Caroline Wyndham-Quin, countess of Dunraven (1790-1870):
an analysis of her discursive and material legacy

by
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Declaration

I confirm that the content of this thesis is my own original work except where otherwise indicated with reference to secondary sources.

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Abstract

Caroline Wyndham was born on 24 May 1790 into the British gentry. The Wyndhams of Dunraven, whilst not being titled, were members of the land-owning and governing class in Glamorganshire, South Wales. In 1810 Caroline married Windham Quin, who belonged to an old Anglo-Irish family and who was eventually to become the second earl of Dunraven.

Caroline’s diaries, letters and annual reflections indicate that, even as a teenager, she was a deeply religious woman who had been affected by Methodism and by the evangelical revival that began in the 1780s.

From the day of her eighteenth birthday in 1808 until her death in 1870 Caroline kept a diary, which forms part of her archive together with annual reflections and letters. This thesis has adopted a biographical approach in the study of this archive. An examination of Caroline’s egodocuments has demonstrated the importance of religious discourse for the management of her, and her family’s, emotions and her attempts to realise the prescriptive and gendered ideal state of resigned gratitude. This biographical analysis of Caroline’s writings has also highlighted the importance of her work in the construction and preservation of a family narrative. This constructed and preserved narrative formed a lasting and important part of her legacy for future generations of Dunravens.
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Chapter one
Introduction

Caroline Wyndham was born in 1790, she was the daughter and heir of Thomas Wyndham and his wife Anne Ashby of Dunraven Castle, Glamorganshire, Wales. When she was twenty she married Windham Henry Quin, the heir to the Quin estate in Adare, county Limerick, Ireland. From the day of her eighteenth birthday 24 May 1808, until her death in 1870, Caroline kept a daily diary and until 1851 she also wrote an annual reflection. These are now held in the University of Limerick’s Special Collections (ULSC) together with letters written to Caroline from family and friends. In addition to these documents, the National Library of Wales holds the Dunraven Castle Archives which comprise account books, business papers and legal documents. An important part of Caroline Wyndham-Quin’s legacy is this rich and varied source of material, which she left for future generations of the Dunraven family and ultimately for historians. Much of this material is concerned with the minutiae of daily life and it has been suggested by A.P.W. Malcomson that the contents may be of “psychological” interest. This description denies the historical relevance of Caroline’s archive, a denial that may be attributed to her gender and to the undervaluing of the assumed private nature of the documents. Caroline, of course, is not alone in having the relevance of her history denied for it was only in the 1970s that historians of women greatly expanded the research into the histories of Irish women.

In 2005, Maria Luddy, when reviewing the current position of research into nineteenth-century women’s history in Ireland, identified several lacunae among which was the study of landed women. There are no accounts of their role in the management of estates or their households and neither is there a study of their political role as patrons of parliamentary constituencies or as canvassers of votes. Luddy goes on to identify the lack of information about the intimate lives of nineteenth-century women in general, „how they viewed husbands and children, how they dealt with maternity, friendships, love and sexuality“.

1 Descriptive list, The earl of Dunraven papers, University of Limerick Special Collections (hereafter ULSC) E/1-13, papers of Caroline, countess of Dunraven (hereafter PCD).
3 Ibid.
archive, when viewed from the perspective of these identified gaps, assumes a position of some historical importance.

Janet Theophano has stated that „when a woman writes even just her name on the first page of a book, she is committing an act of autobiographical writing. A simple or elaborate signature is an act that defies anonymity.“ Women of Caroline‟s class, having the time, education and resources to write letters, journals and the like have, therefore, left a larger footprint in history than less affluent women. It is then surprising, perhaps, that there are only a few historical studies of Irish landed women in the nineteenth century. From the British perspective K.D. Reynolds‟s *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* gives an account of aristocratic women‟s role in the management of estates, philanthropy and their influence in election politics and the politics of the British royal court. Indeed, it is such a study that Luddy has identified as missing from nineteenth-century Irish history and which Diane Urquhart has begun to address in her study of the political patronage of three of the marchionesses of Londonderry, which includes Frances Anne, third marchioness of Londonderry (1800-65). Erin Bishop‟s *The World of Mary O’Connell* is based on the examination of the correspondence of Mary O’Connell, wife of repeal politician Daniel O’Connell. Although Mary O’Connell was from a different class than Caroline, this study is interesting from the point of view of its portrayal of the domestic life of a woman in nineteenth-century Ireland and it goes some way in addressing the lack of information about the intimate lives of women in this period.

If we are to know more of the intimate lives of women it is necessary to go beyond the macro-structural forms of analysis of social history towards the cultural and discursive forms which are often „grounded in more micro-historical contexts‟. It is necessary to understand gender as, not only a social, cultural and historical construct, but also as a relational construct and to examine women‟s relationship with other women and also men. Such an approach will allow this study to move beyond the often portrayed homosocial world of nineteenth century women to examine

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4 Janet Theophano, *Eat my words: reading women’s lives through the cookbooks they wrote* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 121.
7 Erin I. Bishop, *The world of Mary O’Connell* (Dublin, 1999).
Caroline”s interactions with women and men in her family, social circle and in the wider community in Ireland, England and Wales.9

As this thesis will use gender as a major tool of analysis and as Caroline lived most of her life in the nineteenth century, it is impossible to ignore the interdisciplinary debates over the „merits and dangers” of the separate spheres model.10 In this model, that takes its name from nineteenth century terminology, society was organised spatially and politically into the public and the private spheres, a dichotomy that has continued to be both „pervasive and gendered” not least in the writing of women”s history.11 The genesis of the separate spheres model is located, for most British and Irish students of women”s history, in the nineteenth century and with the burgeoning middle-classes. The historical and social positioning of this location has been greatly influenced by Leonore Davidoff”s and Catherine Hall”s important book, Family Fortunes, which was first published in 1987. Caroline was, however, a member of the British gentry who married into the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and was, therefore, of higher social status than those studied by Davidoff and Hall. She entered several public spheres, political and civil and she was barred from others but throughout the study it will be borne in mind that

In all of these cases . . . the degree of public-ness (open to all comers) and private-ness (exclusivity) varied, and the principals of exclusion often varied along lines as diverse as class, status, political affiliation, regional identity, or ethnicity as well as sex.12

It is into the public world of high politics, war and commerce that Joan Scott, in her essay „Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, stated that historians should use the concept of „gender” to understand power relations.13 Scott points out that „gender is constructed through kinship, but not exclusively; it is constructed as well in the economy and the polity” and she prioritized the importance of applying gender analysis to relations of power in the latter two areas.14 However, it should not be forgotten that the public is peopled by individuals whose formations are located in the private for, as Davidoff asserted:

…the family and the household remain the primary „mediating institutions” in gender systems. They are the crucible within which individuals, both psychologically and

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11 Jane Rendall, „Women and the public Sphere” in Gender and History, 11, no. 3 (1999), p. 475.
12 Cowan, What was masculine?, p. 146
14 Ibid., p. 44.
symbolically, learn to speak a gendered language as well as the languages of their many other identities, ethnic, racial, national, sexual.\(^{15}\)

Michael Roper echoed Davidoff’s point in his article “Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History” where he opined that, contrary to Scott, “familial relationships might have a more foundational significance for subjectivity than others – such as political discourse”.\(^{16}\)

For Scott, subjects in history are “sites” or “historical locations or markers” “where crucial political and cultural contests are enacted and can be examined in some detail”.\(^{17}\) She denies their loss of humanity in this discursive construction, but it is, in fact, this embodied humanity that is lost and to conceive of “subjectivity primarily in terms of representations” endorses what Roper called “a profoundly lifeless notion of human existence”.\(^{18}\) Roper made the point that the privileging of the public in gender history has created the situation where the study of subjectivity based on emotion and experience has been displaced by a cultural and linguistic analysis. In his own work on masculine subjectivities in the First World War he found the cultural and linguistic analysis inadequate to describe the emotions that could surface in a war situation. From observations for his research he made four points that would contribute to the study of masculinities in the public sphere. Firstly, he suggested psychoanalysis to explain those actions and emotions that are often subconscious. Secondly, he recommended “placing relationships, and the webs of care in which they were suspended, at the centre of the study”; and thirdly, he suggested the use of a biographical perspective to “understand the significance of earlier life experiences, whose conscious and unconscious effects are always working within the mind”.\(^{19}\) This third point was also made by S. J. Connolly in his paper on Letitia Bushe’s life and relationships in eighteenth century Ireland:

> The lives of eighteenth-century women were indeed shaped by a legal, institutional and ideological context. Yet the case of Letitia Bushe confirms the arguments of those who have insisted that it is nevertheless impossible to do justice to women’s experience by an analysis, however sophisticated, that examines that context alone. It is also necessary to reconstruct the lives themselves.\(^{20}\)

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\(^{18}\) Roper, “Slipping out of view”, p. 70.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., pp 61, 65, 66.

Roper’s fourth and final point was, as stated earlier, the importance of familial relationships in the construction of the gendered subject.

The above points made by Roper, although in the context of masculinities, are not inappropriate to a study of Caroline and her positions and experiences in the public. The only reservation would be in relation to the first point, which is the use of psychoanalysis to assist in the interpreting of actions or emotions that may seem to defy understanding except at the level of the subconscious. In preference to the psychoanalytic approach, which can tend towards the ahistorical and essentialist, this thesis will borrow from Anne Ryan’s analysis of signification which allows for the uniqueness of individual histories, and each person’s unique relation to different discourses. But at the same time, it acknowledges that individuals are constrained by existing discourses, structures and practices. These are not simply external constraints, but are responsible for the psychic patterns through which individuals position themselves and through which they privately and emotionally experience themselves in relation to the social world. The idea of emotions as discursively constructed connects discourse, the unconscious and subjectivity, and allows for different individual reactions and responses to discourses.21

Emotions are subjective and, therefore, invisible to historians and “enter the historical record only to the extent to which they transcend the insularity of individual psychological experience and present the self in the public realm”.22 This public realm not only refers to emotions played out in the public space of the street, battlefield, coffee house or salon but also in the public space of the written word. It would be a mistake to equate the written representation of emotion as the feeling itself but emotions can become visible in the archive if use is made of Peter and Carol Stearns’ concept of emotionology and William Reddy’s theories on emotional regimes and emotives. The Stearns used the term “emotionology” to refer to “the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression [and] ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct”.23 Reddy, cognisant of the power that is always inherent in any discourse preferred the term “emotional regime”, which he defined as “the set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable

22 Ibid., p. 7
political regime”. Reddy also highlighted that an individual”s failure to conform to a society”s emotional regime, or at least to one of „a hierarchy of contrasting styles” would render that individual”s „identity unclear, subject to exclusion”. Reddy avoids the strong constructionist stance whereby all emotions are socially constructed, and where individual agency and accountability are negated, by introducing the concept of „emotives”. Emotives are speech acts (which include the written word) that can not only be descriptive but also performative in that they can act to change, or manage, the emotion and have been simply explained by the medievalist Barbara H. Rosenwein as „the process by which emotions are managed and shaped, not only by society and its expectations but also by individuals themselves as they seek to express the inexpressible, namely how they “feel””. Both emotionology and emotives, as texts and speech acts, can make emotions visible to the historian.

This thesis aims to confront the emotions made visible in Caroline”s writings. In order to do this a similar analytical approach will be taken to the one used by Martha Tomhave Blauvelt in her book on young women and emotion in America, 1780-1830. Blauvelt addressed the question of how women constructed and expressed their emotions „[i]n short, what happened in between emotionology and the lived experience of individuals”. Blauvelt highlighted the gendered work that women performed in the management of their emotions and noted that „emotion workers retain some degree of agency and remain the subjects rather than the mere objects of culture”. Individuals” obeisance to emotion regimes or, alternatively subversion, is made visible in their emotion work which becomes „a vehicle for

25 Ibid., p. 121.
27 The framework developed by both the Stearnses and Reddy to study the history of emotions has been criticised by the geographer, Robert Woods:

They fail to demonstrate by example how one might recover the changing history of emotions, and not just at a point in past time, 1789 for instance. This may be because the enterprise is too ambitious; emotions, collectively rather than individually, are too varied and complex as a category of feelings to be treated empirically and in the long term. . . the temptation to broad generalisation and simple periodisation is too great.

historical change and continuity and since everyone performs emotion work, all serve as historical actors on this most intimate level”.

Malcomson was correct when he noted that Caroline”s writings in the archive were of „psychological” interest as they do in fact relate to the mental and emotional state of the writer; they are in short her egodocuments. „Egocuments” is a term that was first used by the Dutch historian, Jacques Presser, in relation to documents such as diaries, autobiographies and travel journals. It is in writings such as these that the reader „is confronted with an “I” . . . continuously present in the text as the writing and describing subject”. This thesis will examine Caroline”s egodocuments to analyse her role in the construction and narration of the family, and also her own subjectivities for „human actions and relations are formed through a double hermeneutic: we identify what we do through an account of what we do [sic]”. Such accounts are frequently evaluative and different discourses can be seen at work as Caroline evaluates and gives meaning to events.

Caroline”s egodocuments include her diaries, annual reflections and letters. Her diaries and reflections served different purposes. The diaries, in which she recorded daily events, are frequently a mere list of those whom she visited and people that visited her, but occasionally the entries reveal her immediate interpretation of events. Her annual reflections, written in early January, comprise a summary of the family events in the previous year together with religious contemplations. They, more than her other ego-documents, provide a form of autobiographical writing in which she constructed herself and her family. Davidoff and Hall have noted how religious women used diaries and letters as „makeshift pulpits” and Caroline”s reflections would certainly seem to be an example of this form of indirect preaching. There are no annual reflections after the one written in 1851 in which she recounted her husband”s death so, perhaps, they were primarily meant for his reading. Indeed in the reflection she wrote in January 1812, when she was married for just over a year, there is a direct inference that this was the case.

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29 Ibid. p. 5.
32 Caroline”s archive is comparable to that of Mary Shackleton of Ballitore, Kildare, Ireland. See Kevin O”Neill, “ „Almost a gentlewoman”: gender and adolescence in the diary of Mary Shackleton” in Mary O”Dowd and Sabine Wichert (eds.), Chattel, servant or citizen: women”s status in church, state and society (Belfast, 1995), pp. 91-102.
33 Davidoff and Hall, Family fortunes, p. 117.
...if ever this page should meet thy eye when perhaps I may be no more there you have the assurance of your grateful wife, that you have discharged every duty possible in your situation, & have made me the happiest of women – on your deathbed my Windham may this bring you comfort, & will be more precious to you then than any happiness you may have fancied to be denied from the ... vices of the circles you have moved in.  

The archive also includes a scrapbook, some account books and a copious number of letters written to Caroline by relations, friends and employees. In addition to her personal archive she and her eldest son, Edwin third earl of Dunraven, privately published *Memorials of Adare* in 1865. In the small section of the book written by Caroline she cultivated the narrative of her husband and son as benevolent builders providing work and education for the local poor.

An analysis of these sources is complex and multilayered and it has to be recognised that there is no „real” Caroline awaiting discovery. Her diaries and her reflections, in particular, are strategic narratives both self-fashioning, self-presenting and performative as Caroline discursively constructed herself both for her own understanding and for the understanding of an imagined or expected readership. Whilst the diaries and reflections may have had an expected, if not immediate, readership Caroline’s letters, like all letters, were obviously directed to a specific reader or readers. Caroline was, in fact, the recipient of many of the letters held in the collection. They were also written at a particular time and in a particular social context. This, for Peter Burke, makes them „the personal document par excellence, expressing the thoughts and emotions of the moment, rather than recollecting them in tranquillity in autobiographies and journals”. Indeed, for this reason letters have formed the „hidden underpinnings of much historical research”. However, like all ego-documents, letters are performative and as Liz Stanley has pointed out, an

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34 Caroline’s reflections, January 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E1/29, papers of Caroline, countess of Dunraven.
35 Dunraven, Caroline (countess of), *Memorials of Adare Manor with historical notices of Adare by her son, the earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, 1865).
36 Judith Butler’s concept of performance is used in this thesis. In relation to gender, performance is „the way in which the anticipation of a gendered essence produces that which it posits as outside itself” and „performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalisation in the context of the body”. Performativity is not restricted to gender but can also include the subject’s performance and embodiment of „race” and class. Judith Butler, *Gender trouble* (London, 1999), p. xv.
increased concern with textuality means that greater attention has also to be given to
the „ways that letters in a correspondence construct, not just reflect, a relationship”
and how they can „develop a discourse for articulating this, and can have a complex
relationship to the strictly referential”.39 Indeed, Stanley further stated that:
paradox is at the heart of epistolary matters: the „real” message of letters is not quite
what is written; letters „stand for” the writer, but only in their absence; the writer is
not the „actual person” but an epistolary version or emanation of them; what they
write about is not the world as it is but that which is represented; and the moment of
writing is conveyed to the reader but only after it has gone by.40

Any attempt to deconstruct biographical texts or as Sheila Kineke has put it
„texts that construct our notions of the subject” often incurs the „loss of historical
detail and pleasure of narrative and the production of a biographical subject who
„seems to have no extra-cursive existence””.41 This is a similar concern to that of
Michael Roper’s when he found that a cultural and linguistic analysis was inadequate
to describe the emotions that could surface between soldiers in a war situation.42 Part
of Roper’s recourse was to subsequently place the soldiers” relationships at the centre
of the study and to use a biographical perspective. Penny Russell’s concern in her
work on Jane Franklin, on the other hand, was that the denial of an extra-cursive
subject would deprive the historian of an analytic tool with which to examine the
„complex relationship between society and culture”. She went on to argue that it was,
therefore:

Theoretically necessary to posit a subject that exists in a social and cultural space
beyond the particular texts, precisely in order to unpack the continual renegotiations
between self and text through which subjectivity is produced. Only thus can we
achieve some integration between the methods and insights of cultural history and the
political imperatives of social history.43

This is in fact a similar method to Roper’s biographical approach and it is the
methodology adopted in this thesis.

Caroline’s role in the preservation of her manuscript heritage cannot be
ignored. Like most collections there are many gaps and the historian can only ever
expect to get a fragmentary glimpse of the studied subject. Caroline’s own agency in

39 Stanley, „The epistolarium”, p. 211.
40 Ibid., p. 214.
deciding what she would keep, and what she would not, is part of her preservation role. Martin Heidegger identified dwelling as being man’s mode of being and then divided dwelling into the two activities of building and preserving. Although Heidegger stated that „the fundamental character of dwelling is the sparing and preserving”, Iris Marion Young has noted that Heidegger actually privileges building, which in the western world is primarily a masculine activity, whereas preservation is usually carried out by women.\(^\text{44}\) Importantly, for the purpose of history, she also noted that the temporality of preservation is distinct from that of construction.

Building tends to make a rupture in the continuity of history and traditionally history writing has been concerned with change. Preservation, on the other hand, is about recurrence, „the stories must be told and retold to each new generation to keep a living, meaningful history”.\(^\text{45}\) Recurrence, however, does not imply that identities, personal nor collective are fixed but that:

The activities of preservation gives some enclosing fabric to [the] ever changing subject by knitting together today and yesterday, integrating the new events and relationships into the narrative of a life, the biography of a person, a family, a people.\(^\text{46}\)

Caroline’s role in the preservation of her personal and family identity formed a major part of her being and her continuous work in this endeavour, from the date she became eighteen, will be examined throughout this thesis.

When Davidoff stressed the importance of the family in the formation of gendered subjectivities she also noted that the institutions of family, kinship, marriage and parenthood have been neglected or taken for granted in the public/private debates and have rarely been researched within feminist history. Yet, it is through membership of a family unit, in whatever form it might take, that a child first becomes aware of her social identity and then goes on to shape her social realities „in such a way as to identify with or adhere to [the] desired social group”.\(^\text{47}\) Caroline was born into the landed gentry; the Wyndhams traced their ancestors back to Ailwarus, a Saxon nobleman from Norfolk, who changed his name to Wymondham (later


\(^{45}\) Ibid., p. 143.

\(^{46}\) Ibid.

Wyndham) after the Norman conquest in the eleventh century.⁴⁸ Throughout Caroline’s life, she belonged to the class that constituted the traditional governing élite⁴⁹. In many parts of western Europe the aristocracy and the landed gentry, after a period of anxiety in the aftermath of the French revolution (1789) resumed their confident position at the apex of society. In Britain they dominated the electoral system and also constituted the majority of the Anglican clergy, the officer ranks of the army and navy, the upper echelons of the diplomatic service and the judiciary. Indeed the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had become „finishing schools for their sons“ while contemporary culture, painting and architecture, reflected their hopes and activities.⁵⁰

The landed classes were accustomed to „the largely unquestioning habits of deference“ of those classes below them in the social hierarchy.⁵¹ Reynolds identified among one group of aristocratic women, that they recognised that a sense of responsibility and „duties of care were owed to tenants and dependants“ in return for their position of power and privilege.⁵² Their position in society, and their political and social responsibilities, meant that much of an aristocrat’s life was lived in the public sphere. Indeed, it was by public acts that the aristocracy reinforced and reinvented its power.⁵³ Many of these acts took place within the aristocratic household which Davidoff described as „less a haven than a military headquarters where social strategies were launched“.⁵⁴ The aristocratic home was in marked contrast to the growing middle-class ideal of a private haven to which the men could retreat from the rigours of the public world. Aristocratic women, unlike middle-class women, were expected to carry out public duties not only in the home but also in fashionable society and in the rural environs of their country seat. Judith Schnied Lewis in her study of the childbearing experiences of a group of British aristocrats, (a group which includes women also studied by Reynolds) noted that, for these women, there was a conflict between personal and public interests and it was only with the growing influence of ideas privileging domesticity that women were able to put the private

⁵⁰ Ibid.
⁵² Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 12.
⁵³ Ibid., p. 28
interests of family before her public functions. Reynolds noted that „for aristocratic women, the meanings of home and family anteceded and were radically different from the middle-class ideal‟. The aristocratic family during the nineteenth-century did not conform to the modern and essentially middle-class concept of the nuclear family but instead adhered to:

An older understanding of the family, as a dynastic kinship network . . . Their families did not merely consist of parents and children, tended by physically and socially distanced servants, but in large networks of relationships, bound together by kinship, patronage and dependence.

Women, as wives and mothers, were instrumental in maintaining the networks that were so vital to the aristocratic family. For this reason Reynolds preferred to use the concept of „incorporated wives‟ to that of the companionate marriage. Laurence Stone, had noted that since the seventeenth century the companionate marriage had become the norm among the „lesser nobility, the squirearchy and gentry‟. This was a marriage based on mutual affection in contrast to the earlier pre-modern marriage that was perceived to be a practical union of a man and women who were, and remained, emotionally remote from each other. The companionate marriage ultimately led to the nuclear family with its associated domesticity and privacy. Reynolds‟s preferred term, „incorporated wives‟ was first used by anthropologists, to describe women who contributed to their husband‟s careers but were excluded from direct involvement and recognition. Whilst recognising that an „incorporated marriage‟ did not necessarily exclude love and affection between the couple, Reynolds utilized the concept as it „permits an unapologetic examination of the significance of a subordinate role, accepted and even enjoyed by its players, whose priorities were different from those of [today]‟. The „incorporated wife‟, though in a subordinate position, did have a role to play outside the boundaries of the domestic and the private.

A determining feature and the mark of distinction of the aristocratic family was that they were „of‟ somewhere, for example the Wyndham-Quins of Adare. During this period of growing individualism and competition, the aristocratic family still

\[\text{55} \text{ Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 26.} \\
\text{56} \text{ Ibid., p. 27.} \\
\text{57} \text{ Ibid., p. 6} \\
\text{59} \text{ Ibid., p. 155.} \\
\text{60} \text{ A. P. W. Malcomson, The pursuit of the heiress: aristocratic marriage in Ireland 1750-1820 (Antrim, 1982), p. 21.} \]
demanded self-sacrifice from its members in order to maintain this linkage between the family name and the land. In Britain property and titles were passed down from generation to generation by the male-preference primogeniture system, whereby property and titles were inherited by the eldest surviving son. This system did not, however, preclude daughters from inheriting if there were no surviving sons, as was the case when Caroline inherited the Dunraven and Clearwell estates after the death of her father in 1814. Should Caroline have had surviving sisters the patrimony would have been divided equally amongst them.\(^{61}\) Malcomson noted that the importance to aristocratic families of „continuing the original name and line cannot be sufficiently emphasised”\(^{62}\). Thus the perpetuation and renewal of the family name in the event of an heiress inheriting was achieved by the succession of her son to her father’s estates usually on the condition that he assumed his mother’s maiden name. If the heiress produced more than one son it was usual for her to remainder her estate on a younger son, thus creating a cadet line bearing the mother’s name.\(^{63}\) A marriage was, therefore, not merely a union between two individuals but of two families and „the furthering of the claims of those families was the object of its members”\(^{64}\).

When Caroline Wyndham married Valentine Richard Quin’s eldest son and heir, Windham Henry Quin, on 27 December 1810, Valentine had already started his climb from commoner to earl. He had himself made a socially and financially advantageous match when he married Frances-Muriel Strangways-Fox, a daughter of the first lord of Ilchester and a cousin of the Whig politician, Charles Fox, in 1777. Frances-Muriel subsequently left her husband and children and „fled“ from Ireland back to England in 1793.\(^{65}\) Joanna Martin in her book *Wives and daughters*, an account of four generations of women in the Strangways-Fox family, indicated that Caroline’s father-in-law may have been a difficult man as she states that his niece Mary Talbot thought him „as mad as a March hare” and that one of his daughters described him as „the most miserable man in the world”. His sister-in-law, Susan O’Brien is also recorded as noting that „his temper would always have made him

\(^{63}\) Ibid.
\(^{64}\) Reynolds, *Aristocratic women*, p. 16.
unhappy in any situation”. Valentine Quin’s unhappiness could not have been the result of his social status for he had been created a baronet of Great Britain in 1781 and had subsequently been raised to the peerage in 1800 as Baron Adare of Adare. When he was then advanced to a viscount in 1816 he became Viscount Adare and finally in 1822 he was created an Irish earl. When he became an earl, Valentine took his title from Caroline’s Welsh estate and became the Earl of Dunraven. The family surname had also incorporated Caroline’s name on the death of her father in 1815 and became Wyndham-Quin.

Caroline was able to adequately fulfil her duty to maintain the link between her family estates in England and Wales and her family name, Wyndham. Moreover, in the male-oriented and dominated world of this period, “an estate needed a man” and she was also lucky to have had two sons, Edwin and Windham Henry, which meant that both the Wyndham estates had, at least periodically, a male owner in residence thus providing employment to the estate residents and protecting their interests as local magistrates and members of parliament. Aristocratic families who did not have surviving sons and where a daughter inherited, were only able to renew the link between their name and their land by means of the marriage settlement. Up until the passing of the Married Women’s Property Act in 1882, women were bound by the common law of coverture whereby they lost all rights to own property when they got married. It was, therefore, common for women from wealthy families to have marriage settlements drawn up before their marriage as such settlements could override the common law. A. L. Erikson who wrote the formative book Women and property in early modern England stated in an essay on widowhood that a settlement could specify many arrangements including the brides portion, the jointure to which she would be entitled upon widowhood, and any “separate estate” or “pin money” which she was to have during marriage. Separate estate developed primarily as a means to facilitate the preservation of family wealth through daughters, and to provide maintenance in the event of separation.

It was by means of a separate estate that the property and wealth coming from the bride’s family was kept at her disposal for the benefit of her children. These settlements tended to be bulky and difficult to interpret as family lawyers were endeavouring „to protect all parties including those unborn, against each other and

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66 Ibid.
against all eventualities”.69 Caroline’s marriage settlement is held by the National Library of Wales and will be examined in this study as part of the investigation into her management of her estates and property throughout the different periods of her life. For the last twenty years of her life, Caroline was an independent woman due to the fact that, under English law, unmarried women, either single or widowed, had the same legal status as men. This was different to other European countries for, as Erickson has noted, „laws of inheritance in Britain were relatively egalitarian by European standards, but the laws of marriage were not”.70 This meant that if a widow was wealthy, as Caroline was, the resulting financial independence made it possible for her to exert power both in the private sphere and the public.

The essential component of the aristocrat’s property was the house for as Baird stated, „without a great house at its centre, land had little purpose in the display of wealth and power”.71 This house was not the private inward-looking haven of the middle-classes but the often public site from where the family consolidated and promulgated their social and political power. Historians writing about the aristocratic house in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tend to compare its functions with those of the medieval, pre-modern aristocratic house, thus highlighting its difference from the middle-class modern home.72 Reynolds points to the

medieval tradition of peregrination between houses and estates, partly for reasons of fashion and variety, but more importantly as a method of reinforcing their authority and social dominance over their widespread estates.73

Caroline and her family spent their lives travelling between their estates in Ireland, Wales and England and their house in London, where her husband sat in the House of Commons and, after his father’s death, in the Lords. Reynolds also noted that the continuing tradition of paternalism and patronage in relation to servants and tenants was a remnant of the medieval understanding of the household when it was not just a „place of work, but a field for political, social and economic advancement”.74 The numbers of servants employed in the aristocratic house varied over time depending on how many members of the family, including children, were resident but numbers of

69 Ibid., p. 2.
70 Erickson, Widowhood, p. 145.
72 See also Marcus Waithe „The stranger at the gate: privacy, property and the structures of welcome at William Morris’s Red house” in Victorian Studies, 46, no. 4 (2004), pp 567-98.
73 Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 29.
74 Ibid., p. 36.
between twenty and thirty would not be unusual. The aristocratic woman for many of these employees, some of whom would have been male, was in the „public” position of employer.

Women were largely responsible for the running of the household and many, like Caroline’s mother were actively involved in the building and design of the houses. Mrs Wyndham designed and drew out the plans for the renovations of Dunraven Castle which commenced in 1803. However, Reynolds warns against the assumption that the house was „a separate sphere” of female interest, divorced from the interests of men” and states that neither „can it be viewed as a private realm diametrically opposed to the masculine”. Roper and Tosh have made the point that removing the male from the historical studies of domesticity has resulted in the history of the family being no less distorted than the history of masculinity which has, until recently, been primarily concerned with the „masculine” world of work and public life. These opinions contrast somewhat to those of Vickery in her study of eighteenth-century minor gentry where she found that „gentlemen and gentlewomen were seen to perform distinct work roles, with discrete areas of expertise”. These differing views will be explored in relation to Caroline.

In contrast to the management of the house, estate management has been seen as a discrete area of masculine expertise. Yet, Reynolds stated that only a „most cursory reading of the papers of aristocratic families” shows that women were commonly active partners in the economic enterprises of their families”. She goes on to give examples of the work carried out by Lady Londonderry, Lady Palmerston and others in the management of estates and, in the case of Lady Londonderry, in industrial enterprises. The historical blindness that fails to note women in the „public” and men in the „private” is an indication of how the separate spheres paradigm has served to essentialise the gendering of space if not in reality certainly in the minds of historians. As Caroline was a widow for twenty years she was directly involved in the running of her estates in Dunraven and Clearwell. However, from the date of her marriage in 1810 to the death of her husband, the second earl of Dunraven, Caroline

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75 This assumption is based on the numbers cited by Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 40, who used census returns to determine the number of servants in several households.
76 Earl of Dunraven, Dunraven, p. 50.
77 Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 41
79 Vickery, Gentleman’s daughter, p. 160.
80 Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 42.
spent most of her time living in the family home of Adare Manor in county Limerick. The current house was built by Caroline and her husband in the 1840s and replaced the older manor house build in the seventeenth century.

As noted earlier the Quin family were members of the Irish aristocracy and considered to be one of the few Irish peerage families that can claim an unbroken Gaelic descent in the male line.\(^1\) By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Quins had been protestant for over two hundred years and had intermarried with English families. They were, therefore, largely indistinguishable from the majority of the protestant Anglo-Irish ascendency class in Ireland. Indeed the defining boundaries of an Irish aristocratic identity are somewhat blurred because as Malcomson noted in *The pursuit of an heiress*:

> It is hard to regard the Irish as a national aristocracy at all, not so much because of intermarriage with English and British peers and their children, as because of the large number of non-Irishmen who were peers of Ireland, and the number of Irishmen in the Irish peerage who also had peerages of England, Great Britain and the United Kingdom.\(^2\)

Despite the difficulties in defining a national aristocracy, racial distinctions were likely to have been made at the time.\(^3\) Malcomson identified anti-Irish criticism directed against Edward Hussey, earl of Beaulieu and the third marquis of Londonderry when they married English heiresses.\(^4\) In 1745, the fourth earl of Chesterfield made his notorious condemnation of the Irish gentry, „that has hung like an albatross around their collective necks since”, when he stated:

> Drinking is a most beastly vice in every country, but it is really a ruinous one in Ireland; nine gentlemen out of every ten are impoverished by the great quantity of claret which, from the mistaken notions of hospitality and dignity, they think it necessary should be drunk in their houses; this expense leaves no room to improve their estates by proper indulgence upon proper conditions to their tenants, who pay them to the full, and upon the very day, that they may pay their wine merchants.\(^5\)


\(^4\) Malcomson, *Pursuit of an heiress*, p. 29

The Anglo-Irish aristocracy may well have suffered a degree of racist stereotyping and condescension from their English counterparts but in Ireland, political, social and economic power was still in their hands. After the act of Union in 1801 the terms „Anglo-Irish” „Protestant” and „Unionist” were practically synonymous. Also the small oligarchy of the Anglican élite was staunchly loyal to the British connection and, by extension, the preservation of their own privileges. After Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the introduction of a national school system in 1832, the Catholic population”s social, political and economic expectations were increasing and, as mentioned previously, there was a growing Catholic public space and a renewed pride in the Celtic culture. The result was a growing religious and cultural divide between the Catholics and the Protestants which was exemplified by Father Michael Collins, who said that the commonly used word Sassenach „has departed from its original meaning of English to Protestant . . . There is no Irish term for Protestant . . . Erinech (Irishman) is the term for Catholic”. Religion had major political, social and cultural significance in nineteenth-century Ireland but for Caroline, even before she moved there, religion was already of immense personal importance.

Caroline as a young woman had read the works of the evangelical writer and philanthropist, Hannah More and had obviously been affected by the evangelical revival that had begun in the 1780s but it is more likely that she had been most influenced by Methodism. Wales was, of course, synonymous with the earlier rise of Methodism which dated from the 1740s and, indeed, one of her ancestors, Lady Charlotte Edwin (1701-77), had used her influence to place Methodist clergymen in Glamorgan parishes. Charlotte Edwin and her descendents, like John Wesley himself, combined their religious beliefs with their high Tory ideals and similarly Caroline”s evangelicalism was that of the respectable Clapham set variety and not the more extreme version that came later and was associated with public displays of emotion. Their traditionalism and conservatism were factors that contributed to the Dunraven”s interest in the Oxford movement in the 1830s and 1840s. This was a high church movement which stressed the Catholic side of the Anglican inheritance and in Ireland for many it was a reaction against the Church Temporalities Act of 1833.

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The Church Temporalities Act was resented by many members of the Church of Ireland, including Caroline’s eldest son Edwin and her son-in-law William Monsell of Tervoe. Both had been influenced by the Oxford movement, or Tractarian movement, led by John Kemble, Edward Pusey and John Henry Newman and which initially drew the support of many radical Evangelicals. This was a high church movement that sought to restore the church’s independence from the state and emphasised the importance of the sacraments and the central position of communion in the church service. Adare and Monsell became the most prominent Irish Tractarians along with the De Vere brothers and were all greatly influenced by Newman. They eventually, like their mentor, converted to Catholicism, Monsell in 1850 and Adare, now the earl of Dunraven, in 1855. The private religious faith of a member of the aristocracy had public repercussions as politics and religion were, at this time, closely connected and the Roman Catholic clergy in England, as well as Ireland, “energetically courted” members of this class. Male members of the aristocracy would be likely to sit in either the House of Commons or the Lords and female members would see fit to bring up their children, and most importantly sons, in the Catholic faith.

Whilst the Catholic clergy were seeking to convert the aristocracy, much of the philanthropy in Ireland was concerned with the strengthening of British rule. Both upper-class Catholic and Protestant philanthropists believed and applied British theories of race and class to the Irish poor. The poor were constructed as child-like, “morally, physically and intellectually inferior”, forever in need of guidance as to how to properly behave. The attitude of the wealthy philanthropic woman in relation to the child-like pauper was akin to the mother attempting to mould the behaviour of the poorer classes, and furthered the establishment of British hegemony through class control. The efforts of philanthropists in Ireland were no different to their counterparts in England but in Ireland the situation was made more complex by essentialist notions of “race” which were sometimes applied to the poor as characteristics of class. Reynolds also referred to the English racial stereotyping of the Irish as „reckless, greedy, and irresponsible” particularly in relation to aristocratic

90 Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 76.
92 Ibid., p. 103.
93 Ibid., p. 104.
94 Ibid., p. 112.
women’s response to the 1845-51 famine.\textsuperscript{95} Caroline was a wealthy philanthropic woman in Ireland, Wales and England and especial attention will be paid in this study to her language around the issues of class and race.

Much has been written about women and philanthropy in the nineteenth century and how women’s actions in this arena had a profound influence on Irish life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries\textsuperscript{96}. Some of these women were driven by a social conscience, others by religious zeal and for some philanthropy was merely a means to escape the dull monotony of domestic life. Raughter has identified that the testimonies of the women concerned are of especial relevance in determining the motivating factors behind such efforts.\textsuperscript{97} What these women did do was to use the contemporary construction of the feminine to move out from their designated place in the private into the public, using philanthropy as a vehicle. However, most women studied have belonged to the wealthy middle-class. For aristocratic women, like Caroline, nineteenth-century philanthropy was, for the most part, a continuation of paternalistic charity that women of that class had carried out throughout the centuries.

It has been suggested that middle-class philanthropists found it difficult to treat the charitable activities of aristocratic women with „due seriousness” as indeed have historians, because they worked within such an „unfamiliar” set of rules and expectations.\textsuperscript{98} Aristocratic women engaged mostly in personal charity which involved direct communication with the person in need and was part of a wider system of „social relations” on their estates.\textsuperscript{99} Certainly landlords traditionally carried out many acts of paternalism and patronage in order to enforce social deference within their local community”.\textsuperscript{100} The women in Reynolds”s study all engaged in visiting the poor and sick on their estates, which not only promoted „emotional and psychological ties between great house and cottage” but also had the pragmatic benefit of allowing the aristocratic women to assess and monitor the individual needs of her tenants.\textsuperscript{101} The acts of personal charity carried out in the countryside by the

\textsuperscript{95} Reynolds Aristocratic women, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{97} Rosemary Raughter, „A natural tenderness: the ideal and the reality of eighteenth century female philanthropy” in Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Mary O’Dowd (eds.), Women and Irish history: essays in honour of Margaret MacCurtain (Dublin, 1997), p. 81.
\textsuperscript{98} Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., p. 102.
\textsuperscript{101} Reynolds, Aristocratic women, p. 104.
aristocratic women were in marked contrast to the organised urban philanthropy of the middle-classes. Hall has suggested that philanthropy was an essential part of the effort of the middle-classes to define themselves as distinct from the aristocracy “rejecting aristocratic values and the old forms of patronage and influence”, and setting themselves up, particularly in the towns and cities, as a new source of authority.102

However, middle-class women increasingly adopted the practice of visiting the urban poor and as the century progressed aristocratic women became involved in the work of the philanthropists. They did this in three significant ways: by providing money, they turned social events into philanthropic purposes, and they permitted the use of their names in connection with good causes.103 This study will examine the nature of Caroline’s charitable and philanthropic activities and examine how the nature of her projects may have changed throughout her lifetime, from the period when she was a young woman in the early years of the nineteenth century to her death in 1870.

Caroline’s philanthropic attitude in times of crisis such as the cholera epidemic of 1832 and the 1845-51 famine would have been affected by her social and cultural response to the deaths of people who were predominantly from a different class to her own. For people living in the nineteenth century death, or the possibility of death, was never far away. Death is, as Jalland has stated, „one of the most important facts in human life, and experiences of dying and responses to death take us to the heart of human history.”104 The French historian, Michel Vovelle, observed that „every society gauges and assesses itself in some way by its system of death”.105 Despite the importance and ubiquitousness of death the subject had generated little research.106

Jalland in her book, Death in the Victorian family, studied the family experience of dying, death, grieving, and mourning in the years between 1830 and 1920 in England. Jalland examined the manuscript collections of fifty-five middle and upper-class families, many of whom were Evangelical, and explored, among other topics, the effects of religion on the ideal of a „good death”, the impact of the medical profession and the gendered differences in death, grief and mourning.

102 Ibid., p. 111. Hall, White, male and middle class, p. 143
103 Ibid., p. 112.
106 Ibid., p. 34.
Caroline, from early childhood, experienced the death of many close relations; her brothers died as young children when she too was a child and her parents died when she was a young woman. She suffered miscarriages and three of her grandchildren died as infants, her husband and her daughter died in 1850 and 1855. Caroline also experienced the deaths of other relatives and close friends, employees, tenants and the local poor. Lewis reminded us that funerals, like other rites of passage, for the aristocracy incorporated both the public and the private:

[they] were public institutions much like the vast country houses in which they took place: symbols and instruments of power and authority, but still homes for families to live in. Public ceremonies in country homes could not be abandoned as long as the landed aristocracy remained . . . [the] pre-eminent social group. Nevertheless, these did not exclude the existence of private emotions behind the façade.107

This thesis will examine in particular Caroline’s emotional management at the time of her grandson, William Monsell’s death in 1845.

As this thesis adopts a biographical approach, and Caroline resided between Ireland, England and Wales, the chapters are arranged chronologically. Throughout Caroline’s life her form of address changed four times and each change marked a rupture that enables her life to be viewed in five different phases. Chapter two is primarily concerned with the period from Caroline’s eighteenth birthday, when as Miss Wyndham she began writing her journals, up until her marriage to Windham Quin at the end of 1820 when she became Mrs Quin.108 Chapter three begins with an examination of Caroline’s marriage settlement and also offers an analysis of her early years of marriage and motherhood and concludes with the death of her father, in 1814, after which Caroline’s family name was added to her husband’s and she became Caroline Wyndham-Quin. Chapter four covers the period between Caroline’s father’s death and that of her father-in-law a decade later. This chapter focuses on Caroline’s work as an „incorporated” wife. Shortly before Windham’s father died he was elevated to an earldom and when he died, in 1824, Windham became the second earl of Dunraven and Caroline became the countess of Dunraven. Chapter five covers the longest phase of Caroline’s life and it is primarily concerned with Caroline’s emotional management and with her building and preservation work. The biggest disruption to Caroline’s life occurred when Windham died in August 1850 and chapter six has as its focus the last twenty years of her life during which she was a

107 Lewis, In the family way, p. 15
108 The quotations from original documents have remained the same as the original texts except when the addition of punctuation and capitals has aided understanding.
widow. Following Windham’s death the now dowager countess of Dunraven returned to live, and to manage, the old Wyndham estates in England and Wales. This chapter concludes with Caroline’s death in 1870.
Chapter two

Miss Wyndham (1808-1810): the eligible heiress

The biographical approach recommended by Roper and Connolly will be used in this thesis to study the constitutive and performative subjectivities of Caroline Wyndham-Quin and her negotiations of both the private and public spheres that she periodically inhabited throughout life.¹ This chapter will be a form of beginning and will be concerned with Caroline’s early formative years, from the date of her birth up to the time she became a wife in December 1810. It will examine issues relating to the influence of individuals, events and society on her personality and look at the expectations that were placed on her on account of her gender and her class.

Caroline’s birth was recorded simply by her father, Thomas Wyndham, in his diary where he wrote on 24 May 1790 that his wife Anna had been „brought to the bed of Caroline this morning about 6 o’clock at home all day, very whet“.² The birth took place in Clearwell Court, Gloucestershire, the home of Caroline’s grandfather Charles Edwin and her grandmother, Charlotte who was both Caroline’s father’s stepmother and her mother’s mother. Charlotte Edwin had been married and widowed three times, her first marriage had been to Thomas Ashby, Caroline’s maternal grandfather, her second was to Colonel Mawhood and her third was to Caroline’s paternal grandfather, Charles Edwin.³ Caroline was very fond of her grandmother and maintained a close relationship with the older women throughout her life. Caroline was Thomas and Anna Wyndham’s second child, an elder brother and presumptive heir, Charles, had been born in 1788. In the August following Caroline’s birth her parents and their two children left Clearwell to return to their own home, Dunraven Castle in Glamorgan, Wales.

² The diaries of Thomas Wyndham, 24 May 1790, ULSC, D/3196/D/1/4, diaries and correspondence of the Wyndham family (hereafter DCWF).
³ When Charles Edwin died in 1756 his brother-in-law Thomas Wyndham inherited and changed his name to Edwin. As a result the Edwin estates of Llanmihangel and Dunraven were combined making Caroline’s family one of the largest landowners in Galmorgan.
Glamorgan was structurally a county of two parts, the northern pastoral and very "Welsh" uplands, Blaenau, and the southern arable area of the Vale, or Bro. Dunraven Castle stood on Tryn-y-wych (the Witches Point) a promontory looking out over the Irish Sea on the coast of the Vale between the ports of Cardiff and Swansea. Having no resident peers, the Vale was dominated by the local gentry who controlled the area politically, economically and culturally. Charles Edwin, Caroline’s grandfather, was member of parliament (MP) for Glamorganshire from 1780 until he vacated his seat in 1789 whereupon her father took his place as a Tory MP until his death in 1814. North Glamorgan was perhaps one of the first areas in the world to experience an industrial revolution, and this revolution would eventually reach the southern parts of the county and prove extremely advantageous to Caroline and her descendants. Indeed by the 1840s the area had become one of the world’s most modern societies. However, at the time of Caroline’s birth, in what was still pre-industrial Glamorgan, the world of the gentry provided a major source of employment for the local people and the Wyndhams were no exception. In addition to the employment provided to local residents in the servicing of a large country establishment, Thomas Wyndham, together with his estate manager, John Franklin, established a woollen factory at Bridgend to create further employment. Moreover in this period, just before the rise of Welsh non-conformity, the power of the gentry was reinforced culturally by their domination of the established church, as the majority of the ecclesiastical livings were in the gift of the local gentry. By the end of the eighteenth century, Jenkins has highlighted that, the gentry were becoming less Welsh and had started to look towards London for their political and cultural influences. However, despite the Vale’s similarity to a south-west English shire it remained a Welsh speaking area until the nineteenth century and was subject to influences from

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5 Ibid., p. 13.
7 Ibid., p. xix.
both the Welsh north and the English south. This corresponds to the David Hempton’s portrayal of Wales in the first half of the nineteenth century as a frontier society with a number of rapidly shifting boundaries between town and country, land and industry, Welsh speaking and English speaking, religion and irreligion and Church and Dissent.

It was into this frontier society that Caroline was brought home in 1790, to take her place in a family that was as yet still secure in its privileged position at the apex of Welsh society.

Caroline would, from her earliest years, have been aware of both her gender and her rank and it is likely that she would have regarded both as “natural” states of being. Two years after her birth her mother had another son, Talbot, providing her parents with the security of an “heir and spare”. However, less than three years after Thomas Wyndham had recorded his second son’s birth in his diary he had to make the sad entry on the 4 April 1795 that his infant son had died of the croup. Three years after this tragedy Thomas and Anna Wyndham suffered what must have been another grievous loss, the death of their elder son, Charles, who died when he was no more than ten years old. There is only one of Charles’s letters in the Dunraven collection and that was written the year before he died and it was addressed to Caroline. He was presumably at school in Llandaff and his seven year old sister would appear to have been at Clearwell Court:

Dear Sister,

In your next tell me whether Papa Mama & rover arrived safe at Clearwell. I hope you are well as also Grandpapa & Grandmama along with Louise & Mrs Cooke. Doctrr Hall is going with us to Cardiff today. Yesterday I saw Mr Richards of the Connors[?] House he was very well. Mr & Mrs Hall are gone to Pemprokeshire for a fortnight. Tell Grandpapa to answer the letter I sent him. I remain

Your affect Brother

C Wyndham

Caroline was eight years old when Charles died, leaving her Anna and Thomas’s sole heir, and it can be presumed that she felt the loss of both her siblings severely. Her older brother’s letter would indicate that they had had a fond and friendly relationship and she must have missed his companionship. It is, therefore,

10 Ibid., p.15.
11 Hempton, Religion and political culture, p. 54.
12 Thomas Wyndham’s diary, 4 April, 1795, ULSC D/3196/D/1/4, DCWF.
13 Charles Wyndham to Caroline Wyndham, September, 1797, ULSC, D/3196/E/5, papers of Caroline, countess of Dunraven (hereafter PCD).
unlikely that the feelings of security and assurance, which were her birthright as a member of the landed gentry extended to her feelings around the issue of mortality. Caroline, as well as having to deal with the issues of mortality and grief would also have had to adjust to her change of position within the family; as her parent’s only surviving child she would have found herself from the age of eight the object of their, and her grandparents, undivided attention and interest.

