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The Armoury of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry

It is rare for an historian to walk into a room and be awestruck by what he finds there. This was the author's experience on being invited to view the Buccleuch Collection of arms and armour at Boughton House. It comprises an outstanding collection of arms and armour spanning almost 600 years.

It is important first, to recognise that this collection of arms and armour is not the product of an enthusiastic acquirer building an egocentric private museum according to personal interest or whim.¹ Instead, this is a group of objects that in a practical sense has become part of the family. The greater proportion of the collection is at Boughton² however highly important pieces of the overall group have remained *in situ* at Drumlanrig³ and Bowhill⁴ with a few elements of the collection remaining on loan to the National Museum of Scotland; there representing a unique aspect of Scottish national heritage as well as a reflection of the significance of the Douglas and Scott parts of the family to the history of Scotland.

This family, combining Scottish and English ancestry, inevitably finds itself surrounded by arms and armour with an equally unique thematic thread, tying it inexorably to the historical events of both countries. The antagonistic nature of many of those events has led to a collection that might in many ways be regarded as sterile in the sense that these items no longer have a role to play in the drama of historical engagement. The nature of that sterility however is enshrined in the fact that these are pieces which have been unadulterated over the years. These artefacts were laid to rest in the armouries of the family homes, while continuing to reflect their combined ancestral heritage. The status of the Montagu, Douglas and Scott families is reflected in the outstanding quality of the arms and armour they could afford to purchase. Nothing here is pedestrian, from individual pieces such as the unique collection of guns by Lewis Barbar to the groups of hangers issued to estate staff with high quality hand forged blades; from the roundels of cavalry sabres equipping a variety of cavalry units to the selection of sporting guns by renowned gunsmiths such as John Manton. Although no longer in use, these items have continued to receive exemplary care and attention. The result is eloquently summarised in a letter from the Master of the Armouries of H.M. Tower of London⁵:

"This house contains by far the most important and historic family gunroom to survive in the British Isles. Not only is it the largest group of antique guns and pistols of one family in this country, but the quality of the pieces is exceptionally high. Several of the suites of guns are unique and are of great importance to the history of this country. The series of family swords from the sixteenth century onward is unparalleled anywhere else in the world. Taken as a whole your collection is second only to that at Windsor Castle, and in some ways it complements that in that yours contains many things of which the Queen has no

¹ There are many examples of these throughout Europe in particular one of the most famous being the Brunon collection of Napoleonic arms and armour in Salon de Provence, France

² Boughton House Northamptonshire was purchased in 1528 by Sir Edward Montagu who among other roles served as one of the Lord Chief Justices to King Henry VIII

³ Drumlanrig Castle has been the seat of the Douglas family with records dating at least back to 1388.

⁴ Bowhill House, Selkirk is the seat of the Scott family from the Earls of Buccleuch

⁵ A.V.B. Norman had an outstanding career as a museum professional culminating in being Master of the Armouries 1977-1988. His work is still regarded as a foremost authority on a number of areas of the study of arms and armour. He died in 1998

example. For the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the armoury at Boughton far surpasses the collection in the [Royal] Armouries both in quality and condition.⁶

A.V.B.Norman FSA, FSA Scot.
Master of the Armouries of H.M.Tower of London

This is indeed a rare accolade from a man who had spent his life's work with the finest arms and armour in the world.



The armoury at Boughton House.

While the Montagu-Douglas-Scott family are now united this was not always so. William, 1st Earl of Douglas fought with the French against the English at Poitiers and came from a family which supported both William Wallace and Robert the Bruce⁷. It was this family that eventually rebuilt Drumlanrig Castle under the auspices of William Douglas, 1st Duke of Queensberry (1637-95). There are three fine examples of 'Lowland' type swords which date from the late 16th century. One at Drumlanrig⁸, a two handed sword with fullered broad blade reflects the standard 'Lowland' type and is supported by two further examples at Boughton.⁹ This type of sword has its historic roots in the regions of Scotland where these families were established. All three swords are typologically similar to ones in the National Museum of Scotland and illustrated in John Wallis's Scottish Swords and

⁶ A.V.B. Norman quoted from a letter written to His Grace John, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry 28th October 1987

⁷ Brown M.H., William, 1st Earl of Douglas (1330-1384) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004)

⁸ Drumlanrig Castle located in the Douglas Room.

⁹ Boughton House displayed on the Armoury South Wall

Dirks.¹⁰ The decoration and fringes on one of the Boughton examples may support the view that in their twilight years these were used as bearing swords.¹¹



Scottish lowland sword

The Scott family is recorded in the 11th century but for the purposes of this paper Walter, 1st Lord Scott of Buccleuch (1565-1611) is the earliest of the family line of particular historical significance. The most famous connection emerges with the marriage of Anna Scott,¹² who held the title of Countess of Buccleuch in her own right, to James Scott, Duke of Monmouth the first born, albeit illegitimate son of Charles II and Lucy Walter.¹³ He was created The Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch. The Monmouth Rebellion effectively ended at the Battle of Sedgemoor and culminated in James Scott's execution on Tower Hill in 1685.¹⁴ Because his wife Anna held the Buccleuch title *suo jure* it was not subject to attainder and with her son James, now Earl of Dalkeith, spent considerable time re-establishing

¹⁰ Wallis J. M., *Scottish Swords and Dirks*, London (1970). Very similar examples of these swords are illustrated by Wallis pp18-19 ill. 9 & 11 and referenced as LA5 and LA6, both in the collection of what was known at the time the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland

¹¹ *Culloden: The Swords and the Sorrows* illustrates a further example of this type of sword dating it between 1525-50.p.24 Illustration 1:4

¹² Nicholson E.E.C., Scott Anna, Duchess of Monmouth and *suo jure* Duchess of Buccleuch (1651-1732), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004)

¹³ Lucy Walter is recorded as living from 1630-58. The relationship with Charles II was in no doubt though he consistently denied rumours that they had secretly married. She died in Paris at the age of 28

¹⁴ Harrison B., *The Tower of London Prisoner Book*, Leeds (2004). The Tower records list Monmouth's execution on 15th July 1685 with a marginal note that it required the executioner, Ketch five strokes of the axe before completing the task with a carving knife. Monmouth is buried in the Chapel Royal of St Peter ad Vincula within the Tower of London

Dalkeith Palace.¹⁵ The houses of Scott and Douglas were soon to be connected by the marriage of James to Jane Douglas.¹⁶ The family still retains a number of artefacts linked to the Duke of Monmouth including a saddle and horse garniture and a fine sword which is illustrated in several paintings of Monmouth and is in the family's collection at Bowhill.¹⁷ The sword's hilt and scabbard mounts can be dated to the third quarter of the 17th century with the mount being marked to Dumont of Paris and the hilt almost identical to one illustrated in Laking¹⁸ belonging to Louis XIV and in the Musee d'Artillerie in Paris with a blade dated 1667.

