

THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS OF THE CAVENDISH FAMILY OF HARDWICK

c.1590–c.1700

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INTRODUCTION

Among the large collection of family and estate papers which today form the Devonshire Manuscripts at Chatsworth is an exceptionally fine series of household accounts. These extend from the death in 1590 of George Talbot, 6th earl of Shrewsbury, the fourth and last husband of Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, the builder of the present Hardwick Hall, until 1700, when the administration of the Cavendish family's estate was substantially reorganised and Hardwick ceased to be one of the centres of that administration.¹ Most of these volumes remained at Hardwick after 1700, when the family began to run their estates entirely from London (and to use Chatsworth as their main country seat, in preference to Hardwick), until they were added to the Devonshire Collections at Chatsworth in the 1930s. A few appear, from their present location in the archive, to have been at Chatsworth for rather longer. The volumes at Hardwick were briefly reported on by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1873, when a numbered list of what were called the 'Hardwick Manuscripts' (a few of which are in fact printed books) was published. The numbers assigned by the HMC remain the current means of reference at Chatsworth, but are prefaced today by the code HM. The volumes which seem to have been moved to Chatsworth at an earlier date (and were not seen by the HMC in the 1870s) have serial numbers preceded by C. Neither series of numbers has any archival logic but, especially in the case of the Hardwick Manuscripts, their familiarity over a long period in footnotes to scholarly works justifies their retention.

The volumes discussed here include a few created by servants of Countess Elizabeth (i.e. 'Bess of Hardwick') during her last widowhood (1590–1608). Most, however, date from the time of her second son and de facto heir, William Cavendish (1552–1626), created Lord Cavendish of Hardwick in 1605 and earl of Devonshire in 1618; from the short period in which his only surviving son, also William, was second earl (1626–8); from the lengthy minority of the 3rd earl, when the estate was administered by his widowed mother, Countess Christian (1626–38); and from the date at which the 3rd earl assumed personal control of his estates in 1638 until his death in 1684. The series extends partly into the time of the 1st duke, who died in 1707, but it was he who carried out the changes of 1700 that brought the system he inherited to an end. This method of accounting seems to be largely the creation of the 1st earl, who divided his time between Derbyshire and London in a way that his mother, towards the end of her life, did not. By the time he died, the earl owned estates stretching from London to County Durham in one direction, and from Somerset to Cambridgeshire in the other. His income and expenditure were not only much greater than his mother's had ever been, but the sources of that income were more widespread and more varied, and required a correspondingly more complex accounting system.

A few of the volumes of accounts have been extensively used by both scholarly and popular writers. Most biographies of Bess of Hardwick include extracts from her household accounts,² but the only systematic attempt to exploit the wealth of this source came in 1977 with the publication of David Durant's study.³ Unlike earlier writers, he took the time and trouble to make transcripts of all the volumes at Chatsworth dating from Bess's time, which he has since generously made available to others.⁴ These typescripts have since formed the basis of at least one more recent book on Bess.⁵ Durant also made extensive use of a composite volume, probably put together in the 6th duke's time, which contains the surviving accounts relating to the rebuilding of the Old Hall at Hardwick in the 1580s and the building of the New Hall in the 1590s.⁶ Popular biographers of Bess's granddaughter, Arbella Stuart, have generally dipped into the household accounts in search of her name;⁷ otherwise, there is very little material at Chatsworth relating to Arbella.⁸

Both Bess's accounts and two very detailed volumes of similar payments made by the 1st earl, extending from 1599 until his death in 1626,⁹ have been used by scholars interested in different aspects of material culture in the early seventeenth century, especially textile historians.¹⁰ Hobbes scholars have drawn on both the second of these volumes and those dating from the 3rd earl's time for details of the writer's long career as tutor, secretary and pensioner in the Cavendish family's household.¹¹ Some (not very well informed) interest has been shown in the references to music, musical instruments and musicians in the 1st earl's accounts;¹² no serious use has been made (except by Sir Noel Malcolm in his discussion of the education of the first 2nd earl) of the very interesting lists of books bought in the same period, or the occasional references to the theatre. Many years ago Lawrence Stone drew on the summary accounts for the early seventeenth century in his well-known study of the aristocracy¹³ but no other writers on the Jacobean nobility seem to have used the material. The two modern general histories of the Cavendish family, which both dwell mainly on the period after the creation of the dukedom in 1694, make only occasional reference to the seventeenth-century accounts.¹⁴ Local historians interested in places where the family owned land in this period have also largely ignored the evidence the accounts provide for the purchase, administration and occasional sale of individual estates.

Because of this rather limited and selective use of some of these volumes (and the almost complete lack of use of many of them), it may be helpful to provide a reasonably detailed account of how the Cavendish estate was administered in the seventeenth century, explaining how the records were created, which hopefully will encourage a wider and better informed use of the material in the future.¹⁵ At first sight, the accounts appear to be an unrivalled treasure trove of fascinating detail about many aspects of the history of one of the major peerage families of the period. This indeed they are, but, like most such archives, they can only be properly exploited for specific purposes with some understanding of the administrative system of which they are the surviving product. Without this, searchers run the risk of missing volumes that may be of interest or misunderstanding what can (and in some cases cannot) be discovered from them.