This interest is evidenced in the few surviving letters from Caroline’s childhood. There are only a small number of extant letters but they are examples of how, as Willemijn Ruberg has noted, a child, through the act of writing, was socialised into „an upper-class and gendered citizen”\(^{14}\) Ruberg refers to the „pedagogical double deal”, which was the desire of eighteenth-century parents and teachers to follow Enlightenment ideals of allowing children to be individuals but at the same time teach them how to behave in an appropriate manner as upper-class adults.\(^ {15}\) Being taught how to write letters was one mechanism whereby children internalised their group identity and also, as Ruberg stated, „performed” their gendered identities.\(^ {16}\) Caroline when writing letters in her childhood was internalising and naturalizing her class position and her gendered identity. The extant letters from her childhood are all addressed to her grandmother, Mrs Edwin, the earliest dating from 1797, the year her brother, Charles, died and when she was eight years old. In this letter she expressed her pleasure that her brother was coming home to have his picture drawn by a Miss Black who was „so good as to teach Louise and I to draw in the evenings for our amusements”\(^ {17}\). Caroline closed her letter:

Pray give my Duty to G’papa and Love to Cousin Sophia. Mrs Cooke begs their Compts,

I am Your
Dutiful G’daughter
C Wyndham\(^ {18}\)

Lousie was a cousin and Mrs Cooke was probably Caroline’s nanny as she referred to Mrs Cooke again in another letter to her grandmother in which she informed her that

\(^{14}\) Willemijn Ruberg, „Children’s correspondence as a pedagogical tool in the Netherlands (1770-1850)” in *Paedagogica Historica*, ivi, no. 3 (2005), p. 296.

\(^{15}\) Ibid. p. 297.


\(^{17}\) Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 21December, 1797, ULSC, D/2/25, DCWF.

\(^{18}\) Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 21 December, 1797, ULSC, D/2/25, DCWF.
Mrs Cooke had „Got a pleasant situation at Lady Anne Smith‟s”.\(^{19}\) Caroline was twelve when she wrote this later letter and was by then no longer in need of a nurse or nanny. Private letters of this period were often written and read in public and, therefore, traversed private and public, having the qualities of both and occupying a “middle-space”.\(^{20}\) It is clear from the closing of some of these letters that other members of the household were, at the very least, aware that she was writing to her grandmother. These closings, especially highlighted the differing status of those mentioned, for example „Miss Weymer begs you will accept her most respectful compliments”.\(^{21}\) Miss Weymer was Caroline‟s governess and, therefore, a social inferior to both her and her grandmother. It was not necessary for Caroline to beg for her grandmother‟s acceptance of her compliments but as a female child she was always dutiful.

The letters surviving from Caroline‟s childhood provide but a fragmentary glimpse of her childhood family. She mostly thanked her grandmother for gifts, commented on her father and mother‟s activities and health and from 1803 described the progress of the extensive improvement programme undertaken by her parents on Dunraven Castle. This project was to take some years to complete and must have caused the family a certain amount of discomfort for in June 1804 Caroline tells her grandmother that „the house has been swimming all the time of this wet weather for the rain penetrates through the roof, the staircase and the passage are both very wet now”.\(^{22}\) Her mother was artistic and the drawing and design of the alterations to Dunraven Castle have been attributed to her. Mrs Wyndham‟s active involvement in the improvements and buildings of the estate provided an example for Caroline who throughout her life was also an active builder and like her mother left behind a lasting material legacy.\(^{23}\)

Caroline had first-hand experience of the building process and its resulting disruptions as like most upper-class girls, she spent most of her childhood and adolescence at home. Although the full details are not known, it is likely that her education was as characteristically haphazard as it was for most upper-class females being made up of contributions from parents, nannies, tutors and governesses. At this

\(^{19}\) Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 12 December, 1801, ULSC, D/2/33, DCWF.
\(^{21}\) Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 2 October 1803, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/41, DCWF.
\(^{22}\) Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 4 June [year unknown], ULSC, D/3196/D/2/38, DCWF.
\(^{23}\) Earl of Dunraven, Dunraven Castle, p. 50.
time girls” schools had started to become unpopular with the upper classes due to fears that their exclusivity could not be guaranteed and the only known period when Caroline was at a school was when she was enrolled in Mrs Cleiland”s school in Great Cumberland Street, London, in October 1801.24 The one letter written to her grandmother during her time at this school was written in a beautiful hand with careful and accurate punctuation, making it somewhat unique in the collection. She informed her grandmother in this letter that her holidays would begin on 22 December, 1801 „when I shall be very happy though I remain here, as Mrs Cleiland continues her usual kindness to me”.25 It is not known whether Mrs Cleiland read and checked her students” letters before despatch, a not uncommon occurrence in schools in this period.26 Despite Mrs Cleiland”s kindness, real or otherwise, Caroline stayed at the school for only a short time as Miss Weymer was employed as her governess in 1802.27 Jessica Gerrard echoed Mary Wollstonecraft when she noted that the upper-class female education:

shaped a girl”s personality, expectations, and attitudes so that she accepted her adult roles. Confined to the house and its environs, deprived of wider experience and skills. She often grew up regarding the home as the only possible sphere for her activities. Ruled and regulated by parents and governesses, and waited on by servants, girls found it difficult to develop autonomy and independence. Schoolroom education, lacking competition, examinations, or certificates, stifled ambition . . . [Upper-class women] saw themselves only in relation to the family, relatives and friends, the servants, and the local poor. Most girls envisaged their future roles with such groups, in subservience to their husbands, and in authority over their inferiors.28

It can be assumed that Miss Weymer, during the six years she was with Caroline, influenced her readings and instructed her on how to behave in order to meet her parents” and society”s expections for a female member of the landed gentry.

It can be seen from some surviving „Quotations and Similies”, which Caroline wrote before she was eighteen that she was familiar with the works of Maria Edgeworth and the proscriptive and evangelical writings of Hannah More.29 The More extract was probably from Hints towards forming the character of a young princess, which was published anonymously in 1805 as a result of the author”s

25 Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 12 December 1801, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/33, DCWF.
26 Ruberg, „Children’s correspondence”, p. 303.
27 Caroline refers to her „beloved miss Weymer” who had been with her for „six happy years” in her diary entry for 24 May, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/1, PCD.
29 Caroline”s reflection, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E1/1, PCD.
concern for the education of Princess Charlotte. The extract chosen by Caroline for inclusion in her journal was a warning against the „political prejudices” of the Scottish philosopher and historian, David Hume. Another entry which had merited inclusion was a cloying piece about the tribute to his dead wife by an earl of Westmoreland. This woman „was never troublesome” and „was blessed with silence” and it is clear that Caroline imbibed the middle-class ideal of womanhood, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was espoused by the evangelicals in particular. There is one humorous entry in the journal which indicates that Caroline was probably not immune to the practical concerns of matrimony:

A young lady having had an offer from a gentleman in these terms –
Not, old, nor young, not rich, nor poor, a good old house & a coach and four – to which she returned the following answer, not old, but young, not poor but rich, a fine new house & a coach & six  

The majority of the journal entries from her adolescent years are, however, religious meditations on the Scriptures, some of which are written in Italian and it is possible that, like Harriet Granville, she may have been influenced by an evangelical governess as there is no evidence that either her father or mother were especially religious.

By the time Caroline was eighteen she was possibly able to write and maybe converse in Italian but it is likely that much of her time was taken up acquiring those accomplishments so decried by Hannah More”s antithesis, Mary Wollstonecraft. Her early journal included „General rules for drawing” and she received regular lessons on the harp from „Dizi”. The accomplishments, which she had practised since her childhood, were put to the test when she eventually „came out” into the public heterosocial world of society. This she did when she attained the „so long wished for age of 18” on 24 May 1808. The date of her eighteenth birthday can be seen as marking Caroline”s début into society and the public but it has the added significance of being the date from which her extant diaries and reflections commence.

Caroline celebrated her eighteenth birthday in her parents” house in Queen Anne Street in London, where the family were residing for the duration of the London
season. As members of the landed élite the Wyndhams participation in the city’s social activities probably formed part of their annual “seasonal migration”. However, the events of 1808 would have had added significance as this was also the year that Caroline was recognised as being marriageable. The identity of her future husband, the man who could ultimately have the responsibility of managing the Wyndham estates, was likely to have been of immense interest and concern to her parents. Caroline began her diary entry for the 24 May by expressing her gratitude firstly to her God for his blessings and secondly to her parents and then her governess, Miss Weymer, for their contributions to her happiness. She worried about how “unworthy an object” she was to be the recipient of Miss Weymer’s “tenderness”, “my unworthiness in every respect but particularly to religion, causes me increasing regret”. She noted that she was in London “where there is no time for reflection, my days are all spent in dissipation and a constant concourse of company, for some of whom I do not care at all for others I do”.

Throughout Caroline’s early life, the hedonistic lifestyle of fashionable London was a source of some disquiet for her. Whilst there she, to a greater or lesser degree, enjoyed the balls, theatres and the constant whirl of social engagements that made up the daily life of the élite. However, at the same time she worried about the dissipation of such a life and the lack of time it afforded her for reflection. Other young women had similar worries, Anna Larpent (1758-1832) wrote in her journal in 1774:

There is an emptiness, a lightness in all public places which I dislike, & which too, I dread liking since methinks it must warp the soul take it from nobler pursuits, from the contemplation of my God, my Duty.

John Brewer has noted that these criticisms were “clichés of the day, echoed in the journals of other young women launched on the tide of the London season”. These anxieties could have stemmed from the tension between the feelings of excitement the young women may have felt in the sexually-charged world of a London season and the religious ideas, with which they had been inculcated in the private world of the

35 Caroline’s diary, 24 May, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/1, PCD.
36 John Brewer, The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century (Chicago, 2000), p. 70. Anna Margaretta Porter was the daughter of Sir James Porter, diplomat and fellow of the Royal Society who left seventeen journals of diaries and reflections. In 1782, she married John Larpent (1741-1824), the Lord Chamberlain’s Examiner of Plays.
37 Ibid., p. 71.
nursery, that conflated the rural and the domestic with virtue and the urban and the public with worldliness, temptation and sin. Vickery has also noted that the taste for rural seclusion which characterized Caroline’s formative years was also:

A nod to „otium“ the Roman ideal of intellectual leisure. Originating in the rediscovery of Horace, a cult of ostentatious solitude reached fashionable heights in the grottoes and hermitages of the mid-eighteenth century and lived on in Romantic ruralism.  

Dunraven Castle positioned on the promontory overlooking the sands of Southerdown and the Irish Sea would have corresponded perfectly to the romantic idyll. The fact that journals and diaries have, at some point, a readership cannot be ignored and Caroline’s sentiments may have been expressed to demonstrate that she was experiencing anxieties appropriate for a virtuous young woman.

Her disquiet notwithstanding Caroline spent her eighteenth birthday shopping with her mother, receiving visitors and in the evening she went to Covent Garden where a new play was performed, for the benefit of the actor Mrs Charles Kemble, called Match Making, which she „did not like much.“ The after piece was a melodrama written by James Kenney called Blind Boy, which Caroline enjoyed. The theatre, together with the opera and the pleasure gardens of Vauxhall, were the public spheres afforded by the commercialised culture of the Georgian period, which the adult Caroline was now able to access. An examination of her diary entries for one week in this period gives an indication of her social activities during her first season in London. On Sunday, 12 June 1808, she went to church in the morning and then after lunch went to Kensington Gardens. In the evening the Wyndhams dined and danced at the home of Caroline’s cousin, Bel, as she had „come of age“. On Monday morning the Wyndhams went to a concert „for the benefit of Miss B . . . a most wonderful child of nine years old who plays most wonderfully“. In the afternoon they had a party to dinner after which they went to Covent Garden and then to the Argyle rooms for a concert. Tuesday began with shopping then after dinner the family went to the play The Mysterious Bride, returned home to dress for „Mrs Hamilton’s masqued ball which we went to along twelve and where I was delighted“

39 Caroline’s diary, 24 May, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E2/1/10-13, PCD. This play was a comedy and Marie Therese DeCamp Kemble is attributed as being the playwright. Marie Therese DeCamp (1775-1836) was married to the actor Charles Kemble and was the mother of Fanny Kemble.
40 Ibid.
and from where they did not return until "about 5". Their servants, unmentioned in Caroline’s journals would, of course, have had to wait up for their employer’s return home. The following day, "passed as usual" and at midnight the Wyndhams went to Lady Scott’s ball returning home at six o’clock in the morning. On Thursday, the family rose late and after going to see Buckingham house they remained at home with a few friends. Friday morning was spent shopping, the family dined at five o’clock before going to a play and returned home for supper before going to Vauxhall until three o’clock in the morning. Caroline had a harp lesson from Dizi at three o’clock on Saturday, at six the family joined a large dinner party at Mrs Elliot’s and on leaving proceeded to go on to the opera. On Sunday 19 June she accompanied her grandmother to Baker Street Chapel and spent the rest of the day visiting and at home.

An examination of the activities of this one week reveals that Caroline was moving in the public circles of the "overtly commercial high culture which characterised Georgian society".\(^{41}\) She saw female actors such as Marie Therese DeCamp Kemble and her sister-in-law, the patriotic and respectable, Mrs Siddons and she would probably have been familiar with the works of women dramatists such as Joanna Baillie who had, as Porter stated, "won their spurs in public culture".\(^{42}\) Caroline, coming out in 1808, was still able to enjoy the very public places of entertainment that characterised eighteenth-century London, but when the time came for her own daughter’s début into society nearly twenty-five years later the number of public places suitable for respectable families had declined.\(^{43}\) As well as attending the theatres, operas, assembly rooms and pleasure gardens, all places that corresponded, at least to a certain degree, with the concept of the public being a space open to all, she was also part of the social exchanges that took place in the homes of the élite. Vickery has pointed out that this sociability "resists the categories of public and private, for its very function is to integrate the two" and referred to the work of Dallet Hemphill who described the social sphere in ante-bellum America as "an intermediate sphere between the public and private worlds. The social sphere was an important arena for intermingling between the sexes . . . It was in some ways a female sphere,

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\(^{41}\) Vickery, *Gentleman’s daughter*, p. 225.
\(^{42}\) John Brewer noted that Sarah Siddons "assiduously cultivated her appearance of patriotic respectability" and "succeeded as well as any actress during the century in overcoming the presumption that every female player was at heart a whore". John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination*, p. 346. Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the creation of the modern world* (London, 2000), p. 327.
\(^{43}\) Davidoff, *The best circles*, p. 47.
but it was neither private nor domestic”. The function of this social sphere, often policed by women, was to preserve the aristocratic system; in other words, it acted as a semi-permeable barrier through which only people deemed to be socially fit could enter and join society. It was, therefore, an extremely important space for the choice of suitable partners for the young men and women. However, it would not be correct to deny that this social sphere also provided a space for relationships and friendships that were necessary for the healthy emotional lives of the participants. As these participants belonged to the class with whom political control resided the social sphere also conformed to Habermas’s public sphere as it was frequently in these spaces that public opinion was formed.

In 1808, therefore, Caroline gained access to the heterosocial and public world of society and to the social sphere because she was now deemed to be an adult. The necessary rite of passage for a young man or woman of her class was a presentation to the monarch. She noted that the occasion was „regarded in the fashionable world like the public entrée into Life”. On 4 June 1808, King George III’s birthday, Caroline was presented to Queen Charlotte by her sponsor, Lady Amherst. The court was regarded as the greatest house amongst the aristocracy and access required a personal introduction by a sponsor who was someone, not necessarily a relative, who was already accepted within the royal circle. She recounted the day in a somewhat matter of fact manner in her diary:

…between twelve and one I went down in a chair to Lord Amherst’s, and a short time afterwards, we proceeded with Lady Amherst and Lady Maria Windsor her daughter down to the Palace, the fatigue of dressing & the fright altogether made me feel extremely confused. However when I got into the room Lady A was so kind and attentive and I soon recovered … about two or three hours we at last got up to her Majesty, who was very gracious to me, the Princesses then came up to me and I conversed some time with Princess Elizabeth – at last we left the Royal Family and went into the outer room where we conversed with all our friends, till at last I was so completely overcome that I fainted away, which was most extremely disagreeable to me, but by the kind assistance of all surrounding company I was soon restored to my senses and left the Palace between 5 & 6.

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44 Vickery, Gentleman’s daughter, p. 196.
45 Caroline’s diary, 4 June, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/1/8, PCD.
46 Lady Amherst was originally the Honourable Sarah Archer whose first marriage was to Other Hickman Windsor, 5th earl of Plymouth. Her second husband was Sir William Pitt Amherst who was created Earl Amherst, of Arracan in the East Indies, and Viscount Holmesdale, in the County of Kent in 1826. Her daughter Lady Maria Windsor was the same age as Caroline and was subsequently to marry the third marquis of Downshire.
48 Caroline’s diary, 4 June, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/1/8, PCD.
Caroline with her senses restored was now formally launched into her first season, and onto the marriage market.

It was not long before tentative negotiations were being put forward by the father of one of the young "beaux" who was beginning to merit a regular mention in Caroline’s diary. The young man in question was James Lindsay, the eldest son of the earl of Balcarres whose sister Lady Hardwicke and her husband, Lord Hardwicke were friends of her grandmother. Lord Balcarres made his first approach through his friend Mrs Edwin and on 24 June 1808 Caroline noted in her diary:

This morning [24 June 1808] Lord Balcarres called on Grandmama, and had a long conversation with her, which I once might have considered as the happiest of my life, indeed did I consult my own heart, I might confess, that even now it is not perfectly indifferent.

This would have been a most advantageous match for the Wyndhams but Caroline, although she did not dislike Lindsay, was not totally enthusiastic. It is more than likely that Caroline was attracted to another young gentleman, a Mr Windham Quin, the twenty-six year old eldest son of the Irish Baron Adare of Adare, county Limerick, Valentine Quin. It is impossible to be definite about this from her writing as she was always very circumspect. Windham, however, wrote a letter to his father in 1810, the year that he and Caroline eventually married in which it is clear that he had commenced a courtship with her in 1808 but had desisted:

I continued the pursuit [of Caroline] in 18[08], because I did like the girl, and you were so convinced of it that you joked me for being over head and ears in love for her. I contradicted that. I was not what is called in love. I discontinued, because ambition mastered the liking, as I thought I might form a great match perhaps, where fortune would be present. I resumed, because as I told you, I know no person who is a fit match for me whom I think more amiable and hold so high . . . [and because], if I did not take this opportunity, I might long wait for another. I suppose it was reflection, and not suddenly conceived fancy, led me to this conclusion, for I had not seen [her] for nine months.

Windham’s father had raised the family from commoners to aristocrats but the process of obtaining higher social status has always tended to be expensive and the Adare estate was in debt by the time his eldest son was ready to look for a wife. Windham’s search was unashamedly driven by the need to find a wife with money,

49 Lord Hardwicke was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1801-06) and therefore the first post-Act of Union Viceroy. He was sympathetic to Catholic grievances and supported Catholic emancipation. D. J. Hickey and J. E. Doherty, A new dictionary of Irish history from 1800 (Dublin, 2003), p. 197.
50 ULSC, D/3196/E2/1/15, PCD.
51 Hon. Windham Quin to 1st Lord Adare, 6 March 1810, ULSC, D/3196/B/1, papers of the 1st earl of Dunraven.
indeed Anthony Malcomson’s recent edition on aristocratic marriage in Ireland, 1740-1840, concluded with his use of Windham Quin as the exception to prove his thesis that the aristocratic Irish males of this period did not deliberately pursue marriage with heiresses.\textsuperscript{52}

Caroline’s diary entries, if not explicit, do indicate that she was very upset at this time. On 14 July 1808, her cousin, Arabella Charlotte Bucknall (Bel), married Colonel Thomas Hanmer in Mary le Bone church and both Caroline and her mother were bridesmaids.\textsuperscript{53} Bel would appear to have been an orphan as Caroline’s father gave her away, and there is no mention in her diary of Bel’s mother. After the wedding, the Wyndham family, following the bridal pair, set off on a tour to Tunbridge Wells and Caroline gave the impression that she was missing someone in London.\textsuperscript{54} On the first night of the family’s return to London she was lying in bed with her mind so worked up:

that the very watchman made me shudder I should be ashamed may tremble to put to paper any of the ideas that passed in my mind in that time, but perhaps at a future period, it might be a comfort to me to see that I could so well command my feelings when they were so dreadfully agitated as they were that evening, though I shall sufficiently understand by what I have already said that neither my heart or my mind were in a very tranquil state. The idea of missing the Swansea races I do not doubt was one of the causes which, overcome me so dreadfully, that indeed was a disappointment too severe to be described, my hope of renewing what absence had apparently put a stop to, had a long time made one most happy. Prudence desired me not to go, and for various reasons I was prevented – in a more rational and future period how sincerely may I rejoice that it happened so and that may be added to the numerous blessings for which I have daily reason to thank my maker, nothing but my own unworthiness prevents me from being perfectly happy and I trust I may improve as I grow older, and make myself more acceptable to God and man.\textsuperscript{55}

In her annual reflection for the year 1808 Caroline referred to her „error”, again perhaps a sign of what she then thought of as an unappropriate attachment:

my error were the fruit of imprudence not of wickedness, & are there no allowance to be made for a weak girl of eighteen launched into everything at once …what would have become of me had it not been for the vigilance of my dearest mother, whose constant attention was awakened to deliver me from all the difficulties my imprudence betrayed me into – to myself will I confess that though my contempt &

\textsuperscript{52} A.P. W. Malcomson, \textit{The pursuit of an heiress: aristocratic marriage in Ireland, 1740-1840} (Belfast, 2006), p. 246.
\textsuperscript{53} Bel’s father was Thomas Shapp Dyott Bucknall and her mother was a Jane Wyndham.
\textsuperscript{54} Caroline’s diary, 14 July, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/2/9, PCD. Tunbridge Wells was one of the towns in nineteenth-century England that the landed and wealthy visited, to see and to be seen. A. B. Granville wrote in 1841 that „With little of [money and health] in his possession, let no man attempt Tunbridge Wells”. A. B. Granville, M.D., FRS., \textit{Spas of England and sea-bathing places. Vol. 2, the Midlands and South} (Bath, 1971, first edition 1841), p. 620.
\textsuperscript{55} Caroline’s diary, 7 August, 1808, ULSC, D3196/E2/2A/28-33, PCD.
dislike to flirting misses was very great I was several times nearly becoming one myself.\textsuperscript{56}

Jessica Gerrard has noted that for young women, “[i]n the marriage market, where an untarnished reputation was essential, these unsophisticated, ignorant and innocent teenagers could easily commit social blunders, or find themselves in compromising situations”.\textsuperscript{57} Caroline may have been close to publicly revealing her attraction for Windham, which may not have been such an error had he not rejected her. Her mother, heedful of her daughter’s reputation, had obviously intervened.

The following year, 1809, Lord Balcarres made another attempt to arrange his son’s and Caroline’s marriage, again initially through Mrs Edwin. However, her grandmother this time replied in a letter:

knowing Mr and Mrs Wyndham’s disposition, who do not like interference, I wish any application to come from yourself to them. I am sure it would be better taken, and I beg that you will not notice your having written to me on the subject. They and our precious girl are at Swansea, the races being this week … \textsuperscript{58}

Caroline subsequently noted that her father had received a letter, “which gave us much occupation we spent this & the following in answering it – otherwise our usual pastimes were resorted to”.\textsuperscript{59} Any enthusiasm she may have had for this match would seem to have disappeared. Considering James Lindsay’s eligibility the fact that there was no forthcoming engagement is an indication that her parents considered her opinions regarding a possible future husband.\textsuperscript{60} This corresponds to Lawrence Stone’s theory that, by the eighteenth century, arranged marriages were declining due to the rise of affective individualism and that

mate selection was determined more by free choice than by parental decision and was based as much on expectations of lasting mutual affection as on calculations of an increase in money, status or power.\textsuperscript{61}

Vickery, however, was suspicious of this “entrenched argument” as it ignored courtship practices in the early modern period and quoted Pollock’s observation that it

\textsuperscript{56} Caroline’s reflections, 1809, ULSC, D3196/E/1/2, PCD.
\textsuperscript{58} Mrs Edwin to earl of Balcarres, 20 July, 1809, ULSC, D3196/D/2/58, DCWF.
\textsuperscript{59} Caroline’s diary, 24 July, 1809, ULSC, D/3196, E/2/5B, PCD.
\textsuperscript{60} James Lindsay eventually married Maria Margaret Frances Pennington the only surviving child of the first Lord Muncaster. Lindsay succeeded his father and became the seventh earl of Balcarres and the twenty-fourth earl of Crawford. He and his wife had four sons.
is uncoerced consent which lies at the heart of our marital system not unconstrained choice".62 Judith Schneid Lewis also noted that the „apparent dichotomy between the arranged and the romantic marriage is a false one. At best, these are ideal types, and most marriages fell between the two extremes."63 It would have been surprising if Caroline”s parents, considering her position as heir, had given her the „free choice” to which Stone referred and it was more likely that they conformed to Pollock”s system.

Caroline remained unmarried when her first London season came to an end in August 1808 when the fashionable and wealthy left the city for their country houses. The summer heat in the city could be oppressive and unhealthy and the Wyndhams joined the exodus to the country. However, one member of the entourage was not returning to Dunraven, as Caroline was now an adult the services of her governess, Miss Weymer, were no longer required. She recorded on 13 August that her mother had decided to leave London that night:

I went upstairs in my dear dressing room to pack up my trinket box, while I was thus employed – my much loved Miss Weymer returned from shopping, when I saw her I thought my heart would have broken. She remained some time with me, Mama called her away for a few moments, when she returned I was more wretched than ever. I cried not for anything but losing her, even leaving Queen Anne Street which otherwise would have nearly broken my heart, appeared like nothing in comparison, after closely embracing her for a few minutes, & almost drowning her with my tears, she left the room. I little thought that was my final love, Mama however called from downstairs, which I descended & shortly after stepped into the carriage with the most apparent composure. It drove off shortly & took me from the house containing my beloved friend. The constant companion for the 6 last years of my life, at the very time when friendship glows the warmest – my feelings the whole way I should endeavour verily to describe, I commanded them so completely that I conversed with Mama with whom I was alone in the chaise on indifferent subjects, with some degree of cheerfulness, when we arrived at Salt Hill … after supper when I began to write to Miss Weymer & considered that pen, ink was the only method now left me for making known my sentiments to this friend of my heart, from whom few thoughts were reserved, I burst into tears, which continued bathing my paper during the whole time of my letter I endeavoured ineffectually to keep this proof of my affection from my mother whom I evidently saw was displeased by it, & I went to bed dissatisfied with myself and the whole world.64

62 Vickery, Gentleman”s daughter, p.41. L. A. Pollock, „„An action like stratagem”: courtship and marriage from the middle ages to the twentieth century” in History Journal, 30 (1987), p. 492 quoted in Vickery p. 44.
64 Caroline”s diary, 13 August, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E2/2/9-10, PCD. The Wyndhams spent two days in Cheltenham on their way to Dunraven. They socialised with Lady Dalrymple Hamilton and Lady Carleton. This latter could have been the wife of Hugh Carleton, first Viscount Carleton of Clare, county Tipperary.
Gerard has stated that the primary attachment of children was not to their nurses or governesses but to their parents. However, Caroline’s distress is understandable as Miss Weymer’s constant companionship throughout her sheltered and semi-private adolescence, those “waiting years”, would have led to a close relationship. Her mother’s displeasure occasioned by Caroline’s obvious attachment to another woman could have been caused by jealousy or disapproval of her visible display of affection for someone of a lower class. On her return to Dunraven, after an absence of four months, she noted that it is impossible to describe the various emotions which swell one’s bosom, on the return to a place where happiness has ever reigned undisturbed – and yet the idea of retracing those haunts which Miss Weymer and I ever frequented together, made me so wretched that I could hardly keep up my spirits, but let me not describe the various sentiments that filled my bosom they are too numerous too silly & too romantic to be put to paper, I must only make one remark that great as my sorrow might be in lamenting Miss Weymer that was not the only emotion that made me so low.

It is clear that Caroline had been influenced by romantic ideas of sensibility and female friendship but the above extract would indicate that it was unlikely she had overwhelming romantic feelings for her governess. After a week she no longer complained in her diary of missing Miss Weymer although she did continue to write to her, perhaps Caroline’s distress like much youthful anguish was real but transient. By 27 August, two weeks after she left London, Caroline was able to write in her diary that „it is impossible to express how happy I am or how delightfully I pass my time“.

Caroline happily passed her time in the country by engaging in a number of different activities. She regularly walked, the sandy beach near Dunraven was a favourite destination and she probably had the freedom of not needing a chaperon in the country. When inside she drew, read and „studied”, received and wrote letters and did a great deal of „cutting out” for the decoration of her new bedroom. She practised on the harp and had singing lessons from Mrs Bianchi who would also sometimes entertain the Wyndhams and their guests. Mrs Bianchi lent Caroline a

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66 Caroline’s diary, 18 August, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/2B/6, PCD.
67 Caroline’s diary, 27 August, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/2B/11, PCD.
68 It was fashionable to cut out favourite prints and decorative borders and stick them on walls or screens. An early example of this form of decoration can be seen in the Print Room in Castletown House, Kildare, the decoration of which is attributed to Lady Louisa Conolly.
69 Mrs Bianchi Lacey was the widow and former pupil of the Italian composer Francesco Bianchi. Rosselli, John, singers of Italian opera: the history of a profession (Cambridge, 1992), p. 106.
history of Russia written in Italian, which she started to read at the end of the summer of 1808. However, when she noted in January 1809 that she intended to „study hard“ in the days before the family once more travelled to London, she referred to her intention to study the scriptures and religious tracts before coming in contact with the temptations of London. When Caroline returned again to Dunraven after her second London season she described in her diary her pleasure at being back in Wales:

We spent the whole day wandering over the place & arranging our little matters after dinner we went into the walks & found it so delightful that we could not come to tea, & having it brought here to us we enjoyed the evening most exceedingly – The setting sun, had left no vestige of its former glory but the heavenly purple glow which covered the distant mountains but in my return my favourite moon, casting its livid rays on the silvered waves, appeared more divine than anything I ever witnesses, when sitting at the feet of my dear mother and grandmother contemplating the beauties of this lovely scene surrounded by rocks trees, I could not resist contrasting the manner in which I had spent my time that very hour last Saturday in the most conspicuous part of the opera house, surrounded by sycophants in the midst of thousands, I thought, & as I thought congratulated myself on the change of scene.

Young people, both male and female, in such an overt marriage market could not but be aware of being objects under a sexual gaze. However, life in the country whilst not being quite so crowded or frenetic was not, by any means, one of social seclusion.

The landed gentry formed a social network based on wealth and status and they tended to be a peripatetic class. Caroline noted in her diary a continuous stream of visitors to Dunraven, some staying for no more than a night, others staying for weeks, and the Wyndhams’ visits to other country houses. It was not unusual for hostesses to arrange private balls but it would appear from the following extract from a letter from Caroline, dated 28 October 1808, to her grandmother that Mr Wyndham, perhaps because of financial concerns or because of his persistent gout was not unduly keen to have them at Dunraven:

…If Mama had not written to you the beginning of this week I should have done so to thank you for your kind letters which always give me very great pleasure she has a very bad cold in her head, I am just recovering from the same, the weather here has been very likely to give cold, constant cold winds and rain, we have not been able to put our noses out of doors for more than a fortnight, which I regret particularly as there is not a lady in the house rather a singular circumstance I think – there are plenty of beaus however among others the Mr Morriss, Mr R. Jones, the Major & Mr Hancome & Mr Richards – the Cowbridge Assembly is next Thursday we hope it will

http://books.google.ie [accessed 15/04/2008].
70 Caroline’s diary, 27 August, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/E2/2B/11, PCD.
71 Caroline’s diary, 25 January, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/3/27, PCD. Caroline’s father was a member of parliament and as Davidoff stated „The leading families of the counties made the annual pilgrimage to London to attend the “greatest club of all”, Parliament”. Davidoff, The best circles, p. 21.
72 Caroline’s diary, 24 June, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5/B, PCD.
be a good one, Mama intends also having a little dance on the 9th she seldom passes
her birthday without one, as that is almost the only day in the year that Papa does not
make some objection.\footnote{Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 28 October, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/48, DCWF}

Not all social events were held in the semi-private spaces of the big houses, public
venues such as the Cowbridge assembly were still popular with the élite at the
beginning of the century and allowed them to bond together. Vickery has noted that
in the eighteenth century, provincial cities and towns had, in effect, their own winter
season with assemblies and plays and this was still certainly the case in Glamorgan at
the beginning of the nineteenth century.\footnote{Vickery, \textit{Gentleman’s daughter}, p. 261.}
In shire towns, such as Swansea and Cardiff, a mini-season accompanied the assize week, or even the quarter sessions, and
horse races.

The fifth earl of Dunraven described his antecedent, Thomas Wyndham, as a
„squire of the old school“ for whom sport was a „ruling passion“, which served as
another tie linking his social circle.\footnote{Earl of Dunraven, \textit{Dunraven Castle, Glamorgan: some notes on its history and associations}
(London, 1926), pp 42-3.} Caroline‟s father kept the hounds for the local foxhunt, shot and enjoyed horse races. Some women did hunt but as Vickery stated
„hunting had long been the proverbial expression of masculine competition and
camaraderie“.\footnote{Vickery, \textit{Gentlemans’ daughter}, p. 274.} Indeed, it formed part of the performance that constructed élite
masculinity. However, the sporting activities were often accompanied by heterosocial
events such as the hunt ball, and the public breakfasts, dances and balls that took
place during race meetings. Philip Jenkins has noted that as the Glamorgan gentry
became more metropolitan it was only by pursuing racing and hunting that they could
emphasise their „country“ identity and hunting especially was an essential part of the
culture, ethos and identity of landed society. Nicola Drucker observed that the
gentry perceived leisure as attitude, a concept which goes back to Greek society
where strength in arts, sports, discourse, military endeavours and political action was
aspired to. Apart from their individual satisfaction, this privileged male class
considered leisure to be a public good.\footnote{Nicola Drucker, „Hunting and shooting: leisure, social networking and social complications” in

A family‟s identification with the country and the county also had political
connotations as these families, albeit with exceptions, tended to be Tories.\footnote{Philip Jenkins, \textit{The making of a ruling class}, p. 266.}
households were also associated with the "open hearted benevolence combined with the boundless hospitality", which Thomas Wyndham’s descendant stated "always reigned at Dunraven".  

Ironically Jenkins argued that as the Glamorgan gentry began to look more to London than Cardiff, the antiquarian revival of the Romantic age made Welsh culture "social and political assets under George III". Now that Britain’s Celtic fringe was no longer a political threat, the idealised neo-pagan Celt became fashionable in literature and art and tourists sought out Celtic and medieval antiquities. Wales also had the necessary landscape for the aesthetic tourist as Romantic ideas of nature privileged the rugged and the bleak and idealised those areas of the countryside that could be imagined untouched by man and industry. Edmund Burke had extolled these ideas in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* which had been published in 1757 and William Gilpin had theorized "the very essence of the Picturesque creed" in the 1780s. Brewer has observed that the cult of nature was strongly patriotic and even regional and has also suggested that the enduring association of Englishness, and then Britain, with the landscape had its beginnings in the eighteenth century. However, Porter highlighted what he referred to as "aesthetic disorientation" which occurred when scenes of romantic countryside were juxtaposed with the intrusion of heavy industry. This juxtaposition is evident in Caroline’s account of her and her mother’s tour to north Wales in the autumn of 1809.

Caroline and her mother left Dunraven on 27 September 1809 to tour north Wales and on the journey planned to stay with Bel and Colonel Hanmer, who lived in Hardwicke near Shrewsbury in Shropshire. They first travelled to Cardiff and from there they continued their journey to Merthyr Tydfil:

The ride from Cardiff to Merthyr Tydfil is most beautiful, the banks of the Taafe, by which we went the whole way affords scenery both picturesque & romantic, we hopt to see the New Bridge built by a common mason of Glamorgan which is composed entirely of one arch, the longest & most beautiful nearly in England.

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84 Caroline’s diary, 28 September, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5/A, PCD.
The bridge Caroline hoped to see is the New Bridge in Pontypridd, which was once the largest single span stone bridge in Europe and the „common mason” was William Edwards. Having passed through the „picturesque” and „romantic” countryside, Merthyr Tydfil would have presented quite a contrast. The Napoleonic war had increased the demand for canon iron and the London merchant, Richard Crawshay, interested in making money from the British Admiralty contracts had joined the naval contractor and fellow London merchant, Anthony Bacon, who had earlier set up the Cyfartha iron works in Merthyr Tydfil in 1765. \(^{85}\) Crawshay introduced Cort’s puddling and rolling process, patented in 1783 and 1784, which made the production of pig-iron simpler and improved the end product so that „British iron, so long an unreliable product could be as satisfactory as foreign iron” and thus made Merthyr Tydfil one of Europe’s largest iron producing towns. \(^{86}\) Caroline and her mother called on Mr Crawshay and

saw his great wheel, considered the largest in England, the Diameter 50 feet the Circumference consequently 150 – we then visited the steam Engines, & then saw the process of iron in Mr Hill’s works from beginning till end, & saw all the different wheels . . . we admired everything extremely. \(^{87}\)

Merthyr Tydfil’s iron industry made it a source of employment and many workers flocked there making it the most populous Welsh town in the early nineteenth century. Caroline made no mention in her diary of the number of workers or of their squalid living conditions nor did she demonstrate any feelings of disorientation and seemed to view this site of modern industrialisation in a positive light.

The Wyndham party left Merthyr Tydfil and travelled through Brecon, where they saw the sights in the company of Sir Charles Morgan and his two sons, and then carried on into Hereford before reaching Shropshire and the Hanmers on Thursday 5 October. On the following Tuesday, Caroline and her mother, accompanied by a male relative of the Hanmers, went to Shrewsbury to shop and „see the beauties of the place”:

we were particularly pleased with the public walk of the town, & where all the inhabitants walk of a Sunday etc – it is a fine broad gravel walk shaded on each side by some very high lime trees, & extends along the banks of the Severn, which nearly encircles the town – the principal objects from it are a beautiful new stone church, built in a circular form, & the workhouse which is a handsome building on the tops of a hill on the other side of the river, which is well contrived, as it prevents all vagrants


\(^{87}\) Caroline’s diary, 29 September, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5/A, PCD.
from frequenting the town, & their provisions are carried to them, by means of a ferry which is not allowed to convey them over. There are many gentlemen’s houses at Shrewsbury, being a place of great trade & there are some cotton & woollen manufactures.\textsuperscript{88}

Workhouses such as this one in Shrewsbury were built before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and were the responsibility of the parish but this responsibility was often farmed out to a contractor for a fixed fee.\textsuperscript{89} It would appear that Caroline, in common with many people then and now, believed that the destitute should not be permitted to mix with the better off lest they harass them by begging or, perhaps, generally discomfit them by their public presence.

The next day the party went to Hawkestone, the seat of Sir John Hill, which was „a masterpiece of the School of Naturalistic landscape”, a „Gothic fantasy land”.\textsuperscript{90} It contained the requisite woods, rocks, ruins, grottos and caverns and also „a man attired as one of the ancient Druids who offers incense, & acts his part admirably” and „an imitation of a lion”s den which has a great effect”. In the following days, Caroline and her mother visited Bel”s father-in-law, Sir Thomas Hanmer of Bettisfield Park, which is situated on the Welsh border with Shropshire and then travelled to Wrexham where, in the church, she admired the statue of a Lady Middleton for „the beauty of the Lady”s attitude, & the religious hope depicted in her countenance”.\textsuperscript{91} From Wrexham, the party went to Llangollen where they visited Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby,

so celebrated for their retirement, in this vale & commonly called the Ladies of Langollen, & anything so beautiful as their cottage & grounds I never yet saw – every thing is on a small scale, but done with so much taste that they quite enchanted me – they were extremely civil & attentive to us, & after shewing us all the curiosities of which their cottage is replete, we walked with them in their grounds, which show the most beautiful parts of the Vale, & yet are so retired that not a house is to be seen from them they have built seven small buildings which at once combine rusticity convenience, & elegance, in each there is a small [?] for books of which they love an admirable collection – a small meandering stream a tributary of the Dee winds through their grounds which are beautifully wooded romance seems to breath in every leaf I never was so enchanted with any thing in my life – what would I give to become more acquainted with these charming recluses, their sense, their sprightliness,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[88] Caroline”s diary, 10 October, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5A, PCD.
\item[90] Both of these quotations come from the Hawkstone web page. www.hawkstone.co.uk/about/history.html. (Accessed 26/01/2007). Hawkstone opened again as a park in 1993.
\item[91] Caroline”s diary, 18 October, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5A, PCD.
\end{footnotes}
& their enthusiasm made me admire them beyond anything I had ever seen before – they loaded Mama & I with their bounties & with great reluctance we left them.\textsuperscript{92}

The Anglo-Irish Lady Eleanor Butler (1739-1829) and Sarah Ponsonby (1755-1832), who had first attempted to escape their families in 1778 aged thirty-nine and twenty-three years respectively, had by the time Caroline visited them, become older women and almost mythical figures whose challenge to patriarchal authority had become „the paradigmatic narrative of intimate female friendship“.\textsuperscript{93} Vicinus has posited that the myth surrounding the women effectively desexualised the „lesbian“ couple and noted how they presented themselves as the perfect companionate relationship and as „models of how the refined could enjoy rural simplicity“.\textsuperscript{94} Caroline, who already felt more at ease when in the countryside and, as a result of her religious beliefs, was wary of the dissipation and temptations associated with the city, was obviously affected by the ladies’ lifestyle perhaps as it provided affirmation of her ideal.

On Caroline’s return journey to Dunraven, she and her mother visited Colebrook Dale in Shropshire and her reactions to the town are interesting when compared to those of the poet Anna Seward who visited the town about the same time. Seward, although positive about industrialisation in general was horrified at the destruction of rural Shropshire. She wrote:

\begin{quote}
O, violated COLEBROOK …
- Now we view
Their fresh, their fragrant, and their silent reign
Usurpt by Cyclops; - hear, in mingled tones,
Shout their throng’d barge, their pond’rous engines clang
Through thy coy dales; while red the countless fires,
With umber’d flames, bicker on thy hills,
Dark’ning the Summer’s sun with columns large
Of thick, sulphurous smoke.\textsuperscript{95}
\end{quote}

Caroline, on the other hand made this brief note of her visit:

we then proceeded to the Iron Bridge the first ever made of cast iron built in 1779 which crosses the Severn in the beautiful vale called Coalbrook[sic] Dale where the scenery is more grand than any I almost ever saw, this fertile spot produces the largest iron works in England, & very considerable China manufactures of which we saw the Process from beginning to end, it entertained me extremely & we spent nearly two hours there & in the China Warehouses.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{93} Martha Vicinus, \textit{Intimate friends: women who loved women, 1778-1928} (London, 2004), p. 6
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{96} Caroline’s diary, 27 October, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5A, PCD.
Whilst Caroline, as a woman of taste and intelligence, had to and was able to comment and appreciate the rural landscape she was clearly not perturbed by the encroachments of modern industry and indeed seemed to be interested and entertained by the industrial processes in both Merthyr Tydfil and Colebrook Dale. Unlike Anna Seward she did not suffer from aesthetic disorientation nor was she concerned with either the environmental or the social effects of industrialisation and might even be said to have taken a Whiggish view of the matter. The Wyndhams left Coalbrook Dale and continued on their way home, arriving back at Dunraven on 2 November 1809.

On Saturday 23 December, Caroline started a new diary with the inscription „Journal of my 3rd visit to London time I came out”, her next diary, which began on 2 June, had the heading „Continuation of the journal of the happiest days of my life, my London campaign”. Davidoff has stated that if a young woman was not at least engaged after two or three seasons she was regarded as a failure and Caroline’s use of the word „campaign” in the latter journal indicated that she was on a course of action the desired result of which was a husband. The fact that these days were the „happiest” of her life signalled that her campaign had been successful. Caroline and her mother had left Dunraven precipitously on 23 December, leaving Mr Wyndham behind suffering with gout, as Mrs Wyndham had a painful eye and wanted to consult with a Mr Phipps in London. They were staying in apartments at Reddish’s Hotel in St. James Street until they acquired a suitable house and whilst in these apartments Mrs Wyndham’s health declined and she was diagnosed with having measles. During her mother’s illness Caroline was chaperoned by Mrs Cooke and by a Mrs Jackson until eventually her grandmother joined them. By the time four weeks had elapsed Mrs Wyndham’s health was improving and they had agreed to rent a house in Portman Square from a Mrs Floyd.

97 Caroline’s diary, 23 December, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/6, PCD, Caroline’s diary, 2 June 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/7, PCD.
98 Davidoff, The best circles, p. 52. Jessica Gerrard disagreed with Davidoff and pointed out that the mean age for heirs’ wives (1815-1914) was twenty-four years, which indicated that they were out for seven or eight years. Gerrard, Country house life, p. 98.
99 This could have been the same Mrs Cooke who had once been Caroline’s nurse.
100 Portman Square lies between Gloucester Road and Baker Street just north of Oxford Street. The Wyndhams previous London houses had been in Queen Ann Street and Manchester Square both in the same vicinity as Portman Square.
Just before Caroline, her mother and grandmother moved to Portman Square on 23 January 1810 Caroline wrote in her diary „Mr Quin called, as did other members – the weather very cold, but St James’s Street quite full the house sat all night“.

This was the first indication in Caroline’s diary that Windham Quin had once again joined her social circle. Windham had not only rejoined her group of friends but he had also resumed his courtship of her and after that first entry „Mr Quin“ appears very frequently in Caroline’s diary. Indeed, he became almost a daily visitor to Portman Square, he came to frank the Wyndhams letters, he lunched, he dined and paid morning calls, they went to the opera, the theatre, they danced at balls and enjoyed musical evenings and toured the Tower of London.

Caroline visited him, at least on one occasion, when he read her „beautiful parts” from Walter Scott’s Marmion and the medieval romance, The Lay of the last Minstrel. On Saturday, 12 May, Caroline wrote:

The die is cast – the event which has so long been the subject of my friend’s & my own anxiety is decided & I have promised sooner or later to become the wife of Windham] Henry Quin […] Grant Oh [?] that thy numerous bounties may not be taken from me[ […]] Oh heaven may my choice be crowned with the happiness my Windham promises me […]

It has been suggested by Nicole Eustace that in the eighteenth century while marriage, for men, meant assuming the „mantle of master”, for young women it meant „something much different”. Thus courtship brought young women the „possibility of love and joy”, it also carried with it „anxiety and stress”. A man’s social position rose when he married and became head of a household; in effect he became recognised as an adult with power. The situation was very different for a woman, who lost all independent rights under the common law of coverture, and if she chose, or was forced to choose, unwisely she „risked bondage to misery“. Caroline was an indulged only child of affectionate parents and she was aware of the risk she was taking and the social position she could lose. The prevalent romantic discourse, which privileged individual happiness and the cult of domesticity that located

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1. Caroline’s diary, 23 January, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/6, PCD. Windham was the member of parliament for county Limerick from 1806 to 1820.
2. MPs had the benefit of not having to pay postage and as Mr Wyndham was in Wales Windham was franking Caroline’s and her mother’s letters.
3. Caroline’s reflections, 12 May, 1810, ULSC, E/1/15, PCD.
5. Vickery, Gentleman’s daughter, p. 39.
happiness in a nuclear family, together brought into focus the possibility of the alternative outcomes, which were personal unhappiness and a failed marriage. Caroline was understandably anxious, and when she hoped that she would have the happiness that Windham had promised her she demonstrated that she was also aware that the husband could turn out to be very different from the suitor.