The Montagu family can trace its ancestry back to the Norman Conquest however the Armoury at Boughton began to be established after the initial purchase of part of the estate by Sir Edward Montagu, one of Henry VIII's Lord Chief Justices in 1528. There are several examples of material in the Armoury dating to this period. One of the better known is an English broadsword of the 16th century. This is comprehensively illustrated by Claude Blair in his chapter in Caldwell.¹⁹ Here Claude Blair²⁰ argues that this is one of the earliest prototypes of basket hilted swords and identifies its importance in its parallel to one in the Redfern Collection and dating this sword to around 1520. The founder of Boughton was succeeded by three more of his namesake and it was under the tenure of Edward 1st Lord Montagu and his son 2nd Lord Montagu that the increasing number of additions to the Armoury reflected the traumas of the English Civil War.²¹ The 1st Lord Montagu was a Puritan and a Member of Parliament but struggled with the conflict between his beliefs and his loyalty to the King.²² This personal conflict ultimately led him to the Tower²³ though as a result of his advancing years he was permitted to take quarters near the Savoy until his death in 1644. His son Edward²⁴ was a staunch supporter of Parliament but respected the King and bitterly opposed his execution. As a result he was excluded from politics and played little further part in public life. While he welcomed the restoration of Charles II he still preferred solitude and did not reengage in politics and died in 1684. Perhaps paradoxically there is a striking portrait at Boughton of Oliver Cromwell in the Egyptian Hall despite the family's loyalty to the King.

¹⁵ Dalkeith Palace was rebuilt in 1702 on the site of an earlier castle and is still owned by the family. Since 1985 has been leased to the University of Wisconsin for their study abroad programme

¹⁶ Jane Douglas was the daughter of James Douglas, 2nd Duke of Queensberry. The later marriage of their grandson Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch and 5th Duke of Queensberry to Elizabeth Montagu the daughter of Mary Montagu and George Brudenell, 4th Earl of Cardigan and created Duke of Montagu makes the final connection between the three families.

¹⁷ While the sword's scabbard mount and hilt appear to be contemporary with Monmouth the blade is a later replacement, possibly due to breakage and carries George I's coat of arms

¹⁸ Laking Sir G.E., *A Record of European Arms through Seven Centuries*, London (1919) Volume V, p.101 figure 1521 of classmark J383 Musee D'Artillerie, Paris

¹⁹ Caldwell D.H., *Scottish Fortifications and Weapons*, Edinburgh (1981) 'The Early Basket Hilt in Britain' by Claude Blair p.201 illustrations 99-101

²⁰ Claude Blair OBE, (30 November 1922 – 21st February 2010) was one of the most distinguished arms and armour specialists of his generation spending much of his career at the Victoria & Albert Museum as Keeper of Metalwork

²¹ These include both armour and a significant range of edged weapons relating to the conflict that will be examined later in the paper.

²² His loyalty was perhaps reflected in the fact that in January 1606 he initiated the Bill for public thanksgiving to celebrate the defeat of the Gunpowder Plot each year on the 5th November

²³ Harrison B., *The Tower of London Prisoner Book*, Leeds (2004). Montagu is recorded as being held in the Tower from 10th September 1642 for "declaring his dissatisfaction with Parliament's attitude towards the King"

²⁴ Cust R., Montagu Edward, 1st Baron Montagu of Boughton (1562/3-1644), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004)

The Montagu dynasty continued with Ralph who after the death of his older brother assumed the title and played a major role in the development of Boughton. Weapons of French influence reflect Ralph's connections with the court of Louis XIV where he served as Ambassador Extraordinaire to Louis XIV in the periods 1669-71 and 1676-7. Among the collection of small-swords there are outstanding examples of exquisite workmanship reflecting both a distinct French influence and Ralph's taste for the fashion of the day. One of the most elaborate is an early transitional small-sword dating from around 1675, and a similar but slightly later sword, dating from the turn of the 18th century, both of which illustrate the changing fashion of the time. The collection also boasts some fine sporting guns from this period. These include an over and under, turn over flintlock gun by Thuraine of Paris,²⁵ a flintlock fowling piece bearing the Montagu crest on both the breech and lock, and a flintlock fowling piece by Lahitte et Cuny of Paris²⁶ can be accurately dated to Duke Ralph's sojourns at the French court.

Perhaps the most famous member of the Montagu dynasty of Boughton was John 2nd Duke.²⁷ He married Mary Churchill daughter of the Duke of Marlborough and despite joining Marlborough in Flanders in 1706, had little taste for war and returned to England. It is ironic then that despite this, the 2nd Duke is almost certainly responsible for the largest quantity of ordnance in the Boughton Armoury. However, while he may have had little taste for carnage, he had enormous taste for fine weapons. By the time of his death in 1749 he had served as Master of Ordnance and had utilised his position to commission significant quantities of weaponry. One of the most famous of these are the Puckle Guns of which this collection boasts two examples, the second on loan at Beaulieu.²⁸ A remarkable invention, these guns were a forerunner of the machine gun and were fed by drum-magazines, firing either square or round shaped projectiles selected depending upon the religion of the foe!. The date of the patent²⁹ indicates that the 2nd Duke may have commissioned these guns prior to the attempt to colonise St Lucia and St Vincent.

