally need their parents’ permission to marry, it was important for the couple to have “social approval” for their union.³² Lord Polwarth wanted a financially stable union for his daughter, which she was not guaranteed with George since his estates remained seized and he seemed to have few financial prospects.³³ However, Hume may have felt indebted to the daughter who had done so much for him, or he may have been persuaded by the idea of love in a marriage which he had found with his wife, Lady Kerr.³⁴ Despite “neither of them having a shilling”, Lady Grisell and George were married with Hume’s blessing 17 September 1692.³⁵ Lady Murray described their marriage as being made of “perfect love”, and quotes a letter her mother wrote portraying her father as “The best of husbands, and

which left the Hume’s living at a subsistence level while in Holland. The Hume’s estates were restored on 22 July 1690 the same year he was given the title of Lord of Polwarth and in 1696 he became Lord Chancellor. The return from Holland was both happy and devastating for the Baillie family, since Lady Grisell’s sister Christine died just before they were able to return home. Mitchinson and Leneman, 20. This period is referred to either as the Revolution or Restoration, and meant that the dominant religion in Scotland would once again be Presbyterianism. Fyfe, 154-5. Lord Hume had studied law when he was younger, but spent the majority of his life in government.

³⁰ Henry Grey Graham, *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth-Century* (London: A. And C. Black, 1901), 5.

³¹ Graham, 324. Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions”, 102. Lady Grisell being one of Queen Mary’s maid-of-honors would have fit well into her family’s tradition since her brother was one of the Prince of Orange’s guards. Anderson, 574. The Baillies did not immediately tell the Humes their plans because they were afraid they would object.

³² Amussen, 109. Boyd, 50. In 1753, in England the Lord Hardwicke’s Act enforced couple’s to have parental consent to marry, an attempt to pass this act in Scotland was rejected outright as “English interference”.

³³ Sarah Tytler and J.L. Watson, *The Songstresses of Scotland* (London: Strahan, 1871), 8.

³⁴ Kelsall, 15-16. Hume and Kerr were married for forty-three years. Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions”, 103.

³⁵ Lady Grisell Baillie, 49. All of the family travelled to Holland, except Julian. She had initially been too ill to travel and Grisell had to return to Scotland for her, with their voyage back was extremely uncomfortable. Julian lost her shoes and Grisell had to piggy back her until they met up with their brother Patrick and George Baillie in Rotterdam. Baillie had also fled to Holland, he had to use donations from his tenants to leave Scotland, since he had no money after his family’s estates were seized. Scott-Moncrieff, xiv-xv. James Anderson, 571-2. In fact, when William of Orange traveled back to Scotland George Baillie and Patrick Hume were with him.

delight of my life for forty-eight years, without one jar betwixt us".³⁶ Lady Murray considered theirs a marriage that was both financially and personally successful.³⁷

Husbands and wives had separate personal responsibilities, but in some marriages these separate spheres overlapped.³⁸ Depending on their social class, the responsibilities of married women varied. Lower and middle class women often assisted their husbands in their employment or worked independently. They were rarely accepted by the guilds.³⁹ Women ended up in these skilled trades or presided over household workshops because their husbands died, or because their family needed the income.⁴⁰ For upper class women and nobility, their role was almost always centered on their household, which meant they would have close to equal control in terms of staff and finances.⁴¹ In this role women were free to assert their own authority in their household and in society, which meant that for many women marriage elevated rather than repressed their social position.⁴²

Recognized during her own time as a responsible household manager, Lady Grisell Baillie's gravestone reads, "At different Times she managed the Affairs/ Of her Father, her Husband, her Family, her Relations,/ With unwearied Application, with happy Oeconomy",

³⁶ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 85.

³⁷ Amussen, 66. Lady Murray of Stanhope, 3-5, 57.

³⁸ Amussen, 96-99.

³⁹ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 78-9. Women who brought an income into the home would work independently from their husbands. These jobs included, running a shop or inn or working as a servant or merchant, tasks they would usually learn informally.

⁴⁰ Alastair J. Mann, "Embroidery to Enterprise: the Role of Women in the Book Trade in Early Modern Scotland" in *Women in Scotland: c. 1100-1750* ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 137-138. From 1600 to 1750 up to thirty women worked in the book trade, using their husbands and fathers names to work independently. Lady Roseburn took over as the King's printer in Scotland after her husband Andre Anderson died. Through her own work she became the richest book maker in early modern Scotland.

⁴¹ Amussen, 40-42. Ingrid Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2002), 74.

⁴² Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Gregorian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 127-129. Rosalind Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton, 1656-1716*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 68. Servants were usually directly responsible to the mistress of the house, taking problems and concerns to her. Recent scholarship has concentrated on not only proving that women were not subordinate to their husbands and also that men would sometimes take on "traditional" female roles. This will be later explored in chapter three when discussing the family's medical roles.

⁴² Tague, 97. Running a household was seen as a female oriented task left for a wife, daughter or sister.

while the rest of the inscription is devoted to describing her virtues as a daughter, wife and mother.⁴³ Balancing the estate accounts, hiring and firing employees and overseeing the education of their children were among the basic tasks upper class wives were trained to do.⁴⁴ Lady Grisell was familiar with running an estate from experience at a young age. In regard to employees, female employers were expected to, as an old verse had it, “Use labourers gently, keep this as law, make children to be civil, keep servants in awe”.⁴⁵

Lady Grisell had a high turnover of personnel, but those employees who worked hard and were loyal she cared for and treated well.⁴⁶ In the accounts, it is noted that she went through roughly sixty servants in less than ten years, half of whom did not remain for a full year, with a few cooks not lasting a full month. Those who were hired were supposed to remain on six month terms, but between 1695 and 1704 fewer than a dozen individuals stayed for longer than two years. So as far as Lady Grisell was concerned, it seems, good help was hard to find.⁴⁷ Only a few employees stayed for a prolonged period of time. One of them was a coachman, Tom Youll who was hired in 1706. He remained with the Baillies throughout his life, but when he became inebriated his salary was docked. Not all servants remained in a household for a lifetime, and the mobility of servants during this period was quite high, because employees had an idea of what

⁴³ Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions”, 99-100. One line in particular reveals her virtue as a daughter, “a real instance of Roman Charity” this is referring to the Roman Valerius Maximus story of a daughter who breast fed her imprisoned and starving father. The comparison was made because Grisell had snuck food off her own plate to bring to her father while he was hiding in the family vault. The inscriptions of Lady Grisell and George were fairly lengthy, Lady Grisell’s ran thirty-nine lines while George’s was fifty-three lines long. It was common for people during this period to plan what would be on their tombstone inscriptions long before they died. Patrick Hume had his first draft prepared in 1701, a full twenty-three years before he died.

⁴⁴ Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London: Taylor and Francis e-library, 2005), 307. Tague, 106-7. Vickery, 159.

⁴⁵ Lein, 207-210. This verse is from Thomas Tusser’s *The Points of Housewifery*, published in England in 1580.

⁴⁶ Tague, 112-116. It was common for women to care for servants with these bonuses for good service; they would often provide money, medical care, clothing and even sometimes funeral costs as well. In Scotland there were even some women who left goods or money to their servants in their wills.

⁴⁷ Scott-Moncrieff, li-lii. There were even some records of the family charging servants with theft.

their wage and duties should be and if unhappy many sought other employment.⁴⁸ The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish family included the immediate and often extended family and sometimes non-family members who lived within the household, such as employees.⁴⁹ However, for the purpose of this study, the Baillie *family* refers to George and Grisell Baillie and their two daughters, while the Baillie *household* refers to the employees and the extended family members who stayed in the home.⁵⁰

Often the role of a wife as an estate manager went unrecorded, but Lady Grisell's accounts have left the opportunity to gather insight into her day-to-day tasks. She had a talent for living stringently: as her daughter put it, "in her family, her attention and economy reached to the smallest things".⁵¹ Lady Murray reveals that George Baillie entrusted everything to his wife, not tending to the accounts himself, asking his wife only if his debts were paid.⁵² Lady Murray says of her mother that "often did she apply to him for direction and advice; since he knew enough of the law for the management of his own affairs, when he would take the time or trouble, or to prevent his time being imposed upon by others".⁵³ The couple relied on each other in different matters, Lady Grisell sought out her husband's advice, and George Baillie's sentiments for his wife's talents in management made their way into his correspondences. In one letter in particular to the Earl of Roxburgh, regarding the treasury problems, he commented, "our Government will at this rate, turn a jeast; they had better put my Lady ther".⁵⁴ The accounts and George's

⁴⁸ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 78-9.

⁴⁹ Ewan and Nugent, "Introduction", 7. Beatrice Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World: from the Black Death to the Industrial Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3. Other historians studying households often included the non-family members, since many homes included servants and distant relatives.

⁵⁰ Tadmor, 19.

⁵¹ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 72.

⁵² Marion Lochhead, *The Scots Household in the Eighteenth-Century; A Century of Scottish Domestic and Social Life* (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1948), 301.

⁵³ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 12-3.

⁵⁴ George Baillie, *Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood MDCCII-MDCCVIII* (Edinburgh: Alex and Laurie, 1842), 107.

correspondence definitely give the impression that Lady Grisell and George had a companionate marriage. George was open in his correspondence about his trust in his wife's management, but there are entries that reveal his hand in the accounts when his wife was incapacitated. On 18 March 1694 there is an entry of "To John Baillie cherrurgion for drawing my wife blood" for £5 16s. This was just a few weeks after the birth of Robert, and Lady Grisell may have been ill, but wanted the amount recorded.⁵⁵ The fact that George would take the time to do this shows that it was not disinterest which made the accounts Lady Grisell's responsibility but trust in a wife he admired.

George Baillie has been overshadowed in history by his martyred father and his famous wife. Historians have focused on his political career, with little attention given to his role as husband and father. In his public life the consensus among historians appears to be that his role in politics was significant but understated and overlooked because it was free of scandal. At home George was described by his eldest daughter as being a loving husband and father, and a devoted Presbyterian. Lady Murray says that her father, although affectionate, was a quiet and grave sort of man who took his responsibilities seriously.⁵⁶ This is quite different from his father who has been described by Lord Fountainhall, as a "huffy proud man".⁵⁷ George Baillie's relationship with his wife was inclusive, with Lady Grisell partaking in, and being a confidant to, almost all of her husband's political activities.⁵⁸ However, the couple's unstable formative years had obviously left an impact on them, and may account for George and Grisell Baillie never

⁵⁵ Lady Grisell Baillie, 255.

⁵⁶ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 20.

⁵⁷ Anderon, 26.

⁵⁸ Karl von den Steinen, "In Search of the Antecedents of Women's Political Activism in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland: the Daughters of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton" in *Women in Scotland: c. 1100-1750* ed by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 112-4.

placing religion or politics before their marriage or the welfare of their daughters.⁵⁹ The Baillies clearly understood the actions that led to Robert Baillie being pulled out of his cell at night and executed. Both of their parents' outspoken horror of episcopacy being established over Presbyterianism in Scotland made them an easy target for the crown, and resulted in Robert Baillie's death.⁶⁰ George, who was nineteen at the time of the execution, said that his father died because of "his Love to his Religion and Country" and the "Madness of the times".⁶¹ Both their fathers had placed political and religious beliefs ahead of their families, resulting in exile. It may have made Lord Patrick Hume and Robert Baillie heroes and martyrs but it did little for the well-being of their family and it was a path that Lady Grisell and George Baillie made sure they did not follow.⁶²

Just before their marriage in 1691 George Baillie had been appointed the Commissioner of Supply in Berwick and Lanarkshire, which earned him a salary of three hundred pounds Scots a year.⁶³ After this first appointment, he continued to advance in government and remained in Parliament until he retired.⁶⁴ In 1711, George was appointed Commissioner for Trade and Plantations by the Queen and on 8 December 1714 King George I made him one of the Lords of Admiralty which was later elevated to Lord of Treasury. His positions and kind personality made him well thought of in government, often being granted personal audiences with the Queen who

⁵⁹Lady Murray of Stanhope, 20-22. Lady Murray writes that when Robert Baillie was imprisoned George had been studying law. After his father's arrest George returned home and would never return to his studies. His father's brutal execution had a deep impact on George, according to his daughter, making him more thoughtful and introverted.

⁶⁰Fyfe, 154-5.

⁶¹Murison, 100. Robert Baillie was executed on 24 December 1684 in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. Multiple sources have described how Robert Baillie was pulled out of his cell unprepared and suffered the indignity of being executed in his night shirt.

⁶²Anderson, 547-8. Anderson described Patrick Hume as a man who was, "one of the most distinguished patriots and statesmen of his day, and suffered not a little for his zealous appearance in the cause of religion and liberty".

⁶³Lady Grisell Baillie, 30-1.

⁶⁴Barbara C. Murison, "Baillie, George", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004). Although it was George Baillie's choice to retire he had admitted a frustration about Scotland's reduced influence in their government. Murison sums up these sentiments saying, Scotland had "less weight in the management of affairs than any county in England".

allowed him to remain in his position in the “new party” after the rest of his party was turned out.⁶⁵ George Baillie was respected in politics; George Lockhart said that he was “of a profound and solid judgment, and by far the most significant man in his party, to whom he was kind of a Dictator”.⁶⁶ Overall, George was thought of as “standing so stiffly by the interest of his country”.⁶⁷ As his career advanced, it became ever clearer that Lady Grisell was the ideal partner because he could consult her on all of his matters and trusted her to maintain his business in Scotland while he was away. She collected hundreds of letters from her husband over the years when he was away at Parliament, which have been preserved at the Mellerstain estates.⁶⁸ Lady Grisell’s involvement in her husband’s government was well known within their circle of associates. When an untraceable letter was needed, Secretary Johnstone warned in 1706 to, “Write by an unknown hand; your wife’s is as well known as your own”.⁶⁹ George Baillie did not shy away from naming his wife as a source either; in his correspondence to the Earl of Roxburgh he says “(F)or notwithstanding of what the Chancellor had said to my wife, and since repeated to me, I was jealous by his way that he kept something in reserve”.⁷⁰ Women’s involvement in politics through their husbands was not unusual, but many wives also involved themselves more directly through formal protestations to the government. Because Lady Grisell’s involvement did not take her out of her home domain she was apparently not seen as violating any social norms.⁷¹ During George’s career in politics, there were several unstable

⁶⁵ *London Gazette* (London, England), Tuesday, June 12, 1711; Issue 4860. Lady Grisell Baillie, 23, 35.

⁶⁶ Earl of Minto, “Preface” in *Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood MDCCII-MDCCVIII* (Edinburgh: Alex and Laurie, 1842), 5. The letters in the published version of George Baillie’s correspondence were between himself and John, Earl of Roxburgh and Mr James Johnstone.

⁶⁷ Murison, “Baillie, George”. The “new party” was seen as deserting the country party.

⁶⁸ Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions”, 106. George said of his wife “none but your selfe knows my opinion”.

⁶⁹ Scott-Moncrieff, xxxv. George Baillie, 152. George Baillie was not chastised because his wife was aiding him.

⁷⁰ George Baillie, 92. I have changed the formatting from *f* to *s* when appropriate.

⁷¹ Mann, 141. It’s hard to know exactly how often women were passively involved in their husbands’ political pursuits since it often went unrecorded. Lady Grisell’s involvement was known within George’s party, but there were never any negative comments directed at him about her part. Steinen, 112.

times in Britain that the Baillies had to negotiate. The family promoted Scottish independence, but like many they chose to distance themselves from the Jacobites in the eighteenth century. The family moved to London shortly before the 1715 Jacobite rebellion and George made it clear to his party that, although he had no love of the rebels, he asked for leniency for those involved.⁷² George's career ended in 1734 when he chose to retire, despite his party's objections, because he claimed he wished to spend more time with his grandchildren.⁷³

Both Lady Grisell and George had come from large families, with many siblings, but the Baillies only had a total of three children throughout their marriage. The couple had two daughters, Grisell "Grisie" (1692), Rachel (1696), and a son, Robert (1694) who died in infancy.⁷⁴ Most parents viewed their children as their permanent responsibility, but how they were raised usually depended on their class.⁷⁵ The Baillies made some interesting choices when it came to their daughters, many of which are reflective of the challenges Lady Grisell and George had faced. The Baillies had worked hard to improve their social, economic, and political standing in society, and were doing well when both Grisie and Rachel were old enough to marry. Many wealthy families would use their daughters in the "marriage market" to both improve their

⁷² Lady Grisell Baillie, 31. Murison, "Baillie, George". Although Baillie did not promote the Jacobites cause, he urged his party for a moderate approach to handling the rebels.

⁷³ Graham, 325. The only real impact that his political career had on his family was his frequent trips to London. When Lady Grisell and George were apart they wrote letters, of which she had hundreds when he died.

⁷⁴ Lady Grisell Baillie, 42-3. Grisell was born at Redbraes on 26 October, Rachel was born in Warriston Land on 23 February, and Robert was born on February 23 1694 and died on 28 February 1696. It was noted in the account books by Scott-Moncrieff that in one of her song books Lady Grisell noted that "My Robin" was buried next to George Baillie's father in Grafreers churchyard. Rachel would eventually have six (or possibly seven) children with three that lived. David G. Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 139. Mullan estimates that on average a family would have seven or eight births. John D. Ramsbottom, "Women in the Family" in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* ed by H.T. Dickinson (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2002), 209. Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1996), 6. Many households in Britain during this period only had between four and seven people in them. Patricia Crawford, *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2000), 205. All of the Baillie's children, and their grand-children were named after their relatives; this was a common practice for the gentry. For the most part their eldest daughter will be referred to as Grisie or Lady Murray.

⁷⁵ Amussen, 37-9.

current position and protect their existing wealth and land.⁷⁶ The Baillies granted their daughters the uncommon freedom to choose their own husbands, but always remained available should they require support.⁷⁷

Their eldest daughter, Lady Grisell Murray's marriage did not turn out well, but she was fortunate to have parents who stepped in when she needed help. The details of the young couples' meeting are unclear, but Lord Alexander Murray supposedly fell in love with Grisie on sight and began pursuing her. When Murray asked for Grisie's hand, George was hesitant since his daughter was only seventeen and her intended had financial difficulties along with Episcopal connections.⁷⁸ In the memoirs of her parents Lady Murray describes her father as being swayed by her tears and desire to marry Lord Murray. This was a decision she would later describe as "the most unfortunate choice I could have made".⁷⁹ As it turned out, George's suspicions of Lord Murray were accurate. The whole Baillie household witnessed Murray's temper in 1711, during the first five months that the newlyweds lived in with the family.⁸⁰ The majority of the outbursts were thought to have been related to Murray's insecurities about his attractive bride's affection for him and his unstable personality.⁸¹ Lady Grisell and George recognized the danger in leaving

⁷⁶ Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* (Chicago, III: Academy Chicago, 1983), 176-7. Maurice Lee, *The Heiresses of Buccleuch: Marriage, Money, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Britain* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 14-20. One example of this "market" can best be seen in with the Buccleuch heiresses, Mary and Anna Scott. Mary was pushed into a marriage at eleven; the legal age of marriage for girls in this period was twelve. Anna made it to twelve before she married a man who would publicly humiliate her and make her unhappy for her entire life. Mitchison and Leneman, 16. Amussen, 109. An upper-class couple could, of course, choose to defy their parents and marry whomever they wanted.