BESS OF HARDWICK'S ACCOUNTS

Before plunging into the details of the rather complex system developed by the 1st earl and continued by his successors, it may be helpful to outline the much simpler organisation of Bess's estate administration during her last widowhood, and the surviving records created by her officers.¹⁶ Bess's income during this period (1590–1608) derived from five separate

groups of manors and other estates: (a) the estates she held in dower as the widow of the 6th earl of Shrewsbury and (to a very small extent) as the widow of her first husband, Robert Barlow; (b) from the estates she inherited from her third husband, Sir William St Loe, after he died in 1565;¹⁷ from the estates acquired by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish (who died in 1557), in which she was left a life interest; and, to an increasing extent, estates which she purchased after Shrewsbury's death. In addition to farm and cottage rents, and the sale of livestock, a few of these estates also yielded a small income from industrial activities, chiefly the manufacture of iron and glass. By the time of her death, seventeen bailiffs, responsible for individual manors or groups of manors and other lands, accounted to her receiver at Hardwick.¹⁸ The income received in this way was recorded in books kept by her receivers, of which a more or less continuous series survives from shortly after Shrewsbury's death until not long before Bess herself died.¹⁹

The same books also record disbursements, with the payments recorded as a single-entry day book. Some of the entries are merely totals brought forward from subsidiary accounts which have not survived (with the notable exception of the building accounts, which are of course at Chatsworth) but overall there is a good deal of detail of how Bess spent her income of around just under £10,000 a year in this period.²⁰ Some everyday expenditure on household consumables was obviously recorded only in waste books which were probably destroyed once they had been edited and the totals carried to the main book of payments, but purchases of a wide range of durable goods are given in detail, including furnishings and plate, and so are some items of food and drink. The half-yearly payment of wages is given in full, with the names of officers and servants, as are Bess's New Year gifts to family and friends. Expenditure connected with visits by family, local gentry, or occasionally of officials from London is given in full, so that one can establish who stayed and for how long. Overall, the accounts provide a richly detailed picture of how Bess lived at Hardwick during her last widowhood.

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNTS IN OUTLINE

The Cavendish family's accounting system in the seventeenth century was based on the employment of two receivers, one in Derbyshire and the other in London. Neither reported to the other, although the London receiver handled rather more money than his counterpart in the country. The Derbyshire receiver normally worked at Hardwick, but was not necessarily also responsible for the Hardwick estate (although at times he did act as the bailiff there). The phrase 'at Hardwick' in headings to the Derbyshire receiver's books refers to the place at which payments and disbursements were accounted for, not the estate to which those transactions relate.

Both receivers had their accounts examined by an auditor, who was also based at Hardwick, and the examined accounts were approved by the earls themselves (or during the 3rd earl's minority by his mother, Countess Christian). It is clear from the surviving records that not only was the examination by the auditor thorough but also that all four earls (and Countess Christian) took a close personal interest in their finances. On the other hand, such was the size and complexity of the Cavendish family's estate that the accounting system was a genuine bureaucracy, which functioned independently of the circumstances in which the family found themselves at any particular time. Not only did the system continue without any break arising from the deaths of the 1st, 2nd or 3rd earls in 1626, 1628 and 1684 respectively, it also survived unscathed the minority of the 3rd earl (1628–38), the Civil War, and the absence of the earl and his immediate family from England between 1642 and 1645.

The system can best be outlined by starting with the work of the Derbyshire receiver. He received rents from the family's estates in Derbyshire and counties further north (including Staffordshire), together with small sums from the sale of crops, stock and coal from Hardwick and Chatsworth. From this income he made local payments in Derbyshire, either directly to suppliers, or by issuing money on imprest to sub-accountants at Hardwick and Chatsworth, who then accounted to him for their disbursements. What money remained in the Derbyshire receiver's hands after meeting local expenses was sent to the London receiver.

Apart from the remittances from Derbyshire, the London receiver's income was made up mainly of rents from the family's estates in counties to the south of Derbyshire (a rather smaller sum than that handled by the Derbyshire receiver), together with some income from the northern estates whose bailiffs found it more convenient to make payments in London than in the country. There was also a small income in the 1st earl's time from his investment in overseas trading ventures, chiefly to Virginia and Bermuda, and occasional windfalls from sales of land, mainly when Countess Christian was administering the estate after the 2nd earl's death in 1628. The London receiver made some payments himself but many of his disbursements took the form of issues directly to the earls or to their stewards.

Whereas the Derbyshire receiver's income was much larger than his expenditure, and the balance was remitted to London, the London receiver disbursed far more than he received in rent or other income, and the difference was made up by the remittances from his colleague in Derbyshire. Essentially, net income from the estate flowed into the London receiver's hands, either directly or via the Derbyshire receiver, and flowed out into the hands of the earls or their stewards, who were ultimately responsible for most of the expenditure recorded in the accounts.

This overall view of the accounting system is supplied by a series of yearly or half-yearly summaries of the two receivers' accounts, known as 'brief books', which survive for most of the seventeenth century, and are preceded by less detailed summaries in the book of payments covering the period 1608–23. The earlier payments book (1599–1607) does not contain this sort of information. All these summary accounts appear to have been prepared by the Derbyshire receiver for examination by the auditor in Derbyshire. In some cases a summary of the London receiver's accounts was included in the book, but no original London receiver's accounts have survived.

The brief books summarise what must once have been a mass of subsidiary accounting records kept by the two receivers or their sub-accountants. A small amount of this material survives from before 1700. For the Derbyshire receiver there are day books recording his own receipts and disbursements, the accounts of the bailiffs of some of the estates which accounted to him, and the disbursements made by sub-accountants supplied with funds on imprest by the Derbyshire receiver. For the London receiver the main survival is a series of day books recording disbursements by the steward of the household, funded by payments by the London receiver on imprest. There are also some stables accounts, which were similarly a charge on the London receiver's account, and a few accounts from bailiffs of manors in the Midlands and South who accounted to the London receiver.

From these records, as well as the brief books, it is possible not only to reconstruct the work of the two receivers and other officials in some detail, but also to discover a great deal about the economic and social life of the Cavendish family during the period in which it was partly centred on Hardwick.

THE DERBYSHIRE RECEIVER

(a) The brief books

The Derbyshire receiver's receipts between 1619/20 and 1638/9²¹ are summarised in a volume which also contains copies of some of the London receiver's accounts for the same period.²² For each year net receipts from each of the Northern Bailiffs (as the officials in charge of the estates which accounted to the Derbyshire receiver were collectively known) are listed, including the name of the bailiff but without any detail as to how the net figure was arrived at. In addition to the income from rents, small sums were received each year from the sale at Hardwick and Chatsworth of stock, wool, crops, coal, wood, hides and tallows, from fines and heriots, and from the repayment of debts.