Caroline’s father, still at Dunraven, wrote to his step-mother about Caroline’s engagement:

Many thanks my dearest mother for your kind letter expressive of your concern for my health, as well as your offer to come down, I do not mind being alone, indeed I am out little, so as my friends are good in coming [. . .] in regard to our Dear Girl, all we can hope is, that whatever happens may be conducive to her happiness, she has won my heart more by her conduct, on this occasion, than I thought it possible, in addition to my former affection, personally by every thing I have seen, & heard there is, but one objection & that is Ireland, but however we must sacrifice our own inclinations where the permanent happiness of one so dear is [?] concerned 106

And he wrote to Caroline:

My dearest Car
[. . .] Mr Quin’s letter came in due time, & I hope my answer, will give you all satisfaction as I again assure you, your happiness is the first object of my wishes, & the only thing I regret, is the distance, it is probable you will live from us, but if your happiness is concerned, we must endeavour to reconcile ourselves to it. In regards to Mr Q himself, there are few young men, whom I have so high an opinion of, by my own observation, as well, as character [. . .] I hope, if matters go on well (of which I make no doubt) that we shall see a great deal of Mr Q this summer, remember me to all friends, & I remain my dearest Car ever affectionate Father 107

Caroline’s happiness was obviously a major factor for her father and his only concern was that her future husband’s estates were in Ireland. The root of his concern seemed to be more a fear that the geographical distance would separate him from his daughter than anti-Irish sentiment. The sea crossing from Wales to Ireland, in the days before steam engines, could be long and very uncomfortable. Windham’s uncle, Lord Ilchester, made the journey in 1792 and the crossing lasted twenty-two hours while five years later his cousin Mary Talbot and her family endured a thirty-nine hour crossing. 108

106 Mr Thomas Wyndham to Mrs Edwin, 17 May, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/86, DCWF.
107 Mr Thomas Wyndham to Caroline, 21 May, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/479, PCD.
Thomas Wyndham’s reference to matters going well was likely related to the drawing up of the marriage settlement and his diary entry for 20 June noted that „Lord Adare & Lawyers, Quin and self met to arrange the marriage settlements”. In the eighteenth century, and into the early decades of the nineteenth, weddings took place as soon as the couple agreed to marry and as soon as the fathers and lawyers had drawn up the settlement. Caroline’s marriage settlement was eventually finalised in December and it will be examined in chapter three of this thesis. The time from the date a couple agreed to marry and the finalisation of the marriage settlement could be an anxious period for the future bride and this was exacerbated in Caroline’s case probably because of Windham’s previous discontinued courtship and because he was determined to spend two of the intervening months back in Ireland attending the assizes.

Before Windham left London for Ireland, Caroline was introduced to her future mother and father-in-law whose marriage had long since broken down and who lived apart. She first met his mother, Frances Muriel Strangways-Fox, who arrived at Portman Square with her sister Lady Harriet Acland shortly after Caroline’s and Windham’s engagement was announced. While Windham’s mother had left what had obviously been an unhappy marriage, his aunt Lady Harriet was a woman celebrated for her heroism and loyalty to her husband. John Dyke Acland was a major in the Twentieth Foot and in 1776 he was ordered to join General Burgoyne in Canada where his troops were part of the effort to keep the Americans from taking over the colony. Harriet, leaving her two-week old daughter behind insisted on going with him, bringing with her a maid, a dog and a cow. On 7 October, 1777, Acland was wounded and taken prisoner by the Americans at the second battle of Saratoga and Lady Harriet on hearing the news, and despite being several months pregnant, commandeered an open boat and crossed the Hudson river, accompanied by her maid, a chaplain and Acland’s valet, in order to be with him and to nurse him. The American General allowed her to stay and when John Acland was well enough to travel, he and his party were exchanged for British prisoners held by the Americans. Lady Acland gave birth to a son on her voyage back to England. Her boat journey

109 Thomas Wyndham’s diary, 20 June, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/D/1/19, DCWF.
111 According to Joanna Martin this cow eventually returned to England with Lady Acland and lived to a very old age. Martin, Wives and daughters, p. 325.
across the Hudson was immortalised in the painting by Robert Pollard, which was published in the 1780s and which captured the public’s imagination.\textsuperscript{112} Luckily Caroline seemed to like both Lady Acland and Lady Adare and when she was later introduced to Windham’s father, Caroline noted that he „was kinder to me than I could expect, & by his kindness, even more than by his presents he made me the happiest of women“\textsuperscript{113}

Windham left London on 24 June and duly returned to Caroline, now at Dunraven, on 27 August. During his absence the relationship was conducted by letter and as Ellen Rothman has observed when people are apart „letters are more than the artefacts of a relationship; in many cases they were, for a time, the relationship itself“.\textsuperscript{114} The only letters held in the collection, however, are those from Windham to Caroline a fact that corresponds with Eustace’s finding that „many love letters from young men to young women and their families survive, while hardly any exist from young women to the men who courted them“.\textsuperscript{115} Eustace’s thesis was that, in many ways the rhetoric of romance allowed young men to „appear to negotiate with women merely for love“ and that „expressions of love oiled the ongoing negotiations of power that accompanied courtship and helped to conceal the continuing impact of courtship on economic and community status“.\textsuperscript{116} Windham certainly was able to use both Romantic prose and poetry to conduct his courtship. Caroline kept, together with his letters, this poem that was written before their engagement

\begin{center}

\begin{flushright}
To Miss Wyndham
Saturday March ten
The freshest flowers of early spring,
When call’d for [?] hair,
Varily their choicest odours fling,
In envy of the fair
For ye gay flow’rs that paint the spring,
And breathe the perfum’d air,
A thousand charms & sweets ye bring,
But sweeter is my fair –
\end{flushright}
\end{center}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{113} Caroline’s diary, 9 June, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/7, PCD.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p. 518.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., p. 537.
\end{flushleft}
Was not the rose of snow designed
A model for her spotless mind,
So pure & sweetly fair?

Is not the blush that softly glows
Upon this mild, & modest rose,
Her diffidence that mantles there?

Not Persian vales can yield a rose,
That decked in bashful beauty blows,
So sweetly as my fair –

Whose spotless mind am I to trace,
What blest expression, & whose grace?

Around, around, the world look round,
None so engaging & so good is found.

A form so fair,
A mind so sweet,
Perfections rare,
In her we meet

Sense, truth, & goodness, jointly shine
And form the fair, & faultless Caroline

Throughout the letters, written when he was in Ireland, he assured Caroline that he was sincere, that he missed her and that he was looking forward to being at Dunraven. In this manner these words of affection in Windham’s letters conformed to what William Reddy has termed „emotives”, which are speech acts that are both self-exploring and self-altering. In his letters Windham expressed his feelings as deep affection for Caroline and the positive feedback that these expressions generated reinforced this interpretation. Despite an indifferent start to his relationship with Caroline, Windham’s feelings of affection and love for her continued to grow as can be seen in later chapters.

Windham’s letters also provide a glimpse of the ideal nineteenth-century upper-class masculine performance, for example when he wrote about his younger brother, Richard. Richard had recently gone to Portugal to fight in the Peninsular War and Windham hoped that his younger sibling would live up to the ideal of Romantic masculinity:

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117 Windham to Caroline, 10 March, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/6, PCD.
Windham also continuously asked Caroline for information about her activities and her health and at one stage was worried as Mrs Wyndham had told him she was „nervous“;

> Mrs Wyndham says you are nervous I am very sorry to hear it. nerves are a sad complaint and very painful to bear. they are very treacherous and steal one. don’t give way to them pray don’t. and then I am a little selfish, for you cannot be sick or ill without my feeling a part of your complaint. My ideas and manners grow tolerably rusty in the country but my heart continues unabated, as truly and tenderly yours as before . . . 120

Caroline may have been nervous on account of the ongoing negotiations regarding the marriage settlement and Windham’s absence or it may merely have been Mrs Wyndham’s attempt to hurry his departure from Ireland.

Windham finally left Ireland, and arrived at Dunraven on 27 August. Gerard noted that „romance blossomed more easily in the country, where young people could ride, drive, and even walk unchaperoned“ and Caroline and Windham benefited from this relative freedom by spending a considerable amount of time riding around the countryside either by themselves or with male friends. 121 Windham had been insistent in his letters from Ireland that Caroline obtain a suitable horse and riding clothes, a request she clearly complied with. As she needed to acquire a horse this could indicate that she had not previously been interested in riding and she was now doing it to please her future husband. Alternatively, horse riding represented a new freedom for Caroline, which she had gained by her altered social position. Her parents no longer had to guard her reputation or her chastity in order to maintain her marriageable status and thus her ability to access different spaces, private and public, changed once again.

Caroline’s father and Windham left for London at the end of November to attend parliament and to finalise negotiations relating to the marriage settlement. On Sunday, 23 December, letters arrived at Dunraven announcing that both men would be returning within two days, the marriage settlement had been agreed and the wedding date set for Thursday, 27 December. Caroline, a young woman of twenty

119 Windham to Caroline, 5 July, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/14, PCD.
120 Windham to Caroline, [undated], ULSC, D/3196/E/3/16, PCD.
years was soon to set off to start her life as a wife to an Irish gentleman. As a child she had been loved and indulged by both her parents and carers and had grown up to be a religious young woman not untouched by the prevalent discourses of Romance and domesticity. However, the effects of these discourses were refreshingly tempered with a matter-of-fact, no nonsense attitude as was evidenced in her description of her wedding, which is detailed in the next chapter. Her future life would necessitate that she live for many years in Ireland, a country for which she was, perhaps, unprepared as her early writing revealed neither an interest in politics nor any indication that she was capable of any degree of social analysis.
Chapter three

Mrs Quin (1810-14): the marriage settlement and married life

As mentioned in chapter one, Anthony Malcomson’s recent edition on aristocratic marriage in Ireland, 1740-1840, concluded with his use of Windham Quin as the exception to prove his thesis that the aristocratic Irish males of this period did not deliberately pursue marriage with heiresses.¹ Malcomson’s earlier work had provided a workable definition of an heiress, she was „a bride who brought with her assets which outweighed any return which her husband”s family was obliged to make” and he subsequently deduced that as contemporary suitors were aware that this happy circumstance seldom manifested their more sensible aim was „a marriage of affection”.² Windham, therefore, having failed to find a „great match . . . where the fortune would be present” continued, with Caroline”s obvious encouragement, a courtship that was to culminate in an enduring marriage of affection.³ The courtship has been discussed in the previous chapter and this chapter will now begin with an examination of the contents of the marriage settlement, which was drawn up by the respective families thus enabling the marriage to take place.

The marriage settlement

After perpetuities were outlawed in 1614 the strict settlement, under the law of equity, became the legal method for the intergenerational transfer of property. Historians of both women and the family have debated how this form of settlement affected women”s position within the familial hierarchy and the long term effects of marriage settlements on the power of the landed classes. A marriage settlement was a pre-nuptial agreement, which was usually negotiated by the fathers of the prospective bride and groom, together with their legal advisors, in the period between the engagement and the wedding and which took effect from the date of the marriage. The key and necessary aspect of the marriage settlement, as a form of strict

² Ibid., p. 246.
³ Hon. Windham Quin to 1st Lord Adare, 6 March, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/B/1, Papers of the 1st earl of Dunraven.
settlement, was that the estate was vested in trustees who preserved the contingent remainders and who were, in fact, the legal owners of the estate. The beneficial owners were the members of the family for whose benefit the trustees held the estate. The bride and the groom had separate legal documents relating to the property that they brought to the marriage and they sometimes further safeguarded their interests by having different trustees. It was usual for a father to transfer his life-interest in the estate to his eldest son on his marriage, whereby the son now became the tenant for life, with a contingent entail in remainder for the eldest grandson from the marriage. This form of intergenerational transfer of land, by making the heir a tenant limited his, or occasionally her, alienable rights. Economic historians, most notably H. J. Habakkuk, have stressed the importance of strict settlements „in establishing the more stable pattern of land ownership which they claim characterized post-Restoration England“.

The intergenerational transfer of land was not, however, the only form of property to be dealt with in a marriage settlement. The marriage settlement allowed, usually the father of the bride, to provide provision for those other than the eldest grandson, i.e. younger sons and daughters of the marriage and widows. It was also, because of the common-law of coverture, the only means by which the bride’s family could ensure that she retained property or wealth in her own right and that only her children would inherit any property she brought to the marriage. Lawrence Stone suggested that „the care provisions for younger sons, daughters and widows . . . undermined the principle of patriarchal power“ and Bonfield stated that in the early eighteenth century strict settlement had provided increased security for daughters and younger sons. However Stone’s and Bonfield’s positions have not gone unchallenged, Susan Staves noted that whilst the common-law of primogeniture was avoided by settlements and wills it „continued as an ideology that gave the elder brother a lion’s share and other siblings smaller portions“.

Deborah Wilson’s study of Irish women and property, 1750-1850, demonstrated that whilst the interests of the estate dominated family financial

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business, women’s and children’s interests were marginalised. Wilson’s study also highlighted how women’s position in the property hierarchy diminished as their common-law right to dower was replaced by the jointure stipulated in the marriage settlement, an observation that echoed Spring’s opinion that under strict settlement „inheritance by women [gradually] fell to less than one-third of what it had been”. The details of Caroline’s marriage settlement were to have a major significance for her future financial independence and the attendant power that she could exercise, both in the public and in the private sphere of her family.

Caroline immediately profited from the fact that her parents’ marriage settlements had made no provision for a collateral male to inherit in the event that they had no surviving male issue. Subsequently, the English and Welsh properties were settled for the benefit of Caroline’s husband, herself and her unborn children. Caroline’s great-grandfather, Thomas Wyndham of Clearwell Court, Gloucestershire, had married Jane Wyndham of Dunraven, a relative, and heir to her father’s estate in Glamorganshire. Jane died childless and Thomas then remarried another female heir, Anne Edwin, who inherited her brother’s estates in Llanvihangel and Coity. In 1751 Anne and Thomas’s son, Charles Edwin, Caroline’s grandfather, succeeded to the Welsh estates of Dunraven, Llanvihangel and Coity and the English estate of Clearwell. These three holdings were ultimately to form the basis of Caroline’s marriage settlement. Three separate mortgages had been raised on the Dunraven estate in 1792, amounting to a total debt of £25,680.18.9. An amount of £21,680.9 had been placed in trust to provide portions for Anna Maria and Thomas Wyndham’s children and jointures for Anna-Maria and her mother, then married to Charles Edwin. The raising of these mortgages was subsequent to Caroline’s mother being persuaded by her mother and father-in-law to agree to dissolve the trusts, set up at the time of her own marriage, and thereby release the fortune she had inherited on the death of her father. Immediate access to Anna Maria’s Wyndham’s money had been needed to pay the debts accrued by her husband and her father-in-law and her mother had advised her that „Women having power [over their own property] is in general of little

avail – they are either kissed or kicked out of it”. Anna Maria would appear to have had a poor relationship with her father-in-law, whether this was on account of his fiscal management or not, is unknown but when her husband wrote to her in August 1793 he hoped that „my father and you are better friends than usual”. In a letter to her mother, Mrs Edwin, Anna Maria somewhat pointedly wrote that „Charles grows very entertaining he asked me to day, where Grandmama was, but he says nothing about Grandpapa”. If her dislike for Mr Edwin had predated her having to release her fortune it is likely that this would have added to her reluctance to lose her economic independence. The result of the new trusts set up in 1792 and later Caroline and Windham’s marriage settlement was that Anna Maria was to have an annual jointure of £1,500 from the Llanvihangel and Coity estate and, in addition, she was also to receive £1,000 annually from the Dunraven estate. Caroline’s grandmother was entitled to jointure of £600 and a life-interest in Clearwell.

Raising mortgages to pay for portions was not an uncommon recourse for the many landowners, like the Wyndhams, who spent beyond their means. After Caroline and Windham’s marriage £21,680.18.9 of the trust monies from these mortgages belonged „absolutely to Mr Quin”. Caroline’s father was to retain his life-interest in the Dunraven estate until his death when Windham inherited, but when Windham died Caroline had the use of the estate for her life before her eldest son could inherit. This was to have a huge significance for Caroline in the future as the Dunraven estate was to become extremely prosperous due to its coal mines. After her father’s death Caroline was also to inherit a life-interest in the Llanvihangel and Coity estates and also Clearwell before these too were to be inherited by her eldest son. The marriage settlement also made provision for Caroline to have an annual amount of £1,000 for pin money and to have the power to raise £10,000 from the

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9 Mrs Edwin to Mrs Anna Maria Wyndham, 7 January 1792, ULSC, D/3196/D/3, Diaries and correspondence of the Wyndham family [hereafter DCWF].
10 Thomas Windham to Mrs Anna Maria Wyndham, 15 August 1793, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/4, DCWF.
11 Mrs Anna Maria Wyndham to Mrs Edwin, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/19, DCWF.
12 National library of Wales, Dunraven 2/308, marriage settlement Hon. Windham Quin of Adare, county Limerick, Ireland and Caroline Wyndham of Dunraven Castle, spinster, 1810.
14 National library of Wales, Dunraven 2/308, marriage settlement Hon. Windham Quin of Adare, county Limerick, Ireland and Caroline Wyndham of Dunraven Castle, spinster, 1810.
15 The entail of the Clearwell estate was eventually barred in 1836 thus allowing Caroline’s youngest son Henry Windham to inherit. However, as Henry Windham died before his mother Clearwell was eventually to go to his son, see below.
Llanvihangel and Coity estates for her younger children’s portions. In addition, she was given the power to charge the same estate for £20,000 in the event that Windham died and she wished to remarry, in which case this amount could be used for her portion or for the provision for the children of this second marriage. This provision was to ensure that, in the event of Windham’s early demise, Caroline would still be able to attract a good husband and, most importantly, provide the estates with an heir. The trustees for Caroline’s marriage settlement were the marquis of Lansdowne and Thomas Hanmer. Henry Petty Fitzmaurice, third marquis of Lansdowne, was married to Lady Louisa Fox-Strangways, daughter of the second earl of Ilchester and cousin of Windham. Thomas Hanmer was a family friend, and probably a relation, of the Wyndhams and presumably his primary concern was the protection of Caroline’s property rights. From this early stage of her life her aristocratic social circle in Wales, and Ireland overlapped. The marquis of Lansdowne was also a trustee for Windham’s marriage settlement and the second trustee was Serjeant Thomas Goold, a lawyer relative who would eventually become the father of Windham and Caroline’s daughter-in-law, Augusta Goold.

The Quins like the Wyndhams were also in debt and Windham, who had by this stage taken over the management of the Adare estate from his father, who now lived in Cheltenham, had written to him in March 1810 that

All I want is to keep it out of debt, and to extricate the property from the danger it is now in, a danger which must increase from day to day, which all money raised will provoke, and as things now stand it is impossible to avoid raising money.

He went on to urge his father against selling part of the estate and instead to vest in the hands of trustees a sinking fund for the payment of the debt ... and the invariable effect of diminishing the debt on an estate, is the removal of the necessity of selling it

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16 Pin money was an annual allowance paid to a wife for sundry expenditure. A “parsimonious” Victorian equity text described its purpose as being:

to save the trouble of a constant recurrence by the wife to the husband, upon every occasion of a milliner’s bill, upon every occasion of a jeweller’s account coming in; not the jeweller’s account for the jewels, because that is a very different question – but for the repair and the wear and tear of trinkets, and for pocket-money, and things of that sort.


17 Marriage settlement Windham Quin and Caroline Wyndham, 27/12/1810, ULSC, D/3196/K/2/17, Estate and financial papers.

18 Windham Quin to Lord Adare, 6 March, 1810, ULSC, D/3196/B/1/8, Papers of the 1st Earl of Dunraven.
Windham did not sell, and his immediate problems were probably assuaged by Caroline’s portion. In fact, throughout his life, Windham continued to enlarge his estate with further purchases and through his good management and the prosperity of the Welsh estate he kept it out of debt. Windham’s desire to safeguard his family’s position was, as discussed in the previous chapter, a factor in his ‘pursuit of an heiress’ and the interest of the Adare estate was, of course, the primary concern in Windham’s marriage settlement.

At the time of Caroline’s and Windham marriage there were extant charges on the estate amounting to £44,000 Irish currency. These included Lady Adare’s jointure and the portions for Windham’s younger brother and sister, Richard and Harriet. Lord Adare was to receive £2,000 annually from the estate and this payment was to take precedence to the £1,500 jointure that Caroline was to receive when Windham died. Had she not had any children her entitlement would only have been £1,000. The estate was to be inherited entail male with the provision for raising portions for daughters and younger sons. If there was only one daughter or younger son the amount to be raised was £10,000 and in the event of two or more children the same sum of £10,000 was to be divided according to Windham’s wishes or in default divided equally between the children.

Thomas Paine noted in *The Rights of Men* that ‘Aristocracy has never more than one child’ and Caroline’s and Windham’s marriage settlements certainly conformed to Paine’s adage. By the provisions of the marriage settlements Caroline’s eldest son, Edwin, was entitled to inherit all the Welsh, English and Irish estates whereas her daughter Anna-Maria and her younger son, Henry Windham, were to have portions from the £10,000 raised from both Caroline’s Llanvihangel and Coity estate and from the Adare estate, which if equally divided would give them both a portion of £10,000. Malcomson has noted that had the potential wealth of the Dunraven estate been known at the time of Caroline’s marriage it would have been likely that her trustees ‘might well have driven a hard bargain and ensured that the whole of her estate would pass to a younger son, who would of course have been called Wyndham, not Wyndham-Quin’.20 However, once the Dunraven wealth was

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realised the settlement was altered in order to transfer the less prosperous estate of Clearwell, together with Clearwell Court, to Henry Windham after the death of Caroline.\textsuperscript{21} The difference between the income of the Welsh and the English properties allowed the younger son to have an estate without it having a deleterious effect on the future wealth of the elder son. In the course of events Caroline was to outlive Henry Windham and the Clearwell estate went to her grandson Windham Henry who would eventually reunite the properties when he became the fifth earl of Dunraven. However, at the time of her marriage, whilst provision had been made for daughters and younger sons, the usual mechanisms to ensure male-preference primogeniture had been put in place.

When Caroline and Windham married, both families were in debt and the early years of their marriage were a period when the couple were relatively cash poor. Malcomson has estimated that, before the discovery of the Welsh coal, the disposable income out of the Caroline”s estate would only have been in the region of £1,500 a year.\textsuperscript{22} What is interesting though, is that after the wealth of the Dunraven estate was realised, no efforts were made to „kiss or kick” Caroline from her life-interest in the Wyndham estates in Wales and Gloucester to which, by the provisions of her marriage settlement, she became entitled on Windham”s death. She was thereby destined to become a very wealthy and independent woman during the twenty years of her widowhood and her eldest son was to be deprived of the benefit of controlling the wealth from Dunraven. Caroline”s position is in stark contrast to the other female members of her family, her mother had lost her inheritance to her husband”s and father-in-law”s debts and her daughter, Anna-Maria, would be only entitled to her portion.

\textbf{Married life}

Caroline and Windham signed their marriage settlements after breakfast on the morning of the 27 December 1810. Caroline recorded in her diary that „On this fatal day . . . we all assembled at breakfast more composed than could be expected from a party, who for different causes were so much agitated”.\textsuperscript{23} After breakfast had been eaten, the settlements signed and preparations made for the forthcoming ceremony,
the wedding party left Dunraven Castle for the church. She continued her simple account:

at three o’clock left my paternal roof for ever the ceremony was performed by Mr Harding at Wick Church by special licence we were all dressed in white satin I had over it a lace gown, the common people had a great dinner, ball, & festivities they cheered us as we passed – we left the church & the arms of my parents between 4 & 5, Mr Quin & I sett off in his chaise & four for L[?], the rest returned to Dunraven – we all excited ourselves extremely, & upon the whole it was a less crying wedding than those awful ceremonies usually are – Oh heaven bless my dear husband & myself on our new situation.24

Caroline and Windham’s wedding was a relatively simple affair, arranged quickly and with few guests. This was not unusual for an aristocratic ceremony at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example when Lady Harriet Cavendish married Lord Granville Leveson-Gower in 1809 the only guests present were her father, the duke of Devonshire and her step-mother.25 Aristocratic weddings were shortly to become more extravagant affairs as a result of the growing influence of „that newly hallowed institution – the sentimental family”.26 Caroline lived in the cusp of this transition and her matter of fact account in her diary, detailed in chapter two, perhaps indicated that on the occasion of her marriage she demonstrated more sense than sensibility. It is unlikely, however, that she thought weddings in general were unpleasant, which a modern reading of her use of the adjective „awful” would indicate. It is more likely that the older meaning of „awful” as something that inspires the „feeling of reverential respect mixed with fear or wonder” was a more accurate description of her feelings on her wedding day.27 The wedding, whilst a private occasion with few guests, did have a public component, especially as Caroline was her father’s heir. Typically the major family events of the landed class were celebrated by the whole estate as such festivities strengthened the bonds between the landlord and tenant and helped to maintain the social cohesion of the community.28 Caroline’s marriage probably had more significance for the tenants and local people than a daughter of the house’s wedding would normally have; as heir she and her husband would ultimately be their landlords and patrons.

24 Ibid., pp 2-3
In her account of her wedding Caroline made a rare mention of her dress. She seldom referred to fashion in her writings, an omission which may seem unusual if one considers the level of importance to which dress was raised during the Regency period and Tillyard noted in her study of the Lennox sisters that „clothing the body in language as well as dress was an essential ingredient of a chatty page“. For those who mixed in polite society, both female and male, much time was of necessity spent each day getting properly attired for different events, all of which had separate dress codes. The fact that Caroline seldom mentioned dress is, therefore, perhaps astonishing. Nonetheless the centre of fashionable society was of course London and it exerted a gravitational pull for those of the élite interested in fashion, society and politics and Caroline and Windham set off for the capital immediately after their wedding.

When the newly married Mr and Mrs Quin arrived in London on 31 December they took up residence in a „pretty & comfortable house in Spring Garden Terrace, Spring Gardens“ for six months. Spring Gardens, in the city of Westminster, is just off the Mall at St. James’s Park and is close to Whitehall and the Houses of Parliament. The Quins” neighbours would have included the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick, the parents of Princess Caroline, who at this time lived in nearby New Street. Spring Gardens was outside the most fashionable area of Mayfair but was conveniently close to the House of Commons where Windham had a seat as member of parliament for Limerick County. This proximity to parliament is likely to have been a factor in Windham’s decision to rent the house and, as it was obviously rented when Windham was a bachelor, its closeness to St James’s Street could also have added to its attractions. St. James Street was the location of the gentlemen’s clubs of White’s, Boodle’s and the Whig club, Brooks’s and it was essentially a masculine preserve, out of bounds for respectable women. If Windham spent time in St. James’s Street before his marriage there is no evidence to suggest that he continued to do so when he returned to London as Caroline”s diaries reveal that, apart from the time he spent in the House of Commons, he chose to spend his time with her.

30 ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/4, papers of Caroline countess of Dunraven
Caroline and Windham spent some of their time together shopping, an activity that among the wealthy leisured class had become a vocation.\textsuperscript{33} Caroline Lennox, for example, believed that shopping was not only an agreeable pastime but was „a rational exercise, a commitment to the civilizing powers of trade“, a true liberal sentiment from the mother of Charles Fox.\textsuperscript{34} London, the capital of the British empire and the world’s commercial centre, was able to offer a cornucopia of specialist shops that catered to the whims of the fashionable. Tillyard observed that „the world of goods was very roughly divided into two hemispheres of consumption“.\textsuperscript{35} Women bought clothes for themselves and their children and were responsible for housekeeping and interior decoration whereas men bought goods used outside the house. The reservation was made, however, that this division of purchasing varied among couples and certainly Windham was, throughout his life, involved in the purchasing of household items and decoration. The Quins, like many new couples, immediately began to shop for household goods such as „glass China & everything we wanted“.\textsuperscript{36} „Everything we wanted“ extended to the purchase of a piano and a harp, both which arrived within a fortnight and Caroline was able to continue playing for her, her husband’s and their guests’ enjoyment and, indeed, resumed her lessons with Dizi.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Caroline’s ability to play the harp contributed to her attractions for Windham, appealing to that part of him that was „Irish“. Richard Comerford noted how

when John Milton in \textit{Lycidas} referred to the „old bards, the famous Druids“, he contributed to the concept of the bard as a talismanic figure of the older insular societies. This notion conflated various functions, real and imagined, and in the case of Wales and Ireland its main accoutrement was the harp . . .\textsuperscript{37} Harp music had had a revival in Wales from the 1760s due to the fashionable interest in bardic culture and Celtic antiquities triggered by the Romantic movement and this may account for Caroline having learnt how to play.\textsuperscript{38} There was a similar revival in Ireland where „the cult of things antiquarian and “Celtic” in the eighteenth century

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{33} Ibid., p. 94.
\bibitem{34} Tillyard, \textit{Aristocrats}, p. 171.
\bibitem{35} Ibid., p. 174.
\bibitem{36} Caroline’s diary, 4 January, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/5, PCD.
\bibitem{37} R. V. Comerford, \textit{Inventing the nation: Ireland} (London, 2003), p. 183. Comerford also noted that the harp was in use in antiquity throughout Europe and the Middle East and a distinctive version of the instrument came to prominence in Ireland c.1000 C.E. „Reflection on the date of its emergence should be enough to dispel any notion of its being part of an ancient, misty „Celtic“ inheritance“. Ibid. p. 182.
\end{thebibliography}
[had] endowed the harp with a semi-sacral status” but here the harp was also nationally symbolic.\textsuperscript{39} This symbolism has been dated back to the thirteenth century when the harp was used as a heraldic emblem and was reinforced in 1534 when its depiction was used on Irish coins issued by Henry VIII.\textsuperscript{40} Despite the revival of interest in the instrument by the 1790s the actual numbers of harpists in Ireland were few so throughout her married life Caroline’s skill was likely to have earned her much praise. The Quins” interest in a „Romantic Ireland” is further demonstrated by the fact that when Windham continued his practice of reading to Caroline in the evenings one of their earliest books of choice as a married couple was \textit{The wild Irish girl} by Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan. This novel had been published in 1806 and it „was a pioneer of the Romantic depiction of Ireland”.\textsuperscript{41} Caroline and Windham lived during a time that Janet Todd referred to as the „cusp of nationalism” when the governing classes in both Ireland and Wales developed a growing interest in their native land:

Then the Graeco-Roman [of the Enlightenment] would be repudiated in favour of a distinct Britishness, Germanic and Celtic - an enjoyment of the exotic peripheries at whose expense England was thriving.\textsuperscript{42}

The harp was but one aspect of the Quins” Celtic nationalism, which continued to be fuelled by Romantic discourse and further promoted by their son Edwin’s involvement with the Royal Irish Academy in the 1840s and 1850s.

Amongst those for whom Caroline played the harp and piano were Windham’s immediate family who all seemed to be resident in London or nearby, thus revealing how the world of an Irish landed family extended to include a London dimension. His father, Lord Adare, and his sister, Mrs Harriet Payne, were the Quin’s first visitors. They were received at Spring Gardens on the second day after Windham and Caroline arrived in London and Windham and Caroline then dined at Lord Adare’s the following Sunday. Windham, his brother, Richard, and his sister, Harriet, who was married to Major General William Payne, seemed to have had a good relationship with both their father and their mother.\textsuperscript{43} Lady Frances Adare had left her husband in 1793, when Windham would have been eleven years old, and in 1811 lived in Barnes.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[39] Comerford, \textit{Inventing the nation}, p. 183.
\item[40] Ibid., p. 182.
\item[41] Ibid., p. 158.
\item[43] Major General Payne together with his 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dragoon Guards and 4\textsuperscript{th} Dragoons were on active service in Portugal and Spain 1808-9. He was later to gain the title 1\textsuperscript{st} Baronet Payne. He and Harriet had married in 1804 and were to have one child, a son, Captain Philip Payne-Gallwey. \url{www.napoleons-series.org/military/battles/c_britarmys.html} [accessed, 20/07/07].
\end{footnotes}
which was then a village south-west of London. Joanna Martin in her generational study of women in the Strangways-Fox family intimates that Lady Adare may have been afraid of her husband who would appear to have been a difficult man if not „as mad as a March hare“ as described by his niece Elizabeth Talbot. Somewhat tellingly in one of his letters to Caroline before their marriage Windham wrote „I am glad Mrs George Wyndham likes my father. He is a [?lippish] nervous man, but he is formed of the materials of which noble minds are made“. Lady Adare was lucky that her estranged husband allowed her to see her children after their separation but he apparently did not grant her a generous allowance for her sister, Susan O’Brien observed that she was „obliged to deny herself every enjoyment, nay almost necessarys, from the smallness of the income Lord Adare allows her“. Lady Adare came to stay with Windham and Caroline twice during their six months in London and they frequently visited her, and sometimes stayed. Caroline and her mother-in-law shopped, entertained and visited together and Lady Adare provided her new daughter-in-law with the female company that facilitated her moving in the public and social spheres of society and commerce.

Caroline would appear to have been confident in her new public role as wife but on 3 February when she noted that she and Windham had dined at Lady Mary Ponsonby’s and that they had enjoyed a pleasant evening she added „though I was terribly frightened at first“. Lady Mary Ponsonby is likely to have been the wife of George Ponsonby (1755-1817) who had been the Irish Lord Chancellor during the short-lived Fox-Grenville ministry in 1806-7 and was the leader of the Whig party in the Commons between 1808 and 1817. George Ponsonby had married Lady Mary Butler (1755-1826), daughter of Brinsley Butler, second earl of Lanesborough on 18 May 1781 and their London house was in Curzon Street, Mayfair. Windham was perhaps acquainted to the Ponsonbys through politics for, although a Tory, he was a supporter of Catholic emancipation but he was also related through his mother to the third Baron Holland around whom the Holland House set, a circle of Whig politicians.
and men of letters, congregated. This set included George Ponsonby and also the third marquess of Lansdowne who, like Windham, was also a cousin to Baron Holland but, unlike Windham, was also a Whig. The evening at the Ponsonbys obviously went well for two weeks later Caroline went to the opera to see the ballet *Le jugement de Paris* and she later noted in her journal „I went to the opera – Lady Mary Ponsonby“’s box – Mrs P[?] Miss Gratton etc were with us – It was the first time of my appearance in public as a married woman “. Miss Grattan was probably Miss Mary Anne Grattan the eldest daughter of Henry Grattan who was also a member of the Holland House set. Caroline was obviously aware that marriage had altered her status in public, she was no longer the marriageable daughter of the Wyndhams of Dunraven but now the wife of Windham Quin and her companions for her first public appearance as Mrs Quin represented both his family ties to the influential Holland House set and to the governing élite of Ireland.

Windham continued to have responsibilities in Ireland, which meant that he periodically had to return to Adare and for this reason he had planned to leave London on Monday 18 February leaving Caroline with his mother in Barnes. However, on the preceding Sunday Caroline noted that „I was so tortured with the tooth ache & otherwise so unwell . . . I sent for Sir Walter Farquhar“. Farquhar (1738-1819), a Scott, was the personal physician to the Prince of Wales and it is unlikely that he came to see Caroline because of her toothache. Windham delayed his departure and although Caroline was well enough to go „shopping all over the town” the next day, by Wednesday she was unwell again and continued to be unwell for some days. Although she did have a tooth extracted in June it is possible that she may have suffered a very early miscarriage at this point. In her annual reflection for 1811 she referred to „a disappointment, which is much felt by a young affectionate wife, who fancies golden dreams in becoming a mother“, she continued:

but gracious providence to compensate for past illness has again placed me in a situation to anticipate those joys & ere six months are elapsed by his gracious blessings I may hope to call a smiling babe my own .

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50 Caroline”s diary, 16 February, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/11, PCD.
51 Caroline”s diary, 17 February, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/12, PCD.
52 Ibid.
53 Caroline eventually had „one of my largest teeth” extracted by a Mr Thompson. Caroline”s diary, 1 June, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/31, PCD.
54 Caroline”s reflection, January 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E1/34, PCD.
In her reflections Caroline wrote that this „disappointment” took place in the autumn but as her son Edwin was born in May 1812 this is impossible. This confusion may be attributed to the fact that the process of conception was still poorly understood at this time and the medical profession were in disagreement as to the function of the menstrual cycle. Nevertheless, it is likely as Tillyard noted that „every woman was conscious of her body’s clock” and Caroline’s journals indicate that for one or two days every month she was unwell and often spent these days resting on the sofa. Menstruation can be painful and it must have been very inconvenient for women who had hectic social and public lives, however, affluent women like Caroline had been brought up to believe in their feminine delicacy and they also had the luxury of being able to spend days reclining on a sofa, a luxury almost certainly not afforded to their female servants. Whether she miscarried in February or later in April, when she had another prolonged period of being unwell, she did not record any feelings of loss in her journal. Neither did she seem to blame herself, which Lewis noted was common among the women in her study as miscarriages were often traced to things that the mother had done rather than physiological reasons. The lack of reference may merely be an example of Caroline’s circumspection in regards to her writings.

Caroline recovered and Windham left for Ireland on 26 February. She stayed at Barnes until 14 March when both she and Lady Adare returned to Spring Gardens to await the arrival of Thomas Wyndham who was coming to London to engage in a Commons debate on the coal trade. Caroline recorded that „at about 7 my dear father made his appearance & for the first time since my marriage I was pressed to the bosom of the most affectionate of Parents”. She was extremely fond of her father and appeared to have been closer to him than her mother. Mr and Mrs Wyndham spent much of their time apart, the former, whether because of his often poor health or because of his disposition, was not as socially active as his wife preferring instead to hunt or attend local horse racing meetings. His arrival at Spring Gardens was warmly welcomed by his daughter who was missing her new husband especially now that she was back in the London house where „every room every corner reminded me so much

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57 Lewis, *In the family way*, p. 143.
58 Caroline’s diary, 14 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/15, PCD.
of my beloved Windham!" Windham was less than pleased to hear that Caroline had moved back to London and blamed her period of ill health in April on her not remaining with his mother in, what was then, the countryside of Barnes. He believed in the efficacy of the countryside in restoring good health and he wrote shortly after his arrival at Adare that „I have as usual grown perfectly well – for I never came here ill, that I did not immediately recover“ and towards the end of his stay in Ireland he observed that „If a town life did but agree with me as well as a country one, how happy I should be, for after all my main passion is the House of Commons“.

Windham’s displeasure at Caroline being in London during his absence arose not only from a concern for her physical well-being but also for her state of mind. He was worried that back in the house where they had spent their first weeks as a married couple she, reminded of that time, was now melancholy on account of her fear that he no longer loved her.

Yesterday was the 25, this is the 26 - & the fifth of next month I set off with myself and if I do not find you stout, I must lay the fault on you having been brought from the quiet country, to a place that makes you melancholy – Perhaps you fancy I am not going over these six weeks - & a thousand things. Not one of these ideas would have [?] you, when quietly [?] pure air of Barnes – In your young life, and good health, you cannot yet have learned, that the images which shew themselves to the mind, as the ostensible causes of its depression, are frequently not the real ones … I had rather you took this lesson from my experience than your own – for you will never be healthier & happier that I wish you – I much recommend you to cultivate as much as possible, a quiet & firm fixture of mind – a breath shakes a withered leaf, but cannot move an oak. One is the image of strength the other of fragility. Affectionate & sensitive hearts are apt to shrink with apprehension & often convince that those they love neglect them, or regard them less than formerly especially very young persons do this. Guard carefully against it, or you will be surrounded with hideous torment. [? ? ? ] to be unhappy [?] you would be, if you thought I loved you little and therefore my dear little wife, take the contrary thought with you to your pillow, & drop your mind in it when you rise you will find it to be the just one, and experience will convince you that it is so.

Caroline preserved her husband’s letters written during this period of separation, early in their marriage, but her own are missing from the archive and it is therefore impossible to know whether she wrote seeking reassurance of his affections. As Windham’s absence occurred so early in their marriage perhaps her ostensible insecurity is understandable. Her possible requests for reassurance and her husband’s reiterations of his affections could also have worked as emotives whereby the

59 Caroline’s diary, 15 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E2/8/16, PCD.  
60 Windham to Caroline, 17 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/23, PCD; Windham to Caroline, 13 April, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/44, PCD.  
61 Windham to Caroline, 26 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/26, PCD.
declarations of his love and the presumed positive effect those declarations had on him would have convinced him that his feelings were the „truth“. 62

It may, of course, have been Windham who was the most insecure and certainly he seemed preoccupied with what others may have been intimating against him in his absence:

I am sure it would be much better for us never to be separated for so long a time as we have been. It is both exceedingly unpleasant to bear and I know also exceedingly unwise. The poison I have known infused with the minds of young married persons on such occasions by concealed enemies or officious and foolish friends is inconceivable – I only apply this to people newly married, & young, & chiefly to the women, as generally the most artless, and unsuspecting. 53

Some of these feared intimations may have included an anti-Irish bias, a bias that Caroline”s aunt Sophy Wyndham certainly would appear to have expressed. Windham wrote to Caroline:

I am sitting by myself now drinking your health in whiskey punch which is nearly good enough to convert Aunt Sophy. – Ridicule is no weapon to drive a strong mind from a reasonable position. Hibernian manners differ from English in some points, English from French & so on, each nation preferring their own. Now if ridicule is to be a shuttlecock feathered by aunt Sophy – we have very pretty [?] this side the water – but if she or any one else, hopes to drive you from what you think right, with pop guns, I cannot wish their joy of a sinecure employment. 64

The stereotypical perception of the Irish gentry as hard drinking and hard living was perhaps adding to the anxieties of the newly married couple, fuelling Caroline”s fears that Windham would revert to his bachelor pastimes and making Windham anxious that he prove himself otherwise. Phyllis Rose has noted how a marriage sets „two imaginations to work constructing narratives about experience presumed to be the same for both” and that happy marriages would appear, from her study of five Victorian marriages, to be those in which the two partners „agree on the scenario they are enacting, even if . . . their own idea of their relationship is totally at variance with the facts“. 65 Windham”s letters provide a glimpse of a young man”s attempts to create a viable narrative for his new status as husband. He portrayed himself far removed from his former, yet so recently past, bachelor self:

Ever since I was married I have learned to think my solitary Bachelor habits very uncomfortable. I am grown a much more sociable animal – I am quite sure that a

63 Windham to Caroline, 29 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/29, PCD.
64 Windham to Caroline, 24 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/24, PCD.
happy married life, contains a much larger proportion of satisfaction, than the happiest Bachelors.  

Windham constructed the narrative in which he was the happy and loving husband but he also located himself in a position of power and supremacy. He referred to her as „my dear little wife“ or as „my dear little girl“ and he even continued to use the diminutive when he worried if his absence had „made room for any crotchets to enter your little brain“. He was also apt to highlight her youth in comparison to his experience and by such means he was constructing a marriage where he held the position of experience and wisdom. On 26 March he wrote to Caroline:

I heartily wish you were sitting on tother side of my cheerful fire. I have just been settling accounts with [?] Lynch, and it would be very pleasant to see you mend our turf fire, and then play a tune upon the harp – But the fire and the Harp I hope will have their day or rather evening.

In this extract he depicted the fireside ideal of patriarchal domesticity in an Irish setting. He was essentially playing out the middle-class ideal of the patriarch in his home, which as Tosh noted „was a protected zone for the exercise of masculine authority over those defined as inferior on account of sex, age, or class“. Unfortunately Caroline’s letters from this period have not survived so it is impossible to compare her construction of their marriage with that of her husband’s, but it is clear that she had already begun to take on the role of household manager and had given Windham practical instructions with regards to the preparation of Adare manor for her future arrival:

There is a decent service of Colebrook Dale here, I counted it today – consisting of twelve dishes & twenty four plates – two sugar machines & something that looks like a salad bowl – The kettle you speak of, is in very good health - so is the Butter maker – most of the other things are very much indisposed.

Windham was also busy in the garden planting trees, preparing melon beds for the seeds she was to send from London and preparing the garden nursery „to be ready for your orders“. It was likely that Adare manor had been neglected and become somewhat run down after his parents” separation and Lord Adare latterly choosing to

66 Windham to Caroline, 2 April, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/33, PCD.
67 Windham to Caroline, 12 April, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/43, PCD.
68 Windham to Caroline, 26 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/26, PCD.
69 John Tosh, „Imperial masculinity and flight from domesticity in Britain 1880-1914“ in Timothy P. Foley et al (eds.) Gender and colonialism (Galway, 1995), p. 78.
70 Windham to Caroline, 15 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/22, PCD.
71 Windham to Caroline, 6 April, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/37, PCD.
live in England. Windham busied himself during this period in Ireland improving his house and estate, the beginning of a process that was to engage him for the rest of his life:

Tomorrow will be one of the fair days here. I have some cattle to sell & more to buy. Pigs whose bodies are to make bacon, & their minds to be sent to aldermen of Bristol – but the chickens are not hatched we shall eat with this future bacon. I find a Bachelor in his House, is very like the dry rot, which quietly decays everything – However the architect and myself have been measuring, & planning, and plotting all day. We must shorten the staircase window very much for our painted glass, which Hannon thinks will have the effect of leaving the House steady enough, but making us trip in the dark – but never mind that people must walk the more carefully.\(^\text{72}\)

Windham’s letters written in the first year of their marriage resemble his courtship letters in which he portrayed himself as a humorous and amiable young man and as in the earlier letters he also included stories of the Irish peasantry as amusing or interesting anecdotes. These accounts served to highlight the „otherness” of the Irish peasant and in the case of the following extract the Irish peasant woman was represented as „other” when compared not only with the woman of higher rank but also English women. Caroline had probably recounted to Windham an act of charity and he wrote back

you did very right about the poor Irishwoman, though probably she is not from here. They are very apt to pretend they come from particular places. What will English women think of the hardy daughters of this country, when I tell them that the day before yesterday a woman came about her husband who was sick. I sent her next day on foot to a town about 8 English miles distant, for some medicine for him. Meeting her on her return, she complained of being tired adding as [?] that was the 8\(^{th}\) day since she was brought to bed – This is very enviable I dare say, but as you were not from an Irish Peasant, I believe that tall & dark gentleman, whose name I forget, whom I used to see in Spring Gardens would object to you doing as much even now, as they do a week after confinement.\(^\text{73}\)

Racial and classed stereotyping was of course useful for those of the élite who chose to see both their own comfortable privileged lives and the harsh lives of the working classes as „natural”. This particular gendered form of stereotyping made it easier for women, such as Caroline, not to question why it was deemed necessary for woman of her class to spend days reclining on a sofa on account of menstrual discomfort while other women, from genuine necessity, had no time to rest even after giving birth.

\(^{72}\) Windham to Caroline, 26 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/26, PCD.; the reference to the aldermen of Bristol may allude to the widespread criticism of the Bristol Corporation both before and after the Bristol Bridge riot of 1793 see Mark Harrison „’To raise and dare resentment’: the Bristol Bridge riot of 1793 re-examined”, *The Historical Journal*, 26, no. 3. (1983), pp 557- 585.

\(^{73}\) Windham to Caroline, 27 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/27, PCD.
Stereotyping such as this also facilitated a deliberate ignorance of the experiences of the peasant and working class.

The increased power of the professional middle-class even in Ireland, however, is demonstrated by Windham’s exasperated wait for an attorney to return from Cork so that he could finalise his business and leave Ireland. He may have referred to him in a letter as „this plaging attorney” and „the ugly attorney” but Windham had to wait and the power was with the lawyer in this incidence. The business was finally completed and „that tall & dark gentleman” returned to his wife in Spring Gardens on 23 April 1811. Caroline and Windham stayed in London until 13 June when they left „dear Spring Gardens forever (that region of bliss)” and headed for Cheltenham where they visited Lord Adare for a couple of days before proceeding to Clearwell where they joined Caroline”s parents and friends. The party left Clearwell at the beginning of July for the Cardiff races and spent four days in a hectic whirl of public breakfasts and balls, in addition to attending the race meetings, before returning to Dunraven where Caroline was to spend the next six months. Here she seemed to enjoy again the privacy of her boudoir, where she began to translate August Lafontaine”s romantic novel *Clara Duplesses and Clairant: The history of a family of French emigrants* from the German. This novel had been translated into English by Longmans in 1797 so Caroline”s translation can be presumed to be an exercise in the German language, or arguably another example of the less than worthwhile activities women of the landed class engaged in to „amuse” themselves. Caroline also spent time with her husband playing billiards, walking on the nearby sands and fishing, which she particularly seemed to enjoy. She continued to attend local church services, for example on 22 September she noted that „Dr Hook preached & read prayers – his sermon quite divine” and on 20 October she „heard a sermon in Welsh by Mr Jeffries”. Caroline”s writings indicate that she was a deeply religious woman who had been affected by the evangelical revival that began in the 1780s.

Wales is also, of course, synonymous with the earlier rise of Methodism which dated

74 Windham to Caroline, 12 April, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/43, PCD
75 Caroline”s diary, 13 June, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/9/4, PCD.
76 Caroline”s translation is held by ULSC D/3196/L/6, which has been incorrectly catalogued as „Verse, prose and an unfinished novel by Caroline countess of Dunraven.
77 Margareta Björkman, „High and low: some remarks on the reading culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries” www.cf.ac.uk/encap/romtext/articles/cc03_n01.html, [accessed 23/05/2007].
78 Caroline”s diary, 22 September and 20 October, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/9/21 and 26, PCD.
from the 1740s and, indeed, one of her antecedents, Lady Charlotte Edwin (1701-77), had used her influence to place Methodist clergymen in Glamorgan parishes. It is possible, therefore, that Caroline’s local parish church of St Bride’s could have had Methodist preachers, which the use of the Welsh language would indicate. This early form of Methodism was in its Wesleyan form „and was patronised by gentry families of puritan ancestry” such as the Edwins and the Jones (Caroline’s maternal grandmother was a Jones), „who had become as high Tory as Wesley himself”.79

Among Caroline’s diary entries which itemise the events that were typical of life in the country house there was one written on 8 October in her usual pragmatic style that forecast an important event, „We were out all day, Dr. Griffiths came & told me fatal news we played at cards in the Evening”.80 It is likely that Dr. Griffiths had confirmed Caroline’s pregnancy. A few weeks later Windham, once again set off for a short visit to Adare leaving Caroline „with a breaking heart” to celebrate Christmas and their first wedding anniversary without him.81 On her anniversary she noted in her diary:

This is the happy day that twelvemonth united me to the best & dearest of men – Oh heaven grant me a continuence of that conjugal felicity I have ever enjoyed with him & which his tenderness & affection seem to ensure me . . . the servants & a large party of children who were here had a dance & we sat up till 3 in the morning.82

Like the aristocratic women in Lewis’s study Caroline, throughout her pregnancy, carried on with her life much as usual as there was no impropriety attached to pregnant women being socially and physically active.83 There is evidence that in the first trimester, like many women, she may have suffered some sickness but apart from that her pregnancy was active and healthy.