⁷⁷ Elizabeth Ewan, "To the longer liver": provisions for the dissolution of the marital economy in Scotland, 1470-1550", in *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain*, ed. Maria Agren and Amy Louise Erickson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 3. Coontz, 19.

⁷⁸ Murison, 103. His daughter was seventeen at the time, but this was too young for George Baillie.

⁷⁹ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 17. Although George disapproved of the marriage Lady Murray said he never blamed her for the failed union and always supported and loved her.

⁸⁰ Mendelson, 130. Upper class newlywed couples would often live with the groom's parents for the first few months of marriage, making the Murray-Baillie situation unusual.

⁸¹ Murison, 104. The Baillie-Murray situation is representative of the influence birth parents still had after their daughters were married since they intervened if they thought their daughter was in danger.

their daughter in the hands of such a disturbed individual, and began to the process of separation after only three years of marriage.⁸²

Marriages that were abusive or unbalanced were not good for the parties involved or for society as a whole.⁸³ Although the Scottish Kirk often pressured unhappy couples to reconcile their differences, women were not necessarily trapped in abusive relationships with little hope of escape. There were several options for ending a marriage; one choice was a separation which could be done formally or informally.⁸⁴ Formal separations were almost always sought by desperate wives who had no option of reconciliation and feared for their personal safety. The Murray versus Baillie case was the first legal separation with no claims of physical abuse to be granted by Scotland's Commissary courts.⁸⁵ These courts existed in both England and Scotland and they were designed to rule over cases involving marriage, divorce and illegitimate children.⁸⁶ The Baillies had watched their previously happy daughter become depressed and anxious after her marriage, which made the family push the separation through the courts using their wealth and influence. Their lawyer cleverly, and justly, argued that "Jealousie was an evil which exhausted the patience even of the most virtuous seeing it misinterprets the Innocentes actions".

⁸²Scott-Moncrieff, xxviii. Alexander Murray did everything to prevent the separation. Murray would write to his wife for the rest of his life hoping she would return to him but the couple never reconciled. Mary Gostelow, *Art of Embroidery: Great Needlework Collections of Britain and the United States* (E.T Dutton, 1979), 119-125. The wording here is important, because a separation and divorce are quite different. Some authors like Gostelow have mistakenly said she received a divorce from the Scottish courts.

⁸³ Amussen, 61-2.

⁸⁴ Tague, 87. Women were expected to remain in their marriages, since separations and divorce were not the norm, and were often frowned on socially. Erikson, 15. Separation cases were difficult, because there was the option to separate informally from your spouse. Taking matters before the court meant that one party was trying to force another party into a severing of the marriage.

⁸⁵ Leneman, 265-9. Other court documents regarding separations from this period describe persistent and extensive physical abuse of wives which included physical beatings, starvations, imprisonment and refusal of the husband to call on a midwife. There were cases with just the threat of violence, but this was not the Baillie-Murray situation. In the period Leneman looks at, 1684 to 1830, there were one hundred and seventy-five separation cases brought forward. However, only half of these were actually successful. There were three others cases of legal separation without physical abuse brought before the courts, but the first took place seventy years after the Baillie-Murray trial, and they too cited jealousy as a reason to separate.

⁸⁶ Boyd, 49. Commissary Courts were used in Scotland to handle marriage matters until 1830. And although these courts existed in both countries, the courts in Scotland were generally more lenient on unwed mothers.

The physical evidence presented were the numerous letters Murray had written to his father-in-law, which indicated his unstable mental state. Murray was unconvinced that his wife truly wanted to part from him, suspecting his in-laws were behind the separation. His lawyer demanded that if Lady Murray was fearful to live with her husband, then she must testify to it in court. Lady Murray shocked her husband when she appeared in court and testified that she felt unsafe in her marriage.⁸⁷ The Commissary Court was convinced by the testimony and they granted the “Decree of Separation” on 5 March 1714.⁸⁸ A legal separation meant that neither party could remarry; leaving Lady Murray with her parents for the rest of their lives.⁸⁹ Scotland provided more security for women’s property and inheritance in separations than other countries.⁹⁰ The Baillies took advantage of this to ensure that their daughter’s inheritance would be safe and that Lord Alexander Murray would not be entitled to any of the family’s wealth or property.⁹¹

Their daughter’s physical and emotional well being was the Baillie’s chief concern, and it resulted in their intervening on another occasion when Grisie ran into a difficult situation.⁹² In 1721 a drunken footman, in her brother-in-law’s employ, assaulted Lady Murray. She described the man as entering her bedroom at four in the morning and “threatened to put her instantly to death if she ventured to resist his violence”.⁹³ The attempted rape was described at length in the *British Gazetteer*, where the attacker Arthur Grey was depicted as attempting to “Ravish and

⁸⁷ Leneman, 284, 1-5, 272-3. In these letters, Murray described his feeling a “violent passion” towards his wife, whom he loved to the point of obsession. Although he never threatened his wife with violence, he did say he wished death on people he thought might be with his wife. Murray continued to be mentally unhinged for the rest of his life, and he would often track down artists who were painting Lady Murray’s portrait and was rumored to stare at it for hours.

⁸⁸ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 147. Leneman, 56-7, 282-3. This evidence was unusual since letters submitted in this context were almost always between spouses, not husband and father-in-law.

⁸⁹ Houston, “Women in the Economy of Scotland, 1500-1800”, 129-131. It was not unusual for the upper class to not marry, which may have been why Lady Murray chose a separation since she would have no need to remarry.

⁹⁰ Gordon, 238-9.

⁹¹ Leneman, 1. Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions”, 104.

⁹² Scott-Moncrieff, xxviii.

⁹³ Lady Murray, 158.

Carnally know Grizel Wife of Alexander Murray”.⁹⁴ The agile Lady Murray was able to grab the pistol in her room and escape her attacker, while making enough noise to wake up her family. Women almost always bore the blame for sexual assaults and would be viewed as shameful by many families resulting in attacks going unreported.⁹⁵ The Baillies did not want to injure their daughter’s reputation, but they had little hope of keeping the attack a secret and decided to prove their daughter’s innocence in the courts. Grey was found guilty for the assault and sentenced to death, though his sentence was later lessened to transportation to the Americas. Although Grey was convicted, there were some that blamed Lady Murray for enticing the man to attack her.⁹⁶ A former close friend, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, said of Lady Murray that “’Tis very disagreeable in her to go about behaving and talking as she does, and very silly into the bargain”.⁹⁷ Reputation was extremely important to women in early modern Europe, which is why the Baillies believed the best choice was to prove their daughter’s innocence and defend her honour.⁹⁸ The efforts put forward by her parents make it understandable why Lady Murray felt compelled to write the biography the memorialized the giving nature of her mother and father.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* (London), Saturday, December 23, 1721. Lady Murray was still referred to as the wife of Alexander Murray in the paper, although they were separated at this point. The attack was vividly described in the *Gazetteer*, which outlined how Gray entered the room at four in the morning with a pistol and an unsheathed sword and threatened Lady Murray’s life should she resist him. She pleaded with him, but he appeared resolved in his desires; she managed to get away from him as he tried to pull off the bedding and screamed murder in the house to wake her family. When Gray was caught and questioned by the family, he said that he did not know what he was doing and believed he was incited by the devil. At his trial he claimed that he had been drunk and did go into the room with a sword and pistol but did not attempt to attack Lady Murray. This claim was not convincing to a jury since he was sentenced to hang, but he was granted transportation instead. Actual rapes reported in the paper resulted in the guilty man being executed.

⁹⁵ Elizabeth S. Cohen, "The Trials of Artemisia Gentileschi: A Rape as History", *Sixteenth Century Journal* (31 (1): pp. 47-75, 2000), 47-51.

⁹⁶ Murison, 104. Many prisoners who were found guilty and sentenced to execution were later shipped to the colonies where they would work off their crime.

⁹⁷ Lady Murray, 159-61.

⁹⁸ Amussen, 130. Any slander against the family would be unwanted, so it may be curious that the Baillies brought this matter before the courts. However, since the estates were so populated the attack would probably not remained a secret and taking the Grey to court would have protected more than harmed Lady Murray’s reputation.

⁹⁹ Houston, “Women in the Economy of Scotland, 1500-1800”, 138. Lady Grisell Murray would continue to use her title the rest of her life; this was not unheard of since elites enjoyed their titles.

Lady Grisell and George went through a great deal of effort and money to help their eldest daughter when her marriage turned sour, but this did not change their position on giving their children the freedom to choose a partner. Their youngest daughter became engaged to Charles Binning while the family was living in England. Rachel had been courted by many suitors, but found she was most compatible with Lord Binning after several months of exchanging correspondence. When Rachel expressed her desire to marry in Edinburgh, the family returned permanently to Scotland.¹⁰⁰ The wedding took place on 3 September 1717, and the couple were very happy until Lord Charles' unexpected death in 1732.¹⁰¹ Lady Grisell and George spared no expense for both of their daughters' weddings, with many of the purchases being recorded in the account books.¹⁰² For Rachel's wedding £36 10s sterling was spent at Edinburgh "For Linins and sowing and gloves and sundry other things" "At her Mariage".¹⁰³ The Binnings had three surviving children from their marriage, Grisell Hamilton (1719), Thomas Hamilton (1720), and George Hamilton (1723).¹⁰⁴ The Baillies extended their care of Rachel to their son-in-law when he was ill, as we will see in the third chapter. Lady Grisell's care for her children is clear throughout the accounts, not merely on the sums spent on the girls but also in how she referred to them. From their birth until the final entries, her daughters are consistently referred to as "Grisie" and "Rachie" with their formal titles never appearing in any of the entries. Her husband is referred to by name or as "my dear one" and "my dearest".¹⁰⁵ This type of informality is not always common in account books, with Lady Grisell's own mother using her

¹⁰⁰Scott-Moncrieff, xl. When George Baillie was made Lord of Admiralty the family moved to Chelsea, England. They first rented a furnished house in London on 8 December 1714, until they moved to Chelsea in June of 1715.

¹⁰¹Scott-Moncrieff, xxix. The marriage was quite a happy one, but was abruptly ended when Lord Binning died from consumption on 27 December 1732.

¹⁰²Lochhead, 293.

¹⁰³Lady Grisell Baillie, 217.

¹⁰⁴Since Grisell and George did not have a male heir, Rachel's son George Hamilton took the surname Baillie to succeed the Baillie's estates. Three children predeceased Lord Binning; they were Helen, Charles and John. The accounts indicate another baby might have been born in 1718, but the birth was not recorded.

¹⁰⁵Lady Grisell Baillie, 206, 256-9.

family members' formal titles in her household books.¹⁰⁶ For instance, when Lady Kerr refers to her daughter she wrote "my dochter Jerviswood" and her husband as "my lord".¹⁰⁷ The difference in how family members were addressed could simply be a generational change, but it might also represent the cultural change in the formality of titles during the Baillies' period. Lady Grisell would of course have a clear concept of the social hierarchy, but she always addressed her family in an informal manner which helps support the argument that families, even the upper class, were more personal than cold and distant during this period.

Evidence regarding the short life of the Baillies' middle child, and only son, is also found in the account books.¹⁰⁸ Named after his martyred grandfather, Robert Baillie was born on 23 February 1694 and he first appeared in the accounts days later with the entry "To cloath for Robert Baillie at Kelso".¹⁰⁹ His life was brief, as he died shortly after Rachel was born in 1696. The accounts note the little "Robn" was buried next to his paternal grandfather in Greyfriars churchyard. There were only two entries after the boy's passing; Lady Grisell noted £1 9s "To my child's dead-linen" and £17 8s "To a man in Gray Frirs for keeping up my childs grave".¹¹⁰ During this period child mortality was high, but parents still felt the emotional loss of a child.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 60-2. Lady Kerr was not a particularly formal individual, who usually treated everyone the same. Lady Murray describes her as being a great lady who was kind.

¹⁰⁷ Kelsall, 140-4. Lady Kerr used Lady Baillie's married title, because the Kerr-Hume account books begin three years after the Baillies marriage. The younger Hume children are referred to by their nicknames in the account books. Ewan, "Introduction: Where is the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland", 7. Lady Grisell Kerr, like many women in Scotland, kept her family name after she married.

¹⁰⁸ In fact, Robert's birth and death are not mentioned in the biography by Lady Murray. This may not be surprising since she would have only been four when her brother died.

¹⁰⁹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 4-5, 189, 191. There are several other entries in the accounts for clothing purchased and made for Robert Baillie, such as, "For shoes for Robert" and "For stays to my Robin".

¹¹⁰ Lady Grisell Baillie, 5. The cost for the grave maintenance was £1 9s Scots. Lochhead, 251.

¹¹¹ Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland*, 74. There was a high mortality rate for children during this period; in fact it would be rare for a family not to lose a child, many dying before their second birthday. For instance, Colin Alison married twice and had a total of thirteen children nine of whom died. But this does not mean that people were not grief-stricken by the death of a child.

Caring for children often involved extra employees being hired.¹¹² The Duchess of Hamilton, for instance, hired a wet nurse for her babies, a regular nurse for toddlers and finally a woman to watch over several of the other children.¹¹³ On the other end of the spectrum were the Baillies, who had hired a midwife when the children were born but did not hire a wet nurse since Lady Grisell nursed the babies herself. When the girls were young Lady Grisell hired a governess, Miss May Menzies, to help with their daily routine. Miss Menzies remained with the family for her entire life, but she did not raise the girls. Lady Murray wrote that although they had a competent governess they also had a mother who, “We were always with her at home and abroad”.¹¹⁴ After Robert’s death the couple did not conceive again, and it appears from the emotional account entries and the biography that the parents did not want to risk the loss of another child.¹¹⁵

Lady Grisell and George Baillie’s relationship with their children is easily understood as parental instinct, their commitment to their extended family is what gives a clear indication of how important family was for the Baillies. The Baillies’ immediate family was small; the accounts show multiple entries for various sums of money given or lent to both the Hume and Baillie families. For instance, Archibald Baillie was George’s younger brother, described as an “unsatisfactory” character that ran into severe debt problems.¹¹⁶ When the brother ended up in the Edinburgh tollbooth, the Baillies interceded and a separate account was set up for

¹¹² Mendelson and Crawford, 157. Lochhead, 247-250.

¹¹³ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 68-9. Although there does not appear to have been a governess for the girls, a governor was hired for the boys.

¹¹⁴ Lady Murray, 66. Mendelson and Crawford, 66-7. Lady Murray emphasized her mother’s maternal love, and it is also indicated on her lapidary inscription. This was because maternal love was seen as one of the most powerful emotions during this time.

¹¹⁵ Mary Abbott, *Family Ties: English Families, 1540-1920* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 26-7. Lady Grisell and George deeply loved their children, but the account entries give an indication of how much she must have grieved for her son after he died. It appears to have been an intentional decision not to have another child. There is no contraceptive method mentioned in the accounts, but there were natural and artificial methods that couples did employ during this time. These included drugs, instruments and the rhythmic method.

¹¹⁶ Scott-Moncrieff, lxxiv-lxxv. Archibald tried to pay off his debts by pawning most of his possessions; when he ran out of valuables he began to steal and sell whatever he could get his hands on.

Archibald.¹¹⁷ Another family member, Rachel Dundas, was one of George's nieces who had her finances managed by Lady Grisell until she was an adult. Rachel was taken on many trips and given more gifts than any of the other cousins. There could be many reasons for this. Perhaps, for example, this branch of the family had less money, or maybe there were problems within the family. Whatever the reason, both Archibald and Rachel Dundas were given special attention by the Baillies and they both appeared to have benefited from the help.¹¹⁸

The family-centered marriage of Lady Grisell and George Baillie seems to have been intentionally formed. They had both come from families that were shattered by political and religious turmoil, and the couple worked hard to ensure that no political ideals came before their family. This was not a characteristic unique to the Baillies during this period, but Lady Grisell's accounts and the biography written by Lady Murray allow this family to be studied in detail. Happy marriages were usually among those individuals who had the freedom to either chose their partner or have input into with whom they were most compatible.¹¹⁹ The Baillies represent the first of these, an upper-class couple who married for love rather than for concerns of wealth and land.¹²⁰ And while the Baillies are not representative of all the classes, they did represent the ideal family. The accounts provided by Lady Grisell give us this insight into the Baillies' lives, and they will be studied further in the following chapter.

¹¹⁷ This account had funds added to it much longer than any other of the accounts set up for George's siblings.

¹¹⁸ Scott-Moncrieff, lxxv. It was not just gifts that were given to Rachel; one entry in the account books was for Miss Menzies and Rachel going to a play together, 4s. This meant that this girl was important enough to the Baillies that she was not only provided with gifts and money but also entertainment. It is also interesting because Rachel was probably not the same age as Grisie or Rachel. The play was dated for 1715, which was four years after Lady Murray's marriage.

¹¹⁹ Erickson, 18.

¹²⁰ Coontz, 17. Marshall, 19. This was not as harsh as some historians have depicted arranged upper-class marriages. The Duke of Hamilton was very fond of his two daughters; however, the only way he felt he could provide for them was to arrange marriages for them to Scottish noblemen.

Chapter Two: Insight into a Family Through Household Expenses

The survival of Lady Baillie's accounts is largely due to the fact that they have remained with her descendants at their Mellerstain estate, in the family's archives.¹ The originals remain with the family, however, and so scholars must rely on the four-hundred page selection of her accounts compiled and edited by Robert Scott-Moncrieff for the Scottish Historical Society in 1911.² Scott-Moncrieff had access to almost all of Lady Baillie's manuscripts, with the exception of her "home farm" book which contained entries of the money she took from the estate for her own purposes.³ In compiling the published volume, Scott-Moncrieff faced the difficult task of condensing over a thousand pages of records into one book. To give the most continuity, he chose to concentrate on the entries from the first of the three day books dating from 1692 to 1718.⁴ Scott-Moncrieff gave several rationales for this decision, writing, for example, these accounts illustrated the changeover from Scots currency to sterling that began in 1707, and covered the vital political era of the 1707 union and the Jacobite rebellion.⁵ Both events had a

¹ Thomson, ix. Thomson mentions that the Baillie's biography has been preserved in the family's archives, which is probably also where the accounts have been kept.

² Other account books published included Foulis of Ravelston, 1671 to 1707. Chosen because they throw "light on social life in Scotland two hundred years ago", the accounts in this context were limited to men, with little attention given to women and children.