Of the minor sources of income the most interesting (but not always the largest in any particular year) is probably that from coal mining on the estate. It is clear from the accounts that coal was worked at Heath and Hardstoft throughout the seventeenth century, for part of the time directly by the estate, at other times by lessees. Some coal was supplied to the Hall but some was sold to outside customers. There may also have been let collieries on the estate, income from which would appear on the bailiff's accounts (which have generally not survived), rather than the receiver's. Overall, there appears to have been rather more mining on the estate in this period than has previously been appreciated.²³

The Derbyshire receiver at the opening of this period was Henry Travice, who was based at Chatsworth. He was previously the London receiver between 1599 (or earlier) and 1617,²⁴ which was presumably when he moved to Derbyshire. The date falls a few months after William Cavendish acquired the Chatsworth estate, following the death without legitimate issue of his elder brother Henry, who had made a reversionary sale of the estate to William some years before.²⁵ Travice was succeeded during 1622/3 by Tristram Daintry,²⁶ who also worked from Chatsworth and was assisted by his son John. Tristram retired as receiver at Michaelmas 1629 and died at Hatton (in Marston on Dove, a Cavendish estate) in 1634.²⁷ Travice died at Bedford, in what appears to have been his native county of Lancashire, in 1626.²⁸

Daintry's successor was James Ballechouse, the son of John Ballechouse, a painter employed at Chatsworth from at least 1578, who worked on both the Old and New Halls at Hardwick in the 1590s and in 1609 was tenant of the 'New Inn' (i.e. the Hardwick Inn at the northern entrance to Hardwick Park) and 96 acres of land.²⁹ The surname appears to be foreign and both father and son were also known as Painter. James Ballechouse remained the Derbyshire receiver until he died on 9 February 1648. An inventory taken after his death by his successor Humphrey Poole and four others is clearly describing the existing building at the Hardwick Inn,³⁰ which Ballechouse must have been used as the receiver's office for nearly twenty years.

The book begun by Travice in 1619 ends with Ballechouse's account for the half-year from Michaelmas 1638 to Lady Day 1639. There is then a slight hiatus before the start of a new book at Lady Day 1642;³¹ no Derbyshire receiver's accounts appear to have survived for the intervening three years. The new book continues to list rent receipts from the various bailiffs who accounted to the Derbyshire receiver, including (until 1648) Ballechouse himself, who was also bailiff of the Hardwick estate. Rather oddly, although the receiver is consistently named as James Ballechouse in the heading to the accounts, he appears as 'Mr Painter' in the list of bailiffs. At his death, shortly before the end of the half-year ending at Lady Day 1648, Ballechouse owed £111 on his account as receiver and £96 as Hardwick bailiff.³² His

widow paid in £190 later in 1647/8; the estate appears not to have pursued the balance. James Ballechouse's personal estate was valued at £296 and he left both this and any real estate he owned to his wife Dorothy and grandson Nathaniel, the son of his illegitimate son John Ballechouse.³³

James Ballechouse was succeeded as both Derbyshire receiver and Hardwick bailiff by Humphrey Poole, who had been acting as the 3rd earl's auditor since at least 1642. The independent check on the Derbyshire receiver's account which had existed in Ballechouse's day was thus removed. Poole also immediately took over from Theophilus Gee as bailiff for a group of north Nottinghamshire parishes in which the earls owned the rectorial tithes, described in the accounts as the North Clay Tithes,³⁴ and in 1650/1 replaced William Hall as the bailiff of the Chatsworth (or Chatsworth and Peak)³⁵ collection. These changes gave Poole a considerably more influential position in the running of the estate than either Ballechouse, Daintry or Travice had enjoyed, since he was in charge of three important collections which accounted to him as receiver. Furthermore, since he was not replaced as auditor, only the earl was left to approve his accounts, with no intermediate examination by another official.

When Ballechouse died a reconciliation was drawn up to find the amount due from his estate to the earl. Thereafter, in most years a similar reconciliation was entered in the brief book to show what money remained in the receiver's hands or was due to him, and the figure was carried forward to the next account.

The actual sources of income received by Poole were the same as in his predecessors' time. About 90 per cent of the total came from rents from the Northern Bailiffs and the rest for sales of coal, stock, crops etc. from the Hardwick estate, of which coal was usually the most important. In 1662/3 income from the recently purchased manor of Hartington³⁶ swelled the total rents paid to the Derbyshire receiver by about 8 per cent. From 1665/6 Hartington was included in the Chatsworth and Peak collection, thus further increasing the proportion of the total rent receipts handled by Poole as collector as well as receiver.

Humphrey Poole died on 5 August 1667³⁷ and was succeeded by Richard Derrey, who had been tenant of the Hardwick Inn since at least 1665³⁸ and appears to have been Poole's assistant in the 1650s.³⁹ With his appointment the inn would once again have become the Derbyshire receiver's office. Derrey also succeeded Poole as bailiff for the Hardwick, Chatsworth and the Peak, and North Clay collections. He used Poole's account book for 1667/8 but then started a new book which remained in use until 1699/1700,⁴⁰ when the series of summary accounts for the Derbyshire receiver described here comes to an end.

Richard Derrey died on 19 March 1677 aged 63 and was buried at Ault Hucknall church. His descendants remained licensees of the Hardwick Inn until 1795,⁴¹ but the Derbyshire receivership and responsibility for three of the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire collections passed to James Wheldon (who in 1684/5 changed the spelling of his name to Whildon).⁴² His accounts as receiver followed exactly the pattern established by Poole in the mid-seventeenth century. Almost the only change was the appearance in 1689/90 of Staveley among the manors from which rent was received, following the completion in 1681 (when John Lord Frescheville died) of the 4th earl's reversionary purchase of the estate.⁴³ although from 1691/2 the manor was added to the Chesterfield collection. Towards the end of the 1690s casual income from sales of farm stock, coal etc. fell noticeably, possibly because it was accounted for on the Hardwick bailiff's account (which has not survived), rather than the receiver's account.