Windham returned to Dunraven on New Year’s Eve and both he and Caroline resumed their habit of reading together. Before setting off again to visit Lord Adare on 11 January on the first stage of their annual journey to London and the House of Commons they managed to read A simple story, a novel by Elizabeth Inchbald and Sir William Forbe’s biography of Dr. Beattie, who had been for a brief time Hume’s

80 Caroline’s diary, 8 October, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/9/24, PCD.
81 Caroline’s diary, 20 October, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/9/31, PCD.
82 Caroline’s diary, 27 December, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/7, PCD. This extract illustrates somewhat the ambiguous position children held within the household hierarchy in relation to the servants.
83 Lewis, In the family way, p. 125.
philosophical opponent. Once in London, they stayed with Lady Adare in Barnes but frequently visited the house in Spring Gardens where Caroline”s parents appeared to have taken the lease. Despite Caroline”s pregnancy Windham found it necessary to go back to Adare at the end of February returning to London on 7 April. During his absence Caroline had a recurrence of the toothache that had plagued her before in the city, she went to the dentist and

after enduring the most violent torture in endeavouring to have the nerve destroyed I returned to Spring Gardens more dead than alive with pain & passed a most wretched morning there – in that dear house once the scene of as much earthly bliss as ever fell to the lot of mortals when Windham is away from me, those days seem passed for ever but happy might I to be at the reflection that each succeeding day passed with him is more replete with bliss than the preceding, & that on his return I have every reason to anticipate joys – I spent the whole morn with my father – my mother was out most of the time, & returned to Barnes to dinner.  

In the early nineteenth century, before the advent of anaesthesia, visits to the dentist were very painful and, before antibiotics, they were also dangerous. Caroline and her unborn child were, however, unharmed by the ordeal and when Windham returned she was well enough to join him in their search for a house to rent. They eventually decided to take a house in Park Place, off St. James Street and moved there on 23 April:

Immediately after breakfast we were in a grand hustle preparing to leave Barnes, & take possession of our new abode in Park Place, where we arrived a little after two, & after settling every thing in as comfortable a manner as we could – we sett off for Spring Garden Terrace, where we passed the remainder of the day – my father & Mr. Quin went to the House in the Eve, it being the night of the Catholic Question but Windham was in Park Place nearly as soon as I was.

Caroline, now in her last month of pregnancy, continued to attend parties, meet friends and shop and did not express any feelings of anxiety about her pregnancy or future labour in her diary.

A woman”s duty as a mother was no longer judged only on her ability to give her husband children but also by her lifelong task of nurturing and teaching her children to become moral, upright members of society. Lewis has noted that:

Once motherhood came to be perceived as a lifelong pursuit centred around the rearing of children, maternal suffering became less identified with the contractions of labour. Indeed, Eve”s curse may be said to have progressed from an acute to a

84 Caroline”s diary, 10 March, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/21, PCD.
85 Caroline”s diary, 23 April, 1811, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/29, PCD. The following day Windham did not return home until 7.00 am „owing to the long debate in the House of Commons”. Caroline when she referred to her husband in her diaries used „Mr. Quin”, „Windham” and „Windy” interchangeably.
chronic condition: from one of physically intense, but finite pain, to a less intense but limitless state of “exquisitely tender” emotional vulnerability.  

The very real and intense pain of childbirth did, of course, continue to coexist with the years of chronic and emotional suffering. It was just that childbirth was no longer considered to be women’s only required act of penance for her sex. Caroline went into labour on 18 May and wrote in her diary “at the moment I am now writing am suffering agonies, but anticipating the joys of becoming a mother” she then continued some days later that happiness however was denied me some hours, for it was not till the 4th hour of the 19th morning in May that my sweet little infant came into the world - of course for some succeeding days my life was unvaried – I saw different intimate friends but my chief occupation was sleeping and suckling my lovely boy, who became dearer to me every hour – shall I ever forget the happy moment of presenting him to his happy father, oh never! His smiles repaid me for many hours of torture.

Caroline, like many aristocratic women of the time, breast fed her baby in line with Enlightenment thinking, which advocated that mothers should breast feed themselves rather than hire a wet nurse. How long she continued to do so is unknown but by the end of June, Caroline was once more leading an active social life and she mentioned her child in her diary entries only intermittently.

For two reasons it now became important that the Quin family travel together to Ireland and Adare. Firstly, as Edwin was the future heir to his father’s Limerick estates it was necessary that he and his mother be introduced to Windham’s Irish friends and tenants. Secondly, and perhaps more pressing for Windham, the forthcoming elections brought about by the assassination of the prime minister, Spencer Percival, meant that it was imperative that he return to his constituency with his new family. Caroline, her family and servants boarded a ship at Holyhead on Tuesday 7 July 1812 on what was to be her first voyage of many across the Irish Sea. The vessels at this time were still sailing ships and, therefore, dependant on wind and the passage to Ireland was long and uncomfortable. Caroline’s first passage was over twenty-four hours as they spent the Wednesday „all day within sight of the hill of Hoath but could not get on” They eventually travelled the five leagues to the shore in an open boat and then „went to Mr Goolds house in Merrion Square, where we

86 Lewis, In the family way, p. 59.
87 Caroline’s diary, 18 May, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/33-4, PCD.
88 Caroline’s diary, 8 July, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/38, PCD.
found every comfort & ourselves as well as could be". Caroline was thereafter to be a nervous sea traveller and suffered from sea sickness or psychosomatic nausea on most occasions, becoming sick sometimes even before she boarded. She woke the morning following her first voyage with a cold, ear ache and a cough, ailments which kept her housebound until the following Friday when she went sightseeing around Dublin with Mrs Goold who

shewed me the principal buildings in Dublin etc – the old house of Parliament & the four courts, are particularly beautiful the rest of the handsome buildings are the Custom house, the Royal Hospital, lying in Hospital etc etc – we then drove in the Phoenix Park which is very handsome & the ground of which is in parts beautiful.

The Quins left Dublin on the 20 July for Adare and arrived in Limerick two days later:

We rose very early to expedite our arrival at Adare, got to Limerick by 4 – delighted to find it so beautiful a city & proceeded directly to Adare, we were met 4 miles from the house by all Windham’s tenantry, & all the common people of the country, the horses were broken from the carriage & it was drawn by 40 men beautifully [?] the mob round it so great the military were obliged to interfere to prevent the people from getting under the wheels they carried garlands of flowers before us with a band of music, & the soldiers saluted us as we passed Windham introduced me, & our dear baby to his numerous friends & we were received with cheers & hearty welcomes – the Adare infantry were drawn up before the drawing room windows & when we got out of the carriage they fired three times, & gave us every possible mark of their respect so dearly as my beloved husband is beloved by his tenantry I never saw anything to equal I found the house much better than I expected, & the grounds most beautiful, but was too much fatigued to walk about much that night.

Major family events were celebrated by the whole estate and on this occasion there was an accumulation of circumstances, each of which would have merited a celebration in its own right. The landlord was returning home and he was bringing with him not only his new wife but his heir. What is interesting is Caroline’s use of the words „mob” and „people”. Tillyard observed that Emily, duchess of Leinster, looked at the countryside and saw it without any people. It was years before she noticed the poor around her, and when she did it was to register their change from the „mob” (as Caroline [Lady Holland] always called it) to the „people” as radicals described them.

It is not clear whether Caroline was differentiating between the individually invisible peasants, „the mob”, and their social superiors, „the people”, or whether she was using

89 Ibid.
90 Caroline’s diary, 17 July, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/40, PCD.
91 Caroline’s diary, 22 July, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/41-2, PCD.
the two terms interchangeably. The extravagant reception was a deferential demonstration of Windham’s status among his Adare tenantry, evidence of which obviously pleased Caroline as her new status, in Ireland, was dependent upon that of her husband’s. As she noted in her annual reflection of 1812,

thou hast sent me to a land I love where my comfortable house & estate, it make me sensible of every good in this life, & where my husband character & situation commands such respect, & places me in an enviable & pleasant path of life.93

When she reached Adare manor she was also clearly relieved that the house was in a better condition than she had expected. Whether her poor expectations of the house arose from knowledge that there had been no female influence since Lady Adare had left or whether it came from a generally held belief in England that the Irish aristocrat spent more of his money on eating and drinking than on home decoration and comfort is unclear.94

Adare manor sits on the banks of the river Maigue and the surrounding countryside includes the ruins of an Augustinian and a Franciscan friary and a Desmond castle. This would have been a perfect setting for a young woman, like Caroline, who was influenced by the Gothic romance and indeed her diary entries for her first two days in her new home give a glimpse of her satisfaction:

Friday 24
Looked over the China Closets, & had very various amusements, company called here – walked to the abbey in the Eve with dear Windham, who made me as happy as a queen

Saturday 25
The weather still showery walked out notwithstanding in a beautiful wood near the river - & was quite enchanted the scenery is so picturesque & beautiful95

As before, however, Caroline’s romantic sensibilities are tempered with her practicality and the state of the china closets would appear to have taken precedence. The Quins began receiving company as soon as they arrived in Adare and what is apparent from Caroline’s diaries is that her social life continued seamlessly.

93 Caroline’s reflection, January, 1813, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/34, PCD.
94 Ibid.
95 Caroline’s diary, 24-5 July, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/10/42-3, PCD. The “picturesque” was beauty that could be demonstrated in painting. William Gilpin (1724-1804) is regarded as the founder of the aesthetic school of the picturesque. He wrote *Observations* (1782-1809) and *Three essays: on picturesque beauty; on picturesque travel; and on sketching landscape* (1792). Another member of this school was Uvedale Price who wrote *Essays on the picturesque* (1794-8). Both were significant in the growing popularity of picturesque travel and people’s viewing of nature and scenery picturesquely.
throughout her life irrespective of whether she was living in London, Glamorgan or in Adare. The continual performance of entertaining and being entertained reinforced aristocratic networks, reduced differences amongst the members, and also reaffirmed the individual’s own identity and status within the group. The numbers of the élite, particularly in Ireland, were relatively small and even if two parties had never met they would be familiar with their respective backgrounds. Caroline came to Ireland with knowledge of her own importance as heir to her father’s sizeable estate and also, presumably, with the confidence gained from knowing that those she would meet would also be aware of her status.

The Quins were members of a social circle that included Windham’s distant relative Lord George Quin (1792-1888) of Quinsborough, Sixmilebridge, county Clare, the younger son of the marquis of Headford and Mary Quin who had married Lady Georgiana Spencer. Anne Fitzgibbon the widow of John Fitzgibbon the first earl of Clare was also part of the Quin’s social group. Lady Clare for pragmatic and family reasons had altered her politics from those of her husband and father, Burn Chapel Whalley, and had supported Windham as a pro-Catholic Emancipation candidate for county Limerick in 1807. Windham, however, a few years later warned Caroline regarding Lady Clare, „Do not be deceived in her character. She has no real friendship for either of us“. The Clares’ estate was on the river Shannon at Mount Shannan, Castleconnell, county Limerick. The first earl had decorated Mountshannon house lavishly in the French style and his widow and the second earl entertained there quite extravagantly. Windham and Caroline attended one of Lady Clare’s balls on 3 September 1813 where

Nothing could be more magnificent than the whole scene – about 500 sat down to a most sumptuous supper – we had every sort of luxury & elegance – they kept it up till 6 – when we breakfasted …

Other friends of the young couple included Lord and Lady Glentworth, Lady and Sir Vere Hunt of Curragh Chase, county Limerick, the knight of Glin, the Monsells of Tervoe, the Gradys and the Blennerhassetts. These families all belonged to the upper Protestant classes, which Caroline was already part of, but she also socialised with local women who were outside this class. She seemed to be friendly with the agent’s wife Mrs Roche and spent considerable time with the Misses Rose who seemed to live

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96 Ann C. Kavanaugh, John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare (Dublin, 1997), p. 205
97 Windham to Caroline, 9 July, 1817, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/44, PCD.
98 Caroline’s diaries, 3 September, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/11/28, PCD.
locally. The latter helped her put up the curtains that she and Windham had purchased in London shortly after their marriage. Caroline’s social life in county Limerick seemed to have been as busy as it had been in Glamorgan only here as wife and mistress of her husband’s house her role was now quite different. Those activities that defined aristocratic masculinity were the same in Ireland as Wales and Windham hunted and attended race meeting as regularly as Caroline’s father had done in Glamorganshire.

The aristocratic network provided in Ireland, as it did in Wales and England, large houses in which the travelling élite could stay or visit and it is likely that Caroline would have seen the major attractions in the neighbouring counties during her first two years in Ireland. There is a record of her visiting the lakes of Killarney in September 1813 where she describes „scenery that baffles all description”. During this visit their party was accompanied by a band of music and Caroline thought that the „echo of the bugles had also a most beautiful effect”. They dined on an island in the upper lake and „had great fun there, waltzing to the band, fishing etc etc”.99

Shortly after their visit to Killarney the Quins were staying with the Lyttletons and Caroline wrote that:

We went out in the Carriage - went to see the nunnery at Thurles, a truly interesting sight – walked about the gardens, with the lady who had founded the Abbey, & who had for many years been abbess – the whole affair not near so gloomy as I had expected – the nuns appearing contented & their superior cheerful.100

Caroline‟s expectations of a „gloomy‟ convent with unhappy inhabitants may have been based on her religious prejudice fuelled perhaps by her and Windham‟s continued readings of Gothic romance which had recently included Sophia Lee‟s The Recess: A tale of other times and her putative student, Ann Radcliffe‟s The mysteries of Udolpho and The Italian.

Caroline continued to enjoy her husband‟s readings and indeed his company and they appear to have chosen to spend a lot of their time together and, therefore, conformed to the ideal of domesticity. This need not have been the case for as members of the aristocracy they could easily have lived separate lives, Caroline and Windham obviously liked each other. Despite their like of each other‟s company and

99 Caroline‟s diary, 13-16 September, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/11/31-4, PCD. The waltz would be relatively new at this stage and probably still criticized by some on moral grounds. Perhaps as this was a relatively „private‟ and informal party the Quins were able to enjoy the dance without worrying about criticism.
100 Caroline‟s diary, 28 September, 1812, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/11/37, PCD.
Windham’s love of the country, as a MP he had to attend the House of Commons, which he did periodically, leaving Caroline and his young son at home in Adare. On one such absence in May 1814 she wrote in her diary „The whole universe seemed void – felt so truly heartless – Oh how I long for his return”.\textsuperscript{101} Her loneliness during Windham’s absences in London may have been alleviated a little when her grandmother, after recovering from a serious illness, came to live with Caroline in June 1813. Mrs Edwin’s decision to spend her latter years living with her stepson and daughter had caused her friend, Lady Harewood, some consternation as evidenced in her letter of 4 March 1813:

\begin{quote}
I am extremely sorry you are going to Ireland and particularly this time of the year alone, your friends experience a great loss in your society, in thinking you have withdrawn your self from them, of which number I rank as one. I am very sorry Mrs Wyndham has been so great a sufferer lately, I think she will feel the loss of your cheerful society, and also Mr Wyndham who is so very great an Invalid, I propose going to London next Monday sevenight, and shall to see you soon after ... poor suffering Lady Adare I hope you will see her and soon. I am glad her daughter Lady Payne is with her. I think its hard that you should leave your own Daughter, to go to your Grand Daughter, I assure you I would not do that, without some very strong good reason, a selfish view perhaps urges me to scold let it be so, its true I don’t care to part with you…\textsuperscript{102}
\end{quote}

Lady Harewood’s letter also gave intimations of the parental loss that both Windham and Caroline were to suffer the next year.

News reached the Quins on Friday 11 March 1814 that Lady Adare, who had been ill for at least a year, had died on the preceding Sunday. Caroline was in the early stages of another pregnancy and she noted in her diary on 21 March, „we were alone as before I was very unwell & Windy very low”.\textsuperscript{103} The following month their grief was compounded when she received news that her childhood friend Maria Bucknall had died from what may have been tuberculosis. Windham left shortly after this for a short visit to London and she continued feeling unwell at Adare. Windham returned in June but as it was decided that Caroline would have her baby at Dunraven, the Quin family, together with Mrs Edwin, left for Wales in August. It is not known but it can be surmised that it was Caroline’s wish that she give birth in her family home in the company of her mother and father. As well as being the heir to his father’s estates in Ireland, Edwin was the future heir to Dunraven so the day after the family’s arrival there was a

\textsuperscript{101} Caroline’s diary, 9 May, 1814, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/11/62, PCD.
\textsuperscript{102} Lady Harewood to Mrs Edwin, 4 March, 1814, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/96, DCWF.
\textsuperscript{103} Caroline’s diary, 21 March, 1814, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/11/58. PCD.
grand fete given to all the tenants etc large tables were laid out on the ring & it was all very grand & magnificent – the Markhams the Trahernes [?] & a very large party came to lunch – they then danced on the green – we dined at 6 in the dining room sat down about 26 & had a dance in the saloon in the Eve

Thereafter, Caroline and her family settled into a daily routine, Windham spent time with his father-in-law at the Cardiff assizes, Caroline was not feeling very well but exercised as much as possible on the nearby sands and her old governess Miss Weymer kept her company. On Tuesday, 25 October, Windham and Caroline”’s father went to Cowbridge „where the former caught cold” and was confined to his room where he stayed unwell, but not causing the family any anxiety, until he died suddenly two weeks later. Thomas Wyndham was fifty-two when he died, he was buried at the local church of St. Brides and his high status in Glamorgan society was demonstrated by the fact that over a thousand people followed his coffin. Caroline noted in her diary:

Windham announced to me in the morning that this was to be the fatal day, in which the beloved remains of my adored father were to be interred at St Brides Church – how my heart felt bursting at the idea, & the agonising sorrow I endured can never be expressed or forgotten, but aware of the necessity of supporting myself under this most afflicting trial, for the sake of one poor innocent whose life depended upon my exertions, I endeavoured to find in religion & the kindness of my friends, all the consolation I could…

The following day Caroline”’s mother „appeared at breakfast in a dress which stung me to the soul – her weeds had come” . Whilst upper and middle-class funerals were a masculine space a family”’s mourning was embodied by the women in private and in public by the strict ritual of mourning dress. The eighteenth and nineteenth-century dress regulations were applied most strictly to widows who had to wear full black mourning for two years. During the first year the material had to be non-reflective black paramatta and crape, for the next nine months dullish black silk heavily trimmed with crape and for the final three months the crape could be discarded. Caroline”’s mourning period as the daughter of the deceased was twelve months. After her father”’s funeral she occupied herself making things for her new baby and just six days after her father”’s funeral she gave birth to a daughter. Her diary entry for Monday 21 November was:

104 Caroline”’s diary, 22 August, 1814, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/12/16, PCD.
105 Jenkins, The making of a ruling class, p. 215.
106 Caroline”’s diary, 15 November, 1814, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/12/27, PCD.
107 Ibid.
Before I arose had some symptoms of approaching labour, did not go down to breakfast, & about two was safe in bed, with a very fine little girl a little blessing can never be sufficiently thankful for – we both did as well as possible, & passed our night in rest & quiet.\textsuperscript{109}

The birth of Anna Maria Charlotte had, towards the end of the year, brought some happiness to Caroline and Windham after a year in which they had both lost the parent to whom they may have been most attached.

After Caroline’s father died in 1814 the Quin family officially changed their name to Wyndham-Quin and Caroline became Mrs Wyndham-Quin and entered a new stage of her life. During the short time she was known as Mrs Quin, Caroline had, with Windham, begun the construction of the narrative of their marriage, a narrative that was, and would continue to be, satisfactory for them both. She had given birth to an heir to both her and her husband’s estates and to a daughter and she had negotiated the rite of passage from daughter to wife and mother. The following chapter will examine how she made meaning of her experiences as Mrs Wyndham-Quin during the period from 1814 to 1824.

\textsuperscript{109} Caroline’s diary, 21 November, 1814, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/12/28-9, PCD.
Chapter four

Mrs Wyndham-Quin (1815-24): the exemplary „incorporated” wife

This chapter is concerned with the nine years between the deaths of Caroline”s father, Thomas Wyndham, in November 1814 and Windham”s father in 1824, two years after his elevation to the first earl of Dunraven. It will focus on Caroline”s kin work together with her work as an „incorporated wife” as Windham and she set about laying the foundations for future generations of Dunravens. The chapter begins with the Wyndham-Quins, together with Caroline”s mother and grandmother, in London and once more residing at Spring Garden Terrace from where they engaged in their public and social duties and their amusements.

When the family were in the capital they frequently took the opportunity to commission one or more family portraits and in 1815 Caroline sat for her portrait with the miniaturist Anne Mee (c.1770-1851). The artist had recently completed a commission for the prince regent of a series of miniature portraits of fashionable ladies entitled *The Gallery of Beauties of the Court of George the Third*. Mee was the daughter of the London portrait painter John Foldson and was married to an Irish barrister, Joseph Mee from county Armagh. She exhibited at the Royal Academy and the British Institution from 1804 to 1837 and was able to charge forty guineas for a painting. This was not an inconsiderable amount of money (about twice a housemaid”s annual salary in 1864) but paintings formed part of the material culture that was essential for the wealthy and especially for those who were constructing a family narrative for current and future generations. However, miniatures often acted as keepsakes, much as photographs do today, and this painting of Caroline may have been commissioned to accompany Windham on his absences from her; absences that were necessitated by the demands of property on both sides of the Irish Sea and by the

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1 After Thomas Wyndham”s death in 1814 the management of the Clearwell and Dunraven estates was now Windham”s responsibility.
increased demands of parliament in the period during and after the French Napoleonic wars.

Britain had been at war with France for over twenty years and in that time the army had increased six-fold in strength from 40,000 to 250,000 men. Caroline was not oblivious to the plight of the wounded ex-servicemen and war orphans. On Sunday 2 April she visited the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea, this was a military school founded in 1803 for the orphans of soldiers who had died in the war against France. The institution was modelled on the Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin, which had been founded in 1765 to cater originally for the orphans of Irish soldiers who had died in the Seven Years War (1756-63). Caroline thought that the Chelsea Military Asylum was „a most glorious institution for the orphans of the soldiers of the regular army, & a most beautiful sight to see [the children] ... the third of them boys, clothed & maintained by the army with every possible care taken of their health & morals“.

The school for orphans was situated near the Royal Hospital which had been founded in 1801 for the Chelsea Pensioners, „the old veterans who disabled either from wounds or old age from going on in their professions there find a comfortable home & pension how truly gratified were we then to see the beginning & end of a soldier‟s life made so comfortable, as theirs appeared‟. The boys in the Asylum were destined to follow their father‟s footsteps into the armed forces and play their part in the maintenance and defence of the British empire. It can be supposed that the girls were trained primarily for domestic service in the homes of those who benefitted most from the empire.

Many of the homes that Caroline visited during her stay in London were the city residences of her neighbours, the principle landowners of Kerry, Limerick, northwest Cork and Tipperary, who formed her social circle in Ireland. Among those with whom she and her husband socialized were the marquess of Lansdowne and his wife, Sir and Lady Henry Petty, Lord and Lady Ennismore, the earl and countess of Limerick, Lady Kingston and also her son-in-law Lord Kilworth, Sir and Lady

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5 Caroline‟s diary, 2 April, 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/3, PCD.
6 William Hare, Lord Ennismore was later elevated to an earl, Earl of Listowel, in 1822 the same year Windham‟s father became the Earl of Dunraven.
7 Stephen Moore, Lord Kilworth and earl of Mountcashel married Margaret Kingston, daughter of the second earl of Kingston and Caroline Fitzgerald. Margaret who, when she was a child, was the favourite pupil of her governess, Mary Wollstonecraft, had left her husband and children in 1805. See Janet Todd, Rebel daughters: Ireland in conflict 1798 (London, 2003).
Edward Denny\textsuperscript{8}, Sir and Lady Dunalley\textsuperscript{9}, the earl and countess of Charleville,\textsuperscript{10} and Lord and Lady Headfort who were the parents of Lord George Quin.\textsuperscript{11} As Lady Headfort was a relation of Windham’\textquotesingle;s, and obviously accepted within the royal circle, it was apt that she should present Caroline to the Regent, which she did on the afternoon of Thursday 4 May. In the early nineteenth century, it was still the practice that those in a prominent position in society should be presented to the Sovereign when there was an important change in their lives. This change could be matrimony or any kind of social or professional advancement and „was as much to keep the Sovereign informed as to receive his congratulations”\textsuperscript{12}. Caroline recounted in her diary:

We were busy from the time breakfast was over preparing for the drawingroom, as I had never been since my marriage, Lady Headfort was to present me we went about 2, I had a very pleasing morning – staid till near 5 chatting in the Hall at Buckingham house where the drawing room were then held came home very tired, but dressed \\& in the Eve went to a very fine concert at Lady Hampden’s for the benefit of Mrs Bianchi Lacey.\textsuperscript{13}

This was the same Mrs Bianchi Lacey that had often given Caroline singing lessons and had been a frequent visitor and entertainer of the Wyndhams both in London and at Dunraven.

Whilst in London, Caroline had ample opportunities to indulge her love of music and often attended the opera and private musical recitals. She was also able, before she left the city, to meet the authors of some of her favourite poetry when she „went to a very select party at Miss White’s, met Walter Scott Lord Byron & all the Poets”\textsuperscript{14}. Miss Lydia White would appear to have been an Irish wealthy „bluestocking” and references to her can be found in the letters and journals of Lady Morgan, Maria Edgeworth and Lord Byron who had apparently based the „Miss

\textsuperscript{8}Sir Edward Denny was MP for Tralee 1818-19.
\textsuperscript{9}Lady Dunalley was a descendent of the Fitzgibbons and the Blennerhassets.
\textsuperscript{10}Charles William Bury, earl of Charleville (1764-1835) was a landowner of considerable wealth derived partly from Shannongrove, the Bury estate in county Limerick. He and his wife, Charlotte Maria, a „gifted water-colourist and something of a Blue-stocking”; had recently built Charleville Forest Castle in Offaly and „if there is any point at which the Irish craze for castles may be said to have started, it is with the building of Charleville”. The Charlevilles lived extravagantly and whilst in London rented the Duke of Queensberry’s House and unlike the Dunravens left a heavily embarrassed estate for the next generation. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, The Howard Bury Papers (T/3069), www.proni.gov.uk/records/private/howbury.htm (accessed 14/09/2007).
\textsuperscript{11}Thomas Taylour was the 1st marquess of Headfort and was married to Mary Quin, a granddaughter of Valentine Quin, Windham’s great grandfather.

\textsuperscript{13}Caroline’s diary, 4 May, 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/7, PCD.
\textsuperscript{14}Caroline’s diary, 8 April, 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/7, PCD.
Diddle” in his poem *Blues* on her. Unfortunately what Caroline thought of Miss White and the poets is unknown as she offered no description or comment in her diary. Unlike her accounts of scenery, buildings and gardens that were detailed and subjective she gave little or no observational detail, in her diaries, of the different people she met. This may demonstrate a lack of interest or perhaps, more likely, a lack of confidence or extreme caution about making written judgements of people. Not only was London full of the literati and Caroline’s new acquaintances among the Irish élite but many of her closest friends and relations were also in the city. These included cousin Sophie and the young Wyndhams, Lucretia and Annette Ffolkes, Louisa and Catherine Harding and Arabella Hanmer and her family. Caroline’s cousin, Arabella Bucknell, whom she referred to as „Bel”, had married Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Hanmer on 14 July 1808 (see chapter two) and had now a family of five children, the eldest of which would eventually become Caroline’s grandson, the fourth earl of Dunraven’s, mother-in-law. Like most aristocratic families the Wyndham-Quins were endogamous, the practice of which was facilitated by the preservation of close familial ties and networks. This „kin-work” was essentially women’s work and in the nineteenth century involved „prolific letter writing, gossip, mutual aid and extended visiting”, all activities which engaged much of Caroline’s time irrespective of whether she was London, Wales or Ireland.

One of the immediate benefits of Caroline’s „kin-work” was that she was seldom devoid of female companionship and when she and her family returned to Ireland in June she was accompanied by Louisa and Catherine Harding. The Harding sisters stayed with her until the following November and accompanied her on her social duties and public outings. Their presence was especially useful to Caroline when Windham was absent and as companions and chaperones they facilitated her easy passage through Limerick society. On the journey from London to Holyhead the entourage stopped at Gloucester, where she showed her husband the gaol, and at

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15 George Gordon, Lord Byron, *The works or Lord Byron: letters and journals* [www.books.google.ie, accessed 03/03/2008]; Maria Edgeworth, *Life and letters of Maria Edgeworth*, 1/letter 74 www.gutenberg.org/ dirs/etext05/7edg110.txt [Accessed 03/03/2008]

16 Bel’s daughter Charlotte Emma married Lord Charles Lennox Kerr and their daughter Florence married Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin, the forth earl of Dunraven.


18 Gloucester gaol was built in 1791 at a cost of £35,000, www.institutuions.org.uk/prisons/England/GKS/gloucester_prisons.htm (accessed 01/07/08). Windham may have been interested in prison buildings because at this stage there was likely to have been plans...
Llangollen where the party breakfasted with Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby whose talents Caroline recorded „have almost immortalised them”. After a crossing punctuated by the usual sea sickness the party arrived in Dublin where she showed the „Hardings the outsides of some of the beautiful buildings which embellish that lovely city” and visited Lady Castle Coote before journeying to Limerick and Adare. Unlike the welcome the family received on their return after the birth of Edwin this time there does not seem to have been any celebrations to mark the arrival of the landlord’s new daughter and the family returned quietly to their country home.

Caroline, Windham and their friends quickly settled down to life in Adare and immediately entered into the social milieu of the county Limerick élite. Many of their summer activities centred around the spa town of Castleconnell and the great houses on the Shannon. Among those most visited by the Wyndham-Quins included Mount Shannon House the earl of Clare’s country seat, Hermitage the home of Lord Massy, Doonass the home of Sir Hugh Dillon Massy and Belmont the home of Thomas O’Grady. When not visiting or attending parties in the big county houses, Caroline and her friends, Catherine and Louise Harding, spent their time quietly at home japanning and painting on velvet. They were frequently joined by at least one of the female members of the large Rose family. The Roses were an old palatine family who did not seem to move in the highest social circles but were obviously suitable companions for Caroline as they were frequent and welcome visitors at Adare. As the Roses were of „lower rank”, it is likely that Caroline felt relaxed and comfortable in their presence as it was they who would have deferred to her. However, in a

to build Limerick prison, the land for which was purchased in 1816 and building work began in 1817. The prison was designed by John Pain who was eventually involved in the building of Adare Manor.

19 Caroline’s diary, 14 June, 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/13, PCD.

20 Ibid., E/2/13/14. Lady Castle Coote’s husband was Charles Henry Coote, 2nd Baron Castle Coote, who was at this time First commissioner of Accounts (1806-23).

21 Thomas O’Grady was soon to become an exile in France as he could not pay the expenses of a libel action taken against him by George Evans Bruce. O’Grady lost despite the efforts of his defence lawyer, Daniel O’Connell. Kevin Hannan, „Castleconnell” in Old Limerick Journal, 16, (1984). He was also to return from France to play an important role in the parliamentary inquiry which followed his son’s petition to the House of Commons accusing Windham of trafficking in the clerkship of the peace for political purposes. The Wyndham Quins also socialised with Standish O’Grady and his family who lived at The Grange, Fedamore, county Limerick. Standish O’Grady stood against Windham in the 1818 election and eventually took his seat when Windham did not put himself forward in 1820.

22 Japanning had been extremely popular in the eighteenth century. It involved the painting of several layers of lacquer onto objects as small as a snuff box or on larger projects such as tables and chairs. Découpage was also frequently used, in which case paper cut-outs were applied and then painted over with the lacquer. Mrs Delany was an enthusiast of the technique. Katherine Cahill, Mrs Delany’s menus, medicines and manners (Dublin, 2005), p. 315.
hierarchical society based on the gradations of rank there were those to whom Caroline had to show deference and this was much less comfortable.

Towards the end of November 1815 Caroline and Windham paid a two week visit to Lady Kingston of Mitchelstown, county Cork. Lady Kingston as the widow of the second Earl Kingston and also heir in her own right to one of the largest fortunes in Ireland, was of a higher rank than Caroline and Windham Wyndham-Quin. Lady Kingston was a „great patron in Mitchelstown” and as Caroline had founded a school in Adare the previous year (see later) she was keen to see Kingston‟s schools and churches.23 Caroline noted in her diary that:

We went over all Lady Kingston‟s Institutions which exceed in point of magnificence & general utility any thing I ever yet beheld they consist of a spinning school, weaving school, village shop, [?] shop & circulating library for the benefit of the poor which are in fact public institutions – besides an Establishment for twelve orphans, which her ladyship actively supports & provided for through life, the whole is conducted with the greatest [?] & order, every thing so clean so well managed as is quite surprising .24

A few days after this inspirational visit to Lady Kingston‟s philanthropic institutions she was horrified when Windham returned to Adare leaving her alone with Lady Kingston and the other guests. Caroline‟s expressed horror indicated her lack of composure in the presence of Lady Kingston whose position demanded deference and service from her guests as evidenced by Caroline‟s diary entry for 6 December 1815 where she wrote that she had been busy „writing for Lady Kingston‟.25

Before the visit to Mitchelstown, Caroline and the Harding sisters, together with a Miss Grady and Tom Rose, had spent a week in Killarney where Caroline noted in her diary a case of peasant deference, the extent of which seemed, even to her for whom the receipt of obeisance was the expected norm, unusually extreme:

...we breakfasted in haste, & drove 9 miles in a beautiful country before we arrived at some magnificent masses of rocks, which form themselves in each side of the road,& being extremely well wooded have a picturesque & beautiful appearance we had great fun scrambling among rocks assisted by some very old women, who had so little knowledge of the world, that they knelt down at the fringes & flounces of our gowns, & seemed to think us another race of beings, as they trod down the briars with their naked feet to prevent those same fringes & flounces from being torn by them.26

24 Caroline‟s diary, 27 November, 1815, ULSCE D/3196/E/2/13/35-6, PCD.
25 Caroline‟s diary, 6 December, 1815, ULSCE D/3196/E/2/13/36, PCD.
26 Caroline‟s diary, 19, September, 1815, ULSCE D/3196/E/2/13/28, PCD.
In patriarchal societies older women tend to be the most vulnerable and the poorest in the community.\textsuperscript{27} The women that Caroline met in Killarney were probably only too aware of the material difference between themselves and the tourists and were hoping for a reward for their deference. However, Caroline’s interpretation of this extreme act of deference namely that the women saw her and her friends as not only „another race of beings“ but as a higher „race“ of beings, probably grew from her own comfortable explanation for the cruel material differences that existed between the two groups of women.

David Cannadine has noted how in the eighteenth century many on the „Celtic fringe ... believed their societies were traditional, rurally based, divinely ordained hierarchies of degrees, orders and classes, which were based on esteem, prestige and inherited position“.\textsuperscript{28} However, the comfort derived from the fact that „most people knew their place“ was being challenged by agrarian unrest both in Ireland and in other parts of Britain.\textsuperscript{29} The British economy was on a „knife-edge“ after the Napoleonic wars and many of the rural populations, especially the cottier and labouring classes, were poverty stricken. Martin Daunton has noted that at this time „deference to the squire and the parson was often a facade, masking constant challenges to authority“.\textsuperscript{30} Agrarian unrest was „the more or less permanent presence in early nineteenth-century Ireland“ and there was serious turbulence in 1813-16 when the economic situation was exacerbated by bad harvests on account of the exceptionally cold and wet weather.\textsuperscript{31} Unrest was usually orchestrated by secret societies, membership of which was particularly strong in Tipperary, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick and Queen’s County.\textsuperscript{32} The Chief Secretary, Robert Peel, had introduced the peace preservation act and the insurrection act in 1814 which together with the work arising directly from the disturbances themselves increased magistrates’ workloads.\textsuperscript{33} Caroline noted in her diary in October 1815 that „Windham was going constantly to Limerick or other

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{27} Anne Laurence, \textit{Women in England, 1500-1760} (London, 1999), p. 115.
\item \textsuperscript{28} David Cannadine, \textit{Class in Britain} (London, 2000), pp 39-40.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p. 44.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, \textit{Ireland before the famine 1798-1848} (Dublin, 2003), p. 138.
\item \textsuperscript{33} The Peace Preservation Act, 1814, created the first „peelers”, a government force that could be dispatched to any district proclaimed as disturbed. The insurrection act, 1814, like its precursors of 1796-1802 and 1807-10, allowed the government to proclaim districts disturbed and thereby impose a curfew and suspend trial by jury. The magistrates were given sweeping powers of search and detention. S. J. Connolly \textit{The Oxford companion to Irish History} (Oxford, 1998), pp 260, 436.
\end{itemize}
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places where there were meetings of magistrates on the disturbed state of the country”. The necessity for Windham to remain at Adare because of his civil duties did not prevent Caroline from visiting and holidaying with friends for throughout her married life she was able to maintain an active and independent social life.

Unfortunately the social activities that Caroline had planned for the Christmas period, after her return from Mitchelstown, had to be curtailed as she had a miscarriage on Christmas day. She took ill on Christmas Eve and her sad diary entry for the following day was:

Christmas day – not for Dr Sayers – a very dark one to me, whose mind was soured by the disappointment of being suddenly confined when I thought I was going on well – such is the uncertainty of the blessings of this life.

Miscarriages before the advent of blood transfusions and antibiotics in the twentieth century were more dangerous for women than full-term births. The more advanced the pregnancy at the time of the miscarriage the greater risk to the mother. This was because there was an increased possibility that the uterus would not empty completely and the woman could lose her life from blood loss or from infection. It often took women weeks or months to recover from a miscarriage and Pat Jalland has suggested that the secrecy surrounding the illnesses resulting from miscarriages meant that they „could appear to be psychogenic, since the real cause was unstated” and that this „probably explains the alleged “delicacy” of many Victorian women”. Caroline wrote quite clearly about her miscarriage in her diary but in her annual reflection for the year 1815 she wrote,

my own health & spirits are just slightly inconvenienced by mumps which I fear has destroyed the hopes I had of adding to my family, but why should I repine the Gracious Lord who has already blessed me with two children, will in his goodness probably give me another, lest should it please him that I should never have another...

She made no reference to having mumps in her diary and merely noted on 27 December, her wedding anniversary, that „this day 5 years I was united to the best & most affectionate of husbands was out of spirits, & could enjoy nothing” but by 1

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34 Caroline’s diary, 17 October, 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/31, PCD.
35 Caroline’s diary, 25 December, 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/38, PCD.
37 Ibid., p. 161.
38 Ibid., p. 162.
39 Caroline’s reflections, January, 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/50-1, PCD.
January she was able to go out „ airing”.\textsuperscript{40} It would appear that Caroline had recovered quite quickly but she continued to be out of sorts and complained of a toothache until two weeks later she noted that Dr Sayers had „ordered me quantities of good things” and that she was „rather better”.\textsuperscript{41}

The early part of 1816 passed tranquilly at Adare with Caroline engaged in the usual pursuits and pastimes, she rode regularly and was busy japanning furniture\textsuperscript{42}, painting curtains, gardening and generally improving the manor. Windham, when at home, was busy improving the farm and estate buildings, together they were building and preserving, constructing a suitable material environment for their family.\textsuperscript{43} Caroline was still mourning the death of her father and she missed him especially on her birthday, „My own birthday a painful recollection since my beloved father’s decease”.\textsuperscript{44} She had been close to her father, who had been more often at home than her mother, and she probably recollected the birthday celebrations that she had enjoyed with him in the past. Caroline also had a close relationship with her grandmother who had remained in Wales with her daughter after her son-in-law’s death. Unfortunately, when Windham returned to Adare on 6 June, after his second visit that year to England on parliamentary business, he came back with the news of Mrs Edwin’s deteriorating health and five days later Caroline received news by post that her grandmother had actually died on the date of Windham’s return. On receipt of the news she „put off all the company we expected – felt very low and uncomfortable”.\textsuperscript{45} Caroline in this diary entry described not only her mental state, but also the physicality of her emotions resulting from the death of her grandmother. A few days later, however, she was able to put on her mourning dress and direct her energies into teaching at the local school.

Caroline had founded the school in Adare in 1814 and a report to the House of Commons on diocesan and parish schools in Ireland, which was printed in April 1823 gave the total number of pupils as being 181, of which 24 were Roman Catholics. The school was wholly financed by Caroline who also paid the schoolmaster £30 per annum. From this report it would appear that the Adare school was one of the largest

\textsuperscript{40} Caroline’s diary, 1 January, 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/38, PCD.
\textsuperscript{41} Caroline’s diary, 13 January, 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/40, PCD.
\textsuperscript{42} Caroline had drawn pictures from the cabinets in Mount Shannon house to use as the basis for some of her japan work.
\textsuperscript{43} One of the building projects started at this time was the conversion of the pavilion into the „heath house”, which would become popular with all the family as a sight for outdoor entertaining or for relaxing on summer days.
\textsuperscript{44} Caroline’s diary, 24 May, 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/13/40, PCD.
\textsuperscript{45} Caroline’s diary, 12 June, 1816, ULSC, D/3196/ E/2/14/23, PCD.
schools in the area and unusual in the fact that the school was not maintained by either
the Church of Ireland incumbent or a Protestant organisation and neither did the pupils”
parents make contributions. The entry for Caroline”s school, for indeed she had made it
hers, was followed by the remark:

The school has increased in number since 1821. There are at present on the books
207; and till within the last fortnight the Roman Catholics were 35: but on the day of
the visitation of the Roman Catholic bishop there was so strong a censure passed on
the parents who sent their children to the school, that most of them have been
withdrawn. But still there are 7 of them in regular attendance, and the curate hopes
the number will increase; for many of the people have publicly declared that their
children were better instructed at the Protestant school, than any other school in the
neighbourhood.46

Despite the opprobrium of the Roman Catholic hierarchy there is no doubt that the
school was managed successfully and that, when at Adare, Caroline superintended and
taught regularly. She also concerned herself directly with the school inspections and
examinations and took a personal interest in the school books and the building of the
schoolmaster”s house, which she financed. The school treat was also an annual event
that Caroline presided over and K. D. Reynolds has noted that „[b]y such means was the
prosperity of the ruling family tied to pleasant recollection on the part of the labourers,
and the patterns of deference replicated”.47 She went on to conclude that whether or not
the aristocratic woman”s involvement in the education of „their”poor is viewed as
benevolent or exploitative they did play a crucial part in the maintenance of the
authority of the aristocracy in the country; „such involvement could be construed as
appropriate feminine behaviour; but at the same time their social position enabled these
women to have a wide impact on their local communities”48

Caroline”s commitment to the local school had much to do with her
paternalistic Tory ideals and her sense of duty to her husband”s tenants but it was also
fuelled by her religious zeal for as she wrote in her reflections on the year 1816:

my mornings being chiefly occupied in establishing a school in the village for which
purpose I had fitted up a room in one of the unused offices which beautify this loved
spot – as I advance in years, the wish of becoming useful to my fellow creatures
increases in ardour, & I feel the necessity of marking out my faithful stewardship to
my heavenly master, as the business of the highest importance to me.49

46 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 10 & 14 April, 1823, Accounts relating to Diocesan and
Parish Schools in Ireland, 1823 (229), 39. This extract also demonstrates the government”s concern
with the education of the Catholic poor.
48 Ibid., p. 100
49 Caroline”s reflections, January 1817, ULSC. D/3196/E/1/55, PCD.
If her religious beliefs were the motivation behind her commitment to the school, the act of teaching religion to the children acted as a positive feedback mechanism reinforcing and strengthening her own belief. She later wrote in her reflections,

the most comfortable reflection I have at this moment is that my mind by instructing the children of the school, has been much more alive to the beauties of Scripture & the great advantages to be derived from their study I pray to my heavenly father to assist me in the continuation of the same, & to shed his grace upon my humble endeavours.50

On 15 August, Caroline went to the school in the morning before setting off on the Limerick road to meet her mother who was expected on her first visit to her daughter’s home. She arrived with Catherine Harding and they were accompanied by Thomas Goold. Mrs Wyndham, a relatively young woman of forty-seven years, was very sociable and her three month visit included many balls and dinners, of which there was plenty to choose from as the hunting season had begun. Hunting and shooting, as leisure pursuits, formed an important part of the performance of a male member of the landed classes but they also provided an arena for social engagement in the form of picnics, dinners and hunt balls, many of which were held in the houses on the Shannon river. Shooting was considered a male activity and Caroline would not appear to have shot, but like her father, she enjoyed hunting and often rode with the men on deer and fox hunts and she also enjoyed hare coursing. This season, however, she only records riding out once as she seemed to be busy entertaining her mother and her friend. During quieter moments at Adare Mrs Wyndham, an avid gardener began to „alter“ Caroline’s garden and they all read Jane Austin’s Mansfield Park together in the evenings.51 The second edition of Mansfield Park had been published in February 1816 and Caroline was one of the few to read it as only a small number of copies were bought.52 It is unfortunate that she does not note in her diary her thoughts on the book but as it „posits stability, authority, custom, sobriety, and staunch morality as values cultivated in the country houses of the Tory gentry” it can be surmised that she approved.53

In her introduction to Mansfield Park Claudia Johnson noted how Austen’s characters are extremely interested in money, both their own families and their

50 Caroline’s reflections, January 1817, ULSC. D/3196/E/1/59, PCD.
51 ULSC, D/3196/E/2/14/44, papers of Caroline, countess of Dunraven
53 Ibid., p. xii.
neighbours. A letter from Caroline to her grandmother in 1808 could have come straight out of an Austen novel:

Mama intends also having a little dance on the 9th she seldom passes her birthday without one, as that is almost the only day in the year that Papa does not make some objection – Have you heard of Mr Hancome’s having been named private chaplain to Admiral Campbell Lord C’s brother? ... he will gain about 200£ per annum give up housekeeping etc, so that the receipt of his church preferments will be entirely free to pay his debts, which from an investigation of his affairs will be entirely cleared at the end of two years – when we hope he will return to us in affluence, & know at last what comfort is – happiness has so long been denied him from various causes, that this bright prospect has quite cheered him, & recovered his spirits, at which I sincerely rejoice. The two brides elect (Fanny Trehorne & Miss Jenkins) are returned into this country, where they will both shortly be married – Mr Jenner has given his son ten thousand pound & the lease of a most excellent house opposite his own in Montague Street, to settle on Fanny, & has also bought them a carriage & horses, & furnished the house very handsomely for them – George Jenner has a very large fortune of his own, so I think she has done pretty well for herself considering all things...

The importance of money to Caroline and her family cannot be over-emphasised for, despite their belief in the „naturalness” of their superior social position, their position and status was based on land ownership and in order to maintain their land and to keep up the aristocratic performance they needed money. Caroline’s diary filled with details of social events, hid the fact that their financial circumstances were stretched. As well as the widespread post-war economic slump, their pecuniary situation may have been exacerbated by her father-in-law’s short-lived marriage in February 1816 to Margaret Mary Coughlan, an occasion that did not merit inclusion in either Caroline’s diary or annual reflections. The Viscount and Lady Mount Earl separated acrimoniously within the year and it is likely that the whole debacle cost the Viscount money for he wrote in a bitter note in 1819 about Colonel Coghlan , his ex-wife’s brother:

The writer of this insulting note is one of the trustees to the deed of separation. What right has he now to comment and to express his disapprobation in the manner he has done in that (from first to last) unprincipled and ungentlemanlike note? ...Put altogether, she got more when I left her than I got from her when I married her

54 Ibid., p. xiv.
55 Caroline to Mrs Edwin, 28 October, 1808, ULSC, D/3196/D/2/48, DCWF.
56 Margaret Mary Coghlan was the daughter of James Coghlan, Coghlan House, Queen’s county who had first married George L’Estrange and secondly Colonel Arthur Blennerhasset.
57 Valentine Quin had been elevated to 1st Viscount Mount Earl on 5 February 1816. He was sixty-four years old.
This was despite his admission that she had given him a „present of £2,600”.

Whether or not Windham’s father’s marital problems contributed to his and Caroline’s shortage of cash, it is unlikely that the recently elevated Viscount was in a position to help them financially. Caroline’s mother and father had also always overspent and after Mr Wyndham died, there were debts that had to be paid. However, Caroline and Windham discovered that Mrs Wyndham was in a position to help them but also discovered that she was reluctant to do so.