³ It is unfortunate that in compiling this edition that Lady Grisell's personal accounts were unavailable since they probably revealed the portion of the estate she owned outright.

⁴ Scott-Moncrieff, lvii, xxxv. Scott-Moncrieff looked almost entirely at the first day book, but there were also other entries taken out of the other two.

⁵ Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck, *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939*, (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1988), 105. The Union of 1707, the Scots currency which had been declining in value throughout the previous century was formally abolished, though the changeover happened gradually over time. Scott-Moncrieff, xxxvi. This union in 1707 is refers to when Scotland's parliament was joined with England. This has often been described as a loss, which dealt a blow to the Scottish national identity since Scotland did not have fair representation in the England based parliament. Scott-Moncrieff also reveals in the introduction that during the 1715 Rebellion, the family's Mellerstain estates were looted. Scott-Moncrieff goes on to state that there may have been weapons that were stolen during the looting. *Flying Post or The Post Master* (London, England), Saturday, November 5, 1715; Issue 3720. Pp 2. Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 141. This period of Rebellion was related to Scots frustration over English control. Fyfe, 341. Lady Murray, 14. George Baillie's sympathy for the rebels extended to petition for mercy but he also passed bills in the General Assembly to prevent the Stewarts from returning to power. Daniel Szechi, *1715 The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 130, 245. George Baillie also intervened to lessen the charges of the husband of Lady Grisell's niece who had some part in the rebellion. Patrick Hume was, however, openly opposed to the rebellion and reported to the crown on any Jacobite activity in the border area.

significant impact on Scotland, and Scott-Moncrieff believed the Baillies' accounts would provide insight into these events.⁶ Even after narrowing his selections, length restraints required some additional editing. In justifying his editorial choices, Scott-Moncrieff wrote that, "it has been thought best not to select individual entries, which would have still further destroyed the character of the Accounts, nor yet to select individual years, but to take as the unit of selection individual branches, choosing the most interesting of each respectively".⁷

Scott-Moncrieff's editing reflected his own personal interests and those of most men of his day. He casually mentions near the end of the introduction, for example, that "it is difficult for a mere man to form an opinion in regards to matters of feminine clothing, and it is dangerous to express it when formed".⁸ In other words, the editor's selections were influenced at least in part by what he felt comfortable or interested in writing about. Some fascinating patterns emerge in the Scott-Moncrieff edition; for instance, he provides information in the introduction that do not appear in the accounts to avoid "needless repetition", which has created some difficulties in studying the 1911 edition.⁹ Overall, Scott-Moncrieff's silent editorial decisions have restricted the potential for applying quantitative methods to the data presented in the accounts. He did not, for example, include all the entries of different categories which would allow comparisons over multiple years while capturing the widest variety of entries possible from the first day book. The intended audience of the 1911 edition also needs to be kept in mind when considering Scott-Moncrieff's selections and choices. The volumes produced by the Scottish Historical Society were intended in the first instance for their own subscribing members and not for the general

⁶ Richard J. Finlay, "Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity", in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* ed. by T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (Great Britain: Tuckwell Press, 1999)122-3. Although the 1707 Union of Parliament was a monumental event in Scotland, it had far less impact in England. It further united Scotland and England but few were willing to identify themselves as "British" rather than Scottish or English.

⁷ Scott-Moncrieff, xxxvi.

⁸Scott- Moncrieff, xxxvi.

⁹ Scott-Moncreiff, xxxvi.

public.¹⁰ The membership comprised mainly educated, often professional or landed gentlemen.¹¹ Scott-Moncrieff was undoubtedly addressing this group when he wrote that the Society took an interest in Lady Baillie's accounts because they "give a fair idea of the expenditure of a country gentleman immediately preceding and succeeding the Union".¹² The editor of the accounts does not seem to have any interest in the insight that might be revealed about families or marriages in general during this period, nor even about the Baillies' marriage in particular.

The household accounts of Lady Grisell Baillie begin in 1692, a little over a year after her marriage to George Baillie and the birth of their first child. The account books constituted a complex accounting system she may have devised herself.¹³ Her main accounts were kept in "Day Books", where the family's major purchases were listed. The charges noted in these accounts were not simply listed in chronological order, but separated by several categories. The major headings she used continuously throughout the accounts were; household expenditures, sundries, servants' wages, male servants' clothing, the family's clothing and furnishings. And while the major entries were listed in her day books, minor expenses were kept in their own smaller books, with these sums being totalled and entered into the day book. From the first year of her marriage until her death Lady Baillie filled up three of these day books. Scott-Moncrieff tells us that the first of these ran from 1692 to 1718 and was 442 pages long, the second ran from 1719 to 1742 and was 354 pages long, and the last ran from 1742 to 1746 and was probably

¹⁰ The members of the Scottish Historical Society were obviously the intended audience, with many of their publication including a full list of members or a report of their annual meeting. And although the general public was not the anticipated consumer they would be able to read and purchase these volumes.

¹¹ Scott-Moncrieff, 445. There were four hundred society members, who included clergy, lawyers and doctors.

¹² Scott-Moncrieff, lxxv.

¹³ Lady Grisell's system for keeping household accounts was complex. Her mother, Lady Grisell Kerr, kept less detailed accounts, and in the Kelsall's study claims Lady Baillie did not learn her accounting skills from her mother. Lady Baillie did gain experience from taking over the care of her parents' accounts when she was eighteen.

significantly shorter given the dates.¹⁴ Lady Baillie also kept separate books for the family's travels; books filled with receipts, or "tikats", with others relating to items bought and sold on credit; and finally those relating to estate management and bills of fare.¹⁵

Robert Scott-Moncrieff, like many historians of his time, viewed household accounts as being solely reflective of the finances and preferences of the male head of household. Other early twentieth century historians acknowledged that women usually kept the books, but they too assumed that the accounts were reflective of the husband.¹⁶ For modern historians, account books are indispensable tools for understanding the social and economic life of past generations. Household accounts, especially, can reveal details as intimate as those from a personal journal; however, the historical value of these account books, like that of many journals, was not necessarily appreciated by subsequent generations, which is why so few remain.¹⁷

Accounts were commonly kept by women as part of their role in managing a household, but it has only been recently that historians have paid sustained attention to this aspect of women's work.¹⁸ Using such records as a tool for understanding the marriage and household has been a modern development, one which can be applied to Lady Grisell's accounts; Scott-Moncrieff, after all, was partly wrong when he said that the accounts were reflective of a "gentleman's costs". The books are in fact reflective of the entire Baillie family costs, but were recorded through Lady Grisell's point of view. Whatever his own assumptions were, Scott-

¹⁴ Scott-Moncrieff, xxxiv-xxxv. Scott-Moncrieff claims these headings were most commonly used throughout the three day books. He also lists some other minor headings, which included: cost of horses, doctors and surgeons, business charges, estate expenditures and pocket money. The last day book runs right up until Lady Grisell's death and then was continued by her daughter, which is probably why no length is given.

¹⁵ Kelsall, 140.

¹⁶ Bradley, 93-94.

¹⁷ Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth-Century* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1982), 34. Accounts were typically a tally of income and expenditures, with only large estates accounts being preserved.

¹⁸ Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-2. Connor explores why women were so frequently involved in household accounting; she found that account books, along with letter writing and diaries, "had a feminine hand to them".

Moncrieff's published edition of the accounts can be used to examine key aspects of household and family life. Most publications on the Baillies were written after part of Lady Murray's parents' biography was printed in 1813. Most of these works had the pretext of discussing Lady Baillie but usually focused on her father and father-in-law. Scott-Moncrieff claimed that he tried not to centre on Lady Grisell's "romantic history" but instead hoped to draw attention to her "extraordinary business capacity".¹⁹ This romantic history, as discussed previously, refers to her childhood adventures when she gained fame as a go-between for her father and Robert Baillie.²⁰ The stories of young Lady Grisell were heavily circulated in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries. Using the accounts to gain insight into the Baillies' marriage and family differs from Scott-Moncrieff's original intention and goes beyond how Lady Grisell has been previously written about.

Since these earlier publications on the Baillies are neither very detailed nor terribly reliable, and since the original account books are not available, Scott-Moncrieff's volume stands as the best available source for details about the Baillie household. It is also one of the best sources on the domestic life of elite Scottish families in general at this period of time. Even in their reduced published form, Lady Grisell's accounts are more extensive and inclusive than the few other comparable sets of accounts available from this era.²¹ Accounting had become more prevalent during the long eighteenth century. In England, for instance, there was a rise in women

¹⁹ Scott-Moncrieff, xxx. He felt that because of the amount already published he did not need to address this side of Lady Baillie's life.

²⁰ Anderson, 548.

²¹ It is uncertain how many household account books recorded by women have been preserved in Scotland. The Kelsalls' study claims that only four female recorded account books have been preserved. However, they do not take into account those accounts that were physically recorded by servants. Lady Marie Stewart's accounts, for example, were recorded by her servant, George Monorgen. Extracts from these accounts were published in a small fifty-two paged book. Suzanna Trill, "Early Modern Women's Writing in the Edinburgh Archives, c. 1500-1740; a Preliminary checklist" in *Women and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing* ed. by Sarah Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker and Evelyn Newlyn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 208. In a more recent study Trill has identified at least five household account books recorded by women that are in the Scottish National Archives; these five do not include the Kerr or Baillie account book which means there are at least seven surviving account books.

carrying around pocket books, which doubled as diaries and account books.²² Lady Baillie's mother, Lady Grisell Kerr, kept accounts sporadically throughout her marriage to Patrick Hume, but they lack the detail and precision of her daughter's accounts and little effort was made by Lady Kerr to keep her books intact to ensure they would be preserved. Only the accounts kept between the years 1694 to 1697 are available, which was a particularly hard financial time in Scotland, meaning that detailed records would have been more important.²³ Lady Kerr, like many other women of her time kept notes and records of what was owed to whom, but these notes were seldom seen as important enough to keep after the debt had been settled.²⁴ Additionally, accounts were often kept according to the keeper's idiosyncratic system and were hard for others to decipher. Lady Grisell Baillie's accounts were easy to understand and follow, with her even noting when she used different currency.²⁵ Her accounts, which spanned forty-some years, were cherished in her family and like Lady Murray's biography were kept in the family, which is why they have been preserved.²⁶

Scholarship has been at pains to overcome the myth of indifference towards children, and the entries on the Baillie girls are extremely useful, in that regard. The consensus among

²² Connor, 55. There were several publications which support the argument of a rise in female accounting in this period, such as Charles Vyse's *The Young Lady's Accountant and Best Accomplisher* and *The Ladies Accountant*.

²³ Kelsall, 68, 5, 142, 138. These accounts, studied by Keith and Helen Kelsall, were usually kept as brief notations she might need to reference later. The accounts that survived were several years into Lady Baillie's marriage, during the major famine years in Scotland. The Kerr accounts were put together by Lady Grisell with a note attached explaining what they were. For the most part these papers relate to money spent on household purchases, salaries paid to servants and money lent or given to family members. Kelsall claims that the wording of Lady Kerr's accounts is unique because they include the wages paid to servants and make it evident that it was she who was often paying the servants personally. Lady Grisell Kerr's accounts were fairly basic, having two main categories, one for receipts and one for expenses. The detail, "or lack of it" as Kelsall writes, was influenced by Lady Kerr's "mood" of the moment. Lady Murray of Stanhope, 62. Lady Kerr passed away on 11 October 1703, and her papers as with her Bible were given to Lady Grisell. Lady Baillie then passed on the Bible to Lady Murray.

²⁴ Connor, 5-9. These books were pretty small, three by five inches, and were taken by ladies to shopping or socializing. They contained details such as costs, important dates and their wins and losses in cards.

²⁵ Eales, 12.

²⁶ A.H. Milar, *Glamis Book of Record, 1684-89*, (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. And A. Constable for the Scottish Historical Society, 1890), i. The *Ochertyre Booke of Accomps* have also been preserved; however, the accounts of Lady Helen Middleton have not been so fortunate. The Middleton accounts were in the possession of the SHS (Scottish Historical Society) and were going to be published in their *Glamis Book of Record, 1684-89*. However, in the introduction of this publication the editors admit that the Middleton accounts had been misplaced.

historians as late as the 1970s was that children during this century were abused, ignored or simply not viewed as an integral part of the household.²⁷ Children, both boys and girls, were a crucial part of the home, although more is known about boys. How children were raised differed a great deal based on gender and class, with their social roles being taught from a young age. Women, whatever their social class, were usually raised to have an understanding that their role and lives were often dependant on other people.²⁸ For an upper-class couple, a pair of daughters was not always seen as a blessing, since most strove to produce a male heir.²⁹ How daughters were raised in a home reveals a great deal about the family dynamic.

In addition to providing valuable information about the young life of girls in the eighteenth century, the accounts also reveal how the Baillies cared for their children.³⁰ A girl's education was often seen as secondary to that of her brothers, and although schools had improved in the eighteenth century the levels of literacy varied.³¹ Education was more accessible for the upper-class, with a governess usually being brought in to teach girls; Lady Grisell had been extensively schooled by her own father during their years in exile, when he presumably had

²⁷ Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), viii-3, 17-32. Pollock points out that the history of children has only recently been recognized as viable historical topic, since the children of today are not the same as those from the past. Pollack attacks the indifference theory by asking how it could have been believed in society that the ill-treatment of children was seen as acceptable or beneficial to their development. Publications by Pinchbeck and Hewitt and Thompson have emphasized the formal and distant relationship between parents and children. They claim that the evidence for this indifference was "infanticide, abandonment, wet-nursing, swaddling and the sending of children away on apprenticeships".

²⁸ Lerner, 128-135.

²⁹ Crawford, 207. The reaction to a baby girl versus a boy varied; sometimes the disappointment was very evident. In a letter to her daughter, Lady Ann North wrote, "I am sorry that your cousin Foley's lady hath a girl, a boy would have been a good pattern for you". Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 13. When a second daughter was born to the Hamilton family in 1632 she was greeted by her family "with ill-conceived disappointment". The Marchioness knew it was her job to provide a male heir, and felt she was letting her family down.

³⁰ Eales, 77. Lochhead, 251. The Baillies obviously tried to provide their children with what they themselves were denied in their childhood.

³¹ Houston, *Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500-1800*. 134-6. Lower class girls, and boys, would have had less of a chance to acquire the reading and writing skills.

the time to attend to his daughter's education.³² A typical education for an elite lady was somewhat limited, and involved basic literacy and domestic skills they would need when they became wives and mothers.³³ The schooling of an upper class daughter was mainly focused around refining social skills and household management, to make them sought after in the marriage market.³⁴ Women were expected to bring certain skills to their marriage, in order to create "a basic unit of production, consumption, reproduction, socialization and welfare".³⁵ Grisell and Rachel Baillie's education was considerably more varied, since their parents had little hesitation in spending the money on their lessons. A variety of teachers were brought into the Baillie house to instruct the girls on reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and French. These educators were paid well. At Mellerstain, for instance, James Massie was regularly paid ten pounds Scots for a schoolmaster's salary, although the accounts do not indicate how often he came to the house.³⁶ This was a decent pay, much more than a clerk made in the Baillies' employment, especially considering that girls during this period usually received most of their education from their mother or governess. Nor was Massie the only teacher brought in for the girls. Twelve pounds Scots was paid to a man referred to as "Brun", or Brown, for teaching them

³² Anderson, 565. Patrick Hume apparently taught his children Latin, French and Dutch and schooled them on reading, writing and geography. Michele Cohen, "To think, to compare, to combine, to methodise': Girls' Education in Enlightenment Britain" in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 233. Latin was not part of, or even encouraged, for girls to learn, although it was a traditional part of boy's education. Frater, 77-8. Marshall, 206.

³³ Marshall, *Virgins*, 208-210. John Feather, "The Power of Print", in *Culture and Society in Britain 1600-1800*, ed. by Jeremy Black (New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1997), 60. Pollock, *Forgotten*, 243-5.

³⁴ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 129-148. The children of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton provided a range of education for their children. The eldest boy provided the most variety, while the younger boys learned law. The least amount of money was spent on the girls, they were taught by a governess to read and write in an elegant hand. They were also taught singing, dancing and account management to appear as a skilled potential wife.

³⁵ Houston, *Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500-1800*, 142.

³⁶ Lady Grisell Baillie, 3, 8, 11, 14. He was paid this salary on December 1695, 1 October 1701, 8 March 1702, 30 December 1702. Although the 1911 version does not have all the entries of the accounts, Massie was paid well and most likely taught the girls on a continuous basis.

arithmetic.³⁷ Additionally, there were tutors who attended to the girls when the family was travelling, so there would be no interruption in their education.³⁸ Arithmetic in particular was a skill Lady Grisell would have recognized the value of, although this subject was not usually taught to young girls. There were some teachers who shared these sentiments, “If the Ladies understood *Arithmetick* better, perhaps the keeping Family Accounts wou’d not be such a Piece of ill Breeding. The Convenience and Advantage of having the *Mistress* of the House the *Steward*, shou’d, methinks, make their Learning the four first great Rules of *Arithmetick* be thought more necessary than it is at present”.³⁹ Despite some teachers feeling this way, education for girls remained scarce throughout Europe, which some historians have attributed to reinforcing women’s subservient position to men.⁴⁰

The Baillie girls were also given the more traditional education of elite young women. This included singing and dancing lessons, which Lady Grisell herself had always enjoyed.⁴¹ This training was an asset for a young woman, preparing for marriage, and in some households probably took precedence over other aspects of the girl’s education.⁴² In Scotland during the eighteenth century dance lessons especially were in vogue for the middle and upper classes.⁴³

³⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 10-14. Miss Menzies, their governess, made more money than the girls teachers and she lived with the Baillies.

³⁸ Scott-Moncrieff, xlvi. Lady Grisell Baillie, 415. For instance, when the family was in London the girls had French and music lessons. Lessons for the girls from the female school teacher cost 10s sterling, this was much lower than the male teacher who was paid £1 1s 6d sterling.

³⁹ Charles Vyse, *The Lady’s Accomptant and Best Accomplisher (In Three Parts)* (London: Robinson and Roberts, 1771), 137-142. Charles Vyse wrote several works for tutors in this period on teaching mathematics, describing himself in the introduction of this book as “Teacher of the Mathematics”. His books contained the basics of adding, subtracting, multiplication and division. It also contained material for navigating through the economic system, such as measurements; for example, how many gallons equaled a hogs head.

⁴⁰ Houston, *Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500-1800*. 136.

⁴¹ Anderson, 567. Scott-Moncrieff, 52, 73. Lady Baillie had hired a dancing and cooking teacher for herself during the first year of her marriage. Lady Baillie had written many of her own songs; Anderson said this showed “in addition to her other good qualities, she was characterised by a buoyant animation of spirit, combined with a guilelessness of soul which gave a great charm to her character, and made her universally beloved”.