²⁵ Thuraine (the senior of a father and son partnership) working in Paris from 1630-1690. He held the title of 'Arquebussier Ordinaire du Roi' making fine guns not only for Louis XIV but also for the Swedish royal family

²⁶ Lahitte et Cuny worked in Paris between 1675-1685

²⁷ Metzger E.C., Montagu John, 2nd Duke of Montagu (1690-1749), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004)

²⁸ A third example is known to exist at the Tøjhusmuseet in Copenhagen

²⁹ Patent Number 418 of 1718



The Puckle Gun



Drum magazine for the Puckle Gun

As Master of Ordnance there is no doubt that some weapons when obsolete were moved to Boughton two examples of which are a heavy dragoon pistol marked with a crown 'GR' cypher and 'Tower 1742' and a falchion marked 'Made in Hounslow for the Tower'.

John's daughter Mary married George Brudenell in 1767; their daughter Elizabeth married Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812) combining finally the Montagu-Douglas-Scott family as Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

Following on from the examples already illustrated, the swords in this collection fall into three distinct categories. Civilian swords designed for fashionable display

at court and in public; those which have been acquired by the family as a result of a range of overseas engagements and *Grand Tours*, and finally those which are military in nature and range from high status officers' swords to basic munition grade weapons which are comparatively rare since most were eventually disposed of.

In a similar vein the guns reflect three distinct genres. Those acquired to fulfil a commitment to support the social fabric of the community which include muskets for the Northamptonshire Militia or the Edinburgh Militia. There are those utilised for sport and the provision of recreation and food for both household and retainers including both punt guns and sporting shotguns. Finally those exceptional items that were the result of patronage of some of the finest gunsmiths in the world such as the guns of Barbar, Manton and Giffard and show developing technological progress.

A few fine examples of 16th century ordnance have already been described earlier in this paper. With those exceptions few items have survived within the collection however there is some armour, one example of which is an English Church helmet, there is also a partisan head and a blackened steel mace of similar date, the significant body of the collection begins to emerge in the first half of the 17th century.

The examples of early guns within this collection are few but of the highest quality. A magnificent pair of German wheel-lock pistols represents some of the finest in any private collection.



German wheellock pistols

After the style of Caspar Spat of Munich, Claude Blair considers them to be Munich School and dates them around 1650. They appear in the inventory of Montagu House in Whitehall in 1746.³⁰ A pair of Teschian long wheel-lock holster pistols also represents early examples of the gunmakers craft. Finally dating from around 1660 is a fascinating example of a miquelet-lock, break-action, breech-loading gun. Made in Spain with a Catalan style stock this once again is representative of the early gunmakers art, particularly because it still retains the pouch with five spare steel chambers. Guns such as this, are remarkably rare and

³⁰ Claude Blair argues that these are in fact by Spat and are completely representative of the Munich School in Murdoch T., p226

create a great deal of interest because of their importance as both aesthetic and technological objects.

The earliest swords to be found in any significant number date from the 1630's onwards and the style is typified by an English broadsword circa 1630 bearing both the inscription *Andria Ferara*³¹ and the running wolf³² mark from Passau and Solingen. This collection also holds examples of the English rapier made by Johannes Hoppie³³ and in keeping with the breadth of style in this collection there are two fine examples of swept hilt rapiers. Following these there is a large number of swords dating from the second and third quarters of the 17th century which are now often described as proto-mortuary hilted swords. While these existed only marginally earlier and indeed ultimately alongside the classic mortuary hilted sword they are more usually termed, horseman's swords and are identified by a simple side shell sometimes of cockle design a good example of which is an English military backsword with a blade marked *Andrea Ferrara*. These swords developed into what is often regarded as the archetypal mortuary hilt, some of which carried the image of Charles I. A particularly fine example is one decorated with foliage and fleurs-de-lys and mounted with a German made broad two edged blade and pre dating the hilt which is 17th century.³⁴ The range of examples at Boughton covers the spectrum of mortuary swords the earliest, dating around 1630 to the latest around 1680.

The English Civil War and the years immediately preceding it also provides this collection with some of its important pieces of armour with a number of excellent examples of early 17th century armour on display. These include several early examples of English cuirassier armour, and at least one helmet, can be traced to the Royal Workshops at Greenwich and is dated between 1620 and 1630. These are supplemented by two pairs of English pikeman's tassets and the front plate from a gorget and pikeman's pot, along with a fine close helmet and a well preserved cuirass from a pikeman's armour also dating from around 1630. These are supplemented by two harquebusiers cuirasses of blackened steel dating from the mid 17th century and adorning the foyer at Drumlanrig. Two English pot helmets in the Armoury at Boughton date from later in the 17th century, probably third quarter but are superbly well preserved examples of their genre.³⁵

On the west wall of the Armoury there is a fine selection of swords catalogued simply as English military broadswords. There can be very few examples of so comprehensive a range of swords anywhere, illustrating the type of weapon used from the third quarter of the 17th century through to the end of Marlborough's

³¹ The marking of Andrea Ferrara is found on numerous blades of the 16th and 17th centuries the majority of which are spurious. Ferrara worked from around 1530-1612 and such was the standard of his blades that his mark became regarded as a measure of quality. His name subsequently became associated with Scottish swords primarily based on a legend that he had worked in Scotland while briefly exiled or possibly brought over to enhance Scottish blade making. One of the proponents of the legend was Sir Walter Scott. There are numerous spellings of the Ferrara name and references to specific swords replicate the spelling utilised on the blade itself

³² The running wolf, first associated with Passau became a regular feature of Solingen blades and is seen on a significant number of swords in the Buccleuch collection. It came to be regarded as a quality mark and was used by Solingen manufacturers and others in Spain, Italy and England.

³³ Hoppie was a blade maker from Solingen who emigrated to England and established himself often signing his blades Greenwich though in this case it is simply London. See Wagner p.76 and Weyerburg p.21

³⁴ This particular example carries the initials EIS and is etched at the forte with the arms of Stewart Earls of Atholl and Lords of Innermeath.

³⁵ The Royal Armouries holds the Littlecote Armoury with many similar examples illustrating headwear and breast-plates for example III.1966 and IV.876

campaigns and beyond, and one with which both the members of the family and the troops they commanded would have been very familiar.

The presence in the Armoury of these swords provides a tangible link to the members of the Montagu family and to the soldiers who fought with Marlborough. The pervading presence of another style of sword, which became an iconic representation of the conflicts between Scotland and England, is the basket hilted sword. This style of sword appears as early as the mid 16th century³⁶ and continues in use to the present day. Its zenith however was arguably during the rebellion of 1745 and with be dealt with later.