James Whildon's last account was for the period from Michaelmas 1699 to Lady Day 1700 and included a reconciliation showing that the period ended with £145 remaining in his hand.

Instead of carrying this to the next half-year's account, on 22 September 1700 James paid the money over to his son John Whildon to disburse at Chatsworth, thus balancing, as he noted, his receiver's account, having served in the office for 23 years. Whildon's retirement marked the end of an era. He was not replaced as Derbyshire receiver and from 1700 the bailiffs (later, slightly confusingly, known as receivers) of individual collections in both northern and southern England accounted directly to a single receiver (who was not called 'receiver general', as he might have been) in London.⁴⁴

(b) Receipts Books

The receipts entered in the brief books under subject headings (rents, sales, fines, loan repayments etc.) summarise entries in the receivers' Receipts Books, of which three survive, covering most of the second half of the seventeenth century.

The first,⁴⁵ begun by Humphrey Poole at Michaelmas 1652 and continued after his death by Richard Derrey until Lady Day 1669, is a single-cash day book, listing receipts as they came to hand, with a brief note of the source of the money in the left-hand margin which would have formed the basis of the classification of the entry in the brief book. Each accounting period is signed at the end by Poole and the earl, and the total carried to the brief book, where in most years the total from each page of the receipts book is listed as a check on the total arrived at by summing the entries arranged by subject.

For part of this period (Lady Day 1658 to August 1668) a second receipts book survives,⁴⁶ containing the same information as the other book, and also arranged as a single-cash day book, but without any attempt to total the figures for each half-year. The pages have not been signed by the earl, and the volume appears to have been used as a waste book by Poole (and for a short time Derrey), from which the figures were carried to the other book, which was shown to the earl. Richard Derrey began a new receipts book at Lady Day 1669,⁴⁷ which was continued by James Whildon until Michaelmas 1698. It is more neatly written but is arranged in exactly the same way as the book covering the period 1652–68, with each page signed by the earl or duke.

One other volume may also be mentioned here, a memorandum book⁴⁸ kept by Humphrey Poole between c.1640 and 1658, containing some roughly written accounts and numerous notes and queries, including some directed to Poole himself and some to other officials, including Richard Derrey. Some payments to Derrey are also recorded, which indicates that he was then acting as Poole's assistant.

(c) Cash disbursements

Payments made by the Derbyshire receiver (or a sub-accountant on his behalf) between 1599 and 1623 are recorded in detail in two books, which have already been mentioned since they are among the most heavily used of those described here.⁴⁹ The two volumes were kept by a succession of officials on behalf of their master William Lord Cavendish, from 1618 1st earl of Devonshire. At the beginning of this period the accounts seem to have been kept mainly by a man named Roger Fretwell, who appears to have lived at Oldcotes.⁵⁰ After Bess died, her most senior official, Timothy Pusey, transferred to William's staff and he initially kept the second of these two volumes.⁵¹ Pusey was succeeded in March 1609 by a man named Redhill.⁵² He left in July 1611, after which Cavendish appears to have acted as his own book-keeper for a couple of months until William Bowen took over in September.⁵³ Bowen's last account closes in September 1617, when he was succeeded by Henry Travece, who, as we have seen, was

based at Cavendish's recently acquired house at Chatsworth,⁵⁴ rather than Hardwick, as the three previous receivers had been. Travice's last account was closed on 8 January 1623,⁵⁵ and on 9 January his successor, Tristram Daintry, opened a new account, which continues until the book ends at Michaelmas that year.

The payments book of 1607–23 includes for most years some analysis, with expenditure divided between major headings. In particular, money 'returned to London' is distinguished from local disbursements, which are themselves split between three or four headings. When Daintry took over, however, he introduced the system that was maintained for the rest of the century in which payments were entered first in a waste book as they were made, from which they were copied into a more fairly kept day book. The totals recorded in these books were carried at the end of the year or half-year to a separate 'brief', analysing the expenditure under subject headings. The number of headings gradually falls as the century proceeds but the basic system remains unchanged.

The day books of payments which must have been kept by Daintry and his successor, James Ballehouse, appear not to have survived, but for Humphrey Poole's period there are two waste books, one for 1658–63⁵⁶ and another for 1663–8,⁵⁷ of which the latter was continued for a short period after Poole's death in 1667 by his successor, Richard Derrey. During Poole's time Derrey was described as bailiff and housekeeper at Hardwick and the day book for 1663–8 includes notes of various reckonings between Poole and his sub-accountant.

The waste books were not audited (or presumably seen) by the earl, but the entries from them were carried to fair copy day books of disbursements, of which three survive. The earliest⁵⁸ begins at Lady Day 1660 and was continued by Derrey after Poole's death until Lady Day 1669, when he started a new book⁵⁹ on identical lines. This was itself taken over by James Whildon after Derrey died in 1667 and ends at Michaelmas 1686. A third volume⁶⁰ runs from Michaelmas 1686 until Whildon's retirement as Derbyshire receiver at Lady Day 1700. All three were examined every year or half-year by the earl and the figures compared with the summaries entered into the disbursements brief books for the same period.

These three books provide more detail concerning local expenditure by the Derbyshire receiver than can be found for the same period in the brief books. They name the drawers and drawees of the bills of exchange by which the receiver returned money to London; show how some items entered as single sums in the brief books were made up of several smaller payments and name the payees; provide more names of people and places in entries relating to the purchase of goods and services for both Hardwick and Chatsworth, and sometimes details of the carriage of goods; and, in the half-annual lists of wages paid, supply more information concerning the principal servants at the two houses.