⁴² Helen Dingwall, 226. Scott-Moncrieff, xliii, xlvi. The entire Baillie family had a passion for music, taking time to copy music scores whenever they travelled abroad.

⁴³ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*. 220-1.

Playing a musical instrument was a traditional talent elite women were expected to possess, with most of these families owning at least one instrument.⁴⁴ Grisie was taught the virginal, viol and harp while Rachel was taught the virginal and flute. In addition to the girls' lessons, the accounts also show the purchases for an extensive selection of musical instruments. The instruments bought by the family were evidently used regularly since the accounts show monthly charges for their tuning.⁴⁵ Music was something that the eldest daughter continued to pursue passionately throughout her life and she was said by her contemporaries to have a beautiful singing voice.⁴⁶ Both of the girls had singing lessons, usually costing the family seven pounds a month.⁴⁷ The accounts also show a charge of £14 4 s Scots in 1701 "For Grisies dancing a mounth with the Franch man", and in 1702 there was £8 14s "To Rachys dancing master".⁴⁸ In fact looking specifically at the "sundries" for 1702, which totalled £1148 17s 6d, the amount spent on music, singing, dancing lessons and music books was £134 10s 1d, or 12 percent of sundries.⁴⁹ As a young woman coping with her father's exile, Lady Grisell and her mother had scarcely more than this to live on for a year.⁵⁰

The administrative side of setting up and managing an upper class household could be a daunting task for a new wife during this period.⁵¹ Fortunately, Lady Grisell had the advantage of

⁴⁴ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 46-7. Both the Duchess daughters and sons were taught to play musical instruments. Annik Pardailhe-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 193. The elite were not the only ones to own musical instruments; merchants were also known to have bought musical instruments.

⁴⁵ Dingwall, 227. Lady Grisell Baillie, 420. The cost of tuning the instruments was usually around 4s 10d sterling.

⁴⁶ Scott-Moncrieff, xlvi. Lady Murray was known in Britain for singing songs about Scotland.

⁴⁷ Dingwall, 226.

⁴⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 7, 12. This French man was probably Louis de France, a well known dancing instructor or Mr Dunbar a French dancing instructor previously employed by the Baillie's.

⁴⁹ Most of the early account entries are in Scots; I have changed them into sterling only when comparing the Scots to sterling and the pound difference was 12:1.

⁵⁰ Lady Grisell Baillie, 10-14. Anderson, 561-2.

⁵¹ Anderson, 561-2. Lady Grisell had taken over all of the management duties for her parents' estate when she was eighteen, after her father had been exiled. Managing her parents' household involved taking care of her many siblings and travelling with her mother to London to petition for a salary from the Humes' estates after her father escaped to Holland. Lady Grisell and her mother were only able to get one hundred and fifty pounds a year, which

prior experience when it came to the management of estates and servants. In her youth she had helped manage her parents' estates, and after her marriage she routinely travelled to help her father with his estates while he was ill. She also managed the estates of her brother, Lord Alexander Polwarth, when he was away.⁵² This experience helped prepare her for her own marriage and for overseeing her own estates. Lady Grisell's hard work was noted by her family, with Lady Murray later commenting in the biography that her mother had worked from the early hours of the morning until late at night; "until her eighty-first year, she rose the earliest of her family, and managed that most difficult of their affairs".⁵³

A large part of estate management involved watching over a household full of servants. Upper class households mostly hired young females when male servants were hired it was usually as a personal footman.⁵⁴ The number of employees at an estate depended on the family's wealth and social status, which helps better define the Baillie family's social status. In England, middle-class families usually only employed three or four servants at a time while gentry had seven or eight employed at any one time. Additional help was employed on the higher end of the social spectrum; for example the Duke of Bedford had forty servants in 1753.⁵⁵ Early in the Baillies' marriage they only had four servants; later however, the family had on average seventeen servants while living at Mellerstain after 1707 and about seven while they lived in

they were able to live off, but not in the life they were accustomed to in Scotland. They had no servants while in Holland, only one girl who helped wash the dishes. And although it was a hard life in exile, Lady Grisell supposedly never spoke negatively of their time in Holland. Vickery, 134. Gottlieb, 9. Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 71. As mentioned in chapter one, the Baillies' had a high turnover of servants in their household.

⁵² Anderson, 577. Lady Murray of Stanhope, 75. Polwarth routinely travelled to Copenhagen and Cambay, and when he did so she would take over the management of his estates. When her father was ill, Lady Baillie was married she spent two months with him at Kilmington taking care of his affairs.

⁵³ Tytler, 2, 11.

⁵⁴ Gordon DesBrisay and Elizabeth Ewan with H. Lesley Diack, 56-7. In Aberdeen, the domestic working force was predominately female.

⁵⁵ Hill, 129.

London after 1715.⁵⁶ Servants could become an integral part of a household, and might remain with one family for their lifetime.⁵⁷ A family might go through a series of hiring and firing in order to find a servant that could remain in the household, most of the Baillie's servants left after a month.⁵⁸ The few reliable servants the Baillies had were the girls' governess, Miss Menzies, and coachman Tam Youll.⁵⁹

The higher a family's social class, the higher the quality of possessions they would have. This would require having servants who would care for these items and not be likely to break or steal them.⁶⁰ Contracts with servants can be seen as indicative of the type of control a family had in their household. Lady Grisell Baillie's instructions to the butler and housekeeper were gathered together by Lady Murray and included in the appendix of Scott-Moncrieff's volume.⁶¹ The agreements with the staff covered what the Baillies provided in terms of room and board, including which servants were given what food at meals, and how much their pay would be docked for bad behaviour or charged for items and services or clothing that went beyond their employment agreement. For instance, the account books note on 8 April 1710 that £1 10 sterling was spent on a riding coat for one of the grooms, but two pounds sterling was taken off George Dods' wages on 25 March 1709 for a velvet cap that he "spoilt".⁶² To control the threat of

⁵⁶ Scott-Moncrieff, liv. When the family was living at the Mellerstain estates their employees included: housekeepers, gentlewomen, a laundry maid, a housemaid, a cook, an undercook, a kitchen maid, a butler, a gardener, a couch man, a footman and a groom. This staff would be limited when they travelled to London or on the continent.

⁵⁷ Pardailhe-Galabrun, 37-8.

⁵⁸ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 62.

⁵⁹ Pardailhe-Galabrun, 38-9. Although Tom Youll remained loyal to the family, he also had some issues with alcohol; there are several notations in the accounts for docking Youll's salary for drunk and disorderly behavior. Although this was obviously against what the Baillies' wanted in their household, Youll was not fired for his behavior. There are also several positive entries for him; on 2 July 1707, £3 14s 6d Scots was given for Youll's wedding.

⁶⁰ Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, 71-2.

⁶¹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 273. These were under the heading, "Memordums and Derections to Servants and ruels layd down by my Mother both fer their diet and work. Copyd and colected together 1752, made by her Decr. 1743, and the derections given to the severl Servants".

⁶² Dingwall, 137. Lady Grisell Baillie, 143. Scott-Moncrieff, liii.

thievery employees would also be fined for items that were broken and not immediately reported, most likely to encourage honesty.⁶³ The Baillies apparently paid their servants average wages, although Lady Grisell has been criticized for what she provided her servants in terms of food.⁶⁴

Perhaps the most important employee the Baillies hired was Miss May Menzies, the Baillie girls' governess.⁶⁵ Miss Menzies was hired to care for and help educate the girls, but became an invaluable confidant to Grisell and Rachel, both when they were children and as adults. In the biography Lady Murray described her affection for Miss Menzies, who became more than a governess. She remained with the Baillie family for forty-five years, joining them in 1705 and appearing in the accounts as late as 1749.⁶⁶ Although her initial role involved providing the girls daily itineraries, she would become the employee whom Lady Grisell relied on the most. In her "Derections for the House Keeper" dated 1743, the household staff was instructed that "if diffident or ignorant of any thing, ask derections for me or Miss Menzies".⁶⁷ Miss Menzies remained with the family long after the Baillie girls were grown, and would go on to care for Rachel's children.⁶⁸ She was rewarded well financially for her devotion to the Baillie family with a salary of a hundred pounds Scots, or £8 6d sterling.⁶⁹ This was a significant wage, more than any other employee in the Baillie household, where earnings might range from one to

⁶³ Lady Grisell Baillie, lii.

⁶⁴ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 74. In comparison to Miss Menzies the professional servants in the Hamilton household were mostly male and made up to £120 Scots a year.

⁶⁵ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 134-8. For upper-class sons, a governor was often hired for them for their younger years while not all elite families provided a governess for their daughters.

⁶⁶ Lady Grisell Baillie, 130. Miss Menzies is mostly referred to as May Menzies but there are also entries of her as Mary Menzies. Lady Murray of Stanhope, 66. Miss Menzies was the daughter of Mr Menzies of Raws, whom Lady Murray refers to as a "writer to the signet". In the biography, Lady Murray describes how much she loved Miss Menzies and how as an adult she confided in her when her marriage was dissolving. Gottlieb, 41-2. The closeness the family felt towards Miss Menzies was not unusual, since strong bonds often formed between the employer and the employee.

⁶⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 279-280.

⁶⁸ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 67.

⁶⁹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 130. The original sum was two hundred pounds Scots, but I have changed it to sterling. On 18 June 1707 she was paid this sum "For her 2 years wages".

five pounds sterling a year.⁷⁰ Miss Menzies seems to have made about five times more than other senior servants in the household. Her salary was comparable to those of top servants in other elite households; for instance, the personal servants, mostly male, in Duke of Hamilton's household made £120 Scots a year.⁷¹ In addition to her basic pay, she also received bonuses which were relied on by most servants in this period to raise their average earnings. There were various entries in the accounts for presents to Miss Menzies, ranging from one shilling to just over a few pounds sterling. For instance, eight pounds Scots was spent on a new gown and coat for Miss Menzies to wear to Lady Murray's wedding.⁷² There are several entries for clothing for Miss Menzies, although it is not indicated whether these were part of her contracted clothing or bonuses. It is probable that the contract with Miss Menzies was a loose, although permanent, one, since the items purchased for her are listed with the family's expenses and not with the servants.⁷³

Miss Menzies made a good wage, with many bonuses. For lesser servants these bonuses were smaller, and were known tellingly as "drink money".⁷⁴ These small tips could add up for the staff if they worked in a house that entertained a lot of visitors, since guests often tipped for any services they provided.⁷⁵ One entry in Lady Grisell's accounts on March 1697 was £2 10s Scots "To my fathers couchman in drinkmony".⁷⁶ Another similar entry shows up in the accounts for 24 June 1715, when the family was in London; £1 7s 6d sterling (£12 8s 72d Scots) was

⁷⁰ Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth-Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 74-8. Lady Grisell Baillie, 133. In contrast, the Baillie's cook Margaret Brown earned £2 10s sterling in 1709.

⁷¹ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 74.

⁷² Lady Grisell Baillie, 34, 210, 25. These included "sundry" items, such as new gloves. It was likely that Miss Menzies wore handed down clothes, but there are several notations for item purchased for Miss Menzies, or money given to her to purchase goods. Scott-Moncrieff, xlv. These bonuses were usually clothing, especially dresses.

⁷³ Lady Grisell Baillie, 35, 210, 14. There is an entry on May 1707 for money (£1 16s) to buy gloves for Miss May Menzies. May Menzie's expenses are usually listed with the family's sundries entries.

⁷⁴ Lady Grisell Baillie, 81. The 1911 edition only has a few instances of the "drink money" bonuses, but it was not always recorded whom they were given to.

⁷⁵ Kelsall, 156-7.

⁷⁶ Lady Grisell Baillie, 260.

paid out “For drinkmoney at Twettenham to all the servants”.⁷⁷ Similar entries can be found in Lady Kerr’s accounts; there is one “drink money” notation for eight of the family’s servants from 12 May to 5 June 1697.⁷⁸ In the account books of Sir John Foulis, there are multiple drink money entries given to his own servants and to servants in houses he visited. One of these notations in 1672 was of 12s Scots for “drinkmoney to my man for making my cloak and a bed”.⁷⁹

The upper classes were also expected to share their good fortune in the form of charity. Entries for charity in the early years of the Baillies’ marriage are significant because these were hard economic years in Scotland. During the last decade of the seventeenth-century, Scotland experienced multiple horrible harvests from bad growing seasons and harsh winters that devastated the agricultural economy and the rural population.⁸⁰ Edinburgh, which the Baillies lived close to, was one of the centres for poor relief that people were forced to migrate to during the worst years of the famine 1696 and 1699.⁸¹ Most of this poor relief was expected to come from the Kirk, but people also relied on begging. This was tightly regulated, with those deserving

⁷⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 35, 13-14. There are two other entries of this in the 1702 sundries account, but there is not any indication given as to who they were paid to.

⁷⁸ Kelsall, 154. Kelsall describes these sums as having been written on a scrap of paper by Lady Kerr when she was dividing the gross sum among eight servants. However, the exact sum is not given by Kelsall.

⁷⁹ Sir John Foulis, *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston 1671-1707* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. And A. Constable for the Scottish history society, 1894), 3. There were multiple entries of drink money, usually only a few pounds Scots. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 75. Marshall noted that in the Duke of Hamilton’s household, all of the drink money was paid in cash, but also that the “outside” servants might also be paid in food.

⁸⁰ R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, “Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective” in *Scottish Society 1500-1800* ed. By R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 8. R.A. Houston, *The Population History Of Britain and Ireland 1500-1750* (London: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1992), 48-9. The famine increased the mortality rate in Scotland; Houston estimates that in Aberdeenshire almost a fifth of the population was wiped out. Different portions of Scotland were affected at different times; the north-east was hit hardest first, then the south-east nearer to the end of the decade. Kelsall, 99. These bad harvest years and subsequent famine have been called by some “King William’s Ill Years”.

⁸¹ R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, “Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective”, 13. The population in Scotland was one million, with a fifth of them reduced to subsistence living. R.A. Houston, *The Population History Of Britain and Ireland*, 70-1. The poor had a much better chance of receiving aid in urban rather than rural areas. Smout and Gibson, 170. The worst years of the famine were 1696 and 1699.

given medallions or tokens that were made up every year for them.⁸² The poor were expected to procure their own charity from the elite, which often involved them begging extra from the better-off neighbours they often relied on during these periods.⁸³ The Baillie account books have not yet been explored to understand more about this period in Scotland but they can offer some interesting insights. Looking specifically at the entries surrounding the year 1696 gives an indication of how much the Baillies donated to charity during these famine years. These years provide the most charitable donations, and looking at the years before and after 1696 suggests that the Baillies donated approximately four pounds Scots per month especially to “the poor”.⁸⁴ These donations do not include their habitual sums paid to their church, which they also gave to regularly.⁸⁵ Other entries might simply list 14s 6d Scots “To the women in the Tolbooth”, on 20 April 1696 which appears to be a charitable donation.⁸⁶ Although the year 1696 was a difficult year personally for the Baillies, with the death of their son, the young couple were able to give over forty pounds total to the poor at various times throughout the year. This amount was significant for the Baillies as they had not yet accumulated a great deal of wealth and were

⁸² Gordon DesBrisay and Elizabeth Ewan with H. Lesley Diack, “Life in Two Towns”, 60. These tokens often meant the people could beg, and some people might voluntarily give them food or money.

⁸³ R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, “Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective”, 25. In some ways elite families were relied on during these crises because they were believed to be wiser. A footman named John MacDonald wrote that “Gentleman know the world better then we”. James Colville, “Introduction” in *Ochertyre House Booke of Accomps*” ed. By James Colville (Edinburgh: University Press by T. And A. Constable for the Scottish Historical Society, 1907), xxvi-xxvii. The upper-class were not always willing to give charity, the Ochertyre accounts only have a few entries regarding the poor, and they were small sums, “for the poor, 2d.” sterling. Amussen, 157-8.

⁸⁴ Rosalind Mitchison, “Permissive poor laws: the Irish and Scottish systems considered together”, in *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland 1600-1939*, ed. by S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (Preson: Carnegie Pub., 1995), 161. Scotland was regulated by poor laws; this was not unique to Scotland since they also existed in Ireland and England. Karen Cullen, “The Famine of the 1690’s and Its Aftermath: Survival and Recovery of the Family” in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 150-2. During 1696 many families were surviving off of fish, not being able to afford staple foods such as bread.

⁸⁵ Lady Grisell Baillie, 4-6. The Baillies gave money to the church to first rent a loft for £18 Scots from 1700-1701 and then to build a loft. Gordon DesBrisay and Elizabeth Ewan with H. Lesley Diack, 45. Where a person sat in the church was important and regulated. In churches in Aberdeen there was a “keeper of the pew” who ensured people sat where they were supposed to. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 240-1. Houston points out that this seating was not solely for social reasons, but a way for the church to collect additional fees.

⁸⁶ Lady Grisell Baillie, 259. This was probably to a prisoner or a woman who worked in the tollbooth.

probably suffering their own hardships from the famine. This may not have been the full amount they donated to the church, just all the entries that were included in the 1911 edition. Other church related costs included money for their “loft”, money to the church’s poor fund, and donated money to charity under their daughters’ names until their marriages.⁸⁷ Lady Murray wrote of her father that, “He could never resist an object of charity”.⁸⁸ She was not simply referring to her father as giving formal donations, but informal charity and personal help to people. In comparison, in 1718 in London the family paid £2 27s 12d sterling for the poor.⁸⁹ This was less than the family paid in Scotland previously because this was not a famine year.

The period of the famine in late seventeenth-century Scotland made food purchases difficult and restricted for all classes. The cost of food for the Bailles’ household listed in the edition of the accounts creates difficulties when trying to examine the period of famine. Scott-Moncrieff combined the food purchases in the accounts with basic household goods from the period from 1683 to 1718. He did this to create a comparison between the overall costs of food for the Baillies to what this amount would be during his own time period. In doing this Scott-Moncrieff eliminated the opportunity to examine the expense of goods during the famine years.⁹⁰ The few entries regarding food that were included in the 1911 edition are all from years after 1702, after the famine. These entries were included under Lady Grisell’s “Housekeeping” category, and do provide some interesting trends regarding price differences in Scotland and England.⁹¹ Historian Rose Bradley who studied the Baillie accounts in 1912 for their London versus Scotland entries, noted that, comparing the costs of the two countries reveals that two

⁸⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 364, 83. The Baillies did not just give money to the parish they belonged to, they also gave money to churches they visited while travelling across the continent. When the family settled into their estates at Mellerstain they had a very good relationship with their church, with George even becoming a representative elder.

⁸⁸ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 4.

⁸⁹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 45-8.

⁹⁰ Scott-Moncrieff, 411-3.