After Mr Wyndham’s death Windham and Caroline had suggested to Mrs Wyndham that, in order to save money, she should come to live at Adare. This suggestion did not meet with Mrs Wyndham’s approval and she assured her daughter that the £900 a year she received from her mother’s bond was adequate to pay for „two men, two maids and two houses” and that she would save money by staying with friends. She suggested that she might assist the impecunious young couple by letting them have £500 if they promised to pay her an annuity of £25 during her lifetime.

Caroline had obviously not been aware of the existence of this bond and disputed her mother’s entitlement to it, or simply just wanted it, and had let her mother know of her wishes. The dispute between Caroline and her mother over the ownership of this bond had commenced before Mrs Wyndham’s visit to Ireland. Mrs Wyndham had written to Caroline in July 1816:

I am sorry to find you and Mr Wyndham-Quin are so surprised at the bond being in existence. I have no reason to suppose my dear mother would have destroyed it, had she been able, for when Mr W.Q. thought of selling Dunraven last year, my mother gave hints he would be the loser by it – though I did not then understand it – but now I imagine it was respecting the bond. As the will was made before, but I think after the bond has been granted, and though Mr W.Q. gave up this idea, his condition was my purchasing the furniture. Now, she thought this imprudent in me and of course did not like it.

It is clear that Windham had been prepared to sacrifice Dunraven for the benefit of Adare and that Caroline was acquiescent. This would have been a disastrous decision as Dunraven and its coal deposits would prove to be the future source of the Wyndham-Quins’ wealth for generations. Evidence would suggest that Caroline’s mother and

58 Note by Lord Montearl, 26 August 1819, on a letter written by Colonel Coghlan, 22 August 1819, ULSC, D/3196/B/6/6, Papers of the 1st earl of Dunraven.
59 Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 19 December 1815, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/2, PCD; Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 21 July 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/5, PCD.
60 Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 21 July 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/5, PCD.
grandmother did their best to prevent the estate leaving the family. Mrs Wyndham continued:

Had she intended annulling the bond, she could have done it in her will, without my knowing anything of it during her lifetime. Mr W.Q. did not notice my offer of taking everything moveable at Dunraven for the bond, which perhaps may be an imprudent offer, and is thought so, as I should lose the difference in interest, if I only paid by instalments; but I wished as much as possible to reduce our money transactions... Why you should reckon Clearwell your sheet-anchor, I cannot conceive, for you must always receive more from the Welsh estate, and being chiefly on old leases and underlet, that will pay when the Gloucester estate will not. However, it is hoped times will mend both here and in Ireland.61

Unfortunately the archive contains many letters addressed to Caroline but very few written by her so what is available to the historian is a one-sided correspondence. However, it is apparent from her mother’s next letter, written shortly before she started on her journey to Ireland, that Caroline had replied to her mother in what the older woman regarded as an unfeeling letter:

I certainly cannot afford to give it up, especially as I have many reasons to think I do not act contrary to my mother’s wishes – otherwise, whatever were my privations, I should immediately do so. I must know my mother’s sentiments latterly better than you can. But if the interest is regularly paid into Coutt’s [solicitor] hands as usual, I shall never claim the principal while Dunraven is in your possession. However, if you choose to pay it off, I can have no objection. I was the person who caused your having so large an allowance, supposing that, if Mr Quin did not like residing at Dunraven, you would keep it up on your pin money, do your duty towards the poor there and at Clearwell. Certainly it was not given you to spend on clothes or in Ireland.62

The Wyndham-Quins may have been lauded for being resident landlords in Ireland but this meant in effect that they were absentees in Wales and Gloucestershire and Mrs Wyndham in the above extract of her letter reminded Caroline of her duties to the people in her Welsh and English estates.

A letter to Caroline from her mother in February 1817 indicated that the situation regarding the bond had not been settled to Windham and Caroline’s satisfaction during Mrs Wyndham’s visit to Ireland. Caroline was in Dublin staying with the Goolds of Merrion Square and Windham was in London on parliamentary business. Mrs Wyndham’s words in her letter hint that Caroline was not beyond using emotional blackmail to get what she wanted:

61 Ibid.
62 Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 5 August, 1816, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/6, PCD.
I have this instant read your letter from Dublin, and it goes to my heart that you should feel so unhappy, as you say from my fault. How the bond could make any difference respecting your coming to England, I cannot guess. However, I wish I had told you my intention of placing it in trustees’ hands for your use as soon as I went to town. You may then, after the next year, receive interest or not, as you please...Now, dearest Caroline, this point being settled, if this was really the cause of you not coming to England, you may still come and bring the children. As I believe you have not any servant proper to travel with you, I would send Davies to fetch you, and he should convey one hundred pounds for the journey, as you may not have that sum by you, and never can I spend any that would give me so much pleasure as what would bring you to me.

I fear I must give up Dunraven. Mr W.Q expects more than I could give, and live there; but I have not yet answered his last letter. I wish never to do anything hastily, and to consult friends ...

Once more in accordance with her mother’s observation twenty-five years earlier, („Women having power [over their own property] is in general of little avail – they are either kissed or kicked out of it”), Anna Maria Wyndham was persuaded to give up her money, this time to her daughter and son-in-law. This outcome had been predicted by Windham who may, indeed, have given Caroline lessons in parental manipulation. He wrote to her from London:

I received your letter yesterday. I always told you you would get this Bond by one means or other – as it has so happened your mother did not consent time enough for you to set off with me, perhaps some good may arise out of that delay – I think you have acted very discreetly throughout – a thousand reasons will present themselves to you, why coming now to England would be productive of inconvenience rather than solid pleasure. It is understood here your Mother will not come up for some time, & I see no reason for supposing I shall stay here beyond the beginning of April - & then if I felt myself unrestrained here, I have many very weighty reasons for being anxious to get home – besides all your arrangements are made & you will pass this session of absence, more pleasantly than you would the next, when I have no doubt I shall have to remain from the first day to the last – I would rather give my mother some of these reasons for staying away; repeat that if she had mentioned her kind intentions in time, nothing would have hindered your coming & that if she will let you consider the £100 applied to next year instead of this, when you can make it productive of a long visit to her, instead of a short one, you shall be very happy to go over with me, if I am, then in parliament ... take the children and stay a long time, before which time you sincerely hope every point of difference and misunderstanding between her and me would be satisfactorily settled ... I think, if I were you, I would say something, though I hardly know what – perhaps to this effect: that you regret any point of difference should remain between her and me, that if these were once settled your intercourse and meetings would in future be so much more frequent and harmonious ... You see that a steady perseverance in refusing to be humbled by her, has its effect.

63 Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 4 February, 1817, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/8, PCD.
64 Mrs Edwin to Anna Maria Wyndham, 7 January, 1792, ULSC, D/3196/D/3, DCWF.
65 Windham to Caroline, 15 February, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/49, PCD.
What is apparent from Windham’s letter is the degree of control that he had over his wife and her affairs. She had found herself in the invidious position of “piggy in the middle” between the wills of her mother and her husband and although there is no evidence that she put up any resistance against the latter, it is probable that she also wanted to remain on friendly terms with her mother. Her mother, however, was not to get in the way of Caroline’s responsibilities as an “incorporated wife”, which were to work with her husband in the pursuance of his career and dynastic ambitions. Both a career in politics and the construction of an aristocratic family required money, and as money was short, Mrs Wyndham’s chances of holding onto her mother-in-law’s bond were probably always slight.

Not only did Mrs Wyndham relinquish the bond but she also sent Caroline £50 as a result of a letter she had received from Caroline saying that she would be leaving Dublin on account of the expense of a forthcoming ball on 6 March. At the same time, however, she also reminded Caroline that her father’s debts had not yet been paid and that

They ought to have been discharged before you touched a shilling of any money arising from the estate in any way, and you will act quite right in appropriating [a] great part of your income to do so. God grant you may, in every instance of your life, act with honour and justice.  

Debts would have increased the likelihood that the Dunraven estate would have to be sold and Mrs Wyndham’s aim would appear to have been to use all her powers of persuasion (the only powers left to her) to safeguard the Welsh estate against the rapaciousness of a needy Irish one. Towards these ends she also recommended that Caroline and her family should spend a year or two with her for “Where could you be so respectably, without mortification of retrenching?” Mrs Wyndham also hoped that “the present inconveniences” would not deter Caroline from “innocent pleasure” and to facilitate these innocent pleasures she sent the £50. Caroline, however, chose to leave Dublin before 6 March and return to Adare where she discovered that her two-year old daughter, Anna Maria had just broken her leg, and that it had been set by the doctor a mere three hours before her arrival. Fortunately the child’s leg mended quickly and she was able to enjoy the arrival of her old governess, Miss Weymer, who

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66 Reynolds, Aristocratic women, pp 6-7.
67 Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 21 February, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/9, PCD.
68 Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 21 February, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/10, PCD.
had come for a visit that lasted three months until she left in June to take up employment with Lady Massy. The nineteenth century governess was defined by Lady Elizabeth Eastlake in the Quarterly Review as „a being who is our equal in birth, manners and education but our inferior in worldly wealth‟.⁶⁹ It was deemed necessary that the children of the gentry should be educated by women from a comparable class but as a result of the governess‟s ambivalent social status she usually found herself in an unenviable and lonely position within her employer‟s household. The servants were inappropriate associates as they were from a lower social class and friendship with them would have damaged the governess‟s position and career prospects but employers often only offered condescension while at the same time exploiting and undervaluing her work. Caroline, however, remained fond of her former governess and maintained a relationship with her, which, if the differences in the women‟s wealth and status were ignored, should not be surprising as Miss Weymer had been her constant companion during her formative years and in all likelihood probably knew her better than her own mother.⁷⁰ In addition, and even more so than with the Rose sisters, Caroline had no deferential obligations and was probably able to relax in the company of her old friend and tutor. Her pleasure at the arrival of her old friend was further compounded by Windham‟s return from London at the beginning of April.

Unfortunately, Caroline‟s state of happiness at being surrounded by close friends and her family was disrupted by another miscarriage, on 6 May 1817, which kept her confined to her room until 16 May. The rest of the year 1817 was passed as usual, the summer months were spent sight-seeing and touring county Kerry, the autumn and winter were energetically engaged with deer and fox hunting and hare coursing with Caroline often the only woman riding with the men. The beginning of the year 1818 saw Caroline preparing for her and the children to accompany Windham to England. Windham shared Viscount Palmerston‟s and Sir Robert Peel‟s

⁶⁹ Dinah Birch, „The perfect plot device” in London review of books, 30, no. 14, (2008), p. 32,
⁷⁰ Twenty-three years later in April 1842, Caroline searched for appropriate accommodation for the now senile governess:
Drove with Augusta to see my most valued old friend Madme Weymer but grieved sadly to find her mind much gone & deeply mourned over the ravages that time had made in her – her situation was truly desolate & miserable & saw with true regret that there wd be much difficulty in improving her condition. Caroline‟s diary, 12 April 1842, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/ 44/24, PCD.
dislike of being separated from their spouses and he had written to Caroline in July 1817:

> Altogether, I have made a great campaign this year, and as I clearly see that it is useless to go over at intervals for short periods, and only valuable when I can stay for some months at a time, and that by separating myself from you so much I purchase the objects of ambition much too dearly, I have made up my mind to take you with me when I can, and when I cannot, to stay at Adare; for I did miss you so much this year, that I am determined never to subject either of us to the like again ....

Before the voyage the Wyndham-Quins stayed for five days with the Goolds in Merrion Square and on her last day in Dublin, Caroline was able to meet Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan. She and Windham had read *The wild Irish girl* shortly after they were married and Caroline had read *The missionary: an Indian tale* the previous year when it had „engaged“ her so much that she had spent „almost the whole day” reading it and „could not go out“. When she met Lady Morgan she found that she was „much charmed“ by the author’s „talents for conversation“.

Following Caroline’s visit with Lady Morgan she had a „melancholy dinner“ before making her way to the „odious packet“ on which she had to remain overnight before the wind changed and they were able to make their way across the Irish sea once again. Caroline and the children stayed with Bel Hanmer and her family in Hardwicke for over a week before travelling to see the Hardings in Gloucester. Windham had left shortly after his arrival in England to travel to London, taking with him Miss Milne who had presumably been the children’s governess. Caroline was sorry to see her go as „she was so attached to my dear little children“. On her journey to Gloucester Caroline drove on the Iron bridge over the river Severn when she recounted this journey in her diary she noted that

> The country is very beautiful in the Valley in which the Iron bridge is situated but terribly spoiled as to picturesque effect, by the continuation of houses & works occasioned by the china manufactures, & Coal & iron trade with which that country abounds.

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71 Reynold’s, *Aristocratic women*, p. 6.
72 This „campaign“ may have been concerned with the assizes in Ireland, I am now almost quite certain of succeeding in carrying a point I have had much at heart. It is to limit the presenting (that is all the money) business of the assizes to one assizes in the year instead of two, and to make that the summer instead of the spring. Then never need attend in spring again. My countrymen did not like it at first, but I have talked them all over ...“ Windham to Caroline, 4 July, 1817, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/53, PCD.
73 Windham to Caroline, 21 July, 1817, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/58, PCD.
74 Caroline’s diary, 13 February, 1817, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/14/71, PCD.
75 Caroline’s diary, 16 January, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/17, PCD.
76 Ibid.
77 Caroline’s diary, 21 January, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/20, PCD.
78 Caroline’s diary, 5 February, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/22, PCD.
Her observations are in marked contrast to those that she made nine years previously when she was “entertained ... extremely”\(^79\). Either the number of industrial buildings and workers’ houses had greatly increased or she had acquired some of Anna Seward’s concern about the destruction of rural Shropshire and perhaps the countryside in general.\(^80\). Whilst staying in Gloucester, she visited her old school friends, the Bakers, and also the knight of Glin who was obviously staying nearby. After a few days Caroline, accompanied by Catherine and Louisa Harding started their journey to London breaking their journey to stay two weeks with Windham’s father in Cheltenham. They eventually arrived at Mrs Wyndham’s London house on 27 February where they found Caroline’s mother “very indifferent, her eye extremely weak”. Mrs Wyndham frequently suffered from an eye complaint, which may have been exacerbated by the measles infection that she contracted in 1810.

Mrs Wyndham seemed to quickly recover her health and, notwithstanding earlier tensions over the bond, she and Caroline busied themselves visiting friends and relations who were in London for parliament and the season. Once again a stay in London provided time for portraits to be commissioned and executed and this year Anna Maria, now aged three, Caroline and her mother were having miniatures painted of their eyes. This practise had been popularised by the Prince Regent and the short-lived fashion reached its peak in the early nineteenth century.\(^81\). The ocular portraits appeared in a variety of settings including mounted in pins or brooches, set in rings and bracelets or framed on the lids of snuff boxes and other personal items. Despite a shortage of money, Caroline was continuing the aristocratic performance in London including purchasing the material markers of status which included the miniature portraits of her and her daughter’s eyes. She made no reference, however, of either Windham or Edwin having their eyes painted. Windham was busy attending the House of Commons and Edwin, now nearly six had started to attend a school in London. After the departure of Miss Milne, Caroline taught him “as much as I could every day” but, as a boy, he was obviously considered old enough to go to school and

\(^79\) Caroline’s diary, 27 October, 1809, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/5A, PCD.
\(^80\) Later in 1822 Caroline complained the iron works near Tintern Abbey “how barbarous then is the iron works which entirely in my opinion destroy the illusion of retirement of the monks, we cannot place them in their seclusion when the stillness of the air is broken by hammers where no noise should be heard but the singing of birds” Caroline’s diary, 1 May, 1822, ULSC, D/3186/E2/ 22/45, PCD.
after he and Anna Maria had a check up with a London doctor, Edwin commenced at Mrs Longford’s school in Kensington.\textsuperscript{82} He stayed at school during the week but returned to his parents at the weekend. These weekly absences were a preliminary for future years, which were marked for Caroline by a cycle of missing and worrying about Edwin when he was at school; the anticipation of his return then followed by the delight at spending time with him during the holidays. Anna Maria, on the other hand, as the daughter of an ambitious family newly-elevated to the peerage was always to be educated at home by her mother, governesses and tutors thus following the custom of the most prosperous families to keep their daughters at home. Caroline was a loving mother to all her children but seemed especially fond of her sons. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the periods of absence and worry followed by holidays, during which the returned son was lavished with attention, marked the boys as special and “other” than herself and her daughter.

Caroline was eager to have another child but had suffered two miscarriages recently and while in London she miscarried for the third time. It took her a month before she was able to go out again when Mr Clarke, her attending doctor, deemed her fit to attend the opera „Don Giovani”, which she had wished so much to see. Her diary entries for this period reveal that she was in very low spirits during her convalescence despite the attention of her family and the daily visits of Lucretia Ffolkes and Lady Jane Moore.\textsuperscript{83} Her depressed state of mind was worsened by Windham having to leave for Ireland on account of the Whig, Captain Standish O’Grady\textsuperscript{84} contesting his seat in the 1818 election. She wrote in her diary on Saturday 6 June:

\begin{quote}
In the morning Windham informed that he was to sett off for Ireland [?]. I expected him to go in a day or two but I did not know the blow was so near & I felt of course most miserable at the idea of losing my dear dear house friend, adviser & husband! How thankful should I feel to the almighty disposer of all events that he blessed me with such a partner, & has given me so many other blessings for which I never can feel sufficiently grateful...\textsuperscript{85}
\end{quote}

The day of Windham’s departure was the day arranged for Anna Maria’s christening. Anna Maria’s birth had been eclipsed by her grandfather’s death and now her christening was overshadowed, at least in her mother’s mind, by a contested election:

\textsuperscript{82} Caroline’s diary, 6 April, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/32, PCD.
\textsuperscript{83} Daughter of Stephen Moore, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Earl Mountcashell and Margaret King.
\textsuperscript{84} Standish O’Grady was later elevated to Viscount Guillamore in 1831.
\textsuperscript{85} Caroline’s diary, 6 June, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/45, PCD.
he left me about 3 & the rest of the day we were busily employed in preparing for the Evening when my sweet little Anna Maria was to be christened about nine o’clock the ceremony was performed by Mr Douglas, the godmothers were my mother & Miss Wyndham, & Sir Martin Frökes stood proxy for Sir W Barker – she was christened by the name of Anna Maria Charlotte Wyndham, & registered in the Parish of St James’s – after the ceremony I returned upstairs & several friends came & sat with me the gardens were illuminated & about 600 persons came. The band played most beautifully & that I heard from the windows of my mother’s room where I sat – I felt very low & unwell, my dear Windham, going & gone on such a troublesome business as a contested election, where he could be exposed to so many bows & bustles ... however I command him as I always do at parting, to the care of our heavenly father, & trust in him for Grace & Blessing.  

This extract is a further example of the disparity between the content of the letters that decried the family’s lack of money and the evidence in Caroline’s diary of the expensive lifestyle that was necessary for the family of an ambitious aristocrat and politician. The necessity to fight in the Irish election would also have added considerably to the family expenses for 1818, as contested elections were notoriously expensive. It is not unlikely that the efforts that Windham had made to reduce the debts in previous years were negated.

Caroline was worried about the election as O’Grady was a real threat to Windham and she noted on 1 July, „this is the day I know they are to begin polling in Ireland which put me in a complete fuss‟. Her worries and lack of ease were worsened nine days later when she heard that the election was not going well for Windham and on the same day her mother announced that she was to marry John Wick Bennet, a man who had not before this date appeared in Caroline’s diaries. John Bennet came from Laleston, near Dunraven, in Glamorganshire and was untitled, not monied and only twenty-three years of age, twenty-six years younger than Mrs Wyndham and, indeed, five years younger that Caroline. She was far from pleased with her mother’s decision and summed up her thoughts about her mother’s marriage in her annual reflection:

... at the end of March I went to London, & there suffered much from illness, & vexation The first caused by another disappointment to my hopes of adding to my family, & the second by my mother’s determination to marry Mr J. Bennet, who

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86 Caroline’s diary, 6 June, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/45, PCD. Anna Maria’s godfather, Sir William Barker, 4th Baronet Barker of Bockinghall (in Bocking), Co. Essex was the son of Sir William Barker, 3rd Baronet and Mary Quin and was Windham’s second cousin. He lived at Kilcooley Abbey, Kilcooley, Co. Tipperary and died 24 October 1818. Her godmother was presumably Miss Sophy Wyndham.

87 Windham had written to Caroline in July 1817: „We have made a great hole in the shop debts this year”. Windham to Caroline, 12 July, 1817, D/3196/E/3/56, PCD.

88 Caroline’s diary, 1 July, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/52, PCD.
though a very amiable young man, was 5 years younger than myself & in many respects quite a debasement to her, how very severely I felt the change of seeing her fall from the respectable state of my beloved father’s widow, to be the wife of a younger man I can never describe, but at present she is very happy & from his good honour & affection for her, I hope & trust she will have more comfort than generally is denied from such very ill proportioned matches, & most ardently do I pray for a continuation of her present enjoyments . . . 

A married woman’s social status was determined by that of her most recent husband but Caroline was not only worried about her mother’s social standing but also about the effect this inauspicious marriage may have on her husband’s ambitions. Reynold’s noted the social ignominy suffered by the children of Charlotte Layard, widow of the ninth earl of Lindsey, when she married her children’s tutor and Lord Bellamont had tried in vain to extricate himself from his engagement to Emily Fitzgerald after her mother’s marriage to William Ogilvie.

The day after her mother’s announcement Caroline, the children and Miss Milne, who had returned to the family, set off for Tunbridge Wells in the hopes that the waters would improve Caroline’s poor health after her miscarriage. She felt „very low indeed but tried to bear up as well as [she] could” and on her arrival she arranged the rental of a house for the Ffolkes who joined her a few days later. Despite her opposition to her mother’s proposed marriage, Caroline had tried to help her mother with her wedding arrangements but the Archbishop refused a license and the ceremony had to be delayed until after the banns were read. There would appear to have been no great financial benefit to be gained by Mr Bennet so it may be presumed that it was a love match. Mrs Wyndham reassured her daughter that her future and much younger husband would receive very little from her. In her earlier will she had left a sum of £4,000 „for the support of Dunraven” and she informed Caroline by letter how this was now to be arranged:

Mr Frere [lawyer] is here, and we have been consulting the best method to settle the 4000, and I am so anxious to have it done irrevocably that I have arranged it to be put back on the back of the mortgage deed, that at my death the produce may help to keep up Dunraven. But should that place be sold, the 4000 is to go to Mr Bennet should he be alive, if not to you, which is an alteration in your favour. I have given directions for a new will, with the same annuities as before, and a small legacy to you, but will

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89 Caroline’s reflections, January, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E1/64-5, PCD.
90 Reynolds, Aristocratic women, pp 15, 226.
92 Caroline’s diary, 10 July, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/56, PCD.
leave very little to Mr Bennet, and so have ever told him. I have also ordered my jewels and topazes to be left to you.\textsuperscript{93}

Caroline”s mother eventually married in London on 23 July, the Ffolkes had set off from Tunbridge Wells a few days earlier to attend the wedding in London but Caroline remained behind. She wrote in her diary:

This morning was the day fixed for the celebration of my mother”s marriage with Mr J Bennet a day of considerable anxiety & mortification to me but one that I trust will be the commencement of much happiness to her & Mr B who though 26 years younger than herself appears most sincerely attached to her – the dear Ffolkes attended her to the Altar, the ceremony was performed at St James”s Church – they returned to dine with me & we all walked out in the Evening together.\textsuperscript{94}

She noted on the day following the wedding that „I was too tired to get up in the morning the constant anxiety I had been in relative to my mother”s marriage had affected my nerves most extremely“.\textsuperscript{95} Her major concern seemed to be Windham”s reaction to her mother”s behaviour. He had retained his seat and was due to join his wife and family in Tunbridge Wells.\textsuperscript{96} The family group had already been added to by the arrival of Windham”s brother Richard and his wife. The Quins were good friends of Caroline”s mother who, with her new husband, had taken a house near to Caroline”s. Richard Quin”s presence may, perhaps, have been planned as a buffer between his friends the Bennets and his brother but if this was an intended precaution it was not needed. Caroline”s record for 1 August was:

Had a letter to say that my dearest husband would be here today we received him with fear & trembling on account of my mother, but when they all went out, I remained at home to receive him, & he as usual brought peace & comfort with him, & promised to receive Mrs & Mr Bennett, this relieved me from a dreadful load, & we dined alone as every one else was engaged to dine at the Bennets – in the Evening he & I walked on the Parade & I felt so happy I could hardly contain myself.\textsuperscript{97}

Windham, if he had chosen not to receive his mother-in-law and her new husband, could have made Caroline”s life difficult but perhaps either his experience of his own errant father or his regard for his wife had made him tolerant.

\textsuperscript{93} Mrs Wyndham to Caroline, 17 July, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/4/12, PCD.
\textsuperscript{94} Caroline”s diary, 23 July, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/59-60, PCD.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} The results of the 1818 election in county Limerick were, Col. Hon. R. H. Fitzgibbon (the second earl”s brother and the future 3\textsuperscript{rd} earl of Clare) 2476 votes, Windham Wyndham-Quin 1724 votes and Capt. Standish O”Grady (later 1\textsuperscript{st} Viscount Guillamore) 1450 votes.
\textsuperscript{97} Caroline”s diary, 1 August, 1818, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/16/64, PCD.
The Wyndham-Quins and the Bennets stayed in Tunbridge Wells for another two weeks before returning to London for a fortnight stay before the former started on their journey back to Adare on 27 August. They broke their journey, as usual in Hardwick with the Hannmers and Catherine Harding soon joined them there as she was to accompany them once more to Ireland. As Caroline and her entourage were leaving for Holyhead, the Hannmers were setting off for London to attend the wedding of their relation, Harriet Bucknall, to a Captain Shakespeare whose impecunious state in the future would cause Windham concern as a trustee of their marriage settlement. Harriet, as Caroline’s mother before her, would eventually be persuaded to give up her own money in order to pay the debts of a profligate husband and, in this case, to keep him out of a debtors gaol. Windham, on the other hand, was certainly never a spendthrift but he was the cause of a great deal worry for Caroline during the first half of 1819.

Windham had been appointed *Custos Rotulorum* for county Limerick in 1818 and thereby had the power to appoint the clerk of the peace for the county. This officer, unlike his English counterpart, had the responsibility for keeping the registry of freeholders and entering the names of those who had qualified as electors. When Windham took up his position as *Custos Rotulorum*, the clerk of the peace for county Limerick was Thomas William O'Grady, the son of Thomas O’Grady of Belmont. The younger O’Grady, a man in his twenties, had held the sinecure worth £800 per annum, for fifteen years having been appointed when he was only seven or eight years old and had always delegated his duties to a deputy. As soon as Windham took up his duties, he made moves to dismiss Thomas W. O’Grady and to appoint a Mr. Richard Smyth as clerk of the peace. However, Windham had arranged that Mr Smyth should pay O'Grady £200 annually out of his £800 earnings and it was this irregular payment that resulted in a parliamentary enquiry and attracted public attention at both local and national level. Thomas O'Grady, with vociferous support from his father, accused Windham of trafficking in the clerkship of the peace for political purpose as he alleged that the £200 payment was conditional on his and his freehold tenants’ electoral loyalty. Thomas W. O'Grady”s petition was read out in the House of
Commons on 24 February 1819 by Sir Robert Wilson, „a reformer” and a „relatively radical whig”.98

Windham who was not a reluctant speaker in the House „rose, and with an energy and feeling which instantly commanded the profound attention of the House” put forward his defence.99 This was firstly, that Thomas O’Grady was only a child when appointed and had „never exercised a single function of his office” and secondly, that he had arranged for O’Grady to receive £200 to save him from ruin but that O’Grady had demanded £300. He also denied that he had ever attempted to buy votes and produced evidence in the form of letters from Thomas O’Grady, senior, that he had been threatened that unless he restored O’Grady, junior, to the position of clerk of the peace his political career would be over. After weeks of debate, examination of letters and Lord Castlereagh”s orchestration of the imprisonment of O”Grady, senior, for two nights for breach of privilege, Windham was finally acquitted of wrong-doing.

Caroline, when she wrote in her journals, portrayed her husband as being without fault in the matter. The whole matter was:

a most villainous conspiracy to deprive my beloved Windham of his [position] as Custos Rotulorum of the county of Limerick, which led to a Parliamentary investigation of his conduct & gave me considerable uneasiness as for the very act for which he deserved the highest credit,& gratitude from the Grady family, he was misrepresented by their villainy, & by the lies of a relative of theirs Mr Carew Smyth, made to appear before the public in a very different point of view, than that he really deserved but he was at length acquitted by a huge majority, & may the Vices of his enemies be forgiven ... my gentle amiable husband whose serenity & urbanity of mind only requires to be known to make him idolized, returned to me in May after a three months absence.100

Caroline”s belief in her husband”s total innocence was perhaps based on a view that his acts of patronage and his efforts to secure votes were perfectly legitimate. Despite the fact that the O”Gradys were short of money and were obviously fighting to hold on to a sinecure worth £800 a year, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Windham was not entirely blameless and that he had deliberately attempted to safeguard Grady”s votes for the next election while gaining others through the patronage of Mr

99 The Courier, 5 February, 1819
100 Caroline”s reflections, January 1820, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/68, PCD.
Smyth. W. D. Rubinstein in his paper on the end of „Old Corruption” pointed to „the near-universality of nepotism and patronage among aristocratic families, particularly those with links to the Tory party” and Douglas Kanter has noted that despite the efforts of politicians to reform themselves in the nineteenth century „Ireland remained very much part of the old regime”. Caroline and Windham may simply have believed that this was how things were done.

After his acquittal Windham was expected back in Limerick on 14 May and Caroline drove to meet him herself and on seeing him her „joy was indeed beyond bounds” and she noted in her diary the following day „Awoke in such happiness I could hardly credit the evidence of my senses, I had been thirteen long weeks without seeing the dear object of my most ardent affection”. The Wyndham-Quins once more settled into their happy life at Adare where they spent much of their summer fishing and socialising with their neighbours amongst whom were the Blennerhassets. The Blennerhassets were, perhaps, the hardest drinking and „the gayest characters of the circle” and although Caroline seemed to enjoy their company the religious part of her worried about their worldly effect on her. She was, however, forced to slow down in August as once again she was pregnant and feeling unwell. By 2 October she was probably in her second trimester and less nauseous and she noted that „Windham & I quite alone, a great deal together & very happy” but on 10 October she suffered her forth miscarriage in four years and her seventh in eight years of marriage. This time she lost twins and as the pregnancy was quite advanced she was very ill:

my recovery was very slow & tedious, & it was not till Sunday the 7th of November that I could be carried downstairs, & allowed to take a drive in the close carriage my darling husband’s attention formed my great happiness – the dear children I saw occasionally & the Miss Roses were constantly with me Milly & Jane staying in the house – occasionally I saw a few ladies, but my spirits were wretchedly low, & grateful as I felt for my approaching recovery, yet the idea of having lost my hopes of increasing my family now for the 7th time quite disheartened me – however having

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103 As a result of the inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Wyndham-Quin a bill was introduced in 1820 „to regulate the appointment and tenure of the Office of clerk of the Peace, in Ireland”.
104 Caroline’s diary, 15 May, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/18/39, PCD.
105 The Blennerhassets had a history of „raking”, in the 1740s Margaret (Celinda) Blennerhasset was apparently the only female member of Limerick’s Hellfire Club. Brendan Lehane, The companion guide to Ireland (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 287.
106 Caroline’s diary, October, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/18/66, PCD.
received a blow from a heavy box the morning I was taken ill, I still hope that it not proceed from debility of constitution.\textsuperscript{107}

Caroline was still hoping that she could have more children in addition to Edwin who was seven and who now frequently accompanied her on her social activities and pastimes and Anna Maria who enjoyed her sixth birthday while her mother was still convalescing and who appeared much less frequently in her mother’s diary as she presumably still spent most of her time in the nursery.

All the family were at home in Adare for Christmas 1819, Windham having recently returned from a short parliamentary visit. By 6 February Windham was canvassing in preparation for the coming 1820 election but on 18 February he left for England to see his father who was unwell and on 26 February Caroline received a letter from him to say that he was not going to stand in the forthcoming election on account of his father’s declining health. Viscount Mount Earl’s health was certainly deteriorating but Windham would also have been aware that his popularity had declined and that his opponent came from a family that ‘had the doubtful reputation of being the best electioneers in Ireland’\textsuperscript{108}. The forthcoming election would have been a hard and expensive contest with only the prospect of defeat as the likely outcome. Leaving politics was likely to have been a hard decision for Windham to make as he had constructed himself as the man of politics, the independent patrician of the public sphere but he was also a pragmatist with the overarching ambition to rid his family of debt and to build the solid foundations for future generations of Wyndham-Quins.

Dunraven, however, was yet to reveal its riches and Caroline’s and Windham’s financial position had not improved. It was Caroline’s suggestion that the family retrench in Wales, not by sharing Dunraven with her mother and her new husband, but in a new cottage to be built at Ynyslas in the Vale of Neath, Glamorganshire. The expense of building a new house was obviously more than compensated by the reduced running costs of a smaller premise and the obviation to entertain large numbers. In addition, they would be nearer to the aging Viscount Mount Earl and also to Edwin when he went to preparatory school, which it would soon be necessary for him to do. Caroline was “quite nervous & unwell” at the thought of leaving Adare as she loved living there and had written on her thirtieth

\textsuperscript{107} Caroline’s diary, October, 1819, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/18/67, PCD.

birthday „Oh how rapidly & like a fairy tale does my life flow away – surrounded with blessings & all sorts of happiness” but, after a long farewell with their friends, she and her family left for England at the beginning of September 1820. They first went to spend a few days with Windham’s father who was “recovered from his late violent attack though greatly altered” before going to Dunraven. Caroline had not been back to her old home since her mother’s marriage and she noted „Oh what misery did I feel on entering the house” but later she wrote

we ... found Dunraven a perfect change of scene, Mr Bennet being master of that once loved place cost me many a pang when first I arrived, but the constant succession of interesting company, & the never ceasing tumult we lived in soon drove all thoughts from my mind we by degrees became [accustomed] to constant late hours, perpetual inactivity of mind, & though I ceased even to meditate, my mind became more tranquil & upon the whole the recollection of the weeks I passed there left no traces of remorse.

Caroline”s mother had always enjoyed an active social life and she was continuing to do so with her new husband. For Caroline the society at Dunraven obviously differed somewhat from that in Ireland for she did not suffer from the nagging guilt that dogged her when she „was weak enough to enter into the dangerous fascination of Irish society”. Whilst at Dunraven, Caroline did not forget her duties to her tenants and she attended the school examinations in Bridgend and visited the old and the sick and thus reinforced her family’s paternalistic links with the local people. She performed her role as an „incorporated wife” and acted as a bridge that linked her popular father with her son, the future heir. Edwin was able to spend a year with his parents before he started preparatory school in October 1821. He was sent to a school run by Rev. Edward Polehampton of Worplesdon Rectory, Guildford, Surrey. His father set out with him on a Thursday morning and left his mother „extremely unwell” and „with a heart almost broken”; she did not recover her spirits for nearly a fortnight until she received her first letter from her „dear boy”.

One hundred and forty-five of the letters that Edwin wrote to his mother during his years at preparatory school have survived and form part of the Dunraven archive. These letters, which were checked

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109 Caroline’s diary, 24 May and 5 September, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/19/13 & 37, PCD.
110 Caroline’s diary, 8 September, 1820, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/19/40, PCD.
111 Caroline’s reflections, January 1821, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/74, PCD.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.

Caroline’s reflections, January 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/77, PCD.
by the Rev. Polehampton until Edwin was twelve, perhaps say more from their silences than from what was written. Edwin wrote in a cheery manner, without emotion, answered his mother’s questions and gave her details of some of his activities, and thus gave evidence of the desired results of such an education in his portrayal of the non-emotional, rational young male who certainly was not homesick for his mother. When he referred to Anna Maria he frequently did not mention her by name but used the possessive „my sister“ whereby she was denied an autonomous existence and was placed in relation to him, which of course reflected her ideal position in a patriarchal household. When his letters are no longer supervised they became less formulaic but were still unemotional. The lack of supervision made it possible for him to make direct demands of his mother, for money for example, with exhortations of „Don’t say anything to Mr Polehampton...“ and to recount incidences of corporal punishment meted out pupils.¹¹⁴

Anna Maria’s education whilst not perhaps as strict was almost certainly less directed and more haphazard. When the family moved to Wales a French speaking governess was employed for Anna Maria, who was only ever referred to as „Mademoiselle“ and later as „Selle“ in Caroline’s journals. Caroline and Wyndham had a very peripatetic lifestyle until Ynyslas cottage was completed and Anna Maria spent much of her time living with her governess in Dunraven Castle. Although Caroline was frequently absent from her daughter, she did not write of her anxiety about her or of missing her. This is in marked contrast to her expressed feelings about her son whose absences pained her nearly as much as her husband’s had in the past. Windham, although only still in his late thirties already suffered from the gout that would plague him for the rest of his life, and was now mostly her constant companion. His main occupation was the building of Ynyslas Cottage, which formally began with a family ceremony on 9 May 1821:

The Williams dined with us and after dinner we all walked in procession the dear children carrying flags to the ground at Ynyslas where the cottage is to be, where they laid the first stone themselves, & we played the harp & guitar etc afterwards we returned to the Lamb & Flag with Miss Penrose & others to teas & cards, & the common people had a dinner in the club room, we staid till near 12 with the children to see them dance, & then parted with the Williams.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Edwin to Caroline 15 and 23 February, 1823, ULSC, D/3196/E/7/3, PCD
¹¹⁵ Caroline’s diary, 9 May, 1821, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/21/12, PCD.
During the building of the Ynyslas Cottage, Caroline and Windham stayed at the Lamb and Flag Inn but spent a great deal of their time with their friends the Williams of Aberpergwm House, a residence within walking distance of the site for the Cottage. The Williams were an old family with a long association with the upper Neath valley and their home had been in Aberpergwm since the sixteenth century. Several members of the family were instrumental in cultivating Welsh poetry and music in the Neath valley and Caroline recounted in her reflection of the year 1822, her attendance at a meeting of the bards at Brecon and that they „had a great deal of amusement amid the lovers of Welsh literature & music“.

Nineteenth-century Wales mirrored Ireland in the active construction of a „linguistic nationalism“ based on Romantic ideals of the mythical Celt.

Caroline‟s life in Wales, even unsettled as it was before the completion of her new home, mirrored to a great extent her life in Ireland and once more highlights the seamlessness of her life, whether in Ireland, Wales or England. During the summer instead of drinking the waters at Castleconnel in Limerick or Tunbridge Wells in Kent, the Wyndham-Quins went to Llandrindod Wells in Powys, and Caroline enjoyed the company of various friends throughout the year. These friends included among others Catherine Harding who, being unmarried, was able to spend a considerable amount of time with her, Miss Weymer, and Lucretia Ffolkes. The latter visited Dunraven in August 1822 to say goodbye to her friends before she married her cousin, Sir Edward West, and accompanied him to India where he was to take up a position as chief justice of Bombay. Sir Edward West was one of the „king‟s judges‟ sent out to India under the Regulating act of 1773 to check the abuses that had grown up under the East India company‟s regime and during his time „he discharged his duties with a fearless integrity and devotion which are beyond praise‟.

Caroline had lamented that she could not hope to see her friend again for seven years but unfortunately she was never to see her again as, like many of the British, she and her husband both died before they could return home. Lucretia had predicted both the fragility of the colonists‟ physical existence in India and also „the instability of their place within the collective memory of the Anglo-Indian community‟ when she wrote

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116 Caroline‟s reflections, January 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/80, PCD.
117 G. A. Williams, „When was Wales?‟ in Stuart Woolf (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe 1815 to the present* (London, 1996), p. 198.
"Here people die one day, and are buried the next. Their furniture sold the third, and they are forgotten the fourth". Both Sir and Lady West died in 1828 leaving a nine year old daughter and £30,000. Both the parents had expressed their wishes that the child should be brought up by her mother’s unmarried sister but a dispute ensued between Miss Ffolkes and Sir West’s brother, a married man with four children, over the guardianship. The dispute was finally settled in the Vice-Chancellor’s Court in 1829 where Miss Ffolkes lost her case for the reasons given by the Vice-Chancellor:

She is a single lady, and has no settled residence. It cannot be to a child’s advantage to be placed in the charge of a maiden lady; it must be far better for them to mix with other children....It could not be denied that it was the earnest desire of the infant’s mother, and also of sir Edward West himself, that the child should be entrusted to Miss Ffolks. If, however, the circumstances in which those parents were placed be recollected, having been for many years away from this country, they could not be so capable of forming a correct conclusion as the court.

Not only did Sir and Lady West’s colonial status mean that they were readily forgotten but it also made it possible for a court to ignore their wishes and rule against a single woman.

Living in Wales also made it possible for Caroline and Windham to socialise more frequently with other members of not only the Wyndham family but also the Quins as Windham’s brother and sister both lived in England in addition to his father. Lord Adare had expected to be elevated to an earldom at the coronation of George IV but in Caroline’s reflection of 1821 she wrote

The total failure of rents having us without money & the elevation of my father in law to an Earldom which was to have taken place at the coronation being suddenly put a stop to in a most unsuspected manner that has been wholly unaccountable both to him & all the [other] Irish peers that were promised it. These are circumstances that however inconvenient & mortifying at present will not I trust ever diminish my happiness, or lead me to discontent & ingratitude to God for those favours he still bestows that are of so much more serious weight – our little cottage that we have begun building in Glamorganshire promises to be very pretty & will I hope when finished allow us to live there with much smaller [expense] than we have ever yet done.

Lord Mount Earl was nearly seventy and in declining health and Caroline and Windham were probably anxious that he should be promoted before it was too late.

121 Caroline’s reflections, January 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/77, PCD.
Their worries over, what was in effect their elevation, were soon over for on 14 February 1822 Caroline noted:

> Found by the Gloucester journal that the Gazette announced my father in laws promotion to the Earldom of Dunraven, which gives Windham & I the rank of viscount & Viscountess Adare was very glad of the affair being over ...sett of for Cheltenham with Edwin to meet his dear father, who I expected that night from London. I left Anna Maria at Gloster with the Hardings, Mademoiselle having gone to London for few days to see a friend – Lord Dunraven but poorly ...

And she later observed:

> our finances were by the depression of the times considerably impaired but we had obtained an accession of rank that gave us a more distinguished place in society, & could only hope for better times in the money way.

Caroline and Windham had been staying with friends and relations or at the Lamb and Flay for two years but by the end of 1822 Ynyslas Cottage had neared completion. They were staying once more with the Williams for the Christmas period, and Caroline spent Christmas day „mostly with my dear boy“ who was with them for his school holidays. Anna Maria, on the other hand, stayed at Dunraven with her grandmother and governess. She returned to join her parents on the 30 December in order for them all to move into the Cottage on New Year’s Eve and celebrate the New Year with a house warming party

> which consisted in having all our neighbours rich & poor, to the cottage here & dance, we had about 22 in the parlour & 70 downstairs – Mr Rees Williams & I opened the ball, with a country dance in which we were joined by almost all present, we afterwards danced a quadrille in another room, but they preferred country dances, again, & all danced in the new year merrily – we had a regular supper & afterwards I danced with my dearest boy who as well as Anna Maria seemed to enjoy themselves and danced very well – we did not get to bed till past four when we really were greatly tired.

Caroline had only a couple of months to settle into her new home before the new Viscount and Viscountess set off on a visit back to Adare where in celebration of their arrival and promotion, the residents had illuminated the town with bonfires and burning tar boughs. Windham and Caroline stayed in Ireland for two months and much of their time was engaged in hunting. Caroline, as usual, hunted

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122 Caroline’s diary, 14 February, 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/22/10, PCD.
123 Caroline’s diary, 24 May, 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/22/53, PCD.
124 Caroline’s diary, 25 December, 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/24/9, PCD.
125 Caroline’s diary, 31 December, 1822, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/24/11, PCD.
enthusiastically for hare and deer but she was also busy „cabin hunting“. The previous year, 1822, had been a year of scarcity and many local organisations had been set up to distribute relief and to provide employment for the people. The plight of the Irish had roused concern among English philanthropic organisations that had then successfully raised money for distribution by the local committees in Ireland. Caroline, shortly after her arrival in Adare, acted as chair at a meeting „at the Infirmary of all the County Ladies to devise some means of giving employment to the female Peasantry“ and she also attended the Committee of the Adare Association. As part of her responsibilities she had to prepare lists of the poor in her area an activity which she described as „cabin hunting“. She was also able to take time to check that her school affairs were in order and was able to help with the preparations for the examinations. However, once again she also found herself enjoying the company of the Blennerhassets of Riddlestown. On 8 May, for example, she did not return to Adare with Windham but

Remained at Riddlestown there was an immense party, and a great deal of dancing – I danced a quadrille with Mr Blennerhasset and waltzed afterwards we had an amazingly gay Evening, the only fault was that the gentlemen were rather too merry.

On reflection Caroline hoped that the hours she had spent working for the poor and the children „may be of use to my fellow creatures & in that blessed hope I trust other follies may be overlooked“. Caroline left Adare with „a heavy heart“ and after Windham conducted business in Dublin they boarded „the Vixon Steam packet ... and were in Holyhead entirely landed at ½ past 2, just 6 hours & 30 minutes“. Despite the improvement of a steamship and a calm crossing Caroline was very ill when she landed and remained in poor health for weeks, even having to travel in a wheelchair to hear the band play in Cheltenham. She convalesced with her cousins the Hardings in Gloucester before going to London and then a sightseeing tour through Hampshire followed by a visit to her mother and Dunraven before the family returned to Ynyslas Cottage at the beginning of August. Caroline was feeling well and riding frequently

126 Caroline’s diary, 31 March, 1823, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/24/36, PCD
127 Mary E. Daly, The famine in Ireland (Dundalk, 1994), p. 42.
128 Caroline’s diary, 13 March, 1823, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/24/30, PCD.
129 Caroline’s diary, 8 May 1823, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/25/9-11, PCD.
130 Caroline’s reflections, January, 1824, ULSC, D/3196/E/183, PCD.
131 Caroline’s diary, 17 May, 1823, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/25/15, PCD.
in comparison to Windham who had hurt his hip going over a gate and had barely recovered before they had to go to Cheltenham because of Lord Dunraven’s deteriorating health. Caroline and Windham’s sister, Harriet Payne nursed Lord Dunraven for a few weeks but it was decided that with

the childishness of old age approaching ... Cheltenham or any town where he was exposed to public observation was become improper for him[sic], so it was thought better to remove him to our cottage.\textsuperscript{132}

Lord Dunraven, because he was becoming senile, was removed to the relative privacy of Ynyslas Cottage where he was to stay until his death the following year.

Valentine Richard Quin died on 24 August 1824. Windham was emotional with grief for his dead father, so much so that Caroline was relieved when Richard Quin arrived and the funeral was able to proceed:

my dearest husband suffered severely & I could not help feeling relieved that the mournful scene in which he had lately lived, was now closed to him for ever – for this day once passed he could no longer indulge in the extreme grief with the remains of his parent\textsuperscript{133}

the funeral was conducted in the most private manner my husband, my son, & my brother-in-law, followed the coffin as chief mourners & eight men chiefly Irish bore the coffin on their shoulders.\textsuperscript{134}

Before the funeral, however, Caroline used the body of the deceased earl as an object lesson for the religious instruction of his grandchildren:

Lord Adare took Edwin, & I took Anna Maria to have a last look at their poor dear Grandpapa & to shew them the end of all human advantages both of person & situation and to point out as well as I could the superiority of immortal blessings that attend on the soul of the blessed – may the Almighty grant that the children & ourselves may never forget the awful lesson while we live, & may the Almighty protect us from temptation that may lead us to forget the benefits to be derived from such a scene.\textsuperscript{135}

On his father’s death Windham became the second earl of Dunraven and Caroline the countess and thus ended a period in Caroline’s life during which she had been the exemplification of the „incorporated wife”, a role from which she was never to deviate. She had demonstrated that her loyalty to her husband and his Irish estate was greater than the older ties to her mother and the Wyndham estates. In Ireland Caroline had engaged in her philanthropic works in the neighbourhood of Adare and

\textsuperscript{132} Caroline’s reflections, January, 1824, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/85, PCD.
\textsuperscript{133} Caroline’s diary, 1 September, 1824, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/27/37, PCD.
\textsuperscript{134} Caroline’s reflections, January, 1825, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/87, PCD.
\textsuperscript{135} Caroline’s diary, 27 August, 1824, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/27/34-5, PCD.
had established networks among the county Limerick élite whilst still maintaining strong bonds with her old friends and relations in England and Wales. In the family’s peripatetic years between 1815 and 1824 the seamlessness of her life provides a study of what David Cannadine referred to as the „interlocking, interrelated, and interacting élites of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales‟.136 These years were not without their emotional upheavals through which Caroline managed her emotions in order to maintain an outward performance suitable to her gender and her rank. The following chapter will examine in more detail her emotional work as she managed her and other family members’ emotions over the following twenty-five years when she was the countess of Dunraven. Her continued building and preservation work will also be examined during what was, for the greater part, to be the most settled and happiest phase of her long life.137

137 The final footnote to this chapter is a record of three people of the kind that usually only appear as footnotes of history, if at all. In the first earl of Dunraven’s will there was the following instruction „I give and bequeath to Mary now the wife of a tenant of my said son’s whose name I do not recollect formerly Mary Dulmage of Adare aforesaid spinster and to the two children whom she had before her marriage, the sum of two hundred pounds Irish currency to each of them...“ The last will and testament of the Right Honorable Valentine Richard, Earl of Dunraven and Mountearl and Adare and Baron Adare of Adare in the county of Limerick. The National Archives, Catalogue reference: Prob 11/1691.
Chapter five

The countess of Dunraven (1825-50): building projects and emotional management

This chapter is concerned with the period of Caroline’s life when she was the countess of Dunraven. During this time she continued to be the loving and much loved wife of Windham Wyndham-Quin, now the second earl of Dunraven and she continued in her role as a caring mother, grandmother and loyal friend to those in her carefully tended network of close friends and relations. Continuing with the biographical approach the main foci of this chapter will be on firstly, Caroline’s emotional management and the constitutive discourses that provided the framework for this emotion work and secondly, on the heritage that she left in the form of a family legacy. This legacy included both the material results of her and her husband’s building projects but also the effects of her preservation work in the form of a family narrative that provided an interpretative framework for future generations.