The most obvious feature of the lists of wages is how few people were employed permanently at either Hardwick or Chatsworth in the second half of the seventeenth century, although those mentioned in the accounts were presumably helped by others whose names have not survived. It is clear from the house steward's accounts that by this date many of the family's servants travelled with the household and were therefore paid by the steward rather than either of the receivers.⁶¹ Throughout these years only about half a dozen servants were paid at each of the two Derbyshire houses. In the 1680s, for example, Chatsworth had a 'keeper' in overall charge, assisted by his wife as housekeeper, and two other men; at Hardwick, in addition to the receiver himself, the servants consisted of the younger Richard Derrey, who was described as housekeeper, bailiff and granary man, while another man acted as brewer, cooper and arms keeper; there was also an under-keeper and a huntsman. When Derrey left, his job was divided

between two men, a keeper and a husbandman, and a woman housekeeper was engaged, but this still made a total of only seven servants, including James Whildon, at Hardwick in the 1690s.

Another feature of the day books is that they show how the Derbyshire receiver transmitted several thousand pounds a year received by him from bailiffs in Derbyshire and elsewhere to his colleague in London. Small amounts were sent in cash with members of the family or upper servants travelling between the family's Derbyshire and London houses; Thomas Hobbes, for example, often took £20 or so with him if he was going up to town after a stay at Hardwick or Chatsworth. Most of the money, however, was handed to men who can be identified as Chesterfield lead merchants.⁶² In exchange they gave the receiver bills on their London factors for the same amount, less their own commission. These bills would have been sent, either by carrier or after 1660 through the post, to the London receiver, who would have drawn cash either directly from the merchants' London factors or from third parties prepared to accept the bills. The Derbyshire receiver's accounts thus demonstrate the existence (in a way not previously appreciated) of a proto-banking system in Chesterfield by the early seventeenth century (if not before), operated by local lead merchants, who may have provided similar services for other landowners who needed to send money to London. The accounts do not indicate whether bailiffs of the various collections who accounted to the Derbyshire receiver handed over cash or also used bills, although the former seems more likely at this date.

Briefs for 1622/3, 1623/4 and 1624/5, analysing disbursements entered in the lost day books, have been entered in the receipts book kept during these years by Tristram Daintry at Chatsworth,⁶³ and others for 1636/7, 1637/8 and 1638/9, during James Ballechouse's period as receiver, also survive.⁶⁴ There is then a break until 1641/2, for which a brief has been entered in a book otherwise mainly used for the London receiver's accounts,⁶⁵ but from 1642/3 to 1654/5 the briefs have been recorded systematically in a book kept for the purpose, first by Ballechouse and then by Humphrey Poole.⁶⁶ Two similar books continue the series from 1655/6 to 1667/8 and from 1668/9 to 1693/4.⁶⁷ The second of these contains some loose sheets, laid out in the same way as the pages of the book, on which briefs for years between 1694/5 and 1698/9 have been written. A loose sheet found in another account book of this period⁶⁸ contains a brief for the half-year ending at Lady Day 1700. All these accounts, from James Ballechouse's day onwards, were kept by receivers based at Hardwick, rather than Chatsworth, although they record expenditure on both estates.

(d) Disbursements on imprest to sub-accountants

The later of the two early seventeenth-century payments books (1607–23)⁶⁹ regularly analyses the Derbyshire receiver's disbursements under three main headings: money returned to London, money lent, and purchases of corn, cattle, clothes etc. In most years between 1612 and 1620 the last group are collectively described as 'imprests', a term used later in the century for money issued by the receiver to sub-accountants. The payments, however, are the sort that were later made by the receiver himself, and the term is possibly being used because the expenditure came from funds issued to the receiver by Cavendish. The earlier payments book⁷⁰ records imprest payments to sub-accountants more casually in marginal notes.

Tristram Daintry's briefs of the early 1620s include two entries for money issued on imprest, on one occasion to a man named Redfern,⁷¹ but these are clearly separate from local payments made by Daintry himself and are issues to sub-accountants. From 1641/2 James

Ballechouse's briefs include some imprests of the same sort, which continue until the briefs themselves end in 1700. The receivers' accounts merely list the name of the sub-accountant and the amount issued to him, but for certain years the sub-accountants' own accounts have been copied into the brief books. From these it is possible to establish that throughout the second half of the seventeenth century the receiver regularly issued money to two men, one of whom was responsible for day-to-day expenditure at Hardwick and the other for similar disbursements at Chatsworth. He also made issues to the steward of the household for much of this period, and to a number of other officials.

(i) Imprests to the Hardwick bailiff

For 1641/2 a list of disbursements by Richard Greaves on a range of household and farm items, totalling £122,⁷² must relate to Hardwick, since one of the items is described as a charge on Mr Painter's account (i.e. James Ballechouse, the Derbyshire receiver), and it is possible to identify someone else as the sub-accountant at Chatsworth in this period.

Between 1662/3 and 1680/1 John Ashton was responsible for repairs, husbandry charges and household expenses at Hardwick. His accounts were summarised in the disbursements books kept by the receiver, from whom he received cash on imprest.⁷³ The summaries refer to payments books kept by Ashton which have not survived, from which total expenditure each year or half-year was carried to an analysis by type of expenditure, on the same lines (but on a smaller scale) as the receiver's own disbursements. In some years Ashton's account included an item for repairs and work done at Chatsworth, as well as a similar entry for Hardwick. In the early years of his accounts roughly similar amounts were spent at both houses but from 1670/1 expenditure at Chatsworth far outstripped what was spent at Hardwick.