⁹¹ Kelsall, 100. The famine appears to have ended by 1699, when Scotland was able to produce a bumper harvest.

hundred years ago it was not possible, nor was it permitted, for “ladies and gentlemen to live economically at all”. This remark by Bradley was not necessarily fair since the accounts reveal that while the family was in London they purchased many of their goods as efficiently as possible. Merchandise such as “barley, starch, washing blue, butter, shelled peas, indigo” were purchased in Scotland and shipped to England because it was actually cheaper than simply buying them in London.⁹²

The Baillies were an upper class household and there are certain expenses that represented their status, these included clothing, home and food. The upper classes were looked up to by others, because in many ways they controlled the market place, determining what was in vogue and popular at the time.⁹³ Scott-Moncrieff was correct when he said the accounts were demonstrative of the change in Scotland’s currency from Scots to sterling; what he did not attempt to exhibit with the accounts was the role women had in the market as consumers.⁹⁴ George Baillie was a Member of Parliament for the new party, so these were status symbols his family desired to have, not least to enhance careers and marriage prospects for their children.⁹⁵

⁹² Scott-Moncrieff, lix. Bradley, 247. Bradley also comments that “Good housewife though she was, Lady Grisell did not do all her own baking in London”. Referring most likely to the servants buying ready made goods rather than baking. Lady Baillie is noted as having ink and book blackener made on the estate. Bradley may have acknowledged the excellent account skills, but she does so in a way that does not appreciate the value of the accounts or accounting in general by women.

⁹³ Houston, 229. Weatherill, 60-1. Consumerism rose in eighteenth-century Scotland, with Edinburgh having an advanced consumer culture. Women’s involvement in the economy was most evident in their managing the household finances and being the biggest influence in the buying market.

⁹⁴ Connor, 29. Scott-Moncrieff took an interest in this period because the Scots currency had been declining throughout the century and physical money was in short supply forcing people to rely on credit. This made accounting all the more necessary. Coutts, 176-7. Coutts makes the point that although women had no legal persona they could at least pledge their husband’s credit. For more information on women in the economy look at Gordon DesBrisay and Karen Sander-Thompson, “Crediting Wives: Married Women and Debt Litigation in the Seventeenth-Century” in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 85-6. Women were almost certainly involved in debt litigation in other countries, but not always named in the records. For Scotland, women appear in one-third of debt litigation.

⁹⁵ Murison, “Baillie, George”. George Baillie had originally been aligned with Secretary Johnson’s party in his early political career but switched to the country party and then later the new party. Lohead, 36.

Lady Grisell had to be careful in this situation, since her household would demonstrate her status, but at the same time she was a person who tried to live economically.⁹⁶

The Baillie accounts also provide a good indication of what goods were purchased in upper class homes in Scotland, which was not always known for this period. Food was a major expense for households and in the eighteenth-century and there were major dietary changes that happened for a great deal of Scotland. For most people in Scotland, the diet was grain and not animal based, with oatmeal being their staple.⁹⁷ Certain foods and drink were expected to be found in upper class households. Tea became very popular in the eighteenth-century, with some types being much more expensive than others.⁹⁸ Bohea tea was purchased by the Baillies in small quantities usually ranging from one pound to four pounds since it was expensive; while they bought almost twice as much green tea since it was half the cost. A pound of tea in June 1731 was £1 2s sterling, while another luxury item, six pounds of chocolate, purchased on the same date cost £1 5s 2d sterling.⁹⁹ Other specialty purchases included coffee and fruits which were often only bought on special occasions such as holidays. Cost comparisons can be made with countries aside from England; for instance the Baillies purchased the expensive Bohea tea, a pound at a time in 1731 at Utright for cost 11s 10d sterling. Two years later Lady Grisell bought the same quantity of Bohea tea in Venice, but for the higher price of 16s 4d sterling.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 83-4.

⁹⁷ A. Gibson and T.C. Smout, "Scottish Food and Scottish History", in *Scottish Society 1500-1800* ed. R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 59-65. There had been a decline in meat based diet since the medieval period, with the eighteenth century having the highest grain consumption. Refer to Gibson's and Smout's chapter on Scottish diet for a detailed explanation on the decline. A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550-1780*, 226-7. Most Scottish households made a type of oat bread, which was apparently unpalatable to foreigners. Lady Murray, 57. Oatmeal became a staple in all classes, and it was extremely healthy. Lady Murray describes her mother as preferring porridge and milk to any other meal.

⁹⁸ Pardailhe-Galabrun, 93-5. Tea was considered a luxury item on par with items like chocolate. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 100. By the eighteenth century drinking tea had become associated with the aristocracy.

⁹⁹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 311. This was probably a regular tea the family kept in stock. Comrie, 121. Chocolate was a rarity in most houses, with two pounds costing about 10s sterling.

¹⁰⁰ Lady Grisell Baillie, 312, 347.

The luxury items expected to be found in a household also varied by country. In Scotland, certain wines were expected to be served, the most prominent being claret.¹⁰¹ There are multiple entries for claret in Lady Baillie's and Lady Kerr's accounts, and the Duchess of Hamilton had purchased over five hundred bottles.¹⁰² This French wine was a traditional Scottish favourite, but by the Hanoverian era the English elite had begun to prefer claret. It was less expensive for the Baillies to purchase claret in Scotland than London since wines were often illegally imported into Scotland to avoid taxes.¹⁰³ The cost of a "hogshead" of claret in Scotland was between five pounds and twenty-five pounds Scots whereas in England the cost for the same amount was twenty-seven pounds to forty-seven pounds Scots. Claret was expected to be served at dinner parties held in upper class households.¹⁰⁴ There are several notations for hosting and attending dinner parties in the accounts, including some with the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Dukes of Chandos and Hamilton.¹⁰⁵ Lady Grisell loved to host parties and they were required since her husband was in Parliament. These dinners were successful, a mark of good taste, which was important, and her meals have been described by her daughter as graceful.¹⁰⁶ In

¹⁰¹ Charles C. Ludington, "To the King O'er the Water" Scotland and claret, c. 1660-1764" in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History* ed. Mark P. Holt (New York: Berg, 2006), 176-8. Claret had been the preferred wine in Scotland, since the thirteenth century. Scott-Moncrieff, lvii, In London the Baillies drank more port than claret.

¹⁰² Kelsall, 158. Lady Grisell Baillie, 305. Lady Baillie notes the difference between "Strong Ale" and "Second Ale", the latter was usually for servants. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 100. Claret was the most purchased liquor for the Hamiltons.

¹⁰³ Ludington, 164- 176. Smuggling wines into Scotland increased after the 1603 Union of Crowns when the tariffs were raised. *The trade of Scotland and France, consider'd in two letters directed to the author of the Mercator*. Edinburgh, 1713. Eighteenth Century Collection Online. Gale. University of Saskatchewan. 6 March 2010, p, 3. Because of the French wars, it was difficult to obtain claret in England. The author, probably Daniel Defoe, claims that Scotland always managed to import goods from France, mostly wines, brandies and salt which was necessary for their fishing industry. Lady Grisell Baillie, 79. The accounts show an entry for shipping fourteen dusone bottles of claret to London. Bradley, 248.

¹⁰⁴ Lady Grisell Baillie, 415. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 100-1. Lady Murray of Stanhope, 57. Although served in her house, Lady Baillie rarely drank any alcohol; her daughter says she thought it hurt her.

¹⁰⁵ Scott-Moncrieff, 76.

¹⁰⁶ Lohead, 34. Lady Grisell Baillie, 298-305. The quality of the meals can be determined by the menu, several of which were included in the 1911 edition of Lady Grisell's household books. She would record not only what was served at her own table but what the family ate while they were away. Her menus were comparable to the Lords' and Dukes' meals her family enjoyed. They would usually include a selection of meats and fishes along with soup, salads and puddings with fresh fruit for dessert.

fact, the Baillies' had some of the menus printed for their formal dinners; these included two courses, a relief and were finished with a desert.¹⁰⁷ One meal the family enjoyed at Mellerstain included, "Rumble of Veal and broth, Salmon. Loin of Mutton and stakes, stewed cucumbers, Makerony, Moor fowl. Veal colops, fryd eggs, Cream, strawberys".¹⁰⁸ Lady Murray commented on these events that "When we first came to London, and were of an age to relish diversions, such as balls, masquerades, parties by water, music and such like, my mother and he (her father) were always in all our parties; neither choosing to deprive us of them, nor let us go alone".¹⁰⁹

When the Baillies' were first married they stayed in a home belonging to Lord Colinton at Warriston Close in Edinburgh, but George Baillie had inherited the properties of Jerviswood in Lanarkshire and Mellerstain in Berwickshire.¹¹⁰ The Baillies' main home was the Mellerstain estates, part of the parish of Earlston near the Scottish border.¹¹¹ Mellerstain would eventually be called "one of the Great Houses of Scotland", but at the time the Baillie family took possession in 1707, it was said to be "ane old melancholick hous that had had great buildings about it" (Illustration II).¹¹² The accounts show that the Baillie's began repairs to the estates in 1696, but did not move to Mellerstain until 1707.¹¹³ They only completed two wings of the estate in Lady

¹⁰⁷ Scott-Moncrieff, lix. A relief was one or two courses which were served before and after the main course.

¹⁰⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 304-5.

¹⁰⁹ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 8. Lady Murray writes that her parents included them in all of these events. Scott-Moncrieff, xlvi. The girls also went to balls that were put on by their dancing teachers; the accounts show entries in May 1702 "To Rachys Ball and Grisies" 4s 11d and "Cheries at the Ball" 10s. This was not just for the girls' entertainment but also to support their interests. In fact, in the 1702 "Sundries" accounts £4 5s 6d Scots was spent on balls, with four entries for masquerades and concerts for the children.

¹¹⁰ Kelsall, 67. Lady Grizel Baillie, xvi-xviii. Warriston Close was owned by one of George Baillie's relatives in Edinburgh. Baillie's grand-father was the first Baillie of Jerviswood of Saint John's Kirk, purchasing the property in 1636. Dingwall, 152. Lady Grisell Baillie paid taxes for herself at the Edinburgh home, while George Baillie was taxed on his lands at Jerviswood. Dingwall writes that for the gentry the taxes they paid were consistent.

¹¹¹ Murison, "Lapidary Inscriptions", 99. Berwickshire was less than forty miles from Edinburgh and three hundred and forty miles from London.

¹¹² James Laver, *Mellerstain* (London: Rainbird, 1954), 3-6. Mellerstain had been in the family's possession since 1642 when it was deeded to Robert Baillie by Royal Charter. Scott-Moncrieff, lxii. The family began remodeling by expanding the garden and renovating the kitchen.

¹¹³ Lady Grisell Baillie, 6. Kelsall, 67-9, 138, 194. These estates became their permanent home and their descendant's home, but required significant sums for remodeling. Despite the heavy costs to repair the Baillies chose this estate because the land was already owned by the Baillie's and it was close to the Hume property which

Grisell and George's lifetimes although a new foundation had been laid in 1725.¹¹⁴ The Mellerstain estate had all the luxuries the landed class were expected to have during this period, including horses, carriages, expensive furniture and the newly invented bell system.¹¹⁵

Even the smallest details within the estates demonstrated a family's wealth and status.¹¹⁶ Books and paintings were valuable editions to the home, with portraits becoming very popular in the eighteenth-century.¹¹⁷ The Baillies spent over ninety pounds Scots on books in 1695, fifty pounds Scots on books in 1701 and over thirty Scots in 1702.¹¹⁸ The Baillies also invested money in portraits, with multiple payments to John Sculgard in 1696 totalling £267 16s Scots. These were most likely for a portrait of George Baillie's mother (Illustration III) and one of the Baillie girls (Illustration IV).¹¹⁹ A portrait of the Baillie family was painted by Sir John Medina in 1710, costing the family twenty pounds Sterling (two hundred and forty pounds Scots).¹²⁰ This was a significant sum; a portrait for the Duchess of Hamilton's son painted in 1679 only cost fifty pounds Scots.¹²¹ People in the upper class were expected to dress in high quality clothing. This was regulated by custom and, to a weakening extent, law; sumptuary laws described what clothing a person from a given class was permitted to wear.¹²² At the same time, very little went

Lady Grisell wanted to live near after her mother had passed away. It was also close to the Baillies' Jerviswood estate where George's mother resided in until her death. Lady Grisell Kerr had passed away from what was suspected to be breast cancer on 11 October 1703.

¹¹⁴ Laver, 6. The Jerviswood estates also required remodeling, which George began after his mother died.

¹¹⁵ Scott-Moncrieff, lxvii, lxix, lxx. Tague, 103-6. The family bred their own horses, usually having seven on the property at any time. Almost all of the furniture the Lady Baillie purchased for the home came from Edinburgh.

¹¹⁶ Gottlieb, 24-25. The home, like food and clothing, often served as a status symbol for elites in this period. The bell system, for instance, was found almost exclusively in upper-class households.

¹¹⁷ Pardailhe-Galabrun, 6, 157, 161. During this period books were thought to provide nourishment for the soul.

¹¹⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 7-14. There were several interesting book purchases in these two years. Some of these books were purchased in lump sums, but there were also individual entries as well. Among these were bibles and singing books, along with a purchase in 1707 for "Defos" defence of the Union.

¹¹⁹ Scott-Moncrieff, xii-xlv. Lady Grisell Baillie, 3-8. It is not indicated in the accounts the subjects were in these portraits, although Sculgard is credited as the artist. The age of those in the portraits fits the timeline.

¹²⁰ Lady Grisell Baillie, 24.

¹²¹ Marshall, 141. Several other paintings were commissioned for the family, but the price is not given.

¹²² Gordon DesBrisay and Elizabeth Ewan with H. Lesley Diack, "Life in the Two Towns", 61. These regulations dictated what materials were available to each class. These were strict enough to dictate the silk type they could purchase.

to waste in the Baillie household, where “nothing is thrown away that can be repaired”.¹²³ It was rare for Lady Grisell to throw out clothes, with multiple entries for “makin up my old gown”, usually referring to recycling the fabric to pass down to a child or servant until they were no longer wearable.¹²⁴ Often families would hire a tailor to stay for a season and do a large number of alterations or make up new clothes; the Baillies have several entries for expensive materials that would have been used for new clothing.¹²⁵ These cloth entries included £17 16s on 12 May 1693 “For a white Damask wastcoat” and £24 Scots on 22 November 1693 “For a black crap for a gown and coat”.¹²⁶ There were also special outfits commissioned for formal events and costumes for masquerades.¹²⁷ The accounts show entries for the purchase for materials for gowns and the cost of making the gown which ranged from three to six pounds Scots.¹²⁸ It was significantly cheaper to rework an old gown, between eighteen shillings to one pound Scots, but a gown could only be altered so often.¹²⁹ The amount of money a family spent on clothing, material and tailoring reveals a great deal about where the members stood in the class system. For the Baillies’, the family had climbed to the top of the social and political echelon, and how the family was attired reflected their high status.

It has been said that women were everywhere in the archives and for some cases historical documents referring to the female gender are available. Women’s personal writings

¹²³ Kelsall, 193, 99.

¹²⁴ Dingwall, *Late Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh*, 137. Kelsall, 167. This was not uncommon; many house wives would care carefully for garments to make the most use out of them that they could.

¹²⁵ Kelsall, 167-9. The Hume’s, for instance, used the Mestr. Lapearle for a period of time, and ran a large debt with him. Kelsall says that men could be as “flamboyant” as women in terms of clothing worn.

¹²⁶ Lady Grisell Baillie, 188.

¹²⁷ Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House Great Ladies and Grand Houses, 1670-1830* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), 31-2. Upper-class women were expected to act as hostess and give dinner parties for their social peers who were travelling. Scott-Moncrieff, xlix, Lady Grisell Baillie, 391-2. Being a member of the upper class allowed the Baillies’ to partake in events like balls, masquerades and formal dinner parties with their social peers. Scott-Moncrieff mentions costumes purchased for the family when they dressed up as “Caposhins” and Rachel had a “Country Girl” costume purchased for her. The family had visited a Capuchin convent while they were in Bologna.

¹²⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 188-195. This was to make regular gowns; formal gowns cost seven to nine pounds, excluding the cost of the materials which also ranged a great deal.

¹²⁹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 190-5.

include diaries, biographies, biblical notation and religious reflections.¹³⁰ However, these writings were sometimes kept in short hand, edited or destroyed by family members and even sometimes by the authors.¹³¹ Additionally autobiographies and religious reflections were often coloured by an author's desire to portray a certain situation or person in a specific way. Accounts are unique in that they were probably not edited by family members, to remove anything that might reflect badly on their family or are too intimate. Diaries and personal writings, although not in abundance, are more frequently found than for Scotland in this period.¹³² Lady Grisell's accounts are as intimate as if they were a diary because their details depict Lady Baillie's talents in household management and reveal the love and attention that was given to the Baillie girls. The Baillie accounts are historically valuable because household accounts were rarely preserved and few are as substantial. For the family as a whole the accounts offer insight which would otherwise be unavailable. It is hard to know how much has been saved compared to how much has been lost.

It was obvious that Lady Grisell was good with numbers and careful in her choices. Lady Murray wrote that in exile her mother "had known so well what it was to live upon little, that what by many would be esteemed poverty, she could be highly contented with, and think affluence".¹³³ She would purchase items befitting their status, but she did not allow herself to be taken advantage of by merchants. Historians have acknowledged Lady Baillie's accounts as being impressive, but for different reasons. Scott-Moncrieff admired the accounts because they

¹³⁰ Fyfe, 5-6. Sharon Cadman Seelig, *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature: Reading Women's Lives 1600-1680* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-2. Autobiographies were viewed as biased since people often wanted to show their lives in a certain way.

¹³¹ Mendelson, 181-5.

¹³² Anselment, 1-3 and 20-22. The English woman Elizabeth Freke was well known for keeping accounts and a diary, famous because she used the diary to explain her poor financial situation. Her accounts show the transactions of rents and purchases while her diary blames her financial situation on her husband's poor life choices and his distance which made her bitter. What was interesting with Freke was that she kept a diary throughout her life, but after her husband died she went back and edited what she had previously written about him.

¹³³ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 73.

revealed how her husband lived before and after the Union. For other historians like Rose Bradley, Lady Grisell's accounts were extraordinary because she believed, completely incorrectly, that it was rare for women to handle the family's accounts. For this study these accounts are remarkable because they reveal information about women's and family history, what their day-to-day life was like and what was seen as important to purchase.¹³⁴ Lady Grisell Baillie had recognized the importance of household accounts at a young age when she collected and preserved her mother's, Lady Grisell Kerr's papers.¹³⁵ And when Lady Baillie died, her eldest daughter continued the accounts, recording transportation and funeral costs of her mother. Lady Grisell Murray collected any papers her mother may have wanted saved and kept them with the accounts.¹³⁶ Lady Baillie did what she could to ensure her daughter knew how to manage their family's affairs. The accounts were saved because of the family but they are valuable because they can further the understanding of women and families during this period. Lady Murray describes her mother as working hard, but "in business and accounts, she always came out to her family as easy and cheerful as if she had been only diverting herself".¹³⁷ Lady Grisell kept track of these accounts almost until the day she died, continuing to keep "minute accounts of all expenditures".¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Connor, 1-2, 20.