Caroline’s father-in-law died in August 1824 and by the following November the acute grief that his son, the new earl, experienced began to abate and Caroline was able to note in her diary that he was “getting better & better every day.”¹ The family were able to enjoy the usual Christmas and New Year festivities and when Edwin returned to school after the Easter vacation, Caroline and Windham left Anna Maria with the Williams and set off to make their first visit to Adare since their elevation to earl and countess. Caroline’s unmarried cousin, Catherine Harding once again joined them on their way to the ship. As Amanda Vickery has highlighted in her study of the home in Georgian England, unmarried women often acted as the unpaid carers and chaperones for their extended families and indeed Catherine frequently accompanied Caroline as a companion and exemplified Vickery’s observation that „the life of the spinster could be one long tour of kin”². Unlike the experiences of some unmarried women who found themselves in that precarious and lonely social position somewhere between the level of the servants and family, Caroline’s diaries indicate

¹ Caroline’s diary, 16 November 1825, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/27/53. Papers of Caroline, countess of Dunraven [hereafter PCD].
that Catherine was regarded with affection and thought of as a valued friend; how Catherine felt, however, is unknown.

It is not unlikely that Catherine felt the long passages to Ireland were arduous and this particular journey was a long thirteen hours, during which Caroline was, as usual, extremely seasick. On Tuesday 19 April, the new earl of Dunraven and his entourage arrived in Adare to „warmest acclamations by the tenantry, who came up to the house 40 of the men beautifully dressed up with ribbands & the whole a smart as possible with dancing & a band of music“. This was a relatively short visit in Ireland as Caroline and Windham were back in Wales by the end of July but the visit was obviously deemed necessary in order to establish and celebrate Windham’s new position with both his Irish tenants and the Limerick élite. There was the usual social engagements with the gentry of county Limerick, which of course included the pleasure-seeking Blennerhassets, and also a ball for Caroline’s thirty-sixth birthday. This merrymaking would later cause her to question „how can I be carried away as I am there & led into many follies my more sober moments condemn” and to „seriously hope that at my next visit to Adare, I may never lose sight of my station, & pray to God for his Holy Spirit to guide & direct so frail a being as myself“. More salubrious visits were also made to and from Windham’s relative and land-agent Windham Fitzgerald and his wife and also the Roman Catholic bishop. The latter’s visit was followed by an attendance at the chapel on the following Sunday where the benediction was given by the said bishop and Caroline commented favourably about the music in her diary. These visits were not indicative of the family’s liking of the Roman Catholic faith but probably on account of Windham’s donations to Catholic building projects on his estate, donations which were likely to have lessened any tensions between himself and the Catholic clergy and by extension his tenants.

One of Caroline’s first visits after she arrived in Adare was to visit the school master’s new house, the building of which she herself had recently financed. This house had been built beside the old refectory of the Augustinian priory which she had

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3 Caroline’s diary, 19 April 1829, ULSC, D/3196/E2/27/80, PCD.  
4 Caroline’s reflections, January 1826. ULSC, D/3196/E1/1/89, PCD.  
5 Caroline’s diary, 10 July, 1825, E/2/27/106, PCD.  
6 Agrarian unrest was not unknown in Adare. There had been five Rockite-related murders within a year in 1821-2 followed by executions. At one of these Adare executions the attending priest had finished by declaring „As sure as there is a God in heaven, these men die innocent“. Government officials usually arranged for priests to give anti-Rockite speeches but this priest’s finishing statement was ambiguous enough to cause concern. See James S. Donnelly, Jr., Captain Rock: The Irish agrarian rebellion of 1821-1824 (Cork, 2009), pp 254-5, 319-20. Caroline made no reference to these events.
had roofed and converted into a school in 1814 (see chapter four). She also made time for the committee she had set up to organise spinning work for local women, the meetings of which were sometimes held at the school or at Adare manor or in good weather under the tree at the gate lodge.\(^7\) As K. D. Reynolds has noted, “the patterns of aristocratic residence on their estate gave their involvement with the local institutions a spasmodic character” and this was certainly true in Caroline’s case up until she and Windham returned to Adare for good in 1827.\(^8\) However Reynolds went on to note that because of this spasmodic relationship aristocratic women formed no committees and kept no regular records, which does not correspond to Caroline’s philanthropy, which she recorded in her diary. Her attendance at the school and at her project for local female employment may have been spasmodic in the 1820s but she set in place structures that enabled their continuance during periods when she was absent. There is no evidence that she was involved in similar projects in either the Welsh or English estates. This lack of involvement emphasises how Windham’s Irish estate was privileged over the estates that he acquired through marriage and how Caroline also accepted this hierarchy of responsibilities and although the family was now resident in Wales they remained in effect absentee landlords.

After their short visit to Ireland, Caroline and Windham left for Wales at the end of July and met up with Edwin and his Irish school friend Frank Bayly at Neath and together they returned to Ynyslas Cottage where the boys spent their summer vacation. In October Windham, Caroline and Anna Maria spent a couple of weeks in London, at a hotel in Jermyn Street in the heart of Mayfair, before Windham once more left for Ireland. Eleven years old Anna Maria immediately paid a visit to the dentist and had five, presumably primary, teeth extracted before Edwin joined the family for a week of sightseeing and amusements. Amongst others the sights included a moving panorama of the battle of Trafalgar and “some very pretty India

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\(^7\) Caroline was patron of The British and Irish Ladies’ Society for the Promotion of the Welfare of the female peasantry of Ireland (BILS). This organization “explicitly saw its function as involving a degree of social control”. Their aims were 1) to visit the families of the poor and obtain a knowledge of their situation 2) to excite a sense of virtue and piety, to habits of industry, cleanliness and attention to domestic duty 3) to endeavour to procure employment for poor women at their own dwellings 4) to visit the sick and provide temporary assistance in the loan of linen etc., also to procure medical advice where necessary 5) to encourage the poor to send their children to schools and to promote the industry and improvement of the poor in any other way which local circumstance appear to require. Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 183-7.

Bulls held sacred by the Brahmin”. This was a period in British history when conceptions of „race”, nation and empire were being reworked and the capital was awash with exhibitions and theatrical plays based on the different cultures and „races” found in the colonies. Napoleon’s empire had been defeated, the American empire lost whilst areas of the British empire in Asia, Africa and south America were expanding. As members of the Anglo-Irish élite the Wyndham-Quins would have had the comfort of experiencing life as relatively unmarked by „race” or class but yet, also being in that paradoxical and fluid position of being both at „home” in the metropole but also having their home and, by extension, their identity linked with that original and internal colony, Ireland. However, as John Mackenzie has noted „although Britain was often referred to as England, from the early eighteenth century the Empire was never anything other than British, a setting for common action by the component populations of the British islands”.

The Wyndham-Quins had both friends and family engaged in the service of the empire and as they were also consumers of the products of the colonies, it is more than likely that for them the empire was „a familiar and pragmatic world which under normal circumstances, is taken for granted, neither questioned nor especially valued” and they enjoyed the exhibitions with equanimity.

After London, Windham returned once more to Ireland and Edwin returned to the Polehamptons and school, Anna Maria returned to Wales and Caroline travelled to Gloucester to spend a month with the Hardings. Before the family separated, however, they spent a day in Windsor where Windham and Edwin went to see Rev Knapps who was to be Edwin’s tutor when he enrolled as an Oppidan at Eton the following year.

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9 Caroline’s diary 3 November, 1825, ULSC, D/3196/E2/28/14, PCD.
10 Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, „Introduction: being at home with the Empire” in Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds) At home with the Empire: metropolitan culture and the imperial world (Cambridge, 2008), p. 19.
12 Patrick Wright, On living in an old country (London, 1985), p.6 cited in Hall and Rose, At home with the empire, p. 22.
13 The empire, of course, had been an issue in the 1799-1800 debates on the Act of Union when advocates such as the Quins argued that Union would enable Ireland to play a fuller and more equal role in the empire. It would also prove to be an argument used by the Unionists against repeal of the union and against home rule.
14 Students at Eton are either King’s Scholars or Oppidans. The former are in receipt of a scholarship provided by the original foundation and awarded by examination each year, they live in the college and can be identified by their black gowns worn over the top of their tailcoats, giving them the nickname tugs. Oppidans live in houses outside the college, each house having its own housemaster.

Discipline at Eton was an issue and serious fighting amongst the students was not uncommon, the headmaster at this time was John Keate who attempted with apparently some success to „repress such turbulence and disorder”. His mode of chastisement was flogging and his enthusiastic application of the birch made him infamous but despite his exertions „liberal anarchy” continued to reign at Eton.\footnote{W. A. J. Archbold, „Keate, John (1773-1852)”, rev. Tim Card, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.ul.ie/view/article/15219, accessed 9 July 2010]}

Caroline seemed relatively unworried about Edwin going to Eton unlike Elizabeth Grant who, in 1845 when contemplating her young son”s future education, wrote in her diary „When I think of my brothers I tremble for my son . . .There is something so very wrong in the education of our young men”.\footnote{Elizabeth Grant, *The Highland lady in Ireland: journals 1840-50* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 209. See also Teresa Hereward-Ryan, *An examination of the life of Edwin Wyndham-Quin, third earl of Dunraven, 1812-7*, (PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2010).}

Perhaps as Caroline”s brothers had both died very young and her husband was not a profligate but a hard working and loving and caring partner she had not personally witnessed the damaging effects that such a formation could have on a young man”s notion of what it was to be an upper-class male.

Edwin returned to Ynsglas Cottage for Christmas but Windham was detained in Ireland and Caroline missed her husband for „all that is dear of a Domestic Circle, could not be perfect without the being who forms the sunshine of my existence”.\footnote{Caroline”s diary 25 December 1825, ULSC, D/3196/E2/28/25, PCD.}

The necessity for the couple to endure frequent separations on account of the demands of the Irish estate was soon to end. This happy occurrence was brought about by the eventual industrialisation of south Glamorgan; mining began in the region in the 1820s and Windham began to receive the royalties from the mines on the Dunraven estate.\footnote{Mining and industrialisation came relatively late to this region as the coal reserves were deeper than those in North Glamorgan,}
with his family moved into Ynsglas Cottage in 1827. This was to begin a long relationship between the Dunravens and the Randall family which was highlighted by John Randall’s grandson, Henry John Randall, when he dedicated his work on the history of Bridgend to his grandfather and uncles „who for 101 years (1826-1927) acted as Chief Agents to the Earls of Dunraven and as such influenced in a marked degree the development of the town”.  

With John Randall in place Caroline and Windham returned to Ireland in 1826 and Adare was to remain their main residence until Windham’s death in 1850. During these twenty four years the couple worked to consolidate their wealth and position and they built upon the familial heritage that had been left them by the Wyndham and the Quin families. This heritage included not only the material possessions but also the narrative of the family and the meanings that were woven around their buildings and possessions. Both Caroline and Windham were the heirs of encumbered estates and were united in their desire to expunge their debts and to increase and improve their properties, especially the Adare estate. Windham always involved himself directly with the building and planting and spent much of his time with the various workmen as Caroline observed in a letter to her mother „WD never leaves his building. I never saw any thing to equal the delight and amusement he appears to take in them”. Indeed as Windham’s gout worsened over the years and he travelled and socialised less, he spent most of the time when he was feeling well with his workmen. Throughout Caroline’s letters and diaries Windham and his building formed a constant backdrop. The building projects were, however, a family affair and all the family would spend evenings poring over plans, even Mrs Bennett in Wales was kept up-to-date and copies of plans were sent to her and to Edwin when he was at school.

One of the first projects after they returned to Ireland was the building of a family mausoleum, which once constructed enabled Windham to bring his father’s body to rest in Adare and thereby further strengthened the links between the family and the locality. Another early project was a renovation of the servants’ quarters and as usual these plans were discussed with Caroline’s mother:  

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21 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, 21 November, 1832, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/23, DCWF.
I hope soon to send you the plans of what we plan to do this year which will be confined to servants’ apartments & offices, we are quite without the numerous odd rooms that servants want, & have really none of the modern comfort below stairs.  

Older houses no longer satisfied the servants’ demands for privacy and comfort and perhaps more pertinent they did not provide the segregation that was now deemed necessary between the family and their staff and between the men and the women. In pursuance of the former, underground passages were built from the main part of the house to the housekeeper’s rooms. Caroline and Windham were constructing a new family, one with a new name and a recently acquired aristocratic status, a status that they now had the financial means to make publicly visible by building a larger and more ostentatious home. With money from the Dunraven estate in Wales, the earl and countess of Dunraven started in 1832 to build their family the neo-gothic mansion, Adare manor.

Adare Manor is an example of the Gothic revival in British architecture which Saint has suggested started out in the eighteenth century „as an exercise in nostalgia or whimsy” but by 1815 it had matured into a „flexible and semi-scholarly idiom in much demand for large country houses“. During the 1820s the craze for Sir Walter Scott’s best-selling novels and for antiquarianism in general relaxed the castle style into something broader and vaguer, summed up by the phrase „the mansions of older times” – a kind of indiscriminate nostalgia for the medieval and Elizabethan period. [author’s emphasis]

Conservative utopias are usually nostalgic and situated in a mythical past (whereas the utopias of radicals are situated in a putative future) and nineteenth-century conservatives looked back to an image of a past where a feudal hierarchical structure and a truly Christian society were extant. The Dunravens were no exception; their love of Romantic literature, especially Walter Scott’s, their interest in antiquarianism and their religiosity were to use Eric Hobsbawm’s words „their flight from the horrors of liberalism into a truly organic past”. This nostalgia had, of course, its roots in self-interest as Britain’s gradual moves towards a more liberal democracy would not be to the benefit of the landed élite. Their battle for the survival of their class position was

22 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/34, DCWF.
24 Caroline’s diary 1 September ,1828, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/31/40, PCD.
25 Saint, „Cities, architecture, and art“, p. 265.
26 Ibid.
more comfortably waged from behind the walls of their fantasy Gothic mansions where they could deceive themselves that the hierarchy that had served them so well was the natural order.

The building of Adare manor took more than thirty years and was not finished when Windham died in 1850. However, although progress was slow Windham successfully managed to build the new house without borrowing any money, an achievement that is memorialised on the front of the house with the inscription „This goodly house was erected by Windham Henry, Earl of Dunraven, and Caroline his Countess, without borrowing, selling, or leaving a debt. A.D. 1850”. This inscription was probably commissioned by Caroline in recognition of her husband”s achievement and A. P. W. Malcomson has described it as a „sanctimonious inscription” directed at visitors. However, its purpose may have been to serve as a permanent admonition to Windham”s heir, Edwin, whose overspending had annoyed his more frugal father.

Such was the wealth of the Welsh estate that even without incurring debt Windham and Caroline spent a considerable amount of money in building and furnishing their new home. This expense was necessary as Adare manor was the outward manifest of the cultivation, wealth, solidity and endurance of an Anglo-Irish family, a foundation for future earls. However, aristocratic families not only benefit from the establishment of strong foundations for future generations, they also gain status and a sense of perpetuity from a documented and displayed past. The stained glass windows in the long Tudor-like gallery in Adare manor are portraits of Caroline”s forebears dating back to the middle-ages. The inscription on one window states

The stained glass of these windows illustrating the pedigree and noble family of Wyndham was designed and executed by Thomas Willement of London FSA in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty eight & erected by Windham Henry Wyndham 2nd Earl of Dunraven in love & honor of Caroline Wyndham his countess.

While not ignoring the fact that the Wyndhams were an old English family and probably had a higher status in nineteenth-century Britain than the Irish Quins, there does seem to be an over-emphasis of this side of the Wyndham-Quin family in the actual construction of the manor. Caroline would certainly seem to have been her husband”s muse but in his honouring of her he is placing her as the object, it was he who built and she was his.

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The construction of Adare manor provides a fitting example of the human need to build, which according to Heidegger is necessary if we are to dwell in this world for we can attain to dwelling only by building. This concept has been discussed in detail in chapter one, with particular emphasis on Iris Marion Young’s gender analysis of the preservation and caring aspect of building. Preservation, according to Young, involves the „knitting together of today and yesterday integrating the new events and relationships into the narrative of life, the biography of a person, a family, a people”.

Crucially these identities and their coterminous cultures are not fixed, but always in process. Young emphasised that the activity of preservation should be distinguished from nostalgia:

Where nostalgia can be constructed as a longing flight from the ambiguities and disappointments of everyday life, remembrance faces the open negativity of the future by knitting a steady confidence in who one is from the pains and joys of the past retained in the things among which one dwells. Nostalgic longing is always for an elsewhere. Remembrance is the affirmation of what brought us here.

Aspects of Caroline’s work of knitting together a biographical narrative of a family can be gleaned from an analysis of her writings, which she deliberately archived and left as part of her legacy for future generations.

Young warned that preservation should not be romanticized for „[p]reservation is ambiguous; it can be either conservative or reinterpretable”. In Caroline’s case when she constructed her identity and told and wrote the stories of her family to her children her agency was, of course, discursively circumscribed and the predominant discourses that manifest in her ego-documents as she evaluated and made meaning of events were those of religion and a high Tory belief in a ranked social hierarchy. Caroline’s narrative always portrayed her family as being deserving of respect; a respect that was merited by their responsible paternalism. This need to emphasise the family’s caring and charitable attitude towards the „common people” and the „poor people” became a more frequent feature in her writings as the family’s wealth grew. The need to stress the usefulness of their status may have been a result of the growing perception among the élites that the hierarchy was being challenged by the middle classes especially after the Whigs introduced the Great Reform Act of 1832.

30 Ibid.
31 Caroline numbered her diaries and letters and annotated some of her letters.
32 Ibid.
However, her justification for building and spending was also directed towards her God for the discourse she most used to evaluate events and give them meanings that were both understandable and liveable with was that of religion. A material demonstration of the integral importance of religion as a constitutive discourse for the Wyndham-Quin family is also engraved in the actual building of Adare Manor. On the front of the south parapet is carved the first line from Psalm 127, „Except the Lord build the house, the labour is but lost that build it“. This psalm stresses the vanity of human endeavours without God’s blessing and the meaning extends beyond the construction of a house to the building of a home and a family.

Since the family had returned to Ireland life had gone on smoothly. Edwin was now at Eton and in December 1826, he and his friend Frank Bayly participated for the first time in a shoot at Adare. This was an event worthy of note as killing game was another necessary rite of passage for male members of the landed classes. Edwin passed this test with the slaughter of a blackbird, which the family dutifully ate for dinner, whereas Frank did somewhat better by killing a woodcock. The following week, however, Caroline was able to note in her diary that Edwin had killed his first woodcock and hare.\(^{33}\) Anna Maria’s life was, as yet, less marked by these public rites of passage and, as she was being educated at home by her Belgian governess, she spent most of her days in the private confines of the house and estate. The usual activities of the house were somewhat disrupted in 1829 by Caroline once more becoming pregnant.

Caroline had always been a religious women but her religiosity seemed to increase during the pregnancy of her third child, Windham Henry who was born on 2 November 1829. She was thirty-nine years old and it had been fifteen years since she had gone through a full-term pregnancy. This, her last pregnancy, was accompanied by a considerable amount of unease probably on account of her age and the number of miscarriages she had suffered previously and the unease was exacerbated by pregnancy sickness. The severity of her nausea can be gauged from the language she used in her diary, for example, her entry for 20 March said „Crept to the gardens but was very sick & tired when I returned Dr Griffin bled me & I felt relieved . . . “ and on 29 March „Crept out for a minute while they were at church“.\(^{34}\) Her words convey not only the severity of her morning sickness but also perhaps a desire to escape from her

\(^{33}\) Caroline’s diary, 15 December, 1826. ULSC, D/3196/E/2/29/55, PCD.
\(^{34}\) Caroline’s diary, 10 March, 1829 & 29 March, 1829, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/32/6, PCD.
sofa in her dressing room on which she was confined for much of her pregnancy. This time Caroline was worried about the possibility that she would not survive childbirth and spent much time in religious meditation, which seemed to calm her. In her annual reflection she wrote:

I have spent nine months of this year in constant sickness & sorrows . . . my bodily suffering & mental anxieties were relieved on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} November by the birth of a fine thriving boy & I most sincerely rejoiced when the event was over, as though I had endeavoured to meet the will of God with resignation I felt too many worldly ties to wish for Death.\textsuperscript{35}

Caroline’s husband and her two teenage children, especially fourteen year old Anna Maria, paid her constant attention and supported her throughout her pregnancy and Catherine Harding also returned to Adare and remained with Caroline until after the baby was born and Caroline was recovered. Edwin, who was now seventeen, did not return to Eton for the autumn term but stayed at home for the birth. Caroline noted that she „had much comfort in seeing that his affection for me had an influence over him that was in every way salutary“\textsuperscript{36} It is not unreasonable to suppose that she wanted to keep him close to her in case she should die, for it is clear from her reflection that she thought her life was in danger. She was also, no doubt, correct about the experience being salutary for Edwin as it allowed him to experience the family caring for one of its members, a positive experience for him and also another reminder that in the nineteenth century, that period that is so often equated with a rigid demarcation between the separate spheres, men also played an important role caring for family members” emotional and physical wellbeing.

Caroline, throughout her pregnancy, tried to comfort herself by believing in divine providence and to mange her emotions so that she could be resigned to God’s will and, indeed, she seemed to obtain comfort by praying and meditating, as is evidenced by her entries at the beginning of the pregnancy. On 29 March, she wrote „was rather more nervous & unwell than usual & endeavoured to be resigned to whatever was the will of God”. By the next day she was feeling „much more composed & passed most of the day in prayer & meditation”\textsuperscript{37} It is understandable how a Christian woman could obtain comfort from a belief in divine providence and how resignation to the will of God could be an effective coping strategy for the very

\textsuperscript{35} Caroline’s reflections, January 1830, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/101, PCD.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{37} Caroline’s diary 29 & 30 March, 1829, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/32/28, PCD.
real suffering that women endured during continuous pregnancies and miscarriages. However, the inculcated belief in divine providence together with resignation to God’s will could also be regarded as controlling mechanisms whereby women’s resistance was negated by their efforts to manage their emotions so that they could achieve the status of the ideal mother, the uncomplaining women who suffered with Christian stoicism. Caroline was a deeply religious woman but even she found this ideal of perfect motherhood hard to achieve during what was essentially a normal if nauseous pregnancy.

Windham Henry was born on 2 November 1829 and Caroline built a fever hospital, in Adare, with the inscription *Deo et Pauperibus* (To God and the Poor) engraved over the entrance in thanksgiving for her safe delivery. Her motivation for this act of philanthropy can be discerned from her annual reflection written in January 1830:

I am now returned to tolerable good health, & trust when the weather improves that I may be able to recover my active habits, & hope I may never forget how much misery sickness entails even when all wants are supplied from a plentiful purse, & that I may share with others the superfluities I enjoy I now know indeed the value of health I pray to God to bless all my endeavours to benefit my poor neighbours...

Windham Henry was a healthy baby despite being weaned from milk at an extremely early age, Caroline wrote to her mother:

My dearest mother,  
Knowing it will be a satisfaction to you to hear from myself I have seized part of the frank to say that nothing can be more satisfactory that the way that Baby & I are going on, & how truly grateful I am to God for his mercy in bringing me so happily through this business which I dreaded so much the Baby is very thriving & healthy infant, & taken so well to his food that we are now getting rid of the milk, & giving up all idea of nursing him – his name is Windham Henry – It is reckoned very pretty but I will write further particulars I hope in a few days

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38 Dowager, countess Dunraven and the earl of Dunraven, *Memorial of Adare* (Oxford, 1865), p. 5. In 1853 this fever hospital was converted into a school for the Christian Brothers by Edwin who was by then the third earl of Dunraven.

39 Caroline’s reflections, January 1830, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/102, PCD.

40 Until the introduction of the pre-paid ‘penny post’ in 1840 all postage was paid by the recipient, on the basis of the number of sheets of paper received, unless the letter was sent by a member of parliament who was entitled to a free frank. These franks were to be used for parliamentary business only but there was widespread abuse of the system with MPs giving or selling franks to friends and relations. Even during the periods when neither Windham nor Edwin was in parliament Caroline usually managed to obtain free franks from Lord Kingston, for example, but would delay letter writing if she was without. This was in effect a theft of government resources but not unusually a double standard of morality existed for those of the élite and those from the classes that Windham would preside over as a magistrate.

Ever yr affect daughter
C Dunraven
I like my nurse very much, & my Doctor is very clever & a great comfort.41

This letter was dated 1829 so the baby was less than two months old and was presumably being fed a bread or oatmeal pap moistened with water or cow’s milk and perhaps sweetened with sugar.42 Feeding a baby as young as this from a spoon would have been time consuming for his nurse and it would also have greatly increased the likelihood of Windham Henry suffering a gastro-intestinal infection.

It is not surprising that at this time the emotional and family upheavals on account of her pregnancy took precedence in Caroline”s diaries and reflections but it bears repeating that these journals were always primarily concerned with family affairs and that Caroline”s engagement with politics can only be discerned from some of her remaining letters. She endeavoured, for example, to keep Edwin up to date with local politics and sent him cuttings from the Irish newspapers and, as can be seen later, she was actively involved in Edwin”s parliamentary campaigns. The events surrounding the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 13 April 1829, or Catholic emancipation, which enabled Catholics to enter parliament, belong to any corporation and hold civil and military offices go unmentioned in Caroline”s journals. The Dunravens supported Catholic emancipation even though Windham was reported to have attended Limerick City Brunswick Constitutional Club meetings.43 The Brunswick clubs were militant Protestant societies that were established in 1828 to replace the Orange Order, which had been suppressed along with the Catholic Association by the Unlawful Societies Act of 1825.44 What may appear as vacillation on Windham’s part was more likely to be him „running with the hare and hunting with the hounds” for his own political purposes.45 The Dunravens, although they took their religion seriously, were not particularly sectarian and strove to maintain good relations with their Catholic neighbours through acts of tolerance and philanthropy.

41 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, 1829, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/15, DCWF.
46 Although Windham was not a sitting MP, and would appear to have lost any interest in that direction, it is likely that he had ambitions for Edwin. Robert Sloan in his biography of William Smith O’Brien maintained that Windham „had wielded considerable electoral influence in Limerick before Reform”. Robert Sloan, William Smith O’Brien and the Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848 (Dublin, 2000), p. 35.
Their primary concern was always the pursuance of the family”’s best interest, which would not be served with a possible civil war and, therefore, the Dunravens” fears and hopes mirrored those of Robert Peel:

We have also had the experience of that other and greater calamity – civil discord and bloodshed. Surely it is no womanly fear that shudders at its recurrence, no degenerate impulse that prompts one to exclaim with Lord Falkland – „Peace! Peace! Peace! – that looks with anxiety for the alternative by which civil war may be honourably averted; which may secure the natives of the same land, and the fellow subjects of the King from the dire necessity. Grant that by the admission of the Roman Catholics to a full and equal participation in civil rights, and by the establishment of a free and cordial intercourse between all classes of H[is] Majesty”’s subjects, mutual jealousies may be removed, and that we may be taught, instead of looking at each other as adversaries and opponents, to respect and value each other, and to discover the existence of qualities on each side that were not attributed to either.

The Dunravens” anxiety always came from the perceived threat from the lower social classes, not different religious classes, thus by removing the franchise from the 40 shilling freeholders Catholic emancipation went some way towards appeasing this fear.

Caroline and Windham”’s immediate political ambitions resided with their eldest son, Edwin, who resisted them for quite some time. He returned to Eton at the beginning of 1830 for his last term after which his father had planned for him to go up to Christ Church, Oxford but Edwin chose instead to study with William Rowan Hamilton, Andrews” Professor of Astronomy in Trinity College, Astronomer Royal and director of the Dunsink Observatory, Dublin. He eventually enrolled in Trinity College, Dublin from where he graduated in 1833 with a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree. Caroline was happy with Edwin”’s choice of astronomy. In her reflections of

46 There is not the space here to deconstruct nineteenth-century notions of the gendered management of emotions. See Joanna Burke, Fear: a cultural history (London, 2006), p. 354.
47 This refers to Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland (1609/10-1643) who according to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon”’s account in his 1647 History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England „was so enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price”. William Safire, Safire”s political dictionary (Oxford, 2008), p. 527. [http://books.google.ie, accessed 30 July 2010]
50 Hamilton was more interested in mathematics than astronomy but the position at Dunsink offered him time to research and a home for himself and his sisters. Conveniently for Hamilton, not only did Edwin have wealthy parents but he was much more interested in making astronomical observations than mathematics. Presumably their relationship was of benefit to both. Hamilton, like the Dunravens, was a political conservative and unionist but considered Ireland to have a separate culture from England. Hamilton would eventually marry Edwin”’s friend Frank Bayly”’s sister in 1833.
1830, after expressing her satisfaction that Windham read the scriptures every morning she wrote

My two eldest children have such sweet pious dispositions, that I am indeed grateful to see them maturing into true believing Christians – my son is now so placed as to be very little in the way of the temptation that usually boys are thrown into, & to him it is no restraint – his mind is too engrossed by the purest & most exalted of all sciences astronomy & the mathematics that are connected with it, to be led into any sinful pleasures, & in the contemplation of his God he spends his happiest hours – for in the study of the heavenly bodies, he sees the great Creator & worships him in spirit & in truth . . . 51

She goes on to write about Anna Maria:

My darling girl who is the constant companion & delight of my life, is likewise most sweetly disposed, her warmest feelings & affections seem devoted to her maker, & her mind turns with horror from anything that can in any way be offensive to him – her principles are steady & her whole deportment one of constant duty and affection . . . 52

Caroline always wrote effusively about her children’s attributes and it cannot be denied that her relationships with all her children were loving and that they returned her affections, for example in a letter to her mother in 1832 she says how much she misses Edwin for „he is so petting & lover like in his manner‟(emphasis in original). 53 However, while taking into consideration maternal rose-tinted glasses and nineteenth-century sentimentality, it is perhaps also reasonable to suggest that Caroline’s reflections are in fact directions for her family. By portraying her husband and children in this manner she gave their actions a religious purpose, which she hoped would become the major motivational factor in how they lived their lives in the future. An obsessive, certainly from a modern secular perspective, religiosity was perhaps the lasting heritage that Caroline gave her two eldest children and which, while giving their lives meaning, arguably also made those same lives more difficult as it negated the possibility of reinterpretation. 54

Anna Maria, as a young female member of the élite, had avoided those public rites of passage that her older brother had earlier experienced but she was nearing the age when it was necessary for her to come out into society and to enter the marriage market. In preparation for this event Caroline realised that Anna Maria needed to

51 Caroline’s reflections, January, 1831, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/105, PCD.
52 Ibid.
53 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, 21 November 1832, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/23, DCWF.
54 For an account of Edwin’s eventual conversion to Roman Catholicism see Hereward-Ryan, Teresa, Edwin Wyndham-Quin (PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2010).
have more experience of the world beyond Adare. For this purpose it was arranged in autumn 1832 for Anna Maria to spend some time at the Stillorgan home of the Goolds and as usual Caroline kept her mother up to date:

Adare & Anna Maria are gone to Stillorgan . . . A Maria is so much admired by the few who know her, that I never saw any one to whom the deficiency of regular beauty seems so little apparent – dear child she is 18 today, & I think it wd be very good for her to mix a little more in the world – not with a wish of forming her for I should wish her to be quite unchanged, but to enlarge her mind, & let her see a variety in life – she is very much pleased at the notion of going to Stillorgan, which the Goolds improved very much, & made it more a very nice place, & theirs is such a peculiarly cheerful happy family, & get so much amusement always going on that it is the very best place for a young person to go to . . .

It is clear that Caroline did not see Anna Maria as a beauty in marked contrast to Augusta Goold who she frequently described as beautiful. Edwin had been staying with the Goolds for part of the time he was studying with Hamilton and it was around this time that his relationship with Augusta developed into a courtship. Augusta had already established a close relationship with her future mother-in-law as can be observed in the following extract from a letter she sent to Caroline after Anna Maria’s arrival in Stillorgan:

My dearest Aunty our dear travellers arrived safe & sound yesterday about 4 dear AM looking well & Mama thinks her so improved, so elegant looking & distinguished & as to her singing they all delighted with it – she was such a dear good girl & sang for them though she was tired & she was not frightened therefore her voice sounded beautiful . . . Adare’s cough he says is much better since the change of air . . . I heard quantities from her [Anna Maria] about all people O’B’s & deV’s – & a great deal about the latter from Adare the 2 accounts amused me but excepting his . . . mired in the way of Metaphysicks I think there is no sound of danger in him as I do not believe he has any influence over his affections whatsoever – I do not think he seems to have ingratiated himself much . . . I am glad you liked your gloves – my own darling Aunty I wish you could see how you are loved by me that is if my affection could at all add to the happiness you possess in the affections of all yr own but whether it does or not Truly know you are indeed doated on by your . . . Augusta

55 After Windham became earl of Dunraven and Mount Earl, after his father’s, death Edwin assumed the courtesy title Viscount Adare.
56 Caroline to Mrs Bennett, 21 November 1832, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/23, DCWF.
57 When she was younger Anna Maria was taken to an “electrifying doctor” about one of her eyes, which might indicate that she may have had a squint.
58 Thomas Goold and his wife would appear to have had two daughters, Augusta who married Edwin and Caroline Susan who married Sir Robert Gore-Booth of Lissadell House, Sligo. They also had at least two sons, Wyndham, who was a barrister and Frederick who became Archdeacon of Raphoe, county Limerick.
59 The „O’Bs” refers to the O’Briens of Dromoland, county Clare and the „deV”s” refers to the deVere Hunts of Curragh Chase, county Limerick.
60 Augusta Goold to Caroline, 1832, ULSC, D/3196/E/10, PCD.
Despite Augusta being of a similar age to Edwin and Anna Maria she seemed to write to Caroline as a confidante, and the relationship between the older and younger women persisted throughout their lives even withstanding the trials of the latter’s marriage to the former’s son. As the Dunraven archive also holds many of Augusta’s ego-documents this relationship deserves further study in the context of how a transgenerational bond between two women helped to negotiate the tensions in a family riven by religious differences. Augusta’s future marriage to Edwin was more turbulent than that of her parents-in-law and as Marilyn Morris has noted, “discordant marriages generally produce more colourful paper trails than do amicable ones.”

In the above extract Augusta responded to what must have been Caroline’s unease about the effects of Edwin’s friendship with the poet Aubrey de Vere (1814-1902) who was a county Limerick neighbour and also a friend of Hamilton’s. Aubrey de Vere and his older brother, Stephen (1812-1904) were both to convert to Catholicism some years before Edwin, Aubrey in 1851 and Stephen in 1847. However, when he was younger Aubrey de Vere was an advocate for reform and in 1848 published *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds* the sentiments in which Terry Eagleton has observed, “are more... John Mitchel than John Henry Newman.”

However, as Aubrey aged he began to share similar sentiments to those held by Edwin and his family for, and to quote Eagleton again, de Vere became “an ultramontaine reactionary who detested democracy, decried the Fenians and regretted the irreligious communism of the lower classes.”

These lower classes were referred to in a letter Anna Maria sent at the beginning of 1833, in which she described some of the celebrations after the first general election after the 1832 Reform Act. Overall the Whigs had a resounding triumph beating the Tories by 405 seats to 145 but in Ireland the success story belonged to Daniel O’Connell’s repealers, those candidates who had pledged their commitment to repeal of the Act of Union, and who had become the largest Irish

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62 Terry Eagleton, *Scholars & rebels in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Blackwell, 1999), p. 64. John Mitchel (1815-75) was a young Irelander and succeeded Thomas Davis as the political leader writer for the *Nation*. John Henry Newman (1801-1890) had his first religious conversion when only fifteen when he embraced Calvinistic Evangelicalism. Later at Oxford he was a leading light in the Oxford or Tractarian movement that arose as a form of resistance against reform and state encroachment into the affairs of the Anglican Church. In 1845 he converted to Roman Catholicism and was influential in the subsequent conversions of many members of the conservative elite including the de Veres, William Monsell and eventually Edwin.
63 Ibid.
block with forty-two seats compared to the Liberals thirty-three and Conservatives thirty. Daniel O'Connell and Edward Southwell Ruthven, a Protestant repealer who had previously been MP for Downpatrick, won both the seats for the Dublin two-seater constituency. Anna Maria described the scene in Dublin for her mother and revealed a little of the Dunravens’ dislike for O’Connell and his policies.

... Miss Barrington who has been staying here went in to Dublin with me & James in the cab – remained with Mrs Barrington & saw Mr O'Connell & Mr Ruthven chaired the car was very pretty, & drawn by 6 horses – I am thankful to say I did not hear or see of more than one broken head. The papers will of course give you the order of the procession however there was a mistake, but all passed before our windows – rather ludicrous it appeared to me, with the exception of Dan – it is melancholy to see many thousand creatures ignorantly guided by such a man ...

Caroline voiced her own concerns about political reform to her mother, in a letter written about the same time as Anna Maria’s, in which she belied her interest in politics:

nothing can be more indifferent than I feel as to politics Windham not being in either house & only hope too much power may not be placed in the hands of the Democracy, by all these liberal feelings which to my old fashioned ideas are rather dangerous the violence of the speeches are truly terrifying that have been made at all the public meetings - We are still free from Cholera in this County but can hardly expect to remain so, as it is spreading very much over the Co of Cork, there were two deaths last week in the town of Limerick, which were very suspicious ...

The cholera epidemic to which Caroline referred in the above letter had originated in India and crossed Europe to reach England in 1831. The first cases reached the main ports in Ireland, Belfast, Dublin and Cork, in March and April 1832 and spread throughout the country killing as many as 35,000. News of the disease spread almost as fast as the bacteria *Vibrio cholera* and caused considerable public panic among all classes. The poor were at greatest risk due to unsanitary and crowded living conditions but the rich were not immune from infection.

The family were untouched by the epidemic although there were seven cases in Adare village in January 1833 but as there were no reoccurrences of the infection

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64 Anna Maria Wyndham-Quin to Caroline, 7 January 1833, ULSC, D/3196/E/10, PCD.
65 Caroline to Mrs Bennett, 1832/33, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/34, DCWF
67 The bacterium was not discovered until 1883 when it was isolated by the famous German microbiologist, Robert Koch. The link between cholera and drinking water contaminated with human faeces was however discovered by British physician John Snow in 1855 and his study is „one of the great classics of epidemiology“. Thomas Brock and Michael T. Madigan, *Biology of microorganisms*, Sixth edition (London, 1991), p. 505.
68 Caroline’s diary 4 January, 1833, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/36/44, PCD.
the family decided it was safer to stay in Adare rather than make the journey to England and Wales as had been intended. After the signs of cholera had left Adare the family’s life continued as usual. Caroline was actively engaged with her various philanthropic works in the town, which included attending to the school and her committee for female industry, teaching psalm singing to a group of local people and reading the bible to old women gathered at the home of a Mrs Hayley. Mrs Hayley would appear to have been a proselytizing evangelical who lived in Adare and was frequently the host to ministers from the Church Missionary Society whose lectures Caroline frequently attended. During summer 1833 Caroline also began to canvass local support for Edwin in advance of the next county election. As the Dunravens were at the top of Limerick county’s social hierarchy it was expected that Edwin would put himself forward for election, which in fact he did not. While she was spending time canvassing, Edwin seemed to be more interested in bringing his skiff over from England to row and yachting with his friends, which included William Monsell of Tervoe (1812-94). Monsell was a frequent guest of the Dunravens during the summer of 1833 and joined them on their summer excursion to the island of Foynes, which had recently been purchased by Windham for the family’s recreation. He was a friend of Edwin’s but his frequent visits to Adare and Foynes had probably more to do with his growing attachment to Anna Maria.

The year 1833 ended with the usual festivities and Caroline wrote with contented gratitude in her annual reflection of the year that she thanked God for the family’s preservation and hoped that their ‘hearts are brought nearer to God by the thoughts of death being so much brought before us”. Regarding her nineteen-year old daughter she wrote:

my beloved daughter who is to me the sweetest friend, is my companion in every useful & pious work, & my warmest prayers for Divine Grace seemed granted as far as she is concerned

“and told how beautiful religion look’d
By youth entempled in a spotless heart.”

Caroline continued her reflections commenting as fulsomely on the other members of her family:

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69 Even though the island was purchased as a holiday home Caroline „made a census of all the people & arranged that the children should all come to school...“ Caroline’s diary 5 July 1834, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/36/80, PCD.
70 Caroline has quoted from the poem Messiah by Robert Montgomery, which was published in 1832.
My husband pursues his silent course of charity and benevolence, & is in my opinion a faithful servant of his Blessed Lord – my eldest son . . . seeks the society of religious people, & his mind is more under the influence of religious feeling than any young man of his age, I ever saw – though he came of age this year he is quite unspoiled by the world & continues to love science & mental pursuits in preference to any thing that mere worldly amusements can offer - my sweet little Windham continues our solace & our plaything, & is a very intelligent child, & blessed with better health that most children.

Edwin and Anna Maria were now both a suitable age to officially enter „society”, the epicentre of which was of course London, but before the family headed for the social whirl of a London season they all left Adare to embark on a European tour. This decision to travel may have been, as Caroline suggested, because she and Windham felt it was their duty that their children should see a little of the world and it may also have been motivated by a desire to delay Edwin”s marriage to Augusta Goold and Anna Maria”s to William Monsell. Edwin”s two constant demands for some years had been for a larger allowance and permission to marry but his parents had insisted that he graduate first. The fact that both their elder children had chosen their partners so early in their adulthood from their immediate social circle may not have bothered their parents so much had their chosen ones been better connected or wealthier. Neither Augusta nor Monsell had a title, the former had little money and no property and the latter had only come of age and had not yet inherited his grandfather’s properties. Monsell, though a lot less wealthy than the Wyndham-Quins, was a better proposition than Augusta, for when he did inherit in 1836 his annual income was estimated at £3,881 and he owned a sixty-six acre estate in Tervoe, county Limerick, other properties in counties Limerick and Clare together with houses in Limerick city and Dublin. It is likely, however, that Caroline and Windham had hoped for better matches, especially in the case of Edwin as a wealthier wife could have brought both money and property to the Dunraven family enterprise and through her marriage settlement raised the status of the next generation.

Leaving both William Monsell and Augusta Goold behind, Caroline and her three children left Ireland in November 1834. Windham was delayed in Ireland until after Christmas when he joined the rest of the family who were staying with Caroline”s mother and Mr Bennet at Dunraven Castle. Before the family departed from Dover on 15 January 1835 they had spent time with all their closest Welsh and

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71 Caroline”s reflections, January 1834, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/113-5, PCD.
English friends and relations, including the Hanmers, Hardings and Miss Weymer, Caroline’s old governess. The Dunravens travelled first to Paris and then to Frankfurt, where they made the Hotel d’Angleterre their “headquarters” for the duration of their time abroad after earlier plans to visit Italy were aborted on account of reports of cholera. Both Caroline’s sons were ill for a time, especially and more worryingly six year old Windham Henry, but they recovered and the family spent time sightseeing and gathering objects for their new house at Adare. Edwin and Anna Maria also had the opportunity to attend many social functions including Anna Maria’s first opera and, on a snow-covered 5 January, a lavish dinner at Baron Charles Rothschild’s where they

had by far the most sumptuous entertainment [she] had ever seen – everything most splendid – [they] reckoned 200 lights in the dining room, a turbot brought express . . . from Paris, green peas etc and everything most excellent in & out of season. 73

Caroline appeared to be indefatigable throughout the tour, she nursed her ailing sons and her husband through his recurring attacks of gout, chaperoned her daughter to numerous balls and musical events and also skated on the frozen river Main most days with her youngest son. She also attended regular church services, religious lectures and went to see orphanages, institutions for the elderly and the poor, and schools. One school that interested her greatly was the Meisterschule, a school for training young craftsmen:

. . . we looked into several of the classes the learning seemed excellent, & the children being asked questions from the master all seated in their places, their attention was constantly kept up without the fatigue of standing – the only religious instruction consists of select passages from the old & new testaments which is explained by the master – on the very plan so much objected to by the protestants in Ireland – it is very unreasonable on their parts, as by omitting the doctrinal, & keeping to the practical parts all persuasions of Christians may be instructed at the same time – at this place any bitterness from religious differences does not exist. 74

Here Caroline demonstrated again that her religious belief was not accompanied, as it was in so many others in Ireland, by sectarianism and she presumably, unlike most Tories, supported the attempts of the National Educational Board to create a non-sectarian system of education in Ireland. 75

73 Caroline’s diary 5 January 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/39/2, PCD.
74 Caroline’s diary 28 January 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/39/6-7, PCD.
75 The National Education system was established in Ireland in 1831. No doctrinal material was to be used and ministers and priests were excluded from teaching posts. Due to resistance from all churches the non-sectarian ideal was a failure although the system under the Board of Commissioners lasted
The Dunraven entourage arrived back in Dover in early March 1836 in time for the London season and Anna Maria’s presentation at court, an event that highlights the ritualistic ties that bound the aristocratic élites in Ireland and England. She and Lady Gort were presented to the King by Charlotte Florentia, duchess of Northumberland, who had been Princess Victoria’s governess. The duchess was the daughter of Edward Clive, the earl of Powis and second baron Plassey of Clare; her paternal grandfather had been Colonel Robert Clive, first baron of Plassey who with the monies from his victorious campaigns in India had bought property in county Clare. The duke of Northumberland, Hugh Percy, was a high Tory who had been lord lieutenant in Dublin (1829-30) under the duke of Wellington and like the Dunravens received much of his wealth from the royalties from coal mines, which in his case were on his Northumberland estates. Before Anna Maria was presented to the King, the Dunravens were all invited to a „full dress party“ at the duchess of Kent’s in honour of her nephew, the King of Portugal, at which the King, Queen and Princess Victoria attended. Caroline described Victoria in a letter to her mother:

> Princess Victoria was very plainly dressed in a blue dress without any ornament, & her hair combed back, with very tight bands, I shd not say becomingly dressed as she is short & rather full – towards the end of her two hours she looked very tired & heated & never takes her eyes from the door to see who she is to curtsey to she is so very civil, & unaffected, & most beloved by all classes a good thing in these days.

The Dunravens did not stay in London for long after Anna Maria’s presentation and after spending a few days at Clearwell and a month at Dunraven they were back in Adare on the 16 June.

> . . . we arrived about 5 - & were very busy over the buildings & out to the gardens – was very much struck with the beauty & grandeur of the building and admired its style more than any I had seen The grey stone is in my opinion so much handsomer than any other colour & the fine massive size of its ornaments give it an air of much grandeur & solidity the rooms likewise promise to be very comfortable - the gardens looked beautiful, the rosary one mass of flowers – the village in the Eve was beautifully illuminated & bonfires etc burning every where, altogether I was very much gratified by the attachment of these poor grateful people – we walked about enjoying it till near 12, when I came home very tired – took Caster Oil, & went to bed, delighted indeed to be once more in my own dear comfortable bed.

until the establishment of the Free State when the national schools together with secondary schools came under the remit of the Department of Education.

76 Clive, often referred to as Clive of India, had been the British East India Company’s victorious commander at the Battle of Plassey in Bengal, 1757. For an analysis of Robert Clive’s Irish peerage and estates see John Logan, „Robert Clive’s Irish peerage and estate, 1761-1842“ in North Munster Antiquarian Journal, 45 (2003), pp 1-18.

77 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, 1836, ULSC, D/3196/3/34, DCWF.