In 1676/7 and the two years following a total of £1,168 was charged to Ashton's account for building work at Buxton. This may represent the rebuilding of the Old Hall there, which has traditionally been assigned to c.1670.⁷⁴

John Ashton was succeeded at Hardwick in 1681/2⁷⁵ by Richard Derrey the younger (d. 1706), the son of the Derbyshire receiver who died in 1677.⁷⁶ His accounts continue to be included in the receiver's disbursements book until 1686/7 and imprests were made to him until 1689/90. Unlike Ashton, Derrey, who succeeded his father as the tenant of the Hardwick Inn, was responsible only for expenditure at Hardwick, not Chatsworth as well. Derrey was followed as bailiff by Robert Alwood, who served until 1695/6.⁷⁷ By this date the scope of the work had contracted considerably. Whereas John Ashton's imprests had averaged £743 a year, Richard Derrey received less than half as much (£365) and Alwood less again (£231). Possibly for this reason James Whildon acted as his own bailiff at Hardwick from 1696/7 and remained bailiff after he retired as receiver in 1700. For the last three years of his receivership he issued imprests to himself for an average of £104 to pay 'Bills at Hardwick'. Whildon's last wages as bailiff were paid at Christmas 1707; he died the following year.⁷⁸

In 1647/8 and the two following years the Derbyshire receiver issued a total of £242 to Alexander Clay, who was then working the coal pits on the Hardwick estate; in 1651/2 and 1652/3 a further £90 was issued to a man named Millington, who was also mining there.⁷⁹ In other years the receiver simply included an item for coal pit expenses (against which there was normally income from sales) in his direct payments.

(ii) The Chatsworth bailiff and steward

The earliest sub-accountant at Chatsworth who can be identified is John Tacey, whose disbursements for 1639/40 and the two following years are entered in the receiver's disbursements book for the same period.⁸⁰ The expenses include repairs and work in the gardens, household and kitchen charges, husbandry charges, the stables account, travelling charges, and local taxes and rates. Similar accounts, kept by Jerome Hackett, resume in 1648/9 and continue without a break until 1667/8.⁸¹ The expenses include some repairs and work done to both the house and garden, although most expenditure of this sort in this period passed through John Ashton's account at Hardwick. Towards the end of the period the payments include £7 18s. each year for hearth tax due on ⁷⁹ chimneys at Chatsworth (i.e. two half-yearly payments of 6d. for each chimney), a figure which agrees with the collector's assessment of 1670.⁸² Imprests to Hackett between 1649/50 and 1667/68 averaged £539 a year.

Hackett was succeeded in 1668/9 by Robert Stafford, whose accounts continue to 1689/90 on much the same lines as those of his predecessors. All building work at Chatsworth, whether on the house or in the garden, was now charged to the Chatsworth account, and towards the end of this period expenditure under this head increases noticeably, as the 4th earl's rebuilding campaign at Chatsworth got under way. In the early 1680s expenditure on the house continued to be entered as 'repairs and alterations', although between 1687/8 and 1689/90 entries for the 'New building' appear. Rather more was spent on the gardens than on the house in these years, where work included the building of canals, ponds and walks. Issues to Stafford confirm the impression given by his accounts that work at Chatsworth was increasing each year after the 4th earl succeeded to the title. During the 3rd earl's time Stafford received an average of £740 a year, whereas between 1685/6 and 1692/3, which includes the main period of rebuilding at Chatsworth, the figure was £3,400. From 1693/4 until he retired in 1700 James Whildon continue to issue imprests to Stafford, but on a much smaller scale: on average he received only £440 a year, simply to meet husbandry expenses. All expenditure at Chatsworth in the 1690s connected with the rebuilding passed through the hands of James Whildon's son John, who was paid an average of £2,765 a year between 1692/3 and his father's retirement, plus an additional £234 a year from 1693/4 as house steward at Chatsworth.

In 1648/9, 1649/50 and 1650/1 Hackett received some imprest payments from William Hall (who appears to have been the 3rd earl's steward), as well as Humphrey Poole, the Derbyshire receiver; thereafter his funds came entirely from Poole. This remained the pattern during the receiverships of Richard Derrey and James Whildon. All the Chatsworth sub-accountants' lists of disbursements refer to their books of payments. The only examples of these subsidiary accounts that survive are those relating to the rebuilding of the house, including two, for 1678/9 and 1679/80, from the period when Robert Stafford was responsible for the work, and a longer series from John Whildon's day.⁸³ They describe disbursements in somewhat greater detail than can be found in the receiver's accounts for the same period and note money received on imprest from the receiver.

(iii) Imprests to the steward of the household and other sub-accountants

In 1646/7 James Ballehouse issued £153 to Humphrey Poole, who was to succeed him as Derbyshire receiver the following year. It is not quite clear what office Poole occupied before he became receiver and auditor, but this payment may be the first in the Derbyshire receiver's accounts that can be identified as an issue to the steward of the household. In general the steward was accountable to the London receiver, but when the family was in Derbyshire for

any length of time it was presumably more convenient for the steward travelling with them to draw cash from the local receiver.⁸⁴

William Fetherston appears to have been steward of the household in the 1650s.⁸⁵ Between 1649/50 and 1659/60 he received an average of £608 a year from Poole as Derbyshire receiver; he was paid further sums in 1662/3 and 1663/4 totalling £1,232, although by this date William Christian was steward.⁸⁶ Christian was succeeded by Edmund Connold, to whom Poole made issues totalling £2,462 in 1663/4 and 1664/5, before the office passed to Joseph Randall, who appears to have remained steward until the death of the 3rd earl.⁸⁷ Between 1664/5 and 1684 Randall received an average of £1,366 a year from the Derbyshire receiver, presumably in addition to issues by the London receiver. Randall was succeeded after the 3rd earl's death by William Wenman, who was paid £104 in 1685/6 by the Derbyshire receiver for household expenses at Chatsworth and Hardwick.⁸⁸ By 1687 Wenman had been replaced by Henry Lowman, who seems to have been followed by William Poole in 1690.⁸⁹ The two received an average of £759 either jointly or severally between 1687/8 and 1692/3. From 1693/4, as we have seen, John Whildon acted as a resident steward at Chatsworth and drew funds from his father when the family were at the house.