¹³⁵ Kelsall, iii. Lady Grisell had gathered her mother's papers together and attached this frontpiece in her own handwriting, "Compe Book of Dame Grisel Kar Countess of Marchmont Begun on Anho 1694 Partlie wryten by her own hand Partly filled up from her notes and the rest added since the 11th of October 1603 being Monday when the Lord took her at 4 of the Clock in the afternoon". The Kelsall book included a copy of this frontpiece in their edition, with Lady Baillie's clear but elegant handwriting.

¹³⁶ Scott-Moncrieff, xxxv.

¹³⁷ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 71.

¹³⁸ Bradley, 246- 249. Scott-Moncrieff, xxxv.

Chapter 3: Taking Care of the Family: Medical and Travel Expenses

Historians have previously sampled the accounts of Lady Grisell. However there are two categories of expenses which have been overlooked: the medical and travel expenses.¹ Medical care was extremely important to the Baillies, with the family often willing to travel distances to obtain the best treatment.² The accounts have costs for doctors, surgeons and other medical practitioners. The price of medical expenses, which could be quite high, reveals a great deal about what the family valued. The fees for health care in the Baillie accounts are among the most expensive items in the 1911 edition of the accounts, costing at least ten or twenty pounds Scots more than other costly services such as tailors and tutors. This is important because Scott-Moncrieff admitted that even at more than four hundred printed pages he could not include every entry in the originals, so these high-priced services may have been the most repetitive in the original accounts.³ It is unlikely that Scott-Moncrieff had taken special interest in the medical expenses, since the appendix of the accounts reveals that he only considered the bills of doctors, surgeons and apothecaries as medical costs. However, for the purpose of this chapter the definition of medical costs will also include nurses, midwives and any instance of bloodletting and cupping.⁴ As with most of the account entries, the level of detail varies. In some instances the procedure and who it was performed on is mentioned, while in many cases only the doctor, surgeon and nurse are named and the cost given. For instance, there are nine entries in the

¹ Historians such as T.C. Smutt and Barbara Murison, who have both looked at the 1911 edition of the accounts, have not paid attention to either of these categories.

² Smith, "The Relative Duties of Man", 245. Smith makes the point that all family members needed to work to maintain each other's health. A husband and father's health was especially crucial to maintain because his loss of income through illness or death could financially devastate the entire family. In the case of Patrick Hume, when he left for Holland, the family was devoid of any income and had to ask for a salary from the estates. If the family's estates had not been reinstated during the Restoration they would have been financially ruined.

³ Lady Grisell Baillie, 11-22, 255-7. The medical entries were usually listed under the "sundries" entries.

⁴ Scott-Moncrieff, 432-444.

accounts “To Docter Sincklair”, but the entries do not always describe who the doctor was hired to treat or what was the ailment.⁵

The effects of medicine on families have usually been overlooked by historians. Scholarly concentration was typically on the relationship between a patient-practitioner, without taking into account how illness affected the entire family. Medicine in Scotland during the eighteenth century was a mixture of older traditions with newer understandings of the human body and advancements in scientific medicine.⁶ The split in beliefs over how to treat the ill meant that medical professionals in Europe during this period offered a wide variety of treatments. As usual the upper classes would be the most likely to have the best, or at least most highly regarded medical practitioners, although their treatments did not come with any sort of guarantee.⁷ The alternative, and often only option for the poor, was paying for folk healers and charmers, whose effectiveness was as variable as it was for other health practitioners.⁸ Historians have largely disregarded alternative treatments, and even the more conventional treatments, because of how ineffective and bizarre they may have seemed from a modern perspective. Those who practiced more secular forms of medicine were fewer in number and almost exclusively resided in urban areas, which often meant that if patients wanted a consultation they needed to submit written requests to obtain an appointment.⁹ Unfortunately, during the Baillies’ period doctors were reluctant to be contacted by women in regards to their

⁵ Lady Grisell Baillie, 11-15, 256-7. Doctor Sinclair was spelled various ways in the accounts, but he was probably Matthew St. Clair of Herdmanston East Lothian. The two times his name was given were for Rachel and Grisie, but if either girls were ill the reasons are not given.

⁶ R.A. Houston, *Madness in Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (New York: Carendon Press, 2000), 1-2. Helen M. Dingwall, *A History of Scottish Medicine: Themes and Influences* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2003), 135.

⁷ Dingwall, *A History of Scottish Medicine: Themes and Influences*, 65-68.

⁸ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 165. Traditional and alternative healers might give drugs that actually killed their patient.

⁹ Writing a letter to request an appointment was not the sole way to contact a doctor; people also requested consultations in person but historians are less aware of these requests.

medical problems, although women still made up the largest group to contact doctors. Doctors were generally more receptive if the request came from a male in the ill woman's family.¹⁰ Some doctors assumed that women did not have the necessary understanding of medicine to diagnose themselves. For women this meant that treatment of any illness depended not only on their financial standing but also on the dynamic in their marriage or birth family.¹¹ Requests made on their behalf usually came from their mothers or husbands, their husbands as a male would have been taken more seriously.¹² A simple letter was not, however, sufficient. The family member who was making the request would have to demonstrate a certain amount of medical knowledge in their writing in order to be taken seriously.¹³ Mothers would especially want to be informed so they would not be dismissed by doctors because of their gender, which resulted in many homes having volumes on medicine they could consult when composing their letter.¹⁴

The medical system during the long eighteenth century left many women dependant on relatives to obtain treatments, either from their birth family or husbands.¹⁵ This meant that women could be prevented from being properly treated by family members who felt the treatments unnecessary or ineffective. Given this system the health care a family obtained reveals

¹⁰Lisa W. Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family in Medical Care: Women's Medical Care in the 18th Century" (*Social History of Medicine* 16, 3, 2003), 336. Smith has pointed out that women could not always access their money to pay for treatments.

¹¹ Kelsall, 102. Folk healers and charmers were often relied on by families who lived outside the urban areas. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 164. People were also more likely to fall ill in urban areas, where these medical professionals worked. Many who were sick were simply trying to manage their symptoms.

¹² Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 334-8. Mothers are traditionally seen as care givers; long after their children had left their home since they could better relate to health concerns in regards to pregnancy, miscarriage and birth. Men would also intervene for the health of their wives, children and sisters.

¹³ Marshall, *The Duchess of Hamilton*, 162. The Hamiltons' purchased several medical texts. Helen Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Medical Practice in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 95-6. The better informed and higher class patients stood a greater chance of having doctors take their health concerns seriously. Wilde, 18-19. Patients being able to approach their doctors with medical jargon resulted in medicine not being a great untouchable mystery, with doctors being pestered by persistent patients.

¹⁴Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 328-9. Doctors who wanted to help a patient might serve as a go between for the patient and their family members, although many tried to avoid this situation.

¹⁵ Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 329. Parents' might involve themselves in their daughter's marriage if they felt she was not receiving adequate medical treatment. Although at this time families had a patriarchal structure, it was not as rigid as it has been depicted.

a great deal about the marriage and the household dynamic.¹⁶ For the Baillie family, their accounts reveal the variety of procedures and the amounts of money invested in the health of all their members. Under this patriarchal model, the head of the household was charged with ensuring the well being of all the members, but as with most things in the Baillie household the medical responsibilities were shared equally between Lady Grisell and George. The Baillies followed the Hume family's view of medicine, which was that no expense should be spared if someone was ill. Lady Grisell had seen in 1678 how ill her father became while in the Edinburgh tollbooth, which had resulted in his family petitioning to move him to a drier facility.¹⁷ After Lady Grisell married, when the Humes' suspected Lady Kerr of having breast cancer the family moved closer to Edinburgh for better medical treatments.¹⁸ In addition, the Baillies also relied on proactive treatments, since they, along with most of Europe at this time, knew how quickly an illness could kill.¹⁹ The Baillies contacted any doctor, surgeon or nurse they needed and would travel a lengthy distance if it was required.²⁰

The large sums spent on children and heirs might not be surprising for elite families, but it is the costs and care between husbands and wives that reveal their type of relationship. Both George and Lady Grisell took great care for one another and their children, which is reflected in the list of fees for several doctors and surgeons for illnesses but there is also evidence in George

¹⁶ Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 337, 329-34. Smith gives the example of a woman who in 1722 went twice to physician Thomas Shout to seek his assistance for her tumor, and was both times turned away. It was not until her husband requested the doctor's assistance would he treat the woman.

¹⁷ Anderson, 558.

¹⁸ Kelsall, 194.

¹⁹ Lady Grisell had watched two of her sisters' die, along with her son at the age of two.

²⁰ Smith, "The Relative Duties of Man", 245. For some, medical expenses could ruin a family, whether it is costs for a sick family member or a father being ill and losing the family's income.

Baillie's correspondence of how tenderly he cared for his wife.²¹ On 6 March 1705 Johnstone writes to George;

I am sorry to hear you are ill, and that my Lady Grissell is so tender. If you be laid aside, I would have you coming up with her and your children; the travelling will do her good. Barbarae used to say at Montpilier, that the English in decays more good by their journey thither and back again than they by the ayr of the plac; nay, I have know fome whom he sent home, as despairing of them, recover on the way.²²

In another letter to Baillie, Johnstone writes that he “wishes you and your Lady would come to Bath, since her health requires it”.²³ It was not suggested in either letter that George find a doctor or a nurse for his wife, but that he should personally attend to her with a trip to the spa. This is interesting considering women have usually been depicted as those who cared and nursed family members, with the role of husbands and fathers often being overlooked as partaking in this caregiver role. George Baillie was always concerned about his wife's well being and often wrote in his letters to her, “have a care of your selfe as the only pleasure I have in this world”.²⁴ Aside from the usual ailments, the Baillies were relatively healthy, with the accounts providing evidence for regular expenses of being bled, trips to spas and the medicinal waters they drank. George Baillie appeared to remain in good health, although he slowly lost his hearing as he aged. As for Lady Baillie, she was also quite fit, living until her eighty-first year. Lady Murray wrote that her mother lived in good health and although, “she sometimes had fevers, and violent and dangerous illnesses; she soon threw them off”.²⁵ Lady Grisell did however suffer from bouts of

²¹Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 179. Dingwall uses correspondence of upper-class households to prove how obsessive some individuals were with their physical well-being.

²²George Baillie, 55. The letter mentions the potential of George being “laid aside”, which was a concern for himself and his party. Baillie was not, however, dismissed from his position and remained in Parliament from the time he was appointed until he retired.

²³George Baillie, 4.

²⁴Murison, “Lapidary Inscriptions”, 102. Murison had the opportunity to read letters between George and Grisell Baillie which are preserved at Mellerstain House, which belongs to the current Earl of Haddington.

²⁵Lady Murray of Stanhope, 72. Lady Grisell, or George, may have had medical reasons for not being able to conceive any more children after Rachel.

illness and depression after George died, and some of her relatives speculated she would not live long after her husband's death.²⁶

When there was a mild illness in the Baillie house, the family relied first on home remedies rather than consult a physician. For instance, Lady Murray wrote in the biography that her maternal grandfather would drink a "spoonful of bitters" mixed in a small cup of warmed beer, believing the concoction cured every sickness.²⁷ The Baillie's home, like most during this period, had herb gardens that contained the necessary ingredients for cures of minor ailments such as headaches or stomach pains.²⁸ Along with herbs, many Scottish homes contained "Anderson pills", a supposed cure-all that would be relied on for almost three hundred years in Scotland. The accounts have an entry on 24 June 1715 of 2s 6d spent "For Andersons pills".²⁹ These were invented by Dr. Patrick Anderson in the seventeenth century and were recommended by doctors for headaches, digestive problems and rheumatism.³⁰ In addition to medicines and herbs there are other costs in the accounts which had semi-medical usages, the most prominent of these being liquors of various sorts. Alcohol was commonly recommended for patients by doctors for pains and sleep disorders, and although the specific reason for purchasing these liquors is not listed the Baillies have entries for sack, which is a fortified wine recommended for sleeplessness or mild pain.³¹ These mild medical treatments were often recommended by doctors

²⁶ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 87. Murison, "Lapidary Inscriptions" 102. Lady Grisell's brother Alexander thought his sister would pass away soon after her husband since she no longer gave great concern of her own well being.

²⁷ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 49.

²⁸ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 51-2.

²⁹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 35.

³⁰ John D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860* (London: Published for the Wellcome historical medical museum by Bailliere Tindall & Cox, 1932), 106. Comrie describes these pills as being made up of aloe, which might have had some medical benefits, since they were sold in Scotland until 1910.

³¹ Scott-Moncrieff, lvii. This is another example of an account entry being mentioned in the introduction but the actual entry is otherwise left out of the 1911 edition. Kelsall, 158. Sack also appears in the Hume-Kerr account books, usually costing twelve or thirteen shillings around the mid-seventeenth century.

who would feel pressured to prescribe something for their patient, even if they were not certain what they were suffering from.³²

Wages and fees paid to nurses, wet-nurses and midwives were among the expenses that Scott-Moncrieff did not believe were medical. Midwives were employed by Lady Grisell when she gave birth to her three children. The entries surrounding Lady Grisell's pregnancy are interesting because a woman's social class and marital relationship influenced the kind of care she could receive while pregnant. There is no entry for a wet nurse being hired after Rachel and Robert's birth, meaning that Lady Grisell probably nursed her children herself. This would have been unusual given her social class, since most upper class women during this time period hired wet nurses. In Scotland, even households of quite modest means often paid for a live-in wet nurse.³³ Hiring a wet nurse meant that those families would have the opportunity to conceive again quickly, this was important especially if the family had not had a son yet.³⁴ However, it is possible that Lady Grisell was following the advice of doctors during this period who recommended that mothers should nurse their own children, if possible, or be cautious in their choice of wet nurse.³⁵ For the most part nurses appear to have been hired to care for the girls when they were ill and needed round-the-clock care, usually when they had bad colds or the flu. One example when the girls were young was on 23 February 1702, "To 2 nurses Cavers and Mrs Watherburns" for £5 16s Scots.³⁶ The nurses hired by the Baillies were always paid well and

³² Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 97. Dingwall points out that this is similar to visiting a physician today, because they will often leave with some kind of prescription.

³³ Gordon DesBrisay, Elizabeth Ewan and H. Lesley Diack, "Life in the Two Towns", 57. There is no record at all of Grisies birth because the account books begin after she was born, and the record of Robert's birth was not included in the 1911 edition of the accounts. There are two entries in the accounts for Mrs Scott the midwife, one on February 23 1696, the day Rachel was born and one on March 1696. The March entry for Mrs Scott the midwife is undoubtedly pertaining to Robert, who died on 28 February 1696.

³⁴ Eales, 125.

³⁵ Gordon DesBrisay, "Wet Nurses and Unwed Mothers in Seventeenth-Century Aberdeen" in *Women in Scotland: c. 1100-1750* ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 210-211.

³⁶ Lady Grisell Baillie, 81, 11.

appear to have been tipped drink money as well. On 2 May 1693, £11 12s Scots was paid “To drink mony to nurses”, these were probably nurses hired for Grisie when she was ill since she would have been close to a year old at the time and neither of her siblings had been born yet.³⁷ On 8 March 1702 there was a specific notation to a nurse being hired for Grisie, 18s Scots was paid for “Grisies nurs for lint sead”.³⁸ Overall, Lady Grisell had good medical care during and after her pregnancy, but her decision to nurse her children is not a reflection of her social status but of her personal devotion to her children.

Aside from nurses and midwives, the other medical professionals in the accounts have a more complicated classification system. These professionals included physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, barber-surgeons and barbers.³⁹ Although their training and fees differed, most of these healing professionals worked to treat and help their patients.⁴⁰ Doctors and surgeons were often classified as the same type of practitioner until the fifteenth century. However, surgeons were guild regulated while doctors were university trained, and although their training differed the fees for the two professionals were comparable.⁴¹ The medical education that Scotland’s doctors received varied a great deal, since there were no official medical schools in Scotland before 1726.⁴² Although officially separated during the Baillies period, the duties of doctors and

³⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 1. These nurses may have been wet-nurses hired for Lady Grisell who for whatever reason was no longer able to nurse.

³⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 11.

³⁹ Johanna Greyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, 79-80. These were named in the Glasgow charter by James VI in the seventeenth century.

⁴⁰ Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 179. There appears to be some debate over this since different professions overlapped, with more complicated and involved prescriptions and treatments.

⁴¹ Johanna Greyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, 79. Surgeons might also take care of lesions, boils and other things that needed to be lanced off a person.

⁴² Michael Lynch and Helen M. Dingwall, “Elite Society in Town and Country”, in *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 197. Doctors and surgeons did not have exclusive control over the medical field during this period. With no medical schools, Scots had to seek their education abroad, which meant that skills varied a great deal. Helen Dingwall, *A History of Medicine in Scotland*, 68, 85-6. The first medical school was set up in Scotland in 1726, and although the country would lead the way for medicine in many ways, it was a late start. Before this Scotsmen travelled to Holland and France, to get their training. Most students were not confined to one particular university, and could travel to

surgeons still overlapped depending on the patient's needs and the availability of other medical personal. Surgeons were also often associated with barbers, and the unclear term barber-surgeon appears frequently in medical texts and other accounts during this period. In Scotland, surgeons had been guild regulated since 1505, but had disassociated themselves from barbers in 1722 since they believed they were a higher class medical group.⁴³ Even when they were connected, the two groups had different responsibilities. Those who fulfilled the role of a barber-surgeon were usually tasked with removing teeth, bloodletting and cupping. Surgeons, who were considered more skilled medical professionals than barbers or barber-surgeons, provided poultices, plasters, set bones and treated venereal diseases.⁴⁴ After separating from barbers, surgeons became associated with apothecaries, often appearing in eighteenth-century documents as "Chirurgion-Apothecary".⁴⁵

The quality of medical professionals during the long eighteenth century has been noted by people like the Duke of Hamilton. He commented that the doctors in Edinburgh were adequate, but the fashionable medical men of the late seventeenth century were in London. Up until the mid-eighteenth century the medical treatments in England were considered more advanced and their professions more regulated and numerous.⁴⁶ Well-trained or not, if someone obtained medical treatments from trained medical professionals in Scotland, he or she travelled

whichever they wanted if they had the funds to do so. Dingwall points out those Scottish doctors were quite European, and they would not have all had the same skill set.

⁴³ Rex E. Wright-St Clair, *Doctors Monro: A Medical Saga* (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1964), 20. Dingwall, *Medicine in Early-Modern Scotland*, 74-5. Johanna Greyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, 117. Barbers were not viewed as a particularly qualified group of medical professionals.