78 Caroline’s diary 16 June, 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/39/60-1.
Caroline”s patronization of her Irish tenants was accompanied by a paternalism that provided care but demanded gratitude. There is no doubt though that Adare was for Caroline her home and that after a long period away she was very happy to be back with all her family around her and perhaps her tenants grateful.

Now that she was home again family life would become very busy for Caroline. Windham had finally agreed on Edwin”s twenty-fourth birthday that he could marry Augusta Goold and on 27 June, eleven days after their return, agreement had also been given for Anna Maria and William Monsell to marry. This agreement had no doubt been expedited by the death of Monsell”s grandfather in April, which resulted in the twenty-three year old now being in possession of his inheritance.

Caroline wrote in her diary:

I have the comfort of thinking that my dear child has every prospect of happiness & likewise that she will be situated near me - these two ideas are amazingly consolatory, & keep up my spirits though I am sore to part with her as she is young.

She was relieved two days later when she and Anna Maria drove over to Tervoe to find „the house and garden excellent & done up exceedingly handsome & comfortable“.

The two couples were to marry in August and the weeks before the wedding ceremonies were as usual a period of waiting for the lawyers to draw up the marriage settlements. Caroline”s mother was interested to know all the details of these settlements and Caroline had to write more than once to give her all the information she demanded.

My dearest mother,
I am much obliged by your long cozy letter, and am glad to say all our affairs are going on most prosperously, as Mr Barrington has been here, and every thing is fast in progress, to be completed as soon as possible, the young people expect wonders but Windham & I suppose it will be nearly a month before Adare can be married & I shd prefer his being the first, however if it [so] Anne Maria & I will just [go] up to Dublin for a day or two, & come back to prepare for her wedding, which is to take place here at the church – Adare”s income at present will be 1500£ a year which Windham will no doubt increase if they have a family etc but at present he thinks that is enough and the same is settled on Augusta, should Adare die before his father. In case of his outliving him he will have power to add to her jointure and to raise 20,000£ for younger children - & the estates which are now in settlement will be entailed on his children – there is about 7000£ a year of this property entailed on him, but his Uncle”s fortune/portion & the rest of the estate he has in his own power, & though I have no doubt the will leave it to him we thought it better to remain as it is – the Welsh & Gloucestershire property are likewise entailed on Adare so much for them – Amaria is to have the same jointure, & what between the money her father pays down & the recovery of an old debt, I believe they will clear off their

79 Caroline”s diary 28 June 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/39/64, PCD.
80 Caroline”s diary 1 July 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/39/64, PCD.
encumbrances & have a very comfortable income – I shd think it great economy to keep Msell, as she then need never have a dress maker’s or a milliner’s bill, she make up better than any one I ever saw, & is besides the most obliging person possible – if AMaria does not mind her crying fits, I do not see any thing against her though not the sort of maid I shd like.  

This was a family whose members were all affectionately attached to each other but these bonds of affection did not mask the underlying importance of money and its distribution because ultimately it was money that had the greatest affect on the power dynamic within the family. Caroline’s mother was also obviously concerned about the future of the Welsh and English estates and enquired again as to how they were entailed to which Caroline replied that they were entailed on Edwin’s future eldest son and if he had no male heirs on his brother. As well as her jointure, Anna Maria was to have the services of her old governess as a maid. Selle had been with the family since Anna Maria was a small girl living in Wales and was indeed to be attached to the family one way or another for the rest of her life.

Anna Maria’s settlements were the first to be finalized and she and William Monsell were married on Thursday, 11 August 1836, in Adare church. Caroline’s recorded in her diary the events of the day, which seems to have been a joyful one. After the young couple returned to Adare Manor for the wedding dinner, Caroline found them waiting for her in her dressing room: „I found her with her dear William . . . her face was all happiness, & she had more the character of pleasure than I had seen on her face before.” When Anna Maria and William had left together after the festivities she „ran to [her] dressing room to indulge in a flood of tears”. Although she cried after her daughter left she admitted that it was an indulgence whereas her held-back tears at Edwin’s wedding seemed to have been more sorrowful.

In spite of all the joy felt that my dear child was so near the accomplishment of all his wishes, yet I could not help feeling in a great state of anxiety for him . . . Adare in spite of the happy smile on his face at times had a subdued appearance & looked so very very young that I felt ready to burst with crying when I looked at him, however I did my best to be composed, & not to disturb the joy which though mingled with agitation was yet jointly stealing over every countenance what strange & contradictory feelings seemed occasionally to overpower me.

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81 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, July 1836, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/50, DCWF.
82 This part of the settlement would be broken in the future to allow Windham Henry to inherit the Clearwell estate in Gloucester.
83 Caroline’s diary 11 August, 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/40/8, PCD.
84 Ibid.
85 Caroline’s diary 18 August, 1836, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/40/12-3, PCD.
After the two weddings the Monsells and the Adares\textsuperscript{86} left together for a joint honeymoon in Italy leaving Caroline, Windham and their youngest son together quietly in Adare.

Caroline spent the remainder of the year 1836 quietly engaged in her usual activities at home, in the town of Adare and in Limerick city. The following year, however, was one „so replete with unpleasant occurrences [with] much disappointment and sorrow during its course“.\textsuperscript{87} The first of these occurrences was the loss at sea of two ships that had been carrying goods for the Dunravens including the two large completed portraits one of Windham and the other of Caroline and the young Windham Henry, which had been executed by Thomas Phillips the previous year. These portraits were to hang in the new gallery at Adare Manor and Caroline was extremely upset at their loss but as she remarked in her reflection of the year this regret „was a mere fleabite to the rest“.\textsuperscript{88} The disappointment of losing material possessions was shadowed by the sudden death of her mother from influenza on 8 February, news of which did not reach her until three days later. Caroline and her mother were two very different women and their relationship had not been without tensions but they had always remained in close contact and her death was a sad loss for Caroline. When she married Caroline‟s father, Anna Maria Ashby had been a wealthy young woman but had lost her economic independence to pay off her first husband‟s and father-in-law‟s debts, which caused her difficulties throughout her life as she was not a frugal woman and liked to entertain and socialize. Marrying the much younger John Wick Bennet may have added happiness to her life but unfortunately it did nothing to improve her finances as Mr Bennet‟s cantankerous father, Mr John Bennet of Laleston House, Glamorganshire, was still alive and did not approve of the match. Unlike Caroline, there is no indication that she was a religious woman and there is little mention of her attending church but she did share with Caroline a love of gardening and architecture. The closing of her will perhaps hinted at the possible feelings of injustice that the older woman may have felt towards her daughter who had benefitted so much from the Welsh estate that had cost her so much:

\textsuperscript{86} Edwin held the courtesy title of Viscount Adare and was usually referred to as Adare.  
\textsuperscript{87} Caroline‟s reflections, January 1838, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/126, PCD.  
\textsuperscript{88} Thomas Phillips travelled to Adare in summer 1837 and painted replacement portraits that Caroline claimed to prefer to the originals. A photograph of these portraits can be seen in Malcomson, \textit{The pursuit of an heiress}, p. 140.
my daughter being so amply provided for and having given her so much during my life time is the reason she is not named in this will.\textsuperscript{88}

Immediately after her death John Randall wrote to Windham and suggested that the roof of Dunraven Castle should be mended and informed him that vermin traps had been laid and that Mrs Bennet’s peafowl had been shot as she had requested before she died, fearing that after her death they would not be taken care of.\textsuperscript{90}

Further bad news reached Adare at the beginning of May when information arrived that Augusta’s and Edwin’s first child, a son, had been stillborn while they were in London. Caroline’s mood rose when the Monsells returned to Limerick at the end of May, Anna Maria heavily pregnant but looking and feeling well. She continued well and eventually had a relatively easy labour and gave birth to a son on Sunday 9 July at Adare manor much to the joy of her husband and parents. All continued well and the child was baptised William after his father, however, when Caroline returned home from paying visits on 21 July she found the house in a state of alarm as young William had suffered „convulsions of the throat”. Two doctors were already in attendance but to no avail and the child died the following day.\textsuperscript{91}

Mothers and fathers who lived in times of high child mortality have tended to have their parental grief denied or undervalued by historians. Families in pre-modern times have been posited as loveless and calculated social institutions in which parents were unmoved by the deaths of their children and even in more recent times a person’s familiarity with death, usually because of extreme poverty, has tended to be „confused with ambivalence and/or fatalism”.\textsuperscript{92} Laurence Stone concluded that „the omnipresence of death coloured affective relations at all levels of society, by reducing the amount of emotional capital available for prudent investment in any single individual, especially in such ephemeral creatures as infants”.\textsuperscript{93} These views, also shared by Randolph Trumbach\textsuperscript{94} and Edward Shorter,\textsuperscript{95} have been challenged by Linda Pollock\textsuperscript{96} and Pat Jalland who stated that „to assume that parents suffered less

\textsuperscript{88} Copy of Mrs Bennet’s will, ULSC, D/3196/M/21, Papers relating to Glamorganshire.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90} Caroline’s diary, 21 July, 1837. ULSC, D/3196/E/2/40/66, PCD.
\textsuperscript{91} Julie-Marie Strange, „‘She cried a very little’: death, grief and mourning in working-class culture, c.1880-1914” in Social History, 27:2 (2002), p. 145.
\textsuperscript{94} Edward Shorter, The making of the modern family (New York, 1975).
\textsuperscript{95} Linda A. Pollock, Forgotten children: parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900 (Cambridge, 1983).
when their children died in earlier centuries is to risk trivialising their emotions”. 97 Those historians who erroneously present the pre-modern and working class family as unfeeling do so because of the „problems of nomenclature” identified by Joanna Bourke as the source of historians” reluctance to analyse emotions. 98 The meanings given to emotions are culturally dependent and vary according to class, gender and „race”. In other words, an emotion expressed in the nineteenth century would be expected to provoke a different interpretation from a contemporary than it might from a twenty-first century historian for as Bourke asked „[w]as what people in the 1970s called „fear” the same thing as it was in the 1870s?” to which she answered „probably not”. 99 Can it be assumed therefore that the performance of grief in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries (or alternatively by the élite class and the peasant class) would appear the same to either contemporary or present day observers? Again, the answer is „Probably not”.

The year 1837 was a period of considerable emotional stress for the Dunravens and Caroline’s egodocuments provide a glimpse of some of these emotions and their management. 100 When Edwin”s and Augusta”s son was stillborn Caroline noted that they „received their chastening with submission, and never did the character of my beloved Adare appear in a more truly light”. 101 However, when Anna Maria”s son died Caroline was less sanguine, she wrote that „my poor Anna Maria seemed unable to bear such a blow” and hoped that „a perfect change of air and scene, and above all a sense of duty will gradually reconcile them to their misfortune”. 102 Like many who were religious in the nineteenth century, the Dunravens believed in divine providence and the necessity for resignation to the will of God and any evidence that indicated a lack of total acceptance to a death, which for a devout Christian should be an occasion for rejoicing at the deceased”s ascent to heaven, was regarded as a sign of weak faith and rebellion against God’s will. 103 The difficulty achieving this level of acquiescence after the death of a child was

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97 Jalland, Women, marriage and politics, p. 181.
99 Ibid.
100 For an analysis of Caroline’s emotional management of her and Anna Maria’s grief after the death of young William Monsell see, Odette Clarke, „Divine providence and resignation: the role of religion in the management of the emotions of the Anglo-Irish countess of Dunraven, Caroline Wyndham-Quin” in Willemign Ruberg and Kristine Steenbergh (eds.), Sexed sentiments: interdisciplinary perspectives on gender and emotion (Amsterdam, forthcoming 2010).
101 Caroline’s reflections, January 1838, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/127, PCD.
102 Caroline’s reflections, January 1838, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/128, PCD.
103 Jalland, Women, marriage and politics, pp. 265-6.
compounded by the belief that a child’s death was a form of punishment from God and a trial, a „providential dispensation”, which could purify the parents’ souls and teach them the lesson of submission to God’s will. This chastising deity is in marked contrast to the eighteenth-century Anglican God to which Vickery referred when she noted that „mercifully, [parents] did not see a child’s death as a particular punishment for their own sins because the God who presided over the Georgian Church of England was not an especially wrathful deity”. The nineteenth-century God, perhaps as a response to advances in scientific knowledge and growing secularism, had become more fearsome with the result that the consolation that parents could obtain from the hope that they would be reunited with their child after death, was accompanied by feelings of guilt.

The emotional pain that Anna Maria experienced after her baby’s death understandably made resignation difficult and her grief demonstrated a lack of submission to God’s will that concerned her mother. Vickery has observed in her study of middle-class English women in the eighteenth century that Contemporaries feared the thundering force of parental grief and maternal anguish in particular was recognised as a „species of savage despair”. Moreover, desolation could snuff out a mother’s own life and her everlasting soul, so to survive grief was seen as an act of will.

Mothers „had little choice but to draw deep on their stoical reserves and attempt to submit like proper Christians‟, in other words, to carry out „grief work” or emotional management in order to stave off the possible decline into depression. Caroline‟s stoicism is evident in the manner in which she recorded the loss of these grandchildren in her journal. As in previous years when she noted the many miscarriages she herself had suffered, she voiced her regret and sorrow but above all her repeated resignation to God’s will using her diary as an emotive tool. In the incidence of her baby grandson’s death her overriding concern, as Anna Maria’s mother, was that her daughter should likewise be able to control her maternal suffering as she believed that both her mental state and the state of her soul depended upon it. Caroline, however, had lost her first two grandchildren in a short period of time and she too was feeling the effects of her emotions:

105 Ibid., p. 125.
106 Ibid., p. 124.
the little body was ornamented with flowers by Anna Maria’s own hand, and the most perfectly heavenly thing I ever beheld – its skin the colour of wax, and its little beautiful features composed with a sort of […] smile – with the life of this darling ended all my hopes of having grandchildren this year & I trust I may be enabled to bow under this chastisement with the submission which I am preaching to my poor afflicted children.107

It is clear from this diary entry that Caroline was engaged in attempts to manage her children’s emotions. These attempts were probably motivated by her concern for their physical and spiritual wellbeing but she may also have feared that Anna Maria’s failure to attain perfect resignation to God’s will would be viewed, by herself and by others, as an indictment against the efficaciousness of her mother’s religious instruction. Caroline’s religiosity had a very public face as much of her work was involved with teaching the scriptures to the local people of Adare and it would have been surprising if Anna Maria’s performance had been beyond scrutiny.

In the midst of this sorrow the two fathers of the deceased children were actively engaged in fighting for a seat in the general election that had been occasioned by the death of King William IV on 20 June. The Limerick campaign revealed the divisions between local élites. William Monsell was standing as a liberal Tory in the Limerick city constituency against the two sitting repealers, David and William Roche. He had refused a nomination to stand for the county constituency and in his stead Augustus Stafford O’Brien108 had taken the Tory position against the Whigs, William Smith O’Brien109 and the earl of Clare. The election in Ireland was bitter, with candidates taking sides on the emotive issues of repeal of the act of union and the tithe war. The Dunravens’ friend Augustus Stafford O’Brien withdrew from the contest after supporters of his distant relative William Smith O’Brien, of Dromoland, county Clare, attacked his committee room and injured several men. According to Potter, William Monsell “cut a sorry figure in this election . . . [his] personal tragedy, combined with his opponents’ widespread use of intimidation, effectively destroyed

107 Caroline’s diary, 23 July, 1837, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/40/68, PCD.
108 Augustus Stafford O’Brien (1811-52), later known as Augustus Stafford, owned property at Cratloe, county Limerick but usually resided at Blatherwycke Hall, Blatherwick, Northamptonshire. He was the Tory MP for Northamptonshire North from 1841 until his death and in 1852 he was appointed first secretary of the admiralty. When at Cambridge he was a member of the Apostles Club, he was an ardent admirer of William Wordsworth and associated with Disraeli’s Young England Movement. He was Lady Charlotte Guest’s (the wife of Josiah John Guest, Edwin’s opponent in the 1837 Glamorganshire election) first love but her mother “declared that she would sooner see her daughter in her grave than married to Augustus”. Revel Guest and Angela V. John, Lady Charlotte Guest: an extraordinary life (Stroud, 2007), p. 31. He corresponded regularly with Caroline, discussing both political and personal matters.
109 William Smith O’Brien was related to both William Monsell and Augustus Stafford O’Brien.
his chances of election”.\textsuperscript{110} He came third in a four-horse race polling only 387 votes, the fourth candidate, another Tory, polled 101 votes. William and David Roche polled 973 and 960 votes respectively.

The conservative candidates in Wales were in as invidious a position as those in Ireland. As in Ireland most of the population were not Anglicans and the payment of tithes to the Church of England was a major source of complaint, which eventually led to the Rebecca riots in west Wales in 1838-44. Edwin, the reluctant politician, found himself in the fray of the 1837 election in Wales when, on Saturday 23 June, everyone at Adare was „astounded before breakfast by the appearance of Mr Harding who came here to fetch over Adare in order to stand for Glamorganshire”, illustrating the political as well as financial importance of the Welsh part of the Dunraven identity.\textsuperscript{111} Edwin started off immediately to catch the Waterford mail boat to Wales and Caroline began to write canvassing letters. Edwin’s only chance of winning lay in his utilization of the Wyndham name and the memory of his grandfather, Thomas Wyndham, who had been a popular MP for the constituency from 1789 until his death in 1814. The Glamorganshire election was a fine example of how aristocratic women could use their influence in the very public world of politics and how Caroline was still embedded in her Welsh social network. Like Limerick the local community was riven by political issues. It was a two seat constituency with a sitting Liberal MP, Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot (1803-90) who was not going to lose his seat\textsuperscript{112}, so the real battle was between Edwin and another Liberal candidate, Josiah John Guest (1785-1852). Guest’s wife Charlotte Bertie (1812-95), daughter of the ninth earl of Lindsey, took an „unequivocally public stance in the electoral process” and worked as campaign secretary handling the publicity and canvassing.\textsuperscript{113} Reynolds noted that:

\begin{quote}
in some instances, [a woman’s] very femininity could be enlisted in support of a candidate. The conjunction of feminine and aristocratic patronage was as considerable in political affairs as in charitable matters.\textsuperscript{114}
\end{quote}

Certainly in the instance of Edwin’s campaign in 1837 the arrival of Augusta seemed to make a considerable difference. Augusta was still recovering from her pregnancy and the loss of her son but she followed Edwin to Glamorgan to give him her support.

\textsuperscript{110} Potter, \textit{William Monsell}, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{111} Caroline’s diary, 23 June 1837, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/40/62, PCD.
\textsuperscript{112} Talbot initially won his seat in 1830 and was to keep it until his death in 1890.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid. p. 130.
The Dunraven’s agent John Randall reported regularly to Caroline on the electoral proceedings and he generally had a low opinion of Edwin”s election committee and feared at the beginning of the campaign that Guest would win the second seat. Randall wrote to Caroline on 21 July that

Lady Adare is improving in health and would do so much more were the election over – she is winning the good opinion of every one and we are all delighted with her. I have given her my pony to ride which is remarkably quiet and which she uses almost daily.115

Caroline”s mother”s widower, Mr Bennet had been visiting Adare when Edwin left for the election and he too followed him to Glamorgan to offer his support and to report back to Caroline. He shared Randal”s misgivings about the election committee and commended Augusta”s success in a letter also dated 21 July:

Adares committee have hitherto I fear acted injudiciously & hastily & differed much among themselves. Mr Lyon is now arrived & all will go on better. Not expecting a contest they had not exerted themselves to prepare for one. At the commencement, they would not allow Randall to accompany them or to advise them. At present I see that he does so. . . You can scarcely imagine the sensation caused by Talbot”s declaration today that he, as the Welsh say, carries Guest on his back into Parliament. I fear even with all the odium against them that Talbot & Guest are fearful odds to contend with – but I think if activity had been united to calm sense in the committee and Lady Adare not been forbidden to canvass from the beginning, things would have gone much better. She is truly beyond all praise for her sound good sense & clear judgement - the lower classes and the farmers & trades people of all . . . radical tones & dissenters all tell me they cannot resist her – she has indeed turned the votes of some men whom I should have thought quite inflexible – Mr Jenkins of St Brides – our most dangerous radical because so clever and eloquent – stopped me to say „Sir, I am sorry to oppose you - I could never have done so if Lady Adare had spoken to me one day sooner – as it is I will not stir against her – How fortunate it is for Guest that the Harding committee will not let her loose‟.116

Caroline, for her part, spent many days writing letters and canvassing support from all her connections in Wales using to good affect her father”s memory. Edwin won the seat and Talbot failed to deliver another seat for the Liberals.117

115 J. Randall to Caroline, 21 July 1837, ULSC, D/3196/M/21, Papers relating to Glamorganshire
116 J. Randall to Caroline, 21 July 1837, ULSC, D/3196/M/21, Papers relating to Glamorganshire
117 John W Bennet also made the following comments regarding Daniel O'Connell in a letter to Caroline dated 3 August 1837:

I fear if O'Connell appeared in any Glamorgan meeting of which any body of the lower classes were present in numbers he would be torn limb for limb – There is a deep and bitter store of vengeance against him personally here amongst all the operatives because he is supposed to be the person who has sent the great number of Irish work men over whose competition has lowered wages and they have also a superstitious horror of a Papish as the call it which would excite them into delirious fury were they to find so celebrated a leader of that party - in their hands – I fear the temptation would be too great to be resisted (ULSC, D/3196/M/21)
Mr Bennet was to be the cause of the final “unpleasant occurrence” for Caroline in 1837. He and Selle, Anna Maria’s Belgian governess, had married a mere three months after Caroline’s mother died and had kept this event a secret from the Dunravens. Earlier in the year Selle had spent time in England supposedly with friends and this was when the marriage had presumably taken place. In January 1838, at the time Caroline was writing her reflection of 1837 the couple were living together secretly and she found it all a painful mystery that she did not want to “unravel”. However, Caroline seemed to have a great capacity for living with the unexpected and a deep sense of loyalty towards people who had served her well and the couple were back in Ireland in 1839 staying with the Monsells and tossing pancakes with Caroline on Shrove Tuesday.\(^\text{118}\)

The next few years after 1837 remained relatively calm for Caroline. After the election of that year it was decided that Edwin and Augusta should live in Dunraven castle, the original plan had been to rent the house after Mrs Bennet’s death but in order for Edwin to keep the Glamorganshire seat the family realized that he had to live in the constituency. It would have been hard enough to fight coming elections as a Tory without the added handicap of being seen as other than Welsh. The young family settled there and in 1838 a daughter, Caroline Adelaide, was born. She was followed by Augusta Emily in 1838, Windham Thomas in 1841, Mary Frances in 1844, Edith in 1847 and Emily Anna in 1848. Edwin and his family made the journey most years back to Adare and after Windham was appointed a representative Irish peer in 1839 he and Caroline endeavoured to travel to England and Wales so that he could attend the House of Lords. As both Edwin and Windham now had to attend parliament, Windham purchased a house in Eaton Square, London, in 1842, which was mostly for the use of his son and family as Windham was often too unwell to make the journey to London. The complex identity of the Dunravens’ familial identity encompassing Wales, Ireland and England was more in evidence in 1842 that at any other time to date.

On the other hand, the Monsells, after spending some time abroad following the death of their son, settled back in Tervoe, county Limerick. Caroline and Anna Maria spent much of their time together and Anna Maria maintained a close

This is interesting because H. J. Randall noted that the Dunravens had brought over Irish agricultural workers 1830-40, with further numbers coming over from the Irish estate during the Great Famine. Randall, *Bridgend*, p, 122.

\(^{118}\) Caroline’s diary, 12 February 1839, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/41/69, PCD.
relationship with her young brother, Windham Henry, who seemed to have enjoyed an idyllic childhood. He had been allowed to stay at home longer than his brother and did not leave to go to school in England until 1842 when he was over twelve years old. His last tutor at Adare was a Signor Valentino who seemed to live in Adare village and had previously been Anna Maria’s Italian teacher. Valentino was also a magician and was a source of great amusement for all the extended family. To great rejoicing at Tervoe and Adare, Anna Maria gave birth to another baby boy, also named William, on 22 March 1841. This child was the pride and joy of two households of adults and Caroline spent a lot of time with him and his mother. Disaster, however, struck again in 1845 when the second young William Monsell died. The year had started badly for Caroline with the death of the Dunraven’s “faithful old Butler”, William Mortel, on the 3 January. He had been Windham’s “personal attendant” for twenty-nine years and Caroline attributed her husband’s grief as the cause for his suffering severe gout until the middle of March. Windham had just recovered when news reached them that Windham Henry had taken ill on his way from Eton to Dunraven and was being nursed by Selle and Mr Bennet who now lived in Bristol. The worried parents set off for England and brought back their now recovering son to convalesce at Adare. It was shortly after their return that “little Willie” became ill and on Friday 11 July Caroline received a note from the Monsells to say that the child was dying.

As he had been suffering from scarletina he had been kept in isolation and his grandmother had not seen him for fear of transmitting the infection to the convalescing Windham Henry. Caroline’s diary recounted the events following her receipt of the note:

I immediately set off in the close carriage accompanied by Downes [her maid] – I drove to the back entrance & was met by Mr Ellis, with the heart breaking news that our precious little sufferer had been released from all earthly sorrows – I went immediately to William who took me to Anna Maria I found them perfectly resigned, & Anna Maria more calm than I could have possibly expected – but what words can express the extent of their bereavement their only child, & such a child born apparently to be a blessing to all around him, his endearing ways had indeed gained the affections of all who knew him in a way that no one without seeing could believe – I promised Lord Dunraven for fear of imbibing infection not to go into his room his disorder [sic], having been a decided case of malignant scarletina, therefore I must not venture near him but accompanied my poor dear Anna Maria to the door of his room, and saw apparently on a tranquil sleep the little darling of our hearts stretched on his bed alas to awake no more how I longed to kiss his dear cold lips, that had so often spoken to me with joy, & affection, but I remembered my promise & refrained.
my dear child saw him constantly she watched & soothed him to the last, and [returned] him to the God who had sent him in full trust & confidence in his everlasting happiness – I remained with my dear mourner till her kind husband came up to bed, & then retired for the night.\textsuperscript{119}

Far from being worried about Anna Maria’s emotional state, Caroline now seems to have been surprised at her daughter’s calmness, which she attributed to the fact that no words could express her daughter’s feelings. This immediate lack of visible emotion could also be attributed to shock or the exhaustion from tending a sick child for days and nights but Anna Maria’s composure was to continue and Caroline wrote in her diary the following day „Anna Maria”s calmness never forsook her, she felt that the Almighty had taken her child to himself, that he was eternally happy and not a murmur escaped her“.\textsuperscript{120} Whilst this account may, indeed, be an accurate interpretation of her daughter’s physical and mental state, it could also be an example of Caroline”s own emotion work as she herself endeavoured to attain the desired state of mind after the loss of her much loved grandson.

Anna Maria”s silence was in contrast to other members of the household as Caroline observed that she had never seen „anything like the grief on all faces we met, the [...] grief of the nurse the sobs of the servants, & the whining of the dog Captain looking about for his little master seemed all to accord with the sorrows of my own heart“.\textsuperscript{121} Even though Caroline stated that her own emotions accorded with those of the servants, and even the pet dog, she highlighted how the aristocratic performance of these emotions was very different. These differing displays of emotion at one place and time can best be understood if, as Rosenwein has suggested, a historical approach is adopted „that recognises the complexity of emotional life“. This approach takes into consideration what she has termed „emotional communities“, which are the same as social communities and, using Reddy”s terminology, the researcher examines the different emotional regimes and emotional management in each community.\textsuperscript{122} Rosenwein also proposes that „people [...] moved continually from one community to another [...] adjusting their emotional displays and their judgements of weal and woe [...] to these different environments“.\textsuperscript{123} The servants at Tervoe belonged to a different emotional community than their mistress and her mother and were able to

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\textsuperscript{119} Caroline”s diary, 11 July, 1845, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/48/58-9, PCD.  
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, D/3196/E/2/48/60.  
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, D/3196/E/2/48/59.  
\textsuperscript{122} Rosenwein, „Worrying about emotions“, p. 842.  
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
weep whereas the emotional regime for Caroline and Anna Maria’s class demanded a more restrained emotional response.

Emotional communities are also gendered, with women and men sometimes sharing a community and at other times not. Funerals, like other rites of passage, for the aristocracy were public ceremonies at which they were expected to behave with restraint and as women were thought to be less able than men to control their emotions, etiquette demanded that they remain at home. This meant that not only did the women find themselves confined to the house (with their emotions hidden from the public gaze) but they did not have the opportunity to benefit from the “cathartic function of the funeral”, which Julie-Marie Strange referred to in her study of death, grief and mourning in working-class culture at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. At the same time many men must have found the effort required to control their emotions at a loved one’s funeral extremely harrowing and, unless an agnostic like Charles Darwin, impossible to avoid. On the day of William Monsell’s funeral Caroline and Anna-Maria remained out of sight in the house while the men of the family together with the tenants and local people attended the funeral. Caroline wrote the following account in her diary:

On looking out the window, I saw groups of tenants & people standing about […] Alas! for what did they collect, the same persons who used to congregate for the celebrations of the dear child’s birthdays or other little merry makings were now round the hour waiting to bear him to his last home, I left my room to go to dear Anna Maria & I remained with her in her apartment which looked to the river, & from whence we did not see the mournful procession but I cd hear the tramping of feet on the terrace, & the nailing down of something in the nursery, brought the frightful reality before me that I should never again behold my darling’s face […]

During the days that followed the funeral, Anna Maria’s husband was consoled by his closest friends who came to see him whereas Anna Maria was under the watchful eye of her mother, who was perhaps the major influence in her daughter’s emotion work throughout her life, and the wife of one of the local doctors who was also a close friend of her mother’s.

Caroline took on the task of writing to friends and relations informing them of young William Monsell’s death and soon Anna Maria was receiving letters of condolence amongst which was one from William Sewell, a clergyman, author and

124 Jalland, Death in a Victorian family, p. 221.
125 Strange, „She cried a very little”, p. 145.
126 Jalland, Death in a Victorian family, pp 220-21.
127 Caroline’s diary, 12 July, 1844, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/48/59, PCD.
tutor at Exeter College, Oxford, who had been a visitor at Tervoe and Adare in 1841. Sewell, who was a high churchman and sympathetic with the Oxford movement had, with Monsell and Edwin, helped to found St. Columba’s College, Dublin.\textsuperscript{128} His letter was an exercise in emotion work and began

By the time this letter reaches you, you will have begun to awake from the first stupor into which such a blow plunges us & I hope that you will give way (not unreasonably nor extravagantly, for this, I know, your sense of duty will prevent) but as nature herself suggests & requires to your first feelings of bereavement. A forced calm & unnatural composure & suppression does harm rather than good – When God visits us in this manner, he intends that we should feel & feel acutely, an acute feeling & deep sorrow with all its natural expression are perfectly compatible with patience & resignation & even with gratitude to the hand which inflicts our sufferings. But I hope this first agony under which we are incapable of listening even to truths, which we acknowledge, will in some degree have subsided – Blows such as these affect, & are intended to affect, different persons in different ways. To some they come as a trial – to others as a punishment – to others as a warning – to others as a discipline – to others as a mere blessing […]\textsuperscript{129}

Sewell began his letter by allowing for and accepting that Anna Maria would have been in a „stupor“ after her traumatic loss and assured her that acute feelings were normal but that her „duty“ would prevent her from „giving way“ unreasonably or extravagantly. There was obviously a path that Anna Maria was expected to tread between what „nature“ suggested was an appropriate level of emotion and a „forced calm & unnatural composure“. Stepping off the path in one direction would have caused censure because of a lack of maternal feeling and, in the other direction, accusations of rebellion against God’s will. The body of the letter exhorted Anna Maria to „view things in their real light“, which was that her son was now in the presence of God, happy and removed from all pain. He was in fact „an object to be envied” and his mother was exhorted to

control your thoughts as to look forward to seeing him again – regard this only as a temporary separation: you may almost count the hours until the time comes – only remembering that such anticipations do not withdraw you from the duties of life. And when any such temptation occurs, it will be a strong antidote to it, that every yielding to such temptation diminishes the probability of meeting, by making us less acceptable in the sight of God.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{128} St. Columba College originally opened at Stackallen, county Meath, but moved to Rathfarnham near Dublin in 1849. It was intended as an Irish alternative to Eton or Cambridge and also initially to aid in the conversion of Roman Catholics through the use of the Irish language.

\textsuperscript{129} William Sewell to Anna Maria Monsell, 1845, ULSC, D/3196/E/10, PCD.

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid.
Here again was the threat that if Anna Maria was not resigned to her son’s death and able to carry on life as she should she would jeopardise the possibility of her meeting him again in heaven. Sewell continued

I know you must suffer & suffer acutely. But if you can arouse yourself to act under it, not to omit your regular duties – If you can force yourself to take those steps which are recommended to you in order to prevent grief of mind from preying on the body, this in itself will be a great result of this heavy trial. Perhaps in the sight of God something of this kind was needed to call forth & exercise in your mind some virtue, which ordinary prosperity could never develop.131

In this extract Sewell suggested that William’s death was a trial, a providential dispensation to correct some lack of virtue in his mother’s mind. The prescribed reaction to such a punishment was, of course for her to submit, to be resigned, to behave in a fitting manner for her class and gender and her reward would then be a reunion with her son in heaven. Anna Maria behaved appropriately as can be discerned from her mother’s reflections two years later:

I have the comfort of seeing my excellent child in improved health & spirits punished by her chastening to a degree of refinement I could hardly have supposed any human being could have reached – so gentle so meek so playful & yet so devoted to God.132

It was not unusual for mothers who have suffered the loss of a child to turn to religion in an attempt to find some understanding or for consolation, but there are suggestions that Anna Maria’s submission to religious discourse had a deleterious effect on her. Matthew Potter suggested in his biography of William Monsell that Anna Maria „never really recovered from this blow, and gradually became a sombre religious zealot without a great interest in life”.133 However, as Rosenwein has reminded us „[e]motions are always delivered “secondhand”, whether one adopts Reddy’s notion of emotives or thinks simply of the ways in which one knows about feelings in ordinary life” and Anna Maria’s emotional performance at the time of her son’s death is revealed only through her mother’s journal entries.134 Anna Maria’s actual emotions and feelings are unknown.

Caroline had put a considerable amount of effort into her emotion work so that she and, more importantly, Anna Maria conformed to the emotional regime of their gender and class and remained resigned and restrained. However, as Bourke

131 Ibid.
132 Caroline’s reflections, January 1848, ULSC, D/3196/E1/166, PCD.
133 Potter, William Monsell, p. 15.
noted, "the argument that historians can only analyse the emotions discursively does not deny that emotions have a physiology" and she has described how fear affected soldiers who "experienced epidemics of diarrhoea [...] suffered chronic gastrointestinal problems or escaped into dyspeptic invalidism". Over the last thirty years there have been many psychoneuroimmunological studies on the relationship between emotional stress and the immune response and although the results are not definitive the "studies have convincingly established that stressful experiences alter features of the immune response". If it is difficult for today’s scientists to make a direct link between emotional distress and illness, it is much more difficult for the historian to do so but, with that proviso, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that a tentative connection can be made. Caroline may have begun to feel the physical repercussions of her emotional distress shortly after her daughter’s departure after the funeral. She became physically ill and stayed in bed for weeks nursed by her husband, friend and maid and she recounted afterwards that her mind "was wandering & unconscious but strange to say my visions were all cheering & pleasant – [they] took the distemper from me for which I felt truly thankful". Her physical collapse seemed to have allowed her the space to reach some degree of emotional equanimity.

The death of a child always defies rationalisation and yet the parents’ agonising visceral loss demands huge efforts of emotional management in order that they can continue to live a reasonably healthy life. The concerns that others had for Anna Maria’s emotional state meant that she was subject to a considerable degree of emotion work carried out by her mother, William Sewell and presumably others. The prevailing discourses on gender and class denied Anna Maria any public expression of grief. She was unable to attend her son’s funeral and the nineteenth-century social practise of women’s mourning dress also served to create a barrier between the mourner and society. These practices created what has been referred to as a “conspicuous invisibility” and ensured that any expression of emotion was kept safely within the private sphere. Caroline’s journal entries demonstrate that the dominant

135 Bourke, Fear, p. 289.
136 Ibid. p. 7.
138 Caroline’s reflections, January 1846, ULSC, D/3196/E1/157, PCD.
discourse used in the management of grief after young William Monsell’s death was religious. This discourse had a paradoxical effect as it provided Anna Maria with the comfort of the belief in the existence of eternal life and the reunion with her son while at the same time it produced guilt. For if the death of the child was a punishment from God, the parents at some level must have deserved it or at least needed to suffer for their ultimate spiritual benefit. This feeling was not unusual among nineteenth-century Christian parents and that it may accurately reflect Anna Maria’s beliefs is given extra weight by the fact that her mother once again used the term ‘chastisement’ to describe the loss of a grandchild: ‘I look with more & more confidence on God’s mercy & see without chastisement we cannot be called the servants of God […] how can I miserable sinner as I am that have received so much good from God’s hand expect not to receive’. As a consequence of the belief that past behaviour merited this punishment there was the fear that any future fault would negate the possibility of reunion with the deceased child. Martha Tomhave Blauvelt has stated that ‘[a]nticipation of death, combined with religious conversion, a narrowed universe, and an eroded sense of self, all contributed to the prevailing tone of many married women’s diaries: resigned gratitude’. Caroline’s diaries and journals reveal a great deal of her emotional work to achieve the ideal feelings of resigned gratitude and contentment and like the married women in Blauvelt’s study much of her ‘emotion work was done for others’. However, unlike the women in Blauvelt’s study her writings also reveal that she maintained a sense of self and despite being an attentive wife and mother these responsibilities did not necessitate a ‘containment’ of her individual self. This survival had much to do with her societal status as an aristocrat, which demanded no narrowing of her universe after marriage and her considerable financial and emotional power over others. Without her mother’s power and under more emotional stress Anna Maria may not have been so lucky.

The grief and suffering that Caroline and her family felt after the death of her grandson was magnified on a national scale during the next five years as Ireland suffered one of the worst famines in modern history. The trigger for this disaster was

140 Jalland, Death in a Victorian family, p. 122.
141 Caroline’s reflections, January 1846, ULSC, D/3196/E1/159, PCD.
143 Ibid., p. 200.
the fungus *Phytophthora infestans*, which began to attack the potato crop in the late summer of 1845. Caroline first referred to the famine in her reflection of 1846:

Most thankfully do I begin this year & loudly proclaim my gratitude that in the midst of so much trouble and sorrow my precious family & myself have been preserved to begin another year in health and happiness at this moment this dear but unfortunate country is suffering from famine & its attendant diseases – Fever & dysentery always follow destitution & are beginning to show themselves – we feel the chastisement of the Lord is on this wretched people – Oh may this awful message come home to all our heads, may we feel the weight of our sins and amend them – may we pray earnestly for pardon & that the Lord will stay his hand & avert this heavy calamity from us. At present on the Southern coast of Ireland & also on the North Western the scourge seems let loose, the people are dying in numbers from actual want – in other parts the sums raised to prevent the poor from starving by giving them employment in public works are so weighty, that it is feared much confusion will ensue, ruin to small proprietors, great distress to the large . . . spending all our money here to assist our own poor as much as possible. . .

Caroline’s fears of confusion and ruin all became tragically true as the Whig government’s faith in an unregulated free-market economy and a vengeful God took its toll on the lives of the Irish poor and the finances of the aristocracy. Caroline in her reflection also displayed how she avoided the self-reflexivity that is necessary to answer that difficult question „why?” Instead she relied on her belief in God’s providence to explain the inexplicable or indeed to avoid the unpleasant truth that would have been materially disadvantageous.

Caroline and Windham did not leave their estate in Adare during the two years 1846-7 and both were actively engaged in the local Relief Committees, as well as Caroline’s continued involvement in providing flax for the women’s home spinning industry. Windham’s building projects also continued to provide employment for the local men. Their continued presence in their local community during the worst years of the famine and the resulting demand for local labour no doubt alleviated the worst effects of the famine for those in the immediate vicinity of the estate, a fact that Caroline took comfort in. However, there were some who thought that the Dunravens could have done much more for their neighbours. An article appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* on April 24, 1846, entitled „Distress and Crime in Ireland”, which detailed the plight of the people of Adare. The correspondent stated that he had spoken with the Catholic priest, Rev. O’Grady, but stressed that the observations made in the article were the result of his own enquiries. He detailed the wealth of the

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144 Caroline’s reflection, January 1847, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/160-1, PCD.
145 Caroline’s reflection, January 1848, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/166, PCD.
146 *The Morning Chronicle*, 24 April, 1846.
Dunraven estate and the building of a castle in the old style which will rival in magnificence nearly any seat of any of our English nobility. His fortune is between £30,000 and £40,000 per annum”, he continued:

The daily wage of 7 1/2d (this is Lord Dunravens invariable wage to his labourers). . . The next hut that I went into was that of the widow Toomey. . . The family consisted of the widow Toomey and 4 children and of Nancy Halpin and child. Seven persons in all some of whom had not tasted food they told me for forty-eight hours. Their only ostensible means of livelihood were the wages which 2 of the children (girls) on rare occasions obtained . . . Another of the children a boy had been in employment in the castle under the head gardener Coghlan, but had been bitten on the hand by a donkey while engaged in his service, and thus been rendered unfit for work. The poor little fellow seemed suffering sadly. They had received no relief. . . . I could not explain to any one in England the degree of misery I found in this hut. The two women were just bundles of rags; the only piece of furniture was a wretched apology for a bed with a rag as covering. The wounded boy was still crying with hunger on the floor; the rest was bare walls. No food in the house.

The article continued describing the desperate poverty of several other families in the village and noted that Windham’s agent deducted rent from the workers’ salaries thus ensuring payment. The correspondent also claimed that Windham was selling Indian meal at higher prices than in Limerick city:

Lord Dunraven has introduced half a ton of Indian meal, which has been sold at 2s 4d a stone – that is 2d per lb. It is selling in Limerick at 1d. per lb. I could not hear of any public works having been commenced in the parish. Public works would raise the wages of private employment, and might be found inconvenient.

Caroline’s philanthropic efforts did not go unmentioned:

With them [the nine members of the McNamara family] lived the widow Drew, a woman far advanced in years. She had had six children, of these three were in America, the other three as I understand are dead. Her only means of subsistence was 4d. a week, which she obtained from Lady Dunraven in payment for a pound of flax which she spun each week, and carried up to the castle. In addition to this Lady Dunraven gave her a gown of some cheap material every Christmas.147

The Morning Chronicle employed radical correspondents and was supportive of the Whigs for whom „Irish landlords were longstanding hate-figures” but not withstanding this bias the newspaper article has a ring of truth in it.148 In 1836 Caroline, when in London, paid two guineas for one music lesson for Anna Maria and this is perhaps

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147 The Morning Chronicle, 24 April, 1846.
indicative of her value system and how for her, the Irish peasant was so perceived that four pence for a week’s work seemed reasonable. 149

Edwin and the architect Ambrose Pugin were staying at Adare when the Dunravens heard of the article in The Morning Chronicle and Caroline was incensed. She wrote in her diary:

I heard of a most violent [report] on Lord Dunraven & me being written by a commissioner for the morning Chronicle, giving me a most false & exaggerated account of the distress here & perverting every thing we were doing even down to my spinning – I certainly am deeply pained and wounded that after having passed more than 30 years here, & spending a large income every day among the poor here, that they should have appeared so ungrateful but they understood that this commissioner was a person come to see that he wd relieve them according to the urgency of their wants & the priests being with this man encouraging the people to conceal what they received from us, in order to make their case as pitiable as possible – there was much in to fret & disappoint me & I could not help feel guilty I was in caring so much for the good opinion of my fellow creatures instead of feeling that I ought to do all for the honor of God only – a very complimentary paragraph was inserted in the Limerick Chronicle150 by the Editor, to sett forth all we were doing – we played whist in the Eve.151

The article made her angry and it made her feel guilty about caring what people would think of her but she never doubted that she could have done more.

The following month after The Morning Chronicle article Windham received a death threat, and he advised his understandably distressed wife to „not to mention the subject to any one“. Caroline wrote that she

. . . felt so disappointed in the Irish people who I had so much loved & wretched that such a kind friend as my dear one had been to them should have such a deadly enemy in this neighbourhood, as we knew who the person was who has so often threatened him – he was fined for an illegal process of burning land . . . 152

Caroline distanced herself from the „Irish“, reaffirming the English or Welsh part of her identity. Windham’s enemy never carried out his threat and Windham continued for the next three years to enjoy relatively good health much to the delight of his wife. The couple had maintained throughout all the years of their marriage a close partnership based on trust and love.153 Together they had built a family on what they thought were the firm foundations of economic security and Christian faith and despite their worries regarding Windham Henry’s lack of religiosity and Edwin’s

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149 Caroline to Mrs Bennet, 1836, ULSC, D/3196/D/3/34, DCWF.
150 This local paper supported the Tories.
151 Caroline’s diary 30 April 1846, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/49/22, PCD.
152 Caroline’s diary, 17 May 1846, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/49/28, PCD.
153 In her writings she fondly referred to him as „Soul“, which was presumably short for „dear Soul“.
attraction to the Roman Catholic faith they were enjoying each other’s company in Adare and in London.\textsuperscript{154} In April 1850 the couple travelled to London so that Windham could attend the House of Lords. Caroline went to the House of Commons to hear Augustus Stafford give a speech on education and Windham showed her, her old friend Catherine Harding and Anna Maria, around the House of Lords.\textsuperscript{155} After leaving London they spent a couple of weeks in Dunraven Castle, although Edwin and Augusta were in Italy, where they „met with a cordial reception from all classes, renewed old intimacies”.\textsuperscript{156} They returned to Adare and from 9 to 20 July they „had much enjoyment and such happiness” but after a musical evening on the 20 July, at the end of which Windham had admired Caroline’s playing of the harp, he took suddenly ill.\textsuperscript{157} Two local doctors were in attendance but as Windham worsened Sir Philip Crompton and Dr Stokes were sent for from Dublin. Caroline and Anna Maria had nursed Windham continuously but when the Dublin doctors performed a tracheotomy to relieve Windham’s breathing they instructed both the women to stay away from him as the „slightest emotion might be fatal”.\textsuperscript{158} This action pained Caroline exceedingly then and afterwards as this was Windham’s last night; he died shortly after six o’clock the next morning after the two women were allowed to take their leave of him. As the male medical profession first started taking ownership of the birthing process with élite mothers, the doctors’ actions at Windham’s death demonstrate a similar process taking place at the end of a life.

Windham’s death had huge consequences for Caroline. Although she saw herself as Welsh and English, Adare manor had been her home for almost forty years and now she could no longer regard it as such. Deborah Cavendish, dowager duchess of Devonshire observed in the twenty-first century that

Dowagers have to know their place, and recognise their moment in the sun has passed. Nothing . . . belongs to the person; it all goes with the title. “I’ve lived in furnished rooms all my life since I was married”.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{154} Windham Henry seemed to enjoy the worldliness of Eton more than his elder brother and after leaving he got a commission in the Thirteenth Light Dragoons.
\textsuperscript{155} William Monsell had been MP for the Limerick county constituency since 1847 so he was also attending parliament.
\textsuperscript{156} Caroline’s reflections, Tuesday 4 August, 1850, ULSC/D/3196/E/1/179, PCD.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., E/1/180.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., E/1/184.
\textsuperscript{159} Stephen Moss, „The duchess of Devonshire: “When you are very old, you cry over some things, but not a lot””, in The Observer, 12 September, 2010, pp 10-11.
Adare Manor was now Edwin’s and Caroline „knew her place”, which was on her English and Welsh estates, where she returned in 1851. Caroline had a life interest in the old Wyndham estates and unlike Deborah Cavendish had the familial and economic power to enjoy being in the sunlight for many more years, at least in Glamorganshire and Gloucestershire circles, if not in Limerick. The following chapter will examine her familial power and her continued building activities during the twenty years when she was the dowager countess of Dunraven.
Chapter six

The dowager countess of Dunraven (1850-70): Dunraven and Clearwell

Caroline lived until she was eighty years old and the course of her life can be
simplistically viewed in three separate phases during which her social identity was
marked by differing familial relationships. For the first phase and quarter of her life,
she was a girl and a young woman and was primarily identified as her father’s
daughter and then for the next forty years, half of her life, she was her husband’s wife.
The final twenty years of her life from the date of Windham’s death in 1850 until her
own in 1870 Caroline was a widow, an identity marker somewhat different to that of
daughter and wife. Although her identity remained relational, in that she was still her
dead husband’s wife and the mother of her children, she was more autonomous. This
autonomy together with her wealth enabled her to exert more power both within the
Dunraven family and in the public sphere.