By the early 1700s Boughton's elegance was becoming increasingly well known while the Dukes of Queensberry were developing Drumlanrig. William Douglas³⁷, the 1st Duke who held a range of titles including Justice General of Scotland and Constable of Edinburgh Castle died in 1695 leaving his successor to continue to enhance the estate along with strengthening the relationship between Scotland and England. His part in promoting the Act of Union (1707) earned him the epithet of the 'Union Duke'. If there were still tensions between the countries this is not reflected in the current Armoury which boasts a union of weaponry from north and south of which any commanding General of that time would have been proud.

One such General is the Duke of Marlborough and the presence in the collection of two iconic swords, one the *Sword of Ramillies* and the other the *Sword of Oudenarde*, both of which were carried by the Duke, are at the pinnacle of an exemplary collection of weapons which fulfilled civilian and military functions. These swords as a group represent facets of family and estate life that are reflected in the superb quality of the pieces. A sword carried by the 2nd Duke is also of great significance. An Italian dress sabre it carries the arms of Montagu impaling Marlborough and appears to have been the subject of sharpening which may indicate its use on campaign.³⁸ Finally there is a sword marked '*Earl of Cardigan's Sabre*' which is a silver mounted piece with a much earlier blade marked "*Genova*" which, it has been suggested in family tradition, may have been brought back from the Crimea

³⁶ Blair C., *The Early Basket Hilt in Britain in British Weapons and Fortifications* by David H. Caldwell. Claude Blair argues convincingly that this style originated in England and moved north. One of the earliest examples is at Boughton

³⁷ Ford J.D., Douglas William, 1st Duke of Queensberry (1637-1695), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004). He held numerous other high offices including High Treasurer for Scotland and was Commissioner to the first session of the Parliament of James II & VII

³⁸ The sword is made by Pimbert of Rome



Sword of Ramillies

This group of swords also represents the transition from the rapier to the small - sword as it became more widely recognised as a fashion accessory rather than primarily a weapon. Within this group are a number of swords with important historical connections to the family. A fascinating sword with an inscription to King Frederick Augustus of Saxony and Poland is dated 1701.³⁹ One sword however which arguably has a far stronger connection is an English mourning small-sword. This is blackened and retains its original belt. The 2nd Duke of Montagu was the Chief Mourner at the funeral in 1722 of the Duke of Marlborough⁴⁰ and given the date of this sword it is perfectly reasonable to

³⁹ "Fried. Augustus. König in Pohlen und Churfurst zu Saxon 1701" for a similar inscription see Wagner p.104

⁴⁰ While living at Windsor Lodge, The Duke of Marlborough suffered a stroke in June 1722, not long after his 72nd birthday. Finally, at 4 a.m on 16 June, in the presence of his wife and two surviving

consider that it may have been carried at that solemn event. As a group these swords not only illustrate individual family and historic links, they also provide a single combined example of the development of these weapons as acquired by one family.

If there was ever a time of maximum impetus within the Buccleuch Collection it began with the accession of the 2nd Duke of Montagu.



John, 2nd Duke of Montagu

It was at this point when the Armoury became an organised entity. The inventory of 27th November 1718⁴¹ lists two rooms which appear to be intentionally discreet.

The first is the Armoury itself where there are listed:

- 530 Musketts
- 530 Bayonetts
- 100 Carbines
- 282 case of Pistolls and one odd one

Along with these in the 'Old Wardrobe'

- 110 basket handle swords
- 170 brass hilted swords

daughters Henrietta Godolphin and Mary Montagu, he died. He was initially buried in the vault at the east end of Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey, but following instructions left by Sarah, who died in 1744, Marlborough was moved to be by her side lying in the vault beneath the chapel at Blenheim. In the Boughton Archives, as part of the Montagu Music Collection, (BH64), is a ms annotated copy of Bononcini's Mass for the Funeral of The Most Noble & Victorious Prince John, Duke of Marlborough.

⁴¹ An inventory of the Goods of His Grace the Duke of Montagu at his seat at Boughton in Northamptonshire taken on 27th November 1718 (BH6)

79 case of pistols
367 musketts
367 bayonetts
80 carbines

This group of arms came to pass well before the 2nd Duke became Master of the Ordnance in 1740 and the task of organising the main Armoury had been vested in Lewis Barbar a leading gunsmith from London. The detail of this is set out in a letter to the Duke from his vicar Rev. Charles LaMotte in which he advises the Duke:

*"Mr Barbar has put up in the room next to your former apartment about 500 musquets, about 100 Carbines and 260 pairs of pistols. As for ye rest he has given directions to ye joiners how they shall Be put up in ye great wardrobe, ye room looks exceedingly well."*⁴²

It is interesting to note that the Armoury collection in 1718 appears a formal arrangement whereas the collection in the 'Old Wardrobe' appears to be the residue of material already held by the household. Evidence that there was already a stock of weapons can be found in Mr Derit's Accounts of an annual payment to a gunsmith Peter Ryan (perhaps Ryall or Riou) in October each year during the period 1701 to 1703 for the maintenance of guns held there.⁴³

One of the most outstanding features of this collection is the assembly of guns made by Lewis Barbar. Barbar was a Huguenot émigré from France. Louis (now Lewis) returned to England between 1685 and 1690, though he had a troubled beginning in the gun trade.⁴⁴ Despite this he was admitted to the Gunmakers' Company on 14th July 1704.⁴⁵ His progression was rapid and having become Warden of the Gunmakers Company in 1716 and 1717 was elected Master in 1718⁴⁶. The previous year he had been appointed Gentleman Armourer to King George I and it reflects upon the power and influence of the Montagu family that Barbar was then commissioned by the 2nd Duke to establish a formal Armoury at Boughton. There are many records of purchases made by the 2nd Duke from Lewis Barbar one of the most interesting for 200 muskets for £150 may be directly linked to the disastrous St Lucia & St Vincent expedition.⁴⁷ There is also evidence of contracts for Barbar from Lord Cadogan, the Master of Ordnance in 1722⁴⁸

The current collection of pistols and long guns by Barbar comprises a total of over 60 weapons, the bulk of which form an awe inspiring display of one craftsman's work. This corpus forms a unique opportunity to study the work of one maker and gunmaking in this early period. This is further enhanced, by the combination of account books and artefacts. A garniture of remarkable uniqueness and quality

⁴² Letter from Rev. Charles LaMotte to the 2nd Duke of Montagu 7th June 1718 NCRO

⁴³ This information is found in Mr Derit's Account Book for Ralph Earl of Montagu 1698-1705. The payment varies from £2.0s.6d to £3.2s.3d and includes in the latter case the provision of powder and bullets.