⁴⁴ Johanna Greyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, 79.

⁴⁵ Edinburgh's Place in Scientific Progress: Prepared for the Edinburgh Meeting of the British Association by the Local Editorial Committee (Edinburgh: W & R. Chambers LTD., 1921), 191-2. This was usually referring to general medical personal in Scotland, who tried to heal any wounds and diseases. Their training was usually informal and came through apprenticeship. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 84-5.

⁴⁶ Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 83. English surgeons had stricter licensing than their Scottish neighbors, but it does not appear they were any more knowledgeable. In fact, some English surgeons were not able to neither read nor write.

to Edinburgh because this was where the best doctors and surgeons were located.⁴⁷ The Baillies obtained treatment from some of the highest calibre medical professionals in Scotland during the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ During the Baillies' period, doctors in Edinburgh charged £14 to £18 pounds Scots per visit or consultation.⁴⁹ However, the average cost for the Baillies doctors was £17 to £38 for their visits, suggesting the family employed the more renowned and expensive physicians. The Baillies' consultations with physicians were mostly for mild illnesses, with the practitioner only staying at the house for a few hours at a time.⁵⁰ The entries themselves might simply read, "To Docter Sincklair for Rachie" or "To Dr St Clair for Grisie". In other instances there are multiple doctors listed in one entry, indicating that they were probably paid, rather than hired, at the same time. For instance, in 1707 there was a notation, "To the Docters Pitcarin, Dundas, St. Clair, Baillie" £170 8s Scots.⁵¹ In the accounts, the main doctors listed were St Clair, George Kirkton and Abernathy whose entries were listed with the accounts sundries expenses.⁵² Most of the entries in the accounts for physicians were brief, such as "To Doctor Sincklair for Rachy" £28 8s, but these notes do not always give a hint as to why the doctor was hired.⁵³ The payment for these visits was high, but not outlandish for the upper class as other household

⁴⁷ Marshall, *The Duchess of Hamilton*, 161-2. Men like the Duke of Hamilton would either travel to or exchange letters with doctors in London. Hamilton would write to his son in England and get him to relay information to a physician to get medical advice. This was an unfortunate choice because these doctors thought Hamilton was healing nicely while in fact he was slowly dying. Dingwall, *Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow*, 72-3. Dingwall qualifies that even by 1700 there were significant differences between the medical advancements in Lowland and Highland Scotland with the Highlands still relying on more traditional medical practices.

⁴⁸ Scott-Moncrieff, lxvi. Michael Lynch and Helen M. Dingwall, 198-9.

⁴⁸ Kelsall, 164.

⁴⁹ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 164-5. This was quite expensive, and was probably a home visit, something that was only available to those in the immediate area.

⁵⁰ Lady Grisell Baillie, 11-23. For the most part Dr St Clair was paid £17 for visits where no reason is given; indicating that it was a routine visit. He was paid £28 for a visit to "Grisie" and "Rachie". Dr Pitcarin and Dr Dundas both received the high sum of £38, but there was no reason listed in the accounts for these visits.

⁵¹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 21, 28, 16.

⁵² Lady Grisell Baillie, 255-7. George Kirkton was George Baillie's cousin. Kelsall, 37. Dr Abernathy was a physician used by one of the Hume's neighbours, George Hume. Dr Abernathy lived in Kelso, but would be willing to make house calls, if a letter or carriage was sent to him. Sometimes it would take him a few days to make this house call, but not all doctors were willing to do this.

⁵³ Lady Grisell Baillie, 256.

accounts demonstrate. The Earl of Bedford, for instance, spent significant amounts, one entry for “December 1690 To Mr. Charles Ferrer, chirurgeon, by his lordship’s order by the 23rd of December 1690, in full of his bill for his physic, etc, for Thomas Nun £16”.⁵⁴ Although the person who was being treated and the treatment were not always mentioned in the Baillie accounts, some assumptions can be made. Other entries can be interpreted by the date or correlated with Lady Murray’s biography.

During the long eighteenth century in Scotland the education of a surgeon was more accessible and less rigorous than that of a doctor. It has been estimated that by 1720 there were thirty-five surgeons in Scotland.⁵⁵ In the Baillie accounts, Lady Grisell almost exclusively uses the term surgeon when referring to the procedures they had done, or solely mentions the surgeon’s name, while other household accounts might list barber-surgeon which is a vague title.⁵⁶ For the most part medical professions were employed by the Baillies for phlebotomy, or bloodletting.⁵⁷ Bloodlettings, and similar surgical practices, were used commonly throughout Europe since the Greco-Roman period. Usually this procedure was performed by surgeons, although barbers were also known to collect fees for this service. Bloodletting was sought out more than other medical procedures, probably because there were more surgeons in Scotland than other trained medical professionals and this would be a readily available treatment. These treatments have historically been controversial, having been questioned by medical professionals

⁵⁴ Gladys Scott Thomson, *Life in a Noble Household 1641-1700* (London: J. Cape, 1937), 236, 308-9, 115. The Earl of Bedford’s accounts were kept by one of their employees, Mr Callop.

⁵⁵ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 165. Houston also says that there were only twenty-five surgeons in Scotland by the late sixteenth-century.

⁵⁶ Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 75. From the late sixteenth-century they were known as the Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers. The surgeon-barber connection was not officially ended until 1722. Johanna Greyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, 112-3. Surgeons, barber-surgeons and apothecaries were all under the same guild, but they were distinct in their training and in their scope of practice.

⁵⁷ David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors Doing Harm Since Hippocrates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2. Although used for different reasons, bloodletting is still employed for certain conditions in modern day.

since ancient times.⁵⁸ Despite the progressive learning about how the body functioned internally, including William Harvey's discovery of the circulatory system in 1628, the medicine of the Baillies' period was still heavily dictated by the need to find equality in the body.⁵⁹ Bloodletting continued to be a commonly used practice which was recommended for almost every illness and disease, since it was believed that bloodletting was a natural way for the body to heal itself.⁶⁰ The actual process of bloodletting was relatively simple, in which a surgeon would use a lancet to open, or "breathe" a vein, usually the arm was chosen as the sight for cutting with the surgeon taking care not to sever the vein altogether.⁶¹ This practice was not a barbarous treatment by surgeons, but one that was sought after by patients. Some would even complain that their doctor had not bled them enough.⁶² How much a person would be bled was often actually determined by their social class, with the upper class being seen as more delicate and bled less than a soldier or a labourer.⁶³ How much blood was drawn from the Baillies was probably dictated by this social guideline since the quantity is never given by Lady Grisell. Multiple entries for "bleeding" or "drawing blood" appear in the accounts, enough so this would have been a regular practice performed every few months which was not done simply for illness but performed as a prophylactic to maintain good health.⁶⁴ After a person was bled, the surgeon would usually put a

⁵⁸ Wootton, 37-40, 141. These debates ranged from whether or not the "Hippocratic" healing process harmed more than it helped; to what amount of blood should be drawn from the patient and what should be used to collect the blood.

⁵⁹ Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 74, 85. Dingwall explains that by the mid-seventeenth century the understanding of the body began to move away from trying to balance the four humours. Medicine was still heavily based by these classical traditions, but Arabic medicine became influential. Greyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, 75. There were guidelines written for surgeons. Strong individuals could be bled more, while weaker people needed to be bled less and rest afterwards. Wootton, 11. Bleeding and purges were recommended as a cure all.

⁶⁰ Johanna Greyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, 74-5. Wootton, 37-8.

⁶¹ Wootton, 2.

⁶² Wayne Wild, *Medicine-by-Post. The Changing Voice of Illness in Eighteenth-Century British Consultation Letters and Literature* (New York: The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine, Clio Medica, 2006), 28. Most surgeons were cautious not taking more than 100 mls of blood from a patient.

⁶³ Wild, 205-6.

⁶⁴ Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Medicine in the Seventeenth-Century*, 166.

tincture or plaster over the wound to aid in healing.⁶⁵ The Baillies also sought out surgeons for bloodletting whenever they travelled. George in particular had procedures performed in England usually at Bath to ease his arthritis.⁶⁶

For the most part bloodletting was only performed on a person's arm, but there was another more expensive procedure, which was bleeding the jugular vein. Interestingly, Scott-Moncrieff briefly discusses bloodletting in his introduction saying, "If the luxury of being bled from the 'Jouglar vain' was indulged in, it was more expensive".⁶⁷ The Baillie accounts do have a single entry for bleeding of the jugular vein on 30 September 1710, costing £1 1s 1d sterling.⁶⁸ Comparatively, "regular" bloodletting in Scotland would cost on average 9s 8d sterling for a master and 4s 10d sterling for a servant. Although the accounts do not mention who the bloodletting was performed on, it would have been one of the family members since this was considered a luxurious procedure. It is probable that the procedure was performed on Lady Murray or her husband, since the date is just a month into their tumultuous marriage when Alexander Murray began demonstrating his emotional instability.

Bloodletting was performed for a number of reasons, but when a surgeon chose the jugular it was done for a specific rationale. Eighteenth-century Scottish surgeon Benjamin Bell said this procedure was preferred, "For inflammation of the throat, disorders of the eyes, when it is wished to evacuate blood from vessels near to the parts affected, it is frequently judged proper

⁶⁵ Lady Grisell Baillie, 23-31, 66. Interestingly, the Baillie accounts also have an entry for bloodletting being performed on the horses. This was not as expensive as bloodletting performed on the family or servants. For example, on 24 December 1702, "For blooding the horses" cost the family 10 s Scots.

⁶⁶ Thomas Fowler, "Medical Reports of the Effects of Blood-Letting, Sudorifics, and Blistering, in the Cure of the Acute and Chronic Rheumatism" in *Medicine, Science and Technology* (London, MDCCXCV 1795, 317 pp), 51. It was probably arthritis, since there are other entries in the accounts for spa waters which were also known to be used for this condition. Scott-Moncrieff, lxvii.

⁶⁷ Scott-Moncrieff, lxvi-lxvii.

⁶⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 23.

to open the external jugular veins”.⁶⁹ Surgeons usually performed jugular bloodletting on people who were known to suffer with mental illnesses. Thomas Willis, whose work concentrated on the anatomy of the brain, believed that purging and bloodletting was the cure of insanity since it would “relax excessive pressure”.⁷⁰ Blood had to be drained from these areas to allow the brain to correct the problem of imbalance since it was believed that excessive blood made a person ill, meaning that if it was drawn from the body then it may cure madness.⁷¹ Alexander Murray was the most obvious person connected to the Baillie family with mental health issues. Madness in the eighteenth-century was believed to cause unpredictable actions and could be exacerbated by “disappointment in love”.⁷² Murray had been described as suffering from “constitutional insanity”, which had been worsened by his marriage problems. Considering that the procedure was relied on for mental disorders, the person this was performed on was probably their son-in-law. In the appendix of Lady Murray’s biography of her parents, there is a brief description of her written by Thomas Thomson. In it he describes the couple living with the Baillies immediately following the marriage, and reports that Lady Murray discovered her husband’s emotional derangement in the days following the ceremony. Thomson describes the family as having to “soothe and cure his distempered imagination”; since the family had regular bloodletting performed in the house, it is quite possible that this specialized procedure was performed on the unhappy Murray.⁷³

In addition to bloodletting, the accounts also have entries for a procedure known as cupping. Cupping was used for the same reason as bloodletting, to correct the body’s

⁶⁹ Benjamin Bell, *A System of Surgery* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1796), 154.

⁷⁰ Thomas Willis, “The Anatomy of the Brain and the Description and Use of the Nerves” in *Patterns of Madness in the Eighteenth-Century* ed. Allan Ingram (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), 18.

⁷¹ Houston, *Madness and Society in Eighteenth-century Scotland*, 284. “Unrequited love was presented as a cause and symptom of derangement or melancholy for both men and women”.

⁷² Houston, *Madness and Society in Eighteenth-century Scotland*, 174-5, 338, 289.

⁷³ Thomson, 146. Thomson described Murray as acting normal in society, but actually suffering from insanity.

imbalances. Scott-Moncrieff considered cupping and bloodletting the same procedure. He grouped them together in the appendix, but the two procedures were actually quite different.⁷⁴ Cupping has historically been shown to be an effective treatment for some diseases; the process involved heating the top lip of a cup and pressing it onto a person, usually on their back. Many practitioners believed that this process would pull out any negative elements from a person's body, and the process usually left circular bruises on the patient.⁷⁵ There were usually two reasons for cupping, to pull out toxins from cists or bites and also as a cure for a variety of medical conditions.⁷⁶ Like bloodletting, cupping was usually performed by a surgeon and in the Baillies' case by George Kirkton.⁷⁷ According to the 1911 edition, the Baillies did not have cupping done as often as bloodletting, with only Rachel named as being cupped in 1715 and 1716.⁷⁸

There were a variety of other procedures that the Baillies' paid surgeons or doctors for during this period, but these do not appear to have been sought out on a regular basis. Many medical treatments took place after the family had moved to London, indicating the variety of procedures that were available in England.⁷⁹ One of these was a physic, commonly recommended to treat a variety of "female" ailments.⁸⁰ One example of this was noted by Lady Baillie in the accounts on 8 March 1715, "To John Scote for phisick and wateing on me".⁸¹

There were also charges in the accounts for dental treatments which are interesting considering

⁷⁴ Scott-Moncrieff, lxvii.

⁷⁵ Greyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, 76.

⁷⁶ Greyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, 76. These included headaches, pain and various type of inflammation.

⁷⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 37-45. There were a few entries for cupping when the children were quite young, which means it was probably for either Lady Grisell or George. For example there was an entry in 1701, "For cuping given Georg Kirkton" £5 16s.

⁷⁸ Lady Grisell Baillie, 37-8. There are no notations for Rachel being cupped after 1716, but this was probably because she was married so her parents no longer paid for the procedure.

⁷⁹ The family could have just been more prone to illness in England than Scotland, but it is more likely that the medical society was broader in England.

⁸⁰ Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 335.

⁸¹ Lady Grisell Baillie, 32. The cost of this was £1 1s 5d sterling.

how poor oral hygiene was during this period; the customary advice was to swish with red wine and tartar.⁸² The family must have found oral hygiene important since they had their teeth professionally cleaned and they also purchased instruments to clean their teeth. On 24 June 1715, for example, there was a charge of 10s sterling recorded “For stoping Grisies Teeth with lead and some things to clean ‘em” and on 8 August 1716 £1 14s sterling was spent “For cleaning all our Teeth at Bath”.⁸³ Other miscellaneous medical entries included George having his ears syringed and employing the surgeon Mr. Knox for “head baths”.⁸⁴ George’s hearing is known to have become progressively worse, which accounts for him being the only one to have his ears syringed.⁸⁵ The accounts also have entries of George using the “seat in the salt pans” as a way to treat his worsening hearing. These treatments were not overly effective since George was almost completely deaf before he died.⁸⁶ The remaining medical amounts in the accounts were for the apothecary services, “To Docters and Apothicarys at Bath” on 8 August 1716 for £5 5s sterling.⁸⁷ The profession of apothecary has been overlooked by historians largely in part to the fact they kept far fewer documents than the doctors and surgeons of this time. Apothecaries were

⁸² Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 166. This particular recommendation came from Sir John Gordon of Invergordon. In typical Scottish fashion the wine most commonly recommended was claret. Robert E. Tyson, “People in the Two Towns”, in *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History*, ed by E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn and Michael Lynch (Scotland: Tuckwell Press, LTD), 117.

⁸³ Lady Grisell Baillie, 35, 45. The lead would have referred to filling Grisie’s cavity.

⁸⁴ Scott-Moncrieff, lxvii-i. Scott-Moncrieff only mentioned this in his introduction; the actual entry and date are not included in the 1911 edition. Lady Grisell Baillie, 7. These “head baths” were not cheap; for instance, on 5 February 1701 it cost the family twelve pounds Scots. This bath may have actually been Turkish baths, which is similar to a sauna but it is not clear in the accounts.

⁸⁵ Scott-Moncrieff, lxvii. Scott-Moncrieff notes that George Baillie had his ears syringed a few times because he was going deaf in his older years.

⁸⁶ Kelsall, 107.

⁸⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 45. Michael Lynch and Helen Dingwall, “Elite Society in Town and Country” in *Aberdeen: Before 1800 A New History* ed by E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn and Michael Lynch (Scotland: Tuckwell Press, LTD), 199. Apothecaries are a difficult group historically. They did have an important function but not much is known about what training or qualifications they may have had.

classified as a lower medical profession, but they were in high demand during the Baillies' period and as the accounts indicate they made slightly less than a surgeon would.⁸⁸

A large portion of the Baillies' recorded medical expenses was, not surprisingly, spent on the girls' physical well being. A child's physical health was seen as crucial during the Baillies' period, with many parents going to extensive lengths either to personally nurse or obtain help for their ill son or daughter.⁸⁹ Parents were involved in their children's medical care, many keeping watch over them when they were sick. In the case of the Buccluech heiress, there were extensive family resources spent on cures for the eldest heiress's ulcerated arm. A round of doctors prescribed different and often excruciating treatments for her with no success. Eventually, the desperate mother took her to King Charles II hoping that his touch would cure her arm, but the family found no success and the young girl passed away before her thirteenth birthday.⁹⁰

In August 1700, the Baillies were desperate to help their girls after they both had contracted smallpox in Edinburgh.⁹¹ This infectious disease was particularly harmful for children. When it had hit Aberdeen in 1600 and 1601 almost two hundred children died.⁹² Rightfully, the Baillies were worried and although the girls usually had a nurse brought in for them when they were ill, the disease provoked the parents to hire a more qualified physician. Dr. George Kirkton appears to have been brought in to care for Rachel and Grisie during this time.⁹³

A few years later the Baillies employed the services of Doctor Archibald Picairne in 1707, the

⁸⁸ Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries*, 200-1. Unfortunately, there is less information about apothecaries than doctors or surgeons because they kept fewer notes and fewer records have survived. They also may have doctored or performed some procedures on patients, although these went largely unrecorded.

⁸⁹ Pollock, 3. Smith, 240, 244. Many thought there was a strong connection between a child's body and their immortal soul.

⁹⁰ Lee, 42-43. The girl's mother, who has been described as pragmatic, was willing to go to any lengths to heal her dying child.

⁹¹ Kelsall, 70.

⁹² E. Patricia Dennison, Gordon DesBrisay and H. Lesley Diack, "Health in the Two Towns", in *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History* ed. by E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn and Michael Lynch (Scotland: Tuckwell Press, LTD, 2002), 88. During the late seventeenth century, the only other major killer of children was famine.