The physiological age of any individual relates to their functional ability and
the gradual decline in bone density, muscle tone and physical strength. This
physiological age cannot be read purely from a person’s chronological age as the
speed and timing of these changes varies according to that person’s position in the
social structure, especially gender and class. 1 Caroline was an aristocratic woman who
had always been physically active, she was obviously well nourished and had never
had to engage in any physical labour and she was also lucky to have survived all her
pregnancies unscathed. Together with this she had always had a loving network of
relations and friends to cater to her emotional needs as a result of which debilitating
old age did not affect Caroline until the last two months of her life and she remained
active through her sixties and seventies. She noted on her seventy-fifth birthday in
1864 that she was „in a state of health and enjoyment of which few my age are
capable“ 2 and indeed up until the immediate months before her death she remained
relatively active. Not unsurprisingly she did suffer occasional bouts of illness and

1 Sara Arber and Jay Ginn (eds), Connecting gender and ageing: a sociological approach
(Buckingham, 1995), p. 10.
2 Caroline’s diary, 24 May, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/45, papers of Caroline, countess of Dunraven.
needed increasing periods of rest but up until her death she remained in total control of her business and philanthropic affairs.

It is unfortunate, however, that for this most autonomous period of her life, the archive holds few egodocuments. The archive holds no annual reflections after 1850 either because they have been lost or because her husband, Windham, had always been her intended audience and she stopped writing them after his death. The bulk of her diaries for this period are also absent although her numbering system would suggest that they were written, which means that they are either missing or that she destroyed them. The latter quarter of Caroline’s life included periods of deep sorrow and worry caused by the deaths of close family members and familial tensions and a year after her younger son’s death she burnt his private diaries rather than let them fall into the hands of her daughter-in-law who had announced her intention to remarry.3 This is a reminder of Caroline’s agency in the content of the written heritage that she left behind for future generations and not only her construction but also her censorship of her and the family’s narrative.

For whatever reasons no diaries exist for the years 1851 to 1863, a period that began with Caroline mourning the death of a husband who had been her soulmate for most of her life and he was also her partner in their shared project to build a family with firm spiritual and economic foundations. Windham was dead only a few months when Caroline felt that those very foundations were threatened by her son-in-law’s conversion to Roman Catholicism at the end of 1850. She wrote in her final reflection:

... Oh my dear precious joy was no longer here. The dear beautiful house he had left unfinished I determined on completing knowing it was his wish I should do so, but the sad blank! He had given us directions & begged us to ask him for more, but my speech failed me, but to endeavour to describe the sad succession of trials my bereavement brought on me wd be useless – I only repeat facts, comments are quite beyond me – the beginning of November by tears flowed first from another cause, the Monsells left us preparatory to the reception into the Roman Catholic church of my son in law William Monsell – we are now a divided family, oh how . . . I miss the dear head which had kept us so united – I felt the parting with my dear Anna Maria very severely. . . 4

William Monsell’s attraction for the high church principles of the Oxford Movement had caused him to follow the example of John Henry Newman and Henry Manning and convert to Roman Catholicism. The above extract might suggest that Caroline

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3 Caroline’s diary, 24 October 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/8, PCD.
4 Caroline’s reflection, 1851, ULSC, D/3196/E/1/185, PCD.
thought that Monsell’s conversion might have been prevented had Windham still been alive but it is unlikely that her late husband’s influence would have extended to his son-in-law’s religious convictions. Where Caroline was most likely to have felt the lack of Windham’s authority was in relation to her eldest son, Edwin, now the third earl of Dunraven and in control of the Irish estate. By 1851 Edwin’s county Limerick friends Aubrey and Stephen De Vere, as well as William Monsell, had converted to Roman Catholicism and without Windham’s influence or economic control over Edwin it was unlikely that it would be long before he followed suit. Sometime in 1855 Edwin did in fact join the number of high church Anglican aristocrats that converted to the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-nineteenth century. His conversion caused his resolutely Protestant wife considerable consternation but despite disagreements and tensions Caroline appeared to maintain good relationships with all her children, their partners and also her grandchildren.

Caroline’s feelings of attachment for her family members together with her expressions of maternal duty may not have been enough to keep the aging dowager at the centre of family affairs and activities had she not, by means of her marriage settlements, had control of the Welsh and English properties for her lifetime. Anne Kugler, for example, has described how Lady Sarah Cowper (1644-1720) was bothered by the gap between her expectations and her son’s actual behaviour as this „implied a certain disdain for her age, which was worrisome both in its denial of the very venerability she was claiming, and because she did not identify herself with the picture of the aged that her son’s treatment suggested“. Despite Caroline’s love for her children their perception of her as an older woman may have marginalised her if she had not been able to maintain the position of matriarch due to her own economic independence but more importantly her sons’ economic dependence upon her. Under Caroline’s marriage settlement, the Dunraven and Clearwell estates were entailed to Edwin but as Windham predeceased Caroline she had a life-interest in both the

5 There was a number of women among these aristocratic converts, which included Cecil Lothian, Charlotte Buccleuch, Elizabeth Herbert of Lea, Adelaide Gainsborough, Mary Holland and Elizabeth Londonderry. See K. D. Reynolds, Aristocratic women and political society in Victorian Britain (Oxford, 1998), pp 76-7.
6 There is no reference to Edwin’s religious conversion in Caroline’s extant egodocuments. For an account see Theresa Hereward-Ryan, „An examination of the life of Edwin Wyndham-Quin, third earl of Dunraven, 1812-71“ (PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2010).
7 Anne Kugler, ‚I feel myself decay apace‘: Old age in the diary of Lady Sarah Cowper (1644-1720), in Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane (eds), Women and aging in British society since 1500. Harlow, 2001), p. 70.
estates. Under Windham and Caroline’s good management, the debts on these estates had been repaid and the Dunraven estate was now very wealthy due to the royalties from its coal mines. Marriage settlements and entails were frequently broken as families’ circumstances changed and, as can been in chapter three this had happened to Caroline’s mother when her settlement was broken so that her money could be used to repay her father-in-law’s and husband’s debts. This could have happened to Caroline as the future wealth of the Welsh estate was not known at the time of her marriage and it would not have been unusual for such a settlement to have been broken for the benefit of one or both of her sons. She, however, was luckier than her female predecessors and held on to her property.

There seemed to have been no pressure placed on Caroline to persuade her to agree to the breaking of the conditions of her settlement probably because, firstly, Windham loved his wife and secondly, because he trusted her financial judgement more that his sons”. Evidence of his love can be seen in a letter he wrote to her in December 1830, during a bout of illness and almost twenty years before he eventually died, which included an account of monies spent „in improving the income to be derived by my good wife out her Welsh estates”:

Sunday Dec 12 1830
½ past five pm
I am not well - I have an unusual & distressing sensation of giddiness –
   Oh God be merciful to me here & hereafter – Pardon my sins, & prolong my life also for my wife & childrens sake –
   God I thank thee for them all dutiful good children the best wife man ever had, Bless her Oh my God, bless her, Bless her & reward her & comfort & preserve her – Fare thee well dear and admirable woman – my last breath proclaims my opinion of your merit, my confidence my love – Good bye, God in heaven bless you - & may that good Being grant my Prayer to let us live together hereafter, for ever & ever.

Windham’s concerns in relation to Edwin and Augusta’s lack of economy are also evidenced in a letter, this time one written to his solicitor in 1848, two years before his death:

My poor friend, Serjeant Goold, said to me, “If my daughter does not bring your son a large fortune, she will save him one, for she is the most economical creature in the world!!” Alas, this all remains to be proved. They are consuming their income with interest, while their children are of course becoming more expensive every day . . . The second season after I married, my sensible wife, finding that the London life was beyond our income, gave it up, and we got rid of our house; and, though a great heiress, she was content to remain in the country when I had to be in London attending parliament. My son and his wife might have done the same. Where should

8 Windham to Caroline, 12 December 1830, ULSC, D/3196/E/3/62-4, PCD.
we have been now, if my wife’s heart . . . had been set on being a fine lady in London, and I had encouraged her, and it had brought me every year deeper in debt? . . . Our course led upwards, theirs leads downwards, and it is very easy to go downhill . . . I find that, out of landed property alone, unaided by commerce or by profession, enough is not yielded to enable one generation to raise the family greatly and firmly, as I wished to do. It requires the concurrence of two generations, and I little thought my successor would begin to undermine what I had built up with such self-denial. It is with great pain I see them following a course where they will sink step by step, till their little boy will be the sacrifice, doomed like the sons of fine London ladies to cut off entails and pay for their parents’ recklessness.9

Caroline, in effect, held the family purse strings until her death in 1870 and this power together with the affection in which the family held her ensured that she continued to be valued and included in most family events whether they were held in Ireland, London or on one of her estates at Clearwell or Dunraven to where she had returned when Edwin took over the Adare estate in 1850.

Family events are usually occasioned by rites of passage and the celebrations can be marked by either joy or sadness. As there are no extant egodocuments for the years immediately after Windham’s death until 1863, there is no opportunity to gauge Caroline’s emotions or to look for the meanings that she constructed in order to make the events of this period understandable. In the five years after Windham’s death two of the female members of the family were also to die. The first death was that of Caroline’s eldest granddaughter, Caroline Adelaide, who died when she was only fifteen years old in 185310 and less than two years later Caroline lost her daughter, Anna Maria Monsell who died on 7 January 1855. Anna Maria was forty when she died and had suffered for some years from a chest complaint that may or may not have been tuberculosis. Immediately before her death she and her husband had been staying in St Leonards on Sea in Sussex and Caroline had joined them there to help nurse her daughter. There are a few surviving letters from Anna Maria among Caroline’s papers and they include one from her to her mother describing the house she and her husband had taken for themselves and Caroline in St Leonards. The first part of the letter was written by William Monsell and it indicated that he had been in communication with Caroline regarding their accommodation needs and that she had given him instructions:

9 Earl of Dunraven to Sir Matthew Barrington, 14 June 1848, D/3196/C/12, papers of the 2nd earl of Dunraven.
10 Caroline Adelaide was Edwin and Augusta’s eldest daughter.
We have succeeded in finding a house which pretty well answers your requirements – it is in the [part of town] which is considered the best – There is a very nice front drawing room & a back drawing room – two parlours – 4 good bedrooms – 3 small ones & a sufficient number of servants rooms – we have taken it on the following terms – 9 guineas per week if kept only for one month – 8 guineas a week if kept only for two months– if kept for 4 months 8 guineas per week for the first 2 months & 7 for the last 2 – if kept for 6 months 6 guineas for the last 2 months - so it can be given up whenever you please – D [a servant] arrived to day & was most helpful in hunting out sufficient supplies of glass & other necessaries are to be supplied – Lady Fingall is here . . . .

Anna Maria then added the following:

My own Mutty I hope you will like the house – we shall be in the town of St Leonards facing & close to the sea, the road an excellent broad sunny walk between us & it – I am distressed at having been obliged by dear Wm to take the sunny room looking to the sea – I wd have given it to you but Dr Williams having said my chest showed more signs of “[?]” the dear husband anxious to keep me in perpetual sun shine if possible – Downe’s [Caroline’s maid] room will be a few steps below yours . . . a bell will communicate with her room that you will only have to ring for her . . . you will be glad to hear that there is a church near abt 5 minutes walk. God bless you.11

The archive also holds the last letter that Anna Maria wrote on which Caroline later annotated „Copy of a letter written by dearest Anna Maria Monsell to her brother Windham, on her death bed finished by me when her hand became too feeble to continue, but only the last three words”:

My own darling brother,
My earnest entreaty – will you learn to say daily this prayer “Make me a clearer head O God, and renew a right spirit within me” Psalm 51. V.10
Don’t be dismayed you may feel very cold at first, persevere say Lord teach me how to pray” – Our Lord says “ask & ye shall believe – Darling, begin now, and in earnest seek God, that be may be your heavenly father, so please him by struggling against all faults, trusting for help and Victory, to him, and Oh! May we meet around his throne to praise him, and to pass a blessed and blissful eternity free from sin temptation, & our spiritual welfare – no more sorrow, no more pain, through the merits of our most merciful and glorious redeemer who will crown all his faithful servants with eternal life.12

Anna Maria”s last thoughts would appear to be concerned with her younger brother”s lack of faith and her wish that she would meet him again in heaven. Her concern is not surprising considering her religiosity and that the belief in perpetual punishment for the damned was still prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century among not only

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11 Mr & Mrs Monsell to Caroline, 1854, ULSC, D/3196/E/10, PCD.
12 Mrs Monsell to Windham Henry Wyndham-Quin, 1855, ULSC, D/3196/E/10, PCD.
Evangelicals but also Tractarians and Roman Catholics.\textsuperscript{13} The presence of this letter could also be used as evidence that Anna Maria had herself died a „good death” piously thinking of others and as it bore the weight of a death bed wish it could also be used by Caroline as a tool for Windham Henry”s conversion. Whether she did so and whether or not she was successful, is unknown.

Caroline, despite her religious disagreements had a close relationship with her daughter and her Roman Catholic husband. In fact William Monsell signed himself her „affect[ionate] son” in a letter that was written shortly after the birth of his and his second wife”s first child in which he was writing to her concerning the bedroom of his and Anna Maria”s late son.\textsuperscript{14} The room would appear to have been kept as it was when the child died thirteen years earlier. The letter started with his acknowledging Caroline”s kindness towards a Mrs Davy:

\begin{quote}
My dear Lady Dunraven, 
I will communicate your great kindness to Mrs Davy – when I received Edwin”s letter I spoke to her about it & poor woman she said she could not think of receiving the assistance, that it was too much for you to do for her, & so on, but of course those feelings must be put aside – you never assisted a more grateful nor more deserving person – I thank you also most heartily on my own part for being so ready at once, as you always have been, to meet any wish of mine – I assure you that the thanking of all your kindness & affection is at this moment bringing tears to my eyes – as to the room my feeling about it is just the same as yours & I intend to make such arrangements as will always preserve its sacred character – I shall propose to keep the room as it is in every particular except the bed, toys & sofa & chair which I could move into another room – I will however do nothing about the matter until Edwin comes over – when he & I have [thought] the matter over & looked at every thing in the room I will let you know what we agree to do so you shall then decide – Thank you for your enquiries about [Berthe] & the baby. They are both, thank God, as well as possible Your affect son W Monsell\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

This letter also demonstrated how central Caroline was in the decision-making of her extended family and how she managed throughout her life by continuous kin-work (which included doing favours such as helping Mrs Davy) to keep a network of people close to her.

\textsuperscript{13} Psalm 51 recounts David”s begging for the remission of his sins after he had been confronted by the prophet Nathan about arranging the death of Bethsheba”s husband so that he could marry her as she was pregnant with his child.

\textsuperscript{14} Monsell”s second wife was a French woman, Marie Louise Ernestine Berthe de Montigny (1835-90) and their first child was Thomas William Gaston who was born 5 March 1858. They would later also have a daughter, Marie Olivia.

\textsuperscript{15} William Monsell to Caroline, 4 October [?], ULSC, D/3196/E/10, PCD.
This network of people included Mr and Mrs Wick Bennet, previously her mother’s widower and Anna Maria’s old governess, Selle. One of Anna Maria’s last letters to Caroline mentioned the kind attentions of the couple towards her and in 1845 the Bennets had also nursed the young Windham Henry when he became ill at Eton. Caroline remained loyal to both Mr and Mrs Bennet and assisted them throughout their chaotic life; a life that resembled more a Dickensian tale than one from the pen of Jane Austin.16 Mr Bennet’s tale of woe can be pieced together from the number of his letters that exist among Caroline’s papers. If Wick Bennet’s father, John Bennet, had been annoyed at his son’s marriage to a much older woman with little money he was incensed when, shortly after Caroline’s mother’s death, he married a Belgian governess with neither money nor status. In November 1855 Bennet wrote to Caroline asking for a loan of £125 to tide him over until after his father’s imminent death after which, as the only son,17 he expected to inherit the Laleston estate in Glamorgan.18 Caroline gave him the money and by 3 December 1855 the older Mr Bennet had died and a “very private” funeral arranged for the following week after which Wick Bennet had promised to write “so as to let your Ladyship know all that passes”.19 The events of the funeral were overshadowed by the old patriarch’s last act of power as he manifested his anger in the details of his unusual will, the details of which the hapless Bennet recounted to Caroline in a letter:

My sisters say, and I suppose they know that the entire money farming stock, furniture, books, plate, linen, china, in a word, all personals, go to the three unmarried sisters – the two widows, each have £4000, according to settlement, to be paid out of the personals - & no more – the three singles get the cottage [in which] Mr P... resides, and five good fields, attached to it, share and share alike, for their lives – Now, we must keep the following from dear Selle - during her life, the singles, have full possession of Laleston House, garden, and home farm . . . if I shall survive my poor wife, it comes to me – They consider that the money alone is full £10,000 each – The remainder of the land, I am to “receive the rents of” during my life – but, during Selle’s life, I am forbidden to reside at Laleston – except during the terms of receiving the rents, or any imperative business – and if she enters this county, the next heir of entail may take the property from me – the result is, as I never had an income, I speculated riskly . . . to try to make an income I did not meet with success and was compelled to borrow money, to save myself from the consequences of my failure – soon after the funeral – I shall walk out – with about twenty pounds in my pocket to enter the world with – the whole of my property must be placed in Mr Frere’s hands

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16 Mr Bennet actually used Bleak House as a reference in a letter to Caroline regarding his plight on account of his sister Louisa’s chancery suit. Mr Bennet to the dowager countess of Dunraven, 26/06/1858, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/552, PCD.
17 John Wick Bennet had six sisters, five of whom were alive at this time. Two were married and three were single.
18 Mr Bennet to the dowager countess of Dunraven, 25/11/1855, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/537, PCD.
19 Mr Bennet to the dowager countess of Dunraven, 03/12/1855, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/539, PCD.
for the purpose of settling with my creditors – and it will only do that, by very close management on the part of Mr Frere [lawyer].

Bennet’s letter highlights the invidious position that men from the landed gentry could sometimes find themselves. Mr Bennet, as his father’s presumptive heir, was untrained for the professions and it would have been unlikely for him to have looked for employment that was beneath his status as a member of the landed gentry, which as a class was recognised by the very fact that its members did not work.

Albeit that spite was the motivating factor behind John Bennet’s will, he had as a result provided well for the daughters who had presumably lived with him and cared for him in his latter years and had probably merited it. Wick Bennet, however, managed to persuade one of his unmarried sisters, Louisa, to lend him £10,000, a business transaction that for some reason ended in penury for both of them. Louisa engaged lawyers and the case went to the Court of Chancery and she had to leave England to retrench whereas her brother ended up, around 1859 having to flee the country and prison. Selle and her maid were taken in by Caroline and they lived at Clearwell until Selle’s death in 1860. Caroline’s loyalty and friendship extended beyond giving Selle a home as an entry in her diary revealed that on Flowering Sunday in 1864 she had laid flowers on her old employee’s grave.

Her sense of responsibility for anyone connected to Mr Bennet also continued up until she died because in 1869 she received a letter from Mr Frere, Caroline’s solicitor, informing her that Mrs Wick Bennet’s case is truly pitiable & hopeless. Mr Bennet despite being penniless had managed to marry again but he had since died and left his new widow on the brink of bankruptcy. Two months before Caroline died she received a letter from Mrs Charlotte Bennet:

I feel I cannot sufficiently thank you for your handsome and very kind check for £10 which I am indeed most grateful for [Mr Frere has been helpful] but he has not a very high opinion of Mr Evans [Mr Bennet’s solicitor] the very fact of his keeping poor Mr Bennet in Derby gaol for eight weeks he receiving all the rents and having the entire control over all poor Mr Bennet’s property for the small sum of £400 I fear he never quite recovered . . .

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20 Mr Bennet to the dowager countess of Dunraven, 04/12/1855, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/541, PCD.
21 In Wales Psalm Sunday was referred to as Flowering Sunday and it was the custom to visit the graves of friends and relations. Caroline’s diary, 20 March, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/41, PCD.
22 Mr Frere to the dowager countess of Dunraven, 06/01/1869, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/624, PCD.
23 Mrs C. B. Bennet to dowager countess of Dunraven, 01/03/1870, ULSC, D/3196/E/5/634, PCD.
Mr Bennet’s bad luck had continued and he was imprisoned for debt. The introduction of the Debtors Act of 1869, which abolished imprisonment for debts, was unfortunately too late for Mr Bennet.

The deaths of Selle and Bennet were among the many of Caroline’s friends and relations whose loss she had to endure. The price that the older person has to be pay for longevity is the pain of grief as those who were close to them die and Caroline was, of course, no exception to this rule. In the three surviving diaries from the latter period of her life, death was a recurring theme. The absence of each person who died brought with it, to a greater or lesser degree a disruption not only to her emotional state but also to her daily routine. From the death of Captain Parry, the father of the local parson with whom she regularly played cards in the evening to the devastating loss of her youngest son when he was only thirty-five years old, each death brought different forms of grief. There was the acute grief that she suffered after Windham Henry died in 1865, which continued until her own death in 1870. She still grieved for her husband and this was a lonely grief; on the fourteenth anniversary of his death in 1864 she was holidaying on the Isle of Wight with Windham Henry and his family and she noted in her diary:

The anniversary of my deep sorrow, but no one here remembered it, or could they have noticed my feelings – I cd not bear to touch on that subject when I was not sure of sympathy . . . I did every thing as usual but oh what a sting of sorrow in my heart .

For her cousin Bel, she was able to feel „melancholy pleasure“ when she visited Hanmer church where her cousin was buried, and she also described the same „melancholy pleasure“ when she was on the island of Foynes during her visit to Ireland in 1863 and was „tracing the past“. Melancholy as an emotion is that combination of pain and pleasure or sorrow and happiness that Victor Hugo described as „the pleasure of being sad“. There was also an absence of grief or a forgotten grief for her daughter Anna Maria whose anniversaries passed without note. Caroline always remembered the anniversary of her husband’s death in her diary but never mentioned her daughter’s even though it took place five years later.

The only diaries in the archive for Caroline’s life as the dowager countess of Dunraven begin in June 1863, eight years after Anna Maria’s death and twelve years

\[24\] Caroline’s diary, 6 August, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/58, PCD.
\[25\] Caroline’s diary, 20 September, 1863, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/17, PCD.
\[26\] Caroline’s diary, 21 August, 1863, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/11, PCD.
after she returned to her Welsh and English estates. She spent most of her time living
at Clearwell but also often stayed at Dunraven. Both of these estates had originally
been entailed to Edwin but the entail of the Clearwell estate had been broken in 1836
to enable her son Windham Henry to inherit. Windham had married Caroline (Carry)
 Tyler of Cottrell, Cardiff and by 1863 they had a six year old son and a disabled
daughter who lived with Caroline. On 5 February 1864 Caroline made the following
entry in her diary:

  Our poor darling Lina completed her sixth year today & to see her without growth or
  strength is indeed a severe trial – it will I hope be a cross that will serve some grand
  purpose, & help to chasten & purify me - how thankful I am that she has no suffering
  but improvement seems hopeless.27

Lina accompanied Caroline when she went to Dunraven and after Windham Henry
died and his widow remarried and moved to Scotland Lina remained with Caroline.28
As can be discerned from the above entry Caroline’s religious faith continued to be
her guiding force and her motivation but as Pat Jalland observed „evangelical piety
need not be gloomy” and this was certainly the case with Caroline for throughout her
life she had the fortunate capacity for happiness.29 This cheerful disposition was
another reason for her centrality in the Dunraven family and her home was now the
scene of constant comings and goings of her two sons, their wives, and her
grandchildren. Her nephew Captain Henry Gallway also lived, if not in Clearwell
Court itself, then certainly on the estate and accompanied her on her travels between
her two houses and on her visits to London and Ireland.30

  Henry Gallway accompanied her to London in February 1864 preparatory to
the presentation by the Ladies of South Wales of a wedding present of jewels to the
new Princess of Wales, Princess Alexandra. Caroline, still at the top of the social
hierarchy in Glamorganshire, made the address on behalf of the Ladies and she noted
in her diary that the Princess was „very pretty, no striking features but pretty soft
brown eyes very pretty brown hair . . . her manner innocent & engaging to a
degree“.31 After this visit to London she returned to Clearwell for a few months

27 Caroline’s diary, 5 February, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/34, PCD.
28 Cracroftpeerage includes a child named Caroline in its Dunraven genealogy with a date of death
1877, which means that Lina may have lived until she was aged twenty.
www.cracroftpeerage.co.uk/online/content/index391.htm [accesssed 03/09/10].
30 He may have been a relation of the second earl of Dunraven’s sister, Harriet Quin who married
General Sir William Payne whose mother was a Margaret Gallway.
31 Caroline’s diary, 1 March, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/38, PCD.
during which she was unwell but on 7 June, Henry Gallway once more escorted her to
London where she spent some time with Augusta and her daughters who were in the
city before travelling onward to join her „darling Windham‟ and Carry on the Isle of
Wight. Carry was heavily pregnant and as one of her daughters had died and she had
a disabled daughter there was some unease about her pregnancy.32 However on 12
July 1864 Caroline was able to write in her diary:

Was awoke about 6 by [a servant] coming into my room & saying that Carry was
safely confined & had a little boy – they‟d not disturb me in the night – I knew
nothing of it till the event was happily over – no words can my thankfulness[ sic] – I
had dreaded this confinement for her & when I ran down as quick as I cd I found a
healthy little baby & Carry as well as possible – how truly thankful I felt & indeed cd
hardly realise it, Windham & I drove down to Seaview in the afternoon & sat by the
sea, some time – our minds were full of our recent blessing & I have not for years felt
so much of the old happy peace of mind – we found all going on well when we
returned.33

After Windham Thomas, Viscount Adare, arrived on the Isle of Wight to stand as
godfather Caroline‟s new grandson was christened Charles Frederick Talbot.34 Young
Talbot would eventually grow up to follow in the footsteps of his father and older
brother and have a military career in the service of the British empire.35

The new addition to the Dunraven circle together with his parents spent
Christmas 1864 at Clearwell with Caroline but on Christmas day Windham „seemed
most alarmingly ill‟.36 Windham although only thirty-five was already suffering, as
his father had before him, with gout but this time the problem may have been heart or
chest-related. The doctor was immediately called and he advocated a sojourn in
Egypt or Algiers but after a second opinion from a London doctor it was decided that
Windham required medical treatment before he would be fit to travel. Caroline‟s
diary ends in January 1865 and the next diary held in the archive begins in September
1866. This intervening period must have been one of extreme sorrow for her as she
nursed her youngest son who eventually died on 24 October 1865. She may have
decided to destroy the diary that covered the period of his death as she saw fit to begin

32 On 16 October 1863 Caroline wrote in her diary „The anniversary of our darling Lula‟s death we all
felt very sad & Carry staid upstairs all day‟. ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/22, PCD. Cracroftpeerage names
this child Louisa Augusta Isabelle with a date of death 16/10/1862.
www.cracroftpeerage.co.uk/online/content/index391.htm [accesssed 03/09/10].
33 Caroline‟s diary, 12 July, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/55, PCD.
34 Edwin‟s eldest son and heir, Windham Thomas, held the courtesy title, Viscount Adare.
35 The child was called Talbot at first but after his mother married Col. Turner and went to live in
Scotland, his pet name changed to Charlie.
36 Caroline‟s diary, 25 December, 1864, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/77, PCD.
the next with a brief summary that portrays Windham’s death as a typical “good” evangelical one:

I cannot begin this new book without a parting word to my last volume No 66 & thinking of all the sorrows ... gone through since I began it January 29 1865 – from that time intense anxiety followed day after day till all hopes fled, & my darling child breathed his last the 24th of October at the Pavilion Folkestone – the Lord dealt most mercifully with me during those months of misery & as my beloved approached his end his mind became more & more weaned from Earth & I had every hope by God’s promise that he left a world of intense suffering for everlasting rest – I do not suppose that my mind can ever recover its tone 76 is not a buoyant age but I am deeply thankful for the blessings left me & a bright spot opens before me in the intended marriage of my granddaughter Augusta with Mr Arthur Vivian it seemed pretty well arranged this morning & afterwards Edwin sett off for Ireland . . . 37

Caroline again demonstrated her ability to achieve the ideal state of resigned gratitude, which must have required a great deal of emotion work but which, it must be said, was most effective in her case as she never lost her facility for enjoyment nor her interest in her family and her estates.

There would, however, be another family death before the anticipated wedding of Edwin’s daughter, Augusta, and this time it was the future bride’s namesake, her mother. Edwin’s wife had always been delicate and her health had been a habitual concern for the family from the 1830s onwards but exactly a year after Windham Henry’s death Caroline wrote in her diary:

This day twelvemonth my precious Windham breathed his last – what a blessing to think he has had no more suffering on earth, but oh what a loss he is to me & to his children! No words can ever tell – that dear voice that gladdened my ears & that dear face that gladdened my eyes are in vain looked for – the accounts of Augusta were so alarming that I determined to go up to London on Friday & was busy packing & preparing . . . 38

She was „heavy hearted at leaving Dunraven for the winter & going on such a sad errand“ and when she and her usual companion Henry Gallway arrived in London they found „dear Edwin most anxious & unwell & Augusta lying on the sofa in the back drawing room very weak & emaciated“ 39

For the next four weeks Caroline spent time with her daughter-in-law and took Holy Communion with her but she saw her main role as bringing comfort to her granddaughters with whom she shopped and visited museums and exhibitions. She also took the opportunity to visit her solicitors and sign estate documents. Caroline was seventy-six years old but was still a valuable

37 Caroline’s diary, 1 September, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/1, PCD.
38 Caroline’s diary, 24 October , 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/7, PCD.
39 Caroline’s diary, 26 October, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/8, PCD.
member of the family who could contribute both practical and emotional support at a time of crisis. When Augusta eventually died on 22 November her daughters came to Caroline’s room for comfort. Augusta’s husband and son took her body back to Adare for burial whilst her four daughters and Caroline returned to Clearwell which Caroline described as ‘the quiet home I always resort to in sorrow’ and from where her granddaughter, Augusta, was married on 4 March 1867. Caroline described in detail the bride and her dress but it was evident that the family were all feeling sadness at the absence of the mother of the bride:

my dear son bore up wonderfully but was deeply tried by the loss of his dear wife, whose absence shed such a cloud over every thing, & when once the effort of keeping up before the bride was over we indulged our grief & the dear girls all burst with tears – the rest of the day was tedious, Edwin went away about 5 - & went to London en route to the Continent & then we had a late dinner at ½ past 7 – which concluded the day.

The following day was a painful one for Caroline as it was the day Windham’s widow, Carry, married Colonel Turner a marriage that had been announced the previous December, a mere year after Windham’s death. She wrote in her diary on the day of the wedding:

this day being appointed for the marriage of Carry with Col Turner I cd not help feeling deeply pained, & cd never describe the misery I went through silently – the head knoweth its own bitterness in the midst of what appeared a tolerable degree of cheerfulness I felt an under current of sorrow which I cd not define how different are the feelings when our grief proceed directly from God & that we can say “thy will be done” – but when man irritates & fuels us we have not the same perseverance particularly when the sorrow is severe.

Caroline’s diary entries were usually, and frustratingly, circumspect but this one allowed a glimpse of the anger and grief that she obviously worked hard to keep hidden under a veneer of cheerfulness.

Carrie’s marriage had „horrified” Caroline. It is likely that she felt wounded on Windham’s behalf but she was also worried about not being able to see much of her two young grandsons, ten year old Windham Henry and his baby brother, Talbot, as Colonel Turner lived in Scotland and Carry would be residing there in the future. Caroline adored the young Windham Henry as she had his father:

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40 Caroline’s diary, 22 November, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/12, PCD.
41 Caroline’s diary, 29 November, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/13, PCD.
42 Caroline’s diary, 4 March, 1867, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/23, PCD.
43 Caroline’s diary, 5 March, 1867, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/24, PCD.
44 Caroline’s diary, 15 December, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/15, PCD.
How dearly I love him – for his own sake as well as his father but my poor sad heart feels its heavy burden more and more.\textsuperscript{45}

When Carry had first announced her intention to remarry Caroline noted in her diary that „I cd not receive [her] with my usual cordiality, but was very civil & all passed off pleasantly”\textsuperscript{46} Her efforts to remain on good terms with Carry paid off, however, and young Windham was allowed to spend much of his holidays at Clearwell or Dunraven with his grandmother and his disabled sister, Lina. Understandably his younger brother, as he was still a baby, spent his time with his mother in Scotland and it was not until August 1869 that she saw him again when he came to visit at Dunraven. He was now five years old and she perhaps gave him his first lesson in paternalistic responsibility when she had him help her give out bundles of clothes to the poor people of the area.\textsuperscript{47}

In the last two years of Caroline”s life her family continued to spend much time with her and she lived to see her granddaughter, Mary Frances, marry Mr Smyth Barry in August 1868 with the wedding celebrations being held at Dunraven Castle. Viscount Adare and his wife Florence Kerr, granddaughter of Caroline”s friend and cousin Bel, married in London but visited her shortly after in April 1869. She was also able to stand as godmother to her great-grandson, Henry Windham Vivian, when Edwin”s old friend Frank Bayly christened him on 19 March 1868 in Clearwell. It was not only the younger generation that were celebrating marriages as Edwin too married on 27 January 1870, his bride was Anne Lambert and the ceremony took place in a Roman Catholic church in London. Caroline was sanguine about this and when she met the new countess of Dunraven she was „very much pleased with her and charmed to see him so happy”.\textsuperscript{48} The immediate family were not, of course, Caroline”s only company and when she was well enough she continued to visit and receive visitors. Her oldest and closest friend Catherine Harding lived near to Clearwell in Mitcheldean and Caroline noted that having „such a kind & attached friend is indeed a balm”.\textsuperscript{49} Having Catherine to stay was especially comforting to Caroline during those periods when she was unwell.

\textsuperscript{45} Caroline”s diary, 29 September, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/5, PCD.
\textsuperscript{46} Caroline”s diary, 15 December, 1866, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/15, PCD.
\textsuperscript{47} Caroline”s diary, 19 October, 1869, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/68/62, PCD.
\textsuperscript{48} Caroline”s diary, 5 February, 1870, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/68/73, PCD.
\textsuperscript{49} Caroline”s diary, 7 March, 1867, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/24, PCD.
During Caroline’s periods of illness she suffered from biliousness and bouts of jaundice and as she grew older, her physical strength lessened. Like most people who live into advanced old age she gradually experienced a reduction in her spatial world. In summer 1867, for example, she had planned to travel to Ireland but after a visit to her doctor she “found from him that I was not in a state to go to Ireland & must give it up – he thought me weak & nervous & recommended me to be very quiet & give myself as little fatigue as possible.” Caroline was not to see Adare manor again. The doctor may have been influenced by nineteenth-century gendered and ageist medical discourse but he may also have been aware of the severe sea sickness that plagued her all her life. Caroline in fact continued in good health all through the summer of 1867 and in September she was able to travel by train around the collieries on the Dunraven estate looking over the new miners’ cottages. At the beginning of 1868, however, she had three months of poor health during which her doctor recommended that she should move her bedroom downstairs which meant that like Ireland the upper floors at Clearwell Court were no longer part of her world. She wrote in her diary:

Dr Evans came to see me & put me on a new plan, which was to live entirely on the ground floor to avoid the fatigue of stairs & to keep perfectly quiet I was rather put out at first but endeavour to make the best of it.

Lady Charles Kerr, Bel’s daughter and the soon to be mother-in-law of Viscount Adare, came from London to nurse Caroline and together with Caroline’s maid “my valuable Rebecca” moved the older woman to her new bedroom. Caroline with her typical resilience and optimism began to recognise the benefits of the new arrangement:

Sunday 9 February
though sorry to leave my old room where I had amused myself training little birds, & which was altogether so very comfortable yet I cd not but see the advantage of having a sitting room on the same floor & that I cd have my needs comfortable without the stairs – I lived by day in the drawing room & slept in the oak parlour & saw the value of this beautiful house ..... 

Monday 10 February
Was beginning to reconcile myself to the change & felt decidedly better

Wednesday 12 February
Began to take more nourishment & to perk up a little strength & enjoy the beautiful rooms.  

50 Caroline’s diary, 5 June, 1867, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/34, PCD.
51 Caroline’s diary, 7 February, 1867, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/67/67, PCD.
52 Caroline’s diary, 9-12 February, 1867, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/68, PCD.
Caroline continued to improve and was soon consulting with her architect John Middleton to extend her new downstairs bedroom and by 4 March she was out in the village of Clearwell in her waggonette looking over the new buildings in the village.\textsuperscript{53} Caroline had continued her and her husband’s enthusiasm and desire for building and not only did she make improvements to both Dunraven Castle and Clearwell Court but she also engaged in philanthropic building projects in collaboration with the architect John Middleton.\textsuperscript{54} She built the national school and the master’s residence in Clearwell in 1858 and enlarged the school again in 1867. The mortuary chapel was designed by Middleton and paid for by Caroline and it was its completion that she was so keen to see after she recovered from her illness in 1867. Her biggest project was the new Anglican church in Clearwell, the first stone of which was laid on 29 June 1863. During the ceremony she stood beside her son Windham as the Bishop gave the address and let the local people know of her plans.\textsuperscript{55} By her seventy-ninth birthday the church was nearly complete and her diary entry for that day read:

My birthday! May the same heavenly father save me from sin for the remainder of my life & pardon all that has been already committed – passed it as usual with a few chosen friends staying in the room Mr Middleton came – I planned many improvements & among others sending my beautiful organ down to the church which will then be completed though I confess it cost me a penny but is there any thing too good for a church?\textsuperscript{56}

On 6 June she was able to go to the church with her family and listen to the organ which she thought sounded beautiful and she wrote that she hoped that it would be „a lasting pleasure to the people - & better employed in the praise of God‟.\textsuperscript{57} Increasing age and frailty did not deter Caroline’s plans to leave a lasting heritage for the people of Clearwell and her ongoing project at the time of her death was the building of a Cottage hospital again designed by John Middleton.

Caroline‟s last diary entry was for Monday 25 March 1870, and it was merely a note in connection with settling a tenant‟s lease, she died two months later a few days after her eightieth birthday at Clearwell Court, in the house in which she had

\textsuperscript{53} Caroline’s diary, 4 March, 1868, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/70, PCD.
\textsuperscript{54} John Middleton was an architect from York who had settled in Cheltenham. He had an only son who was grievously ill when Caroline visited their home in 1867 but the son, John Henry Middleton, survived and became a renowned archaeologist and art historian.
\textsuperscript{55} Caroline‟s diary, 29 June, 1863, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/65/1A, PCD.
\textsuperscript{56} Caroline‟s diary, 24 May, 1869, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/68/46, PCD.
\textsuperscript{57} Caroline‟s diary, 6 June, 1869, ULSC, D/3196/E/2/68/48, PCD.
been born. Throughout this latter period of Caroline’s life she continued to materialise her and her late husband’s desire to build. She made improvements to the family residences and she financed public buildings motivated by her religious faith and a sense of paternalistic responsibility towards the ordinary people. These philanthropic projects also benefitted the family as they helped to maintain the Dunravens’ popularity among the local people and preserve the deferential relationship. These same public works have also formed a lasting memorial to the family and especially to Caroline thereby giving her a secular form of immortality. Caroline also continued her kin work and was the linchpin for an extended family keeping them united despite periods of religious tensions and the deaths of many. Her advancing years did not change this not only because of her economic power but also because of her capacity for joy and her demonstrations of loyalty and affection towards all those who were close to her.

Caroline’s beloved grandson, Windham Henry, succeeded his cousin as fifth earl of Dunraven in 1926 and provided a suitable epitaph for her when he described her in his publication of the same year:

Caroline Lady Dunraven was in many respects a remarkable woman. To a charming personality she united a clear and vigorous understanding, and, what is perhaps the most enviable of all gifts, a warm and intelligent sympathy for those who had once gained her affections. By many of the older people in Glamorgan she is still recollected for the many good works she carried out there, both for the benefit of her own estate and for public purposes, for her generous and considerate conduct to her tenants and for her unceasing care of those among her humbler neighbours who were or had been in her employment. To her descendants she has bequeathed an enduring example not only as regards the fulfilment of those duties necessitated by the ownership of a large estate but also of the far-reaching influence for good that can be exercised over a family by a capable and devoted wife and mother.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Earl of Dunraven, Dunraven Castle, Glamorgan: some notes on its history and associations (London, 1926), p. 45.
Chapter seven

Conclusion

David Cannadine in his introduction to *The decline and fall of the British aristocracy* stated that his historical study was „not much concerned with the realm of aristocratic emotions, with states of feeling, with sex, marriage and child-rearing, upper-class style“. By extension he then admitted that there were „not many women in this book“ and apologised to feminist historians for this lack. He did, however, stress that „there is an urgent need for more women’s history of upper-class women“.¹ Maria Luddy identified the same lacunae in relation to the studies of landed women in nineteenth-century Ireland, and unlike Cannadine she did not restrict their activities to the private sphere but also included the need for accounts of women’s political roles and their estate management.² It was the aim of this thesis to address in some part these identified gaps in the history of nineteenth-century upper-class women in Ireland.

In order to examine the constitutive and performative subjectivities of Caroline Wyndham-Quin (1790-1870) a biographical approach was adopted on the basis that this method is „indispensable to the understanding of motive and intention“. Furthermore as Tosh has also observed, „the actions of an individual can be fully understood only in light of his or her emotional make-up, temperament and prejudices“.³ Caroline’s actions and performance throughout her life were in line with the dominant nineteenth-century discourses on gender and class. Her’s is not a history of transformations and neither was she one of those colourful characters that inhabit biographical history despite their lack of historical importance.⁴ She was, however, an intelligent and capable woman who was fluent in Italian and German and who had an abiding love and knowledge of music. This love of music provided a lasting bond with her daughter-in-law Augusta Goold, who was an accomplished musician. Caroline also enjoyed reading and kept herself up to date with contemporary literature. She followed political developments in Westminster and at the local level in Glamorganshire and Limerick. Her writings, however, provide little

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² Maria Luddy, „Women’s history“ in Laurence M
⁴ In this history the role of colourful character is taken by Mr John Wick Bennet.
evidence of critical engagement with either literature or politics, which is not to say
that she did not engage at this level. The lack of critical opinions in her diary and her
reflections is perhaps more attributable to her circumspection when committing her
thoughts to paper and to a future readership. For most of her life, Caroline was lucky
to have been happy and unfortunately happiness is seldom the driving force for
transformational change and neither does it provide a rich source for historians.
However, if the study of change is the primary focus for history, a desire for
continuity is perhaps more prevalent in those who are members of the élite in society.

From a study of Caroline’s egodocuments it is apparent that she believed in
the hierarchal society of rank. She and her family were central to élite networks in
Limerick, Glamorganshire, Gloucestershire and London, bonded by class and wealth.
She moved freely between these four locations and within their communities. This
complacency of the rightness of her position in society was tempered with a
paternalistic sense of responsibility towards her tenants and the local poor irrespective
of whether it was Adare, county Limerick, Dunraven in Wales or Clearwell in
England. Her sense of responsibility in this regard continued all her life and was part
of her exemplary work as an „incorporated” wife. This anthropological term has been
used by K. D. Reynolds to describe women who played a considerable role in both
their husband’s careers and also in the family enterprise. 5 Caroline throughout her life
worked continuously, whether as a wife or as a widow, for the benefit of the family’s
estate and for her husband’s and sons” positions in society. Her success in this
endeavour forms a significant part of her legacy. Philanthropy was an important
aspect of her work as an incorporated wife and she concerned herself with the
educational, spiritual and physical needs of the community living on the estates in
Adare, Dunraven and Clearwell. She was personally responsible for establishing a
successful school in Adare where she also built a fever hospital. Similarly in
Clearwell, she was responsible for the building of a school, mortuary chapel, church
and a cottage hospital. Her consistently efficient management of philanthropic
projects, such as her work with the British and Irish Ladies” Society together with her
acts of personal charity ensured that her husband, sons and grandsons were able to
reap the benefits derived from an acquiescent tenantry who thought of her, and later
remembered her, with gratitude and fondness. Fifteen years after her death this legacy

of goodwill assisted her grandson Windham Henry in winning the South Glamorgan seat in Westminster, as a Unionist, which he held from 1895-1906, despite the erosion of aristocratic political power that followed the democratisation of the electorate.

Caroline and Windham worked together in the family enterprise but their division of labour conformed to Vickery’s observation that gentlewomen and gentlemen performed distinct work roles on their estates. However, the roles, while distinct, had blurred boundaries. Windham was a man who enjoyed the domestic sphere and was a loving husband and father. Caroline, on the other hand, was frequently engaged in outdoor pursuits and took an active interest in the building and gardening projects. After Windham died, Caroline was competently able to manage the Clearwell and Dunraven estates and together she and Windham left, for future generations of Dunravens, secure economic foundations and a reputation as fair and generous landlords.

A family heritage goes beyond the material possessions and building passed from one generation to the next. A family is the crucible in which a sense of self is formed, it is where class values are shared and notions of gender and nationality are constructed. Each family has a constructed and fluid narrative, the preservation of which forms part of the human desire to build. Caroline’s legacy included her constructed family narrative of which her consciously archived material forms a part. From an examination of her diaries and her reflections it is very clear that religion was a major motivating factor for her actions and also the preeminent discourse in her emotion work. Caroline’s archive provides an excellent example of nineteenth-century emotional management whereby the prescribed female state of resigned gratitude could sometimes be achieved, but not without continuous and considerable emotional work. In her navigations of grief at the time of the death of her grandson, William Monsell, she used her diary entries as emotives, speech acts that transformed her feelings. It is also clear that during this period of grieving, emotion work was performed by family and friends, who put pressure on Caroline’s daughter Anna Maria, the mother of the deceased child, to conform to emotional norms. This is an important insight into the role of social groups on an individual’s emotional management.

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6 Martin Heidegger identified dwelling as being man’s mode of being and then divided dwelling into the two activities of building and preserving.
The success of Caroline’s own emotional management, which enabled her to conform to the emotional norms for a woman of her class goes some way to explain why this is not a history of transformation or political resistance, or indeed change, but is instead the narrative of an élite woman who was lucky in life, who was loved and who wielded power judiciously.
Appendix 1: Wyndham family tree

John Wyndham = Florence Wadham

John of Orchard

Thomas of Felbrigg
  Ancestor of Wm Wyndham
  Statesman – last in line

Humphry
  Bought Dunraven
  1642

Joan Carne
  Daughter of Sir John Carne

William
  Ancestor of the
  Wyndhams of Dinton

George
  Ancestor of the Wyndhams
  Of Cromer and Clearwell Ct.

John

Jane (Heir) (1)
  (died unmarried)

Joanna
  (died unmarried)

William (died sp)

(ii) Col. Mawhood
  (1) Thomas Ashby
  (2) Charlotte Jones
  (i) Thomas Wyndham
    (d 1753) Clearwell

(2) John Wick Bennen
  Anna Maria Ashby
  (1769 – 1837)

(1) Thomas
  (1762 – 1814)

Caroline
  (1790 – 1870)

Edward Henry Quin
  (2nd Earl of Dunraven)

Charles
  (1788 – 1798)

Edwin (3rd Earl)
  (1812 – 1871)

(1) Augusta Goold
  (1814 – 1855)

(2) Anne Lambert
  (1829 – 1865)

Caroline Tyler
  (2nd Turner)

= Caroline Adelise
  (1838 – 1853)

Augusta Emily
  (1839 – 1877)

William (1)
  (1837 – 1837)

William (2)
  (1841 – 1845)

Windham Henry
  (5th Earl)
  (1857 – 1952)

Mary Frances
  (1844 – 1884)

Louisa Augusta Isabelle (Isa)
  (1852)

Edith
  (1846 – 1885)

9th Earl
  (1867)

Emily Anna
  (1848 – 1940)
Appendix 2: Quin family tree

Donogh Quin

Donogh Quin (d. 1671) = Heiress O' Riordan family

Thady Quin of Adare (1645 – 1726)

Valentine Quin of Adare (d. 1744) = Mary Widenham

Windham Quin (1717 - 1789) = Frances Dawson

Valentine Richard (1752 - 1824) (1st Earl of Dunraven) = (1) Frances Muriel Fox Strangeways (d. 1814) = (2) Margaret Mary Coghill (d. 1814)

Windham Henry (2nd Earl) (1790 – 1870) = Caroline Wyndham

Richard George (1789 – 1843) = Elizabeth (d. 1795)


Edwin (3rd Earl) (1812 – 1871) = (1) Augusta Goold = (2) Anne Lambert = Anna Maria (1814 – 1855) = William Monsell (1829 - 1865) = Caroline Tyler (2) Col Turner

William (1) (1837 – 1837)

William (2) (1841 – 1845)

Windham Henry (5th Earl) (1857 – 1952)

Caroline (Lina) (d. 1877)

Louisa Augusta Isabelle (Lula) (d. 1862)

Caroline Adelaide (1838 – 1853)

Augusta Emily (1839 – 1877)

Windham Thomas (4th Earl) (1841 – 1926)

Mary Frances (1844 – 1894)

Edith (1846 – 1885)

Emily Anna (1848 – 1940)
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