⁴⁴ In 1698 a raid took place on four Gunmakers premises, Barbar, Gorgo, Dolep and Gandoon and all had stock seized and were fined. It may have been no coincidence that all were Huguenot émigrés.

⁴⁵ Barbar was admitted on payment of a fine of £12 and submission of his 'proof piece' which was described as very fine

⁴⁶ Neal W.K., Great British Gunmakers pp.288-302

⁴⁷ Mr Marchant's Accounts for John Duke of Montagu 1722-1742

⁴⁸ Neal W.K., *ibid.* It seems that Lord Cadogan wanted Barbar to make some specimen type muskets in addition to the standard format. The fact that Barbar was one of those who petitioned the Board of Ordnance in 1718 regarding a relaxation of the specification for musket manufacture may have afforded him this opportunity a few years later.

represents the pinnacle of his work. This comprises a pair of over and under flintlock pistols with turn-over barrels; safety catches; grotesque masks on the pommels and a turn-over flintlock long gun *en suite*, with the butt plate containing a socket bayonet. Each escutcheon is engraved with the Montagu crest. Many of Barbar's guns involve the finest turn over barrels with highly refined mechanisms and exhibiting an understated elegance. A few further examples of his fine craftsmanship include a pair of turn off cannon barrel flintlock carbines; a pair of double barrelled turnover flintlock pistols; a pair of breech-loading flintlock holster pistols c.1725 and a break-action breech-loading flintlock carbine including its leather pouch with spare chambers and steel pans attached. The selection detailed in this paper recognises only the remarkable. Alongside these, are guns of the highest quality and which functionally would have been regarded as 'state of the art' but among this company, only excellent. The majority of these guns carry the Montagu crest and many still remain in the numbered pairs.



Pair of pistols by Lewis Barbar.

One final reference to Barbar is a partisan. Beyond the usual remit of a gunmaker, this is a fine piece of craftsmanship and clearly intended as a presentation piece in recognition of the relationship between Barbar and the Duke.

The purchase of many of these pieces is recorded in the account books at Boughton. One interesting discovery is that not only are there many direct purchases by the 2nd Duke from both Lewis and John Barbar⁴⁹ which are clearly for the use of himself and his family, there is also an outstanding debt upon which the Duke was paying interest at 5%. Duke John's Accounts 1738-44 record payments of £22.10s annually to Lewis Barbar against a debt of £900 and a further £10 to John Barbar, Lewis' son, against a debt of £400.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that the records list John rather than Lewis' more famous son James

⁵⁰ Duke John's Accounts 1738-44. The payments come at Ladyday each year until 1742, the year after Lewis Barbar's death. In 1742 and 1743 the payment is made to the administrators of Lewis' estate, and at Michaelmas 1744 the whole debt of £1,300 is consolidated and paid off in favour of John Barbar.

While it is not recorded in the account books when the original debt occurred, if it was for the purchase of the weapons listed in the Armoury in 1718 the whole account must have lasted more than 25 years.

There are also a number of pistols purchased by the Duke from other gunmakers. This research has shown that in many of these cases they were manufacturers who were like Barbar, Huguenot refugees such as Andrew Dolep⁵¹ and Jean Le Maire. One, who was not, was Edmund Giffard⁵² who held the title of *Gunmaker in Ordinary to the King*.⁵³ Giffard as well as supplying the King supplied the Duke with a remarkable pair of superimposed flintlock holster pistols. These must have been ordered by the 1st Duke. They operated by virtue of a mechanism to allow the first load to be fired without discharging the second! Further examples of early breech loading guns include a pair by R. Rowland of London,⁵⁴ and an air gun by B.D.Fecht of Berlin dated 1792 complete with cylinders and original foot pump, indeed the latter constitutes one of the more unusual items in the collection. Finally a further example of patronage of senior figures in the Gunmakers' Company is represented by a flintlock holster pistol by Peter Boulton. How Boulton became Master of the Company is perhaps more remarkable given the fact that Blackmore records him being fined in 1700 for "*giving the Master opprobrious words with threatening to post him up a Coward at the Exchange if he did not fight him*" and being fined again in 1702 for actually assaulting him!⁵⁵

⁵¹ Andrew Dolep was admitted to the Freedom of the Gunmakers Company on 5th August 1686. Like Barbar some years later Dolep had been the subject of a number of confrontations with the Gunmakers Company who were all powerful. Whether they eventually relented because of the quality of his guns or more likely because he had obtained the patronage of the even more powerful Lord Dartmouth who was at the time Master of Ordnance is open to speculation. It is certainly the case that like Barbar he and other Huguenots were treated particularly harshly by the Company which is reflected in the comparative size of fines meted out to them.

⁵² Giffard is recorded paying quarterage to the Gunmakers Company in 1677 and as Steward in 1679 however there is no record of when he received his Freedom of the Company

⁵³ Wardrobe Warrant LC 5.41 (165) PRO

⁵⁴ Blackmore lists Robert Rowland as manufacturing in London between 1715 and `1724

⁵⁵ Blackmore, Dictionary p.57



Vitrine containing an outstanding selection of pistols, many by Barbar

A number of the items in the armoury at Boughton are recorded in a series of Inventories and Account Books. One example is the inventory of John 2nd Duke of Montagu's Wardrobe conducted in 1749. Within this list are:

*"2 powder horns with balls; Tow gunns or carbines; a sword; three paires of pocket pistols and 6 pair of other pistols"*⁵⁶

What is particularly fascinating is to note the difference between the weapons in the Armoury and a series of items which the Duke considered sufficiently personal to regard as his own.⁵⁷

In 1718 there were in total almost 900 muskets with bayonets and ostensibly the capability to equip a significant armed force, supported by a selection of 500 buff belts; 499 leather powder flasks; 425 cartridge boxes and belts along with what are described as 416 "*bayonet belts with bullet pouches to them*", there is no doubt that this was a force to be reckoned with and the inventory indicates sufficient equipment to support around 100-125 mounted troops.⁵⁸

Today there are far fewer long guns than listed originally but those *in situ* are of high quality. They comprise a total of twenty one fusils mounted on the south wall of the Armoury at Boughton. Most are Queen Anne fusils dated between 1707 and 1711. All made to the Ordnance specification of the day⁵⁹ and with locks variously marked with the names of London gunmakers such as Huggins,

⁵⁶ *A List of ye Wardrobe 1749: The dress Inventory of John Duke of Montagu Boughton House*

⁵⁷ There is now no way of knowing whether the pistols referred to in the Wardrobe inventory are the garnitures made for him by Barbar but it would not be an unreasonable assumption.