⁹³ Lady Grisell Baillie, 7. George Kirkton was paid the high salary of seventy pounds Scots for treating the Baillies..

man who came up with a treatment for small pox in 1704. His treatments involved several rounds of bleeding to break a fever followed by syrups made from white poppies and other ingredients that depended on the progression of the illness.⁹⁴ It was probable that the doctor was hired to care for the girls who may have been suffering from another round of smallpox, although the 1911 edition does not explicitly say this.⁹⁵ Even when the girls were older the Baillies remained concerned with their children's mental and physical well-being. A parent would often remain involved in the welfare of their child long after they were married, although they were customarily less influential. Daughters in particular were a parents' concern, since their sex might restrict them from obtaining the best medical care.⁹⁶

Lady Baillie's accounts are not the sole source regarding illness in the family; Lady Murray's biography also reveals some interesting details. She depicts her parents as being quite ill before they passed, along with Rachel being so weak before their mother died that she had to be carried into Lady Grisell's room to say goodbye. The biography indicates that although a great deal of money was spent on health care, Lady Grisell and George would be willing to sacrifice their own well-being for what they felt were more important matters, such as religion. Lady Murray described her father as being quite healthy the week before he died, but when he showed symptoms of an illness he was strongly encouraged by doctors to rest.⁹⁷ George did not, however, take his illness seriously and continued with his religious rituals of prayer and fasting at appropriate times. He was described as being a deeply religious man, and although he never

⁹⁴ Comrie, 115. Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, 75. Bleeding might be advised for children when they were ill, but it was not recommended to be performed on children under fourteen.

⁹⁵ Comrie, 114-5.

⁹⁶ Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 338, 340. Mendelson, 29-31. By the eighteenth century the medical community had begun to change their understanding of a woman's body. Physicians had previously viewed the female body as being fluid and unstable.

⁹⁷ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 105, 25-6. Lady Murray describes her sister as being quite ill before their mother died and was unable to spend much time or attend to their mother before her death.

put his religion above his family he did put it above what he assumed was a minor illness.⁹⁸

George was resistant to changes in his schedule and throughout his life he woke early to pray in his room, despite his physician urging him in his older years to pray while walking through their gardens.⁹⁹ His illness worsened quickly and he passed away in his sleep on 6 August 1733 when he was seventy-four years old.¹⁰⁰

Although she lived another thirteen years after her husband's passing, Lady Grisell became deeply depressed and suffered from various bouts of illness. A week before her death, Lady Grisell became quite unwell but was not sad about the prospect of joining her husband. Lady Murray describes the end of her mother's life by saying "When she died she said to me, "Now, my dear, I can die in peace, and desire nothing but to be where your father is" She was always sure they would meet, and know one another again, in another world; and often said, that without that belief, she could not support herself".¹⁰¹ Lady Grisell had a purse with enough money put aside for her own quiet funeral which she had arranged to be almost identical to that of her husband. Lady Grisell died on 6 December 1746 in the company of her family and was buried next to George on her birthday that same month. Her only concern was that her grandchildren were cared for and that it would not be a great trouble for her family to move her body from London to Mellerstain.¹⁰²

The other expense overlooked by previous historians working with the Baillie accounts has to do with travel which was something the family did for George Baillie's Parliamentary

⁹⁸ Fyfe, 155. George's father was also deeply religious, and in 1642 he became a professor of Divinity at Glasgow University. In fact Robert and a few others had been sent to Holland to present Charles II with an invitation to accept the crown of Scotland. Although both Robert and his son shared the same religious devotion neither has been described as fanatical.

⁹⁹ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 25-6. Smith, 246. Smith notes, however, that it wasn't always possible for men to take time off when they fell ill and would just have to continue their day to day routines.

¹⁰⁰ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 3. Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 341.

¹⁰¹ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 86.

¹⁰² Lady Murray of Stanhope, 103-4.

position but also for leisure and to seek medical treatments. The longest trip the Baillies undertook was to Naples for Lord Binning, and although their most common medical and leisure trip was to the spas the family made frequent trips to England. Travel had always been an aspect of the Baillies' lifestyle, and this included travel for their medical treatments. As with the other Baillie financial investments, Lady Grisell would always try to calculate the most cost efficient way to travel. If the family would only be in a city for a week, they would almost always rent a room. However, when they stayed for longer periods of time they would usually rent a house since it was less expensive.¹⁰³ When the family travelled for their health, their destination was almost exclusively spas. This was a common retreat for the upper classes to "take the waters" for either legitimate medical reasons or as a way to socialize.¹⁰⁴ Some spas were known to provide cures for specific illnesses, but often the elite chose their spas based on whatever spa or bath was the most popular at the time.¹⁰⁵ The Earl of Bedford, for instance, travelled to the popular spas of Bath and Tunbridge to take in the waters for his rheumatism, along with purchasing waters to take back to his home.¹⁰⁶ For a variety of illnesses physicians would recommend that their patients bathe in and drink from these medicinal waters. The Baillies had a few spas they could travel to in Scotland; most of these were within a day's ride of the Mellerstain estate although

¹⁰³ Lochhead, 299. Scott-Moncrieff, 56-7. George Baillie travelled at least once a year to London for parliament, usually travelling on horseback. However, the cost of these trips was rarely recorded by George, who left all of the finances up to his wife. Lady Grisell attempted to collect her husband's receipts when he travelled to London, but was usually unable to since George kept almost no hard proof of where his money was spent other than the gifts he always brought back for his girls. George frequently brought back "night gowns", which were dressing gowns. Lack of documentation for George Baillie's travel reinforces the fact Lady Grisell had sole control over the accounts, because if she was not present for purchases they went unrecorded.

¹⁰⁴ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 219. Smith, "Reassessing the Role of the Family", 333. Many times upper class women went to spas to help cure their diagnosis of hysteria.

¹⁰⁵ Anita Guerrini, "The Burden of Procreation: Women and Performance in the Works of George Garden and George Thomson" in *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), 180-1. One of the most well known physicians during this time was George Cheyne who often recommended traditional treatments of purges, bloodletting and visits to baths. These treatments were not always terribly effective, and Cheyne differed from many physicians since he would visit his patients.

¹⁰⁶ George Cheyne, "The English Malady (1733)" in *Patterns of Madness in the Eighteenth-Century* ed. Allan Ingram (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), 89.

none were located in Edinburgh. Scotland was not historically known for spas, but the demand grew after the Restoration and more areas were developed.¹⁰⁷ The accounts indicate that the family would mostly travel to Bath, Prestopans and Scarborough.¹⁰⁸ Like many of those travelling to spas, the Baillies would take the waters, have dinner parties and attend concerts. The family usually stayed for close to a month at these places, renting a home at which the accounts indicate they hired a cook for the dinner parties they held.¹⁰⁹

In addition to visiting the spas there are also multiple entries in the accounts for purchasing spa waters, such as £11 6s Scots on 26 September 1709, “For frawght and other expences of bringing the Spaw water from Lieth to Edinburgh”.¹¹⁰ Doctors such as George Cheyne would recommend these waters for patients for the treatment of “vapours” and other hysterical disorders.¹¹¹ These waters often had to be specially bought, for instance the Earl of Bedford enjoyed taking the waters at Maiden Lane, and he had spa waters shipped home for him. Aside from the spa waters from Leith, the Baillies also purchased “Scarborough Water” and “Queen of Hungry Water”.¹¹² These were thought to treat a variety of disorders and could probably provide some relief depending on the herbs they contained. Many medicinal waters were made up of ingredients that would actually raise the body temperature of an individual or provide some pain relief which is why they would be commonly prescribed for gout or arthritis. Although Lady Grisell’s accounts did not provide a reason for buying Hungary water, it was most well known for the treatment of rheumatism, and was commonly composed of rosemary,

¹⁰⁷ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 219.

¹⁰⁸ Prestopans in particular was close to their home at Mellerstain.

¹⁰⁹ Scott-Moncrieff, xlii.

¹¹⁰ Lady Grisell Baillie, 78.

¹¹¹ Cheyne, 221.

¹¹² Scott-Moncrieff, lxxvii, Lady Grisell Baillie, 93, 97.

rosewater and wine spirits.¹¹³ Scarborough water came from the spa sharing the same name in Yorkshire which became quite popular in the eighteenth century. The water at this spa was most commonly recommended for kidney troubles.¹¹⁴ The purchases for these medicinal drinks appear frequently in the accounts, meaning that the family must have been drinking the waters on an almost continuous basis either for treatments or as a preventative measure.

Aside from visiting spas, the family also undertook a major trip in 1731 for the sake of the Baillies' son-in-law, Lord Charles Binning. Lady Murray describes her parents as caring deeply for Lord Binning and treating him as their own son.¹¹⁵ Lord Binning had been ill for quite some time before he and his wife decided that they might receive better treatments for his lung condition overseas. Lord and Lady Binning asked Lady Grisell and George to accompany them on a trip to Italy, which the Baillies and Lady Murray happily agreed to.¹¹⁶ The entire family set out for Italy in the 9 June 1731, with the aim of being in Naples by the winter. The Baillies took a southern route going through Liege, Namur and Arlon. By October they had reached Lyons and moved on to Rome by November 23, but were not able to remain long in the "Eternal City". The family travelled at a leisurely pace, stopping at a spa called Loup and spending several days in some areas to take in a musical production and once hosted a dinner party for seventy people.¹¹⁷ The family finally arrived to Naples on 5 December 1731, where they enjoyed many of the city's activities. The accounts reveal that while in Naples the family also hosted dinner parties, one on 18 December 1732 for sixteen people who enjoyed a meal of veal, lamb, fish,

¹¹³ Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, 89. Alcohol was commonly associated with being a cure for medical problems; gin was the most commonly prescribed. Bradley, 246.

¹¹⁴ Kelsall, 37. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 219. Scarborough water became more readily available to purchase in Scotland after 1707.

¹¹⁵ Lady Murray, 17-18, 82. Lady Murray describes Lord Binning as wanting to have the Baillies travel with him and Rachel to Naples since he felt so close to them often referring to Lady Baillie as "mother". And although it was inconvenient for George and Grisell they felt they had to go with their son-in-law.

¹¹⁶ Smith, 245.

¹¹⁷ Scott-Moncrieff, xli-xlii.

pork and plum pudding. The family remained abroad remaining in Naples until May 1732 and spending the summer in Portiche.¹¹⁸

The treatments the family hoped would save Lord Binning did not help, and he died in Naples on 27 December 1732. Lady Murray described her brother-in-law as having endured all his suffering with little to no complaints, and when he passed in Naples all of his family, including his children, were present.¹¹⁹ After they had travelled to Italy for Lord Binning, the family moved through Germany, Austria and then France before returning to Scotland.¹²⁰ In regards to Lord Binning's body it was noted in Lady Baillie's original accounts that "His heart, etc., was buried in St. Corrolas Church Year and his corps sent home to Tiningham".¹²¹

The second most popular destination for the Baillies was Holland, usually arriving in Rotterdam and visiting various Dutch towns. This was a traditional route for Scots, and was also where the Baillie and Hume families had hidden after Lord Patrick Hume and Robert Baillie were accused of treason in the 1680s.¹²² On one trip in particular the Baillies visited the areas that George and Lady Grisell had spent time in while they were in exile. Both Lady Grisell and George enjoyed visiting Holland, especially Utrecht, and recounting their time spent in exile to

¹¹⁸ Scott-Moncrieff, xliii. Lady Grisell Baillie, 301. Although the menus are provided, there is no total cost of the meal given.

¹¹⁹ Guenter B. Risse, *New Medical Challenges During the Scottish Enlightenment* (New York: Rodopi B., 2005), 239-40. Consumption could refer to a number of "wasting diseases", from scurvy to cancer. Mostly consumption referred a deterioration of a person's lungs which in modern times is diagnosed as tuberculosis. Scott-Moncrieff, xliii. Tuberculosis was an infection that attacked a person's lungs; the only cure is antibiotics which were not available to Lord Binning. Lady Murray of Stanhope, 19. Lady Murray describes her father as being by Lord Binning's side praying until his death. In his last days he committed his children's education to George, because he knew he would do the job justice. Kelsall, 64-5. Consumption also killed Lady Grisell's brother Patrick's first wife Elizabeth Hume. The couple had been married four years when Elizabeth was soaked by a tide on a ship and became very ill and died. Patrick never recovered from this loss, and although he re-married a young and beautiful woman, he never loved or care for her. Patrick would die eight years after Elizabeth.

¹²⁰ Lochhead, 301.

¹²¹ Scott-Moncrieff, xxix. Scott-Moncrieff had noted that this is written in Lady Grisell's accounts, but he did not include this particular page in the 1911 edition.

¹²² Lochhead, 297-8.

their children.¹²³ Aside from George's trips for parliament, when the family travelled they almost always did it collectively, and when they were travelling for leisure they tried to take in the culture. While abroad the family enjoyed sightseeing, took in various concerts and attended balls and other musical presentations.¹²⁴ It was music in particular that the family enjoyed, copying and learning various scores from the places they visited. Aside from music and musical instruments, the family also purchased various other items such as teas and books.¹²⁵

Lady Grisell had her own way of enjoying a culture. She strove to pick up some, or all of, another country's language. Through the family's travels she became quite fluent in French, Latin, Italian, Dutch and also learned a smattering of other languages.¹²⁶ Some of the language she would pick up on her own, but in other instances she hired a teacher. The accounts contain an entry regarding an Italian professor Lady Grisell hired for herself at Naples in 1732 at a cost of 19s 2d sterling.¹²⁷ This was not simply a hobby for Lady Grisell; Lady Murray describes her mother knowing Italian quite useful since, "she did the whole business of her family with her Italian servants, went to shops, bought everything she had occasion for, and did it so well, that our acquaintances who had lived there many years, begged the favour of her to buy for them when she provided herself".¹²⁸ What is impressive about hiring an "Italian Master" in 1732 to help her learn the language is that Lady Grisell would have been sixty-seven years old which reveals a commitment to continuing her role as supervisor of the household management and also to a dedication to learning.

¹²³ Lochhead, 297, Baillie, xli.

¹²⁴ Lochhead, 298.

¹²⁵ Baillie, xliii.

¹²⁶ Lochhead, 298.

¹²⁷ Lady Grisell Baillie, 364.

¹²⁸ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 81. Scott-Moncrieff, xliii. Along with learning Italian, Lady Baillie also ensured that the family had various Italian music scores copied to return with to Scotland.

The Baillie family's health was an important priority, which is evident in the multiple account entries for doctors, surgeons and medical supplies. It was not simply the family's physical well being that they were concerned with, but also relationships within the family. The family always travelled together, which could be easily understood when the Baillie children were younger, but it was the family continuing to travel together when the girls were grown and married that really demonstrates how close the family bond was. In the trip to Naples in particular, it was Lord Binning who insisted that the Baillies accompany him and Rachel because he enjoyed the company of his in-laws.¹²⁹ Despite the large amount of money spent on health care and willingness to travel any distance for treatments, George and Lady Grisell do appear to have neglected their health in their later years. George Baillie became ill and died within a short period of time; that shock appears to have deeply affected Lady Grisell who was not expected to live long after her husband. Their deaths were not a reflection on the Baillie's spending on health care, but as her family speculated, of Lady Grisell not wanting to be without her spouse. Despite Lady Grisell and George Baillie's neglect of their health in later years, the accounts do however give a clear indication of the time and money the Baillies invested in their physical and emotional health of their family as a whole, especially their daughters.

¹²⁹Although the Baillie family spent a great deal of money on the trip, they did not pay for Lord Binnings costs.

Conclusion

The account books of Lady Grisell Baillie stand apart from similar household accounts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries because of their expansive and detailed nature. The accounts have survived through her descendants who must have recognized their value, and have been acknowledged by historians as containing a wealth of information about the social history of Scotland three hundred years ago. The accounts may have lasted through time, but have not been left untouched. The original accounts had been edited slightly by Mr Fitzroy Bell, who had the intention of publishing them. He did not, however, get far in his work before he passed away.¹ The next time the accounts were looked at was by Robert Scott-Moncrieff in 1911 who concludes his introduction with the following sentiments,

an apology to Lady Grisell for prying into the books which were never meant to be seen. If Lady Grisell is cognizant of what goes on here, she is no doubt amazed, amused, and annoyed at the many wrong deductions which have been drawn from the Accounts, over which she must have spent so much time and trouble, and which she must have thought so clear.²

This edition of the accounts has certainly been sampled by historians because it contains reliable data on the costs of servants, clothing and food for the eighteenth century. However, for social and family history the accounts give the impression of what the Baillie family dynamic could be during this time.

The four hundred page edition of the household books provides the opportunity to gain an expanded insight into the Baillie household, which can be supplemented by the Baillies' biography. The most prominent, and previously overlooked, expenses in the accounts are those that demonstrate the closeness of the family. Although the editor Robert Scott-Moncrieff does

¹ Scott-Moncrieff, lxxix.

² Scott-Moncrieff, lxxx.

not appear to have focused on this feature, it is evident how much the family cared for one another. The expenses of the Baillie children give the strongest indication of the family's tight bond. The girls' education was varied, their clothing expensive and they were provided with a variety of entertainment, but it is also the lack of entries which demonstrates the involvement of the parents with the girls. It is probable that Lady Grisell nursed Grisie and Rachel and there was no nanny hired when the children were born, which was unusual given their status. Lady Murray testified that her sister and she were never far from their parents. There were educators and a governess brought in for the girls, but these were not people intended to replace the role of their parents. As parents Lady Grisell and George Baillie were a strong couple according to the biography and George's correspondence. They loved and trusted each other and whenever parted maintained constant correspondence until reunited. Lady Murray described her father as having complete confidence in her mother, leaving her to manage all their affairs with only the occasional question of "Is my debt paid yet?"³ The strongest indication of the Baillies' care for their family was when their girls were in trouble, because they became directly involved to try and solve the problem. When Lady Murray's marriage became unbearable, her parents intervened to ensure her physical and emotional well being. When their youngest daughter's husband was ill, the Baillies' once again stepped in to make sure Lord Binning would receive the best medical care possible. Their help did not come in the form of advice, but in direct intervention probably because they were willing to do anything for their children.

The Baillies' may not represent every household during this period, but they probably account for some percentage, which is why these accounts are invaluable. In regard to the history of marriage they offer the perspective that upper class couples could fall in love and marry rather

³ Lady Murray of Stanhope, 13. Lady Murray goes on to state that if her mother ever needed advice or assistance in any manner her father would always make himself available to her.

than the idea of the cold elite marriage. For the daughters, the accounts represent parents who were not distant from their children but directly involved in their daughters' lives even after they were married. Lady Grisell and George's compassionate marriage and devotion to their children is clear, and perhaps the only thing that is surprising is that there are marriages three hundred years later can be as fulfilling and rewarding as that of the Baillies'.

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Illustrations



Lady Grisell Baillie, aged 69.



The Mellerstain Estates, modern day.



Rachel Johnston, George Baillie's mother.



"Grisie" and "Rachie", aged 6 and 2.