Another servant who was normally accountable to the London receiver was the keeper of the earl's stables (or master of the horse),⁹⁰ but in 1659/60 Henry Still was paid £7 in 1659/60 on the stable account by the Derbyshire receiver, and a further £68 in 1662–4. An average of £92 a year was issued to Joseph Somner between 1685/6 and 1691/2 for the stables, and sums averaging £59 were issued for the same purpose between 1692/3 and 1698/9 to a Mr Row, who is not further identified. The keeper of the stables clearly travelled with the family and drew money from the local receiver when he was at either Chatsworth or Hardwick. As well as the running costs of the stables at the family's houses in London and the country, the keeper also paid for the earl's journeys to Newmarket.

From time to time the receiver made issues to officials responsible for other parts of the estate.⁹¹ William Scoresby, who had charge of the family's house at Latimers (Bucks.), was paid £774 over two years in 1660–2, while Jeremy Roades, the bailiff at Wetton (Staffs.), was given £210 over three years (1660–3) to develop the copper mines at Ecton.⁹² A Mr Shippen, the Sawtry (Hunts.) bailiff, received an average of £580 a year between 1666/7 and 1674/5; his successor, William Blott, was paid a total of £833 in 1681–4. Edward Morton, who was in charge of the Woodlands estate in the High Peak, received £205 over three years in 1667–70 and a further £123 in 1674/5; Mr Eyre, who appears to have been his successor, received £398 in 1674–6. Similarly, Mr Greaves was given £230 in 1675/6 for the Woodlands. Issues to John Fox, the bailiff responsible for 'the Granges', as the estates around Youlgreave were collectively known, averaged £164 between 1671/2 and 1678/9, and he was paid a further £219 in 1682/3 and £91 in 1689/90. Most of these payments to bailiffs were to buy stock at local fairs for land in hand on their various estates.

A payments to a Mr Litchfield of £20 in 1679/80 was for law costs.⁹³

THE LONDON RECEIVER

(a) Receipts

As we have already noted, the work of the London receiver in the seventeenth century is known only from transcripts of his summary accounts entered in books kept by the Derbyshire receiver. His own books were presumably kept at the family's London homes and have not

survived.

The Derbyshire receiver's brief book of receipts which begins in 1619/20 and ends in 1637/8⁹⁴ includes a complete set of receipts by the London receiver for the same period. Thomas Purslowe was the London receiver in 1619: he continued in office until 18 April 1632, when he went to Bath in the hope of recovering his health. The attempt was unsuccessful and he died there.⁹⁵ Purslowe was succeeded by John Hanson, who was still in office in 1658/9, when the accounts end,⁹⁶ but by January 1661 he had been replaced by Roger Jacson.⁹⁷ Jacson died in the autumn of 1693, and in June 1694 his successor, Aaron Kinton, was sorting out his final account.⁹⁸ Kinton appears to have remained in post until his own death in 1713.⁹⁹ Several hundred letters of his, written almost weekly to James Whildon in Derbyshire, survive to illustrate the working of the London receivership in his time.¹⁰⁰ For earlier years, the London receiver's accounts, like those of his Derbyshire counterpart, are summaries analysing receipts that must have been recorded in lost day books. By far the largest item was money returned from Derbyshire by the receiver there. This was supplemented principally by rent from the group of officials known as the 'Southern Bailiffs', who were responsible for the estates in Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset. Some of these were so small that in fact the accountant was the family's tenant (or principal tenant), rather than a bailiff with wider responsibilities. Other rent was received from some of the Northern Bailiffs who found it convenient to pay in London, rather than via the Derbyshire receiver, on whose charge their rent appeared. In some years the rents were augmented by entry fines.

The surviving accounts generally do not state whether payments by the southern bailiffs were by cash or bills, although remittances from the Keighley bailiff, who was accountable to the Derbyshire receiver but evidently sometimes preferred to pay at London, were made by bills drawn by Halifax clothiers on their London factors. This mirrors the use of Chesterfield lead merchants by the Derbyshire receiver and adds to what is known about quasi-banking practices in the early seventeenth century.

As well as rent, other much smaller amounts, collectively described as 'casualties', came from the earls' interests in voyages (called 'adventures' in the accounts) to Russia, the East Indies and Virginia, and the family's important part in the development of the Somers Islands (i.e. Bermuda).¹⁰¹ In the 1640s the small income from this source included money for 'rent tobacco', which was evidently rent paid in kind by the earl's tenants on the islands. Minor domestic sources of income included in most years debt repayments, sums described as law costs, presumably meaning money recovered from opponents, and sales of livestock, wood, tallow and other items. In 1646/7 £1,068 was received from the sale of plate and £970 for sales of land at Graizelound, near Epworth in the Isle of Axholme (Lincs.), and Digleach (in Chapel en le Frith). A further £1,500 was received the following year, partly for Graizelound but mainly from the sale of the family's house at Chelsea (£1,150). One of the family's Nottinghamshire rectories, Sutton cum Lound, was sold in 1650/1 for £1,300 and a further £47 was received in 1655/6 from the sale to Discretion Cousins of Boston (Lincs.) of a tenement there.

(b) Disbursements

Payments by the London receiver have been copied, in day-book fashion, into the payments books kept by the Derbyshire receiver between 1599 and 1623.¹⁰² The London receiver at the beginning of this period was Henry Travice, who moved to become the Derbyshire

receiver in the autumn of 1617 and was succeeded in London by Thomas Purslowe.¹⁰³ Payments by both Travece and Purslowe, who died in 1623, were mainly for household and personal disbursements, including in some cases details of the goods or services supplied and the names of the suppliers. Lists of wages paid at Christmas and Midsummer each year include the names of London servants. Besides these domestic items there are entries each term for law costs, some of which are sufficiently detailed to identify the suit.¹⁰⁴ 'My Lord's adventures overseas', i.e. his share of the cost of voyages to the East Indies, Russia and Virginia, also appear each year, and in some years there are payments for purchases of land. Interest payments on debts and the repayment of principal also passed through the London receiver's accounts.