⁵⁸ Inventory at Boughton November 1718

⁵⁹ Lewis Barber was one of the gunmakers who in 1718 petitioned the Board of Ordnance with a request to make the specification for military issue muskets less exacting.

Rose, Vaughan, Smart and Brush. The balance form a second group slightly earlier than the others mostly carrying 'Northamptonshire' engraved on the lock and in one case the Montagu crest. These two groups alone create a link to the social fabric of the time when for Estates such as Boughton, the presence of insurgents the capacity for an armed response was critical. One unusual inclusion is a flintlock musket of Spanish manufacture, but with Board of Ordnance markings. This puzzling anomaly may be resolved by the fact that in 1745 an order was placed for 2,500 muskets from the Spanish, complete at 16s each.⁶⁰

There is no doubt that some of the items purchased relate to the expedition funded by the 2nd Duke to St Lucia and St Vincent, which had been granted to the Duke on 20th June 1722.⁶¹ He appointed Nathaniel Uring as Deputy-Governor⁶² and Uring having equipped a convoy of ships, left Portsmouth on 10th September 1722. On the manifest are listed significant quantities of weaponry, but of particular interest is reference to two easily identifiable artefacts in the Buccleuch Collection today: "2 *Machine Guns of Puckles*".⁶³ In the final pages of Uring's account of the expedition he estimates the Duke of Montagu's losses on the venture at upwards of £40,000!⁶⁴

Turning attention back to the extensive range of swords, the pervading presence of the basket hilted sword became an icon of the conflicts between Scotland and England. This style of sword appears as early as the mid 16th century⁶⁵ and continues in use in Scottish Regiments to the present day.

From the time of what some described as '*The Glorious Revolution*' in 1688 the basket hilted sword became an iconic symbol of the armed Scot. In reality the pattern is now accepted to have developed much earlier however this collection has an outstanding range of examples and is a powerful unifying factor within the Montagu-Douglas-Scott family, for this style of sword was known to all, English and Scottish alike. As a collection of basket hilts this group encompasses the earliest examples situated at both Drumlanrig and Boughton. One pattern involves a particularly early basket an example of which is dated on the blade '1658'.⁶⁶ A further sword⁶⁷ also links to the foreign campaigns in which the family were involved. The hilt is not only of early type but the sword blade is marked '*Guardes Hessie*' and carries the monogram 'EL'.⁶⁸ The development of these swords is well illustrated both at Boughton and at Drumlanrig where not surprisingly the focus is on Scottish basket hilts providing a striking example of

⁶⁰ Blackmore H., *British Military Firearms 1650-1850* p.47 The order seems to have been placed through agents as a fallback position if the current English contractors failed to deliver

⁶¹ London Gazette 19th June 1722 The grant of St Lucia & St Vincent to the Duke of Montagu is listed along with a number of other appointments following the death of the Duke of Marlborough

⁶² London Gazette 23rd July 1722 (Issue 878)

⁶³ The ship's manifest is found as part of a detailed account of the expedition by Uring set out in "*A Relation of the Late Intended Settlement of the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent in America; in Right of the Duke of Montagu and under His Grace's Direction and Orders in the Year 1722.*" London (1725)

⁶⁴ *ibid* p.120

⁶⁵ Blair C., *The Early Basket Hilt in Britain in British Weapons and Fortifications* by David H. Caldwell. Claude Blair argues convincingly that this style originated in England and moved north. One of the earliest examples is at Boughton No.584

⁶⁶ Mazansky C., *British Basket Hilted Swords*, Leeds (2005) This sword is featured along with three others from Boughton

⁶⁷ Mazansky C., illustrated p.75

⁶⁸ The Hessian forces were heavily engaged throughout Europe in the Anglo/Dutch/French wars through to the end of the Wars of Spanish Succession during which they fought at Oudenarde and Malplaquet. This sword is almost certainly a trophy from one of these campaigns

the Scottish swordsmith's art.⁶⁹ Across the type there are examples of Glasgow and Stirling hilts exhibiting great variety and ranging to the end of the 18th century. These swords featured heavily in the '45' as did the antecedent families. There is record of Charles Stuart arriving unannounced at Drumlanrig, its owner being known for his Royalist sympathies no courtesies were afforded. Sheep were slaughtered at the foot of the stairs, Charles declined to pay and Kneller's portrait of William III was bayoneted!⁷⁰

One of the most evocative swords however is not currently on display but still warrants mention. This has a basket hilt with a curved blade bearing the Latin motto 'Anno Domini 1662'. This was the first sword illustrated in the memorable exhibition 'Culloden; the Swords and the Sorrows'⁷¹ where it is suggested that it came into the family as a result of the marriage of Caroline, daughter of John, 2nd Duke of Argyll who was the mother of Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch.

The invasion of Charles Stuart in 1745 prompted the raising of a number of what were later known as 'Noblemen's Regiments',⁷² spurred on by the defeat of the Royalist forces at Prestonpans.⁷³ The Duke of Montagu raised a Regiment of Horse later known as 'Carabineers' and, unusually, also a Regiment of *Ordnance Foot*. The cavalry unit was raised at Kettering on 22nd October 1745 and their equipment is noted as: "22 Carbines New Pattern, 58 (probably 258), pairs of pistols, 258 broadswords, 258 cartridge boxes with belts, and 258 cuirasses."⁷⁴ Their Lieutenant Colonel, John Creed, had an impressive military record, including Blenheim, and his family is listed as being retainers of the Duke of Montagu.⁷⁵

Some of these weapons are represented in the Buccleuch Collection though many will have been returned to the Tower of London. It is with a greater degree of certainty however one can surmise that a number of the gorgets were those belonging to the officers of the 'Regiment of Ordnance Foot', most likely those bearing the Montagu crest.

The end of the 18th century heralded a degree of perceived threat from Europe as well as concerns economically at home. By 1792 the revolutionary fervour in France as beginning to spread and there were concerns about uprising throughout Europe. Britain was no exception and the potential risk of invasion and insurgency caused the raising of militia, volunteer and Fencible regiments across the country.

⁶⁹ Wallis J.M., *Scottish Swords and Dirks*, London 1970 These swords are well illustrated and described in this seminal work and a great many of the illustrations could easily have been sourced from the Buccleuch collection

⁷⁰ Duffy C., *The '45*, London (2003) p.397. Not only does this describe Charles Stuart's visit but gives an interesting description of Drumlanrig at the time

⁷¹ *Culloden The Swords and the Sorrows*: April 16th – 20th September 1996 p.21.

⁷² There is a reference in the Ipswich Journal of 17th March 1744 to the Duke of Montagu raising a Regiment of Horse of gentlemen, tenants and tradesmen to be clothed in blue, lined red with yellow buttons. Whether this ultimately became the Regiment of Horse is unclear

⁷³ The Duke of Montagu was unique in raising two regiments. In total, there were fifteen raised across the country

⁷⁴ SP/44/186 warrants for the issue of arms to the 'nobleman's regiments' 1745

⁷⁵ John Creed: Lieutenant, Earl of Denbigh's Dragoons, 1.1.1697; Half-Pay the same year; Captain Lepell's Regiment of Foot 23.3.1705; out of the Regiment in 1712. Said to have been present at the Battle of Blenheim 1704, where his brother was killed. Said, in 1743, to have the rank of Major and to be a JP for Northamptonshire where his family were 'retainers' of the Duke of Montagu; his parents were known to and mentioned in his Diary by Samuel Pepys. Nothing is known of any military service between 1712 and 1745, but returned to active service as Lieutenant-Colonel, Montagu's Horse, 4.10.1745; reduced 21.6.1746. Died 1765. WO/24/245

Scotland has a strong tradition of auxiliary units running back to the 1690's and it is in this context that the material in this collection, particularly now at Drumlanrig and to a lesser degree at Bowhill, Boughton and the National Museum of Scotland, is of notable importance in terms of historical artefacts and their local connections.

In 1794 the government took a precautionary step towards a more organised volunteer force. Lord Lieutenants were appointed with responsibility for promoting the volunteer recruitment. Among those appointed was the Duke of Buccleuch to be Lord Lieutenant of the shire of Mid Lothian and Charles, Earl of Dalkeith to the shire of Selkirk.⁷⁶ Within days of this the Earl of Dalkeith is cited in the London Gazette appointed as captain in a regiment of Fencible Cavalry.⁷⁷ This appointment links directly to three swords in the collection. A pair of 1788 light cavalry sabres by Runkell⁷⁸ displayed at Boughton and an outstanding light dragoon officer's sabre by Knubley⁷⁹ would have been of both the quality and style of sword to be carried by officers of note. A rare infantry pattern 1796 sword with an unusual steel hilt also by Knubley but during the period when John Mallet was running the business can be dated around 1797.



Steel hilted 1796 pattern infantry officers sword.

⁷⁶ London Gazette Tuesday May 6th to Saturday May 10th 1794 (13652). This issue notes the appointment of both along with a number of similar appointments

⁷⁷ London Gazette 20th May 1794 (13661). A list of regiments of Fencible cavalry appointments appears without designation however there is a later reference to his presence in the 1st Regiment of Fencible Cavalry.

⁷⁸ John Justus Runkell worked in London at 8 Tookes Court from 1780-1808 as both an importer and retailer of fine blades. In tests in 1788 the quality of his swords withstood competition from three English competitors PRO/WO/71/11

⁷⁹ John Knubley was active at his Charing Cross address from 1780-1795 when he died though the company continued in his name for a further two years when John Mallet took over the company

By early 1797 the Duke of Buccleuch had been appointed Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volunteers⁸⁰ and within a month the Rt Hon. Lord Montagu was appointed Captain of a company in the Dalkeith Volunteers along with Walter Scott⁸¹. These appointments relate directly to several important items in the collection. A Georgian officer's gilt brass gorget bears a label to Walter Scott and a shoulder plate and baldric to the same unit must be associated with either Lord Montagu or Walter Scott.⁸² At all three residential locations there are examples of swords both for bandsmen and serving soldiers again supporting the strong family connection to these auxiliary forces.

The commitment of the family to the volunteer cause was highlighted again the following year when Henry, Duke of Buccleuch was appointed Colonel of the 10th North British (Edinburgh) Militia and Charles, Earl of Dalkeith was appointed Colonel of the 4th Dumfriesshire Militia.⁸³ Interestingly Henry, Lord Montagu was appointed Captain at the same time. These appointments connect to some of the most outstanding items from the collection. On loan to the National Museum of Scotland are the Colours, both King's and Regimental of the 10th North British Militia. These items are incredibly rare which is indeed reflected in the fact that they and six other colours linked to the family are currently at the National Museum of Scotland. Further, at Drumlanrig there are a set of six painted linen and canvas regulation packs to the 10th North British along with their Drum Major's sash. Finally there are a pair of 1796 Light Cavalry sabres which as a pair are believed to be unique in that they are named to father and son as colonels of two regiments.⁸⁴ These are exceptional in both historical significance and quality. Made by Woolley & Deakin⁸⁵, they are of presentation quality still retaining their original sword knots.

⁸⁰ *List of the Officers of the several Regiments and Corps of the Fencible Cavalry and Infantry; of the Officers of the Militia and of the Corps and Troops of Gentlemen and Yeomanry*. War Office 1799 p.329 and confirmed a month later in the London Gazette 21st March 1797 (13994)

⁸¹ London Gazette 11th April 1797 (14005)

⁸² A portrait of Major Walter Scott hangs in the Serving Room at Drumlanrig

⁸³ London Gazette, 17th July 1798 (15042). Both appointments are also listed in the *List of Officers in Volunteer Regiments*.

⁸⁴ After exhaustive research it has not been possible to identify any other examples of a pair of blue and gilt swords, inscribed to father and son both in the position of Colonel of Volunteer Regiments. These swords carry presentation inscriptions respectively to the Duke of Buccleuch and to the Earl of Dalkeith

⁸⁵ Woolley & Deakin were active in Birmingham from the end of 1799 to 1803



One of a pair of 1796 light cavalry officers sabres.

Despite the fact that Boughton was little used during the 19th century the armoury was maintained and in the Inventory of 1801⁸⁶ lists a selection not dissimilar to that found today. Unfortunately the detail is sparse but it is still possible to identify among the 52 entries:

"252 swords with basket and Bar'd hilts; 46 brass mounted pistols; 27 Carboins; 5 muskets; 3 large two handed swords and 1 Brass Defence Piece with 9 Chargers on a triangle frame"

Presumably one of the two handed swords has moved to Drumlanrig but the identification of a Puckle Gun is quite obvious.

From the early 1800's the number of items in the collection grew much more slowly. There are also swords which can once more be directly related to members of the family including a number of 1796 pattern infantry officer's

⁸⁶ An Inventory of Household Furniture Pictures etc. at Boughton House taken by Samuel Brampton and Edward Bates 1801

swords commensurate with roles played by the family in the militia units from the standard pattern to a rare levee pattern. The presence of a number of Lord Lieutenant's swords almost identical to the 1831 pattern general officer's sword represents the fact that along with Walter 5th Duke of Buccleuch⁸⁷ several other family members served as Lords Lieutenant. Similarly there are infantry officer's swords from the early Victorian period, again to the 5th Duke an 1822 pattern connected without doubt to his appointment as Colonel of the Edinburgh Militia in March 1842.⁸⁸ An officer's 1821 pattern cavalry sword, again links directly to the appointment of William, Earl of Dalkeith as a Lieutenant in the Mid-Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry,⁸⁹ in addition there are at Drumlanrig two exceptional helmets to this unit, the first of earlier pattern and the second later pattern, engraved with his name probably on his promotion to Lt. Colonel in 1856.⁹⁰ In 1858 the 5th Duke was appointed ADC to Her Majesty Queen Victoria⁹¹ while an officer in the Queen's Regiment Infantry Militia. In this role the sword he would have carried is held in the Strong Room at Drumlanrig with two others all ordered from Wilkinson. Excerpts from Wilkinson's records clearly identify sword number 5559 as being ordered by the Duke of Buccleuch.⁹²

The late 18th and early 19th century was a period of rapid industrialisation and as technology developed so firearms became increasingly more sophisticated and technologically advanced. This collection represents that technological advance from flintlock to cartridge. At Drumlanrig a pair of all steel pistols by John Campbell of Doune⁹³ represents one of the finest examples of Scottish gunmaking anywhere. At Boughton, a cased set of flintlock duelling pistols by John Manton were made in 1790 and appear to be unfired. Beside these in the case is a further set, this time of rifled percussion target pistols again, apparently unfired and in outstanding condition also by John Manton. Further, there is a pair of tube-lock double barrelled belt pistols once again by John Manton represents the foremost quality and technology for their production date of 1837. These alone represent two facets of gunmaking history. First the advance in technology in so short a space of time and secondly representation of the work of one of Britain's greatest gunsmiths.⁹⁴ John and his younger more innovative brother Joseph created some of the finest pistols available and are still sought by collectors. While Mr Nock's volley gun gained fame through the 'Sharpe' series, this collection holds a seven barrelled percussion sporting rifle by Mills of High Holborn. The suite is cased and still retains its fittings and loading tool.

⁸⁷ The London Gazette December 3rd 1841 Walter, 5th Duke of Buccleuch was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Sheriff Principal of Roxburgh

⁸⁸ London Gazette 3rd March 1842

⁸⁹ London Gazette 17th December 1852 records this appointment

⁹⁰ London Gazette, July 22nd 1856

⁹¹ London Gazette July 9th 1858

⁹² The archival records of the Wilkinson Company note that the sword was ordered on the 15th November 1854 with specific dimensions and a regulation steel gilt hilt. It was noted as, screwed together on 14th December 1854 and finished and ready for delivery on 5th May 1855.

⁹³ John Campbell was one of three generations of Gunmakers at Doune 1710-1798, particularly famous for all steel Scottish dress pistols often silver mounted. His pistols are still sought after today, (see Holt's Auction Catalogue 21st June 2012 lot 452, for a similar pair)

⁹⁴ John and his younger brother Joseph established what can only be described as a gunmaking dynasty



Seven barrelled rifle by Mills of High Holborn.

While a large number of the artefacts have been discussed, the breadth and depth of this collection makes it impossible to take note of all of them. Even so, small items, such as groups of tools for pistols and powder flasks and horns are, in many ways, of equal significance with some of the more high profile pieces. A fine example is three leather travelling gun covers marked to Thomas Clarke of Edinburgh. These were for protecting flintlock long guns while out on the estate and are exceptionally rare in their own right.

Conclusion

In 1718 the Armoury was described by the Reverend Charles LaMotte as *"looking exceedingly well"*. Two hundred and sixty years later in 1978, A.V.B.Norman, holding one of the successor posts to the one held by the 2nd Duke of Montagu,⁹⁵ describes it as *"by far the most important and historic family gunroom to survive in the British Isles"* and comments that *"The series of family swords from the sixteenth century onward is unparalleled anywhere else in the world"*

While a large number of the artefacts have been referenced the breadth and depth of this collection makes it impossible to make note of all of them. Even so, small items such as groups of tools for pistols and powder flasks and horns are in many ways of equal significance with some of the more high profile pieces. A fine example of three leather travelling gun covers marked to Thomas Clarke of Edinburgh is but one example. These were for protecting flintlock long guns while out on the estate and are incredibly rare in their own right.

This has been an overview and this Journal will feature four further articles giving a more detailed picture of parts of one of the finest collections of arms and armour in the country.

⁹⁵ The post of H.M. Master of the Armouries is a successor at least in function to the old posts of Master of Ordnance

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