A few one-off payments are worth singling out. In the spring of 1608 William Cavendish had to find £8,844 to meet the cost of his mother's funeral, legacies and other expenses arising from her death in February that year.¹⁰⁵ Ten years later he paid the king £10,000 in fees in connection with his creation as earl of Devonshire.¹⁰⁶ In December 1618 and January 1619 Purslowe disbursed £1,065 in payment of debts incurred by Lord Cavendish (the future 2nd earl).¹⁰⁷

For 1622/3 and 1623/4 a summary of the London receiver's disbursements has been copied into the Derbyshire receiver's brief book,¹⁰⁸ with expenditure averaging £13,000 a year analysed under a number of headings. The day books from which these briefs would have been prepared have not survived. Major items include an allowance of £1,200 a year to Lord Cavendish and another of £500 to the 1st earl's second wife, debt repayments totalling £10,710 over the two years, and household expenditure averaging £1,300 a year at London, Derbyshire and Latimers. Over £300 was spent in this period on repairs to Shrewsbury House in Chelsea, which Bess had held as part of her dower estate and William later bought from his kinsman Gilbert 7th earl of Shrewsbury after his mother died. Law charges averaged £312 a year, slightly more than the servants' wages (£262). Overseas 'Adventures' totalled £1,052 over the two years.

For the 1630s, after John Hanson had succeeded Purslowe as London receiver, briefs summarising his disbursements survive for the second half of 1636/7, the whole of 1637/8 and the second half of 1638/9,¹⁰⁹ a period covering the last two years of the 3rd earl's minority, when his mother, the dowager Countess Christian, still controlled the estate, and the first year after the earl came of age. Thus the largest single items in the accounts for 1636/7 and 1637/8 are payments to 'my Lady' for household expenses, together with smaller sums for her personal use, followed by debt repayments (£2,800 over eighteen months, as well as £420 in interest) and annuities (about £3,000 a year). In the half-year ending at Michaelmas 1639 the 3rd earl received £450 as a personal allowance, his wife £150 and his mother £500. A further £2,100 was issued on imprest to the earl's steward and on the stables account, the first appearance in the London receiver's briefs of payments to sub-accountants.

Hanson's brief for 1641/2¹¹⁰ records disbursements totaling £8,542, of which £2,096 went in annuities. The earl drew £1,940 for his own use and his wife received an allowance of £400. A total of £3,337 was issued on imprest to the steward of the household. The earl paid £450 to the treasurer of the king's army and lent a further £80 to his brother Charles, which may also have been for military use.¹¹¹

Between the second half of 1646/7 and the end of 1658/9 briefs of John Hanson's disbursements have been entered regularly in the Derbyshire receiver's disbursements brief books.¹¹² The largest item each year, over the period as a whole, was the money issued on

imprest to the household steward, although until 1655/6 considerable debt repayments were made in most years, falling from over £5,000 in the second half of 1646/7 to £600 in the first half of 1655/6. Interest payments also fell over the same period, and from 1649/50 the earl was able to make some loans, as well as continuing to discharge his own debts. In 1653/4 the earl paid £800 for land at Wardlow and the following year a further £411 for a farm and two cottages at Wetherby (Yorks.). The only echo of the family's problems with the State during the 1650s comes in the account for 1655/6, when the earl paid £4,000 to discharge his estate from all further proceedings.

A smaller item running through the entire period is an allowance of £400 to the earl's wife. Between the second half of 1656/7 and the end of 1658/9 about £1,800 a year was issued for the use of Lord Cavendish (the future 4th earl), then travelling abroad with Dr Henry Killigrew (1613–1700).¹¹³ Other payments on household and personal items were generally small, reflecting the fact that most expenditure of this sort was borne by the steward.

(c) Disbursements by London sub-accountants

(i) The house steward

From 1638/9 onwards the London receiver's briefs include sums issued on imprest to the steward of the household, whose own accounts survive (with gaps) between 1634/5 and 1671/2. Unlike the two receivers and the sub-accountants at Hardwick and Chatsworth, the steward was not resident at any one of the family's houses, but travelled with the household, and thus his accounts provide a detailed picture of the daily life of the family, at whichever house they were staying, as well as their movements between one house and another. When the family was in Derbyshire, the steward drew some funds from the receiver there,¹¹⁴ but in general he was a sub-accountant to the London receiver, who issued money on imprest to meet his disbursements. In this respect, therefore, the family in the seventeenth century can be said to be domiciled in London rather than at either of their Derbyshire seats, or at Latimers in Buckinghamshire. This is also apparent from the way in which funds moved between the principal accountants. It was the Derbyshire receiver who remitted his surplus funds to the London receiver, not the other way round, and it was the London receiver who issued money to the earls and other members of the family for their personal use, as well as to their stewards.

The earliest surviving steward's accounts are a short series kept by William Booth between the second half of 1634/5 to the first half of 1636/7, when the estate was in the hands of Countess Christian.¹¹⁵ As well as Booth's own payments, the volume also lists some disbursements by Tristram Daintry and John Hanson, and gives details (with names) of wages paid to the countess's household servants twice a year. The accounts include disbursements when the family was at both Chatsworth and Hardwick, as well as London, and in each case a good deal of detail is provided concerning goods and services supplied, including the names of tradesmen. On the other hand, it is not as easy as it is in later stewards' accounts to decide where the family was resident at any particular time and thus harder to locate some of the suppliers. A feature of particular interest in the second half of 1635/6 are entries totalling £389 recording disbursements for food, drink and other items when the king and queen visited the family's London home, Devonshire House in Bishopgate, on 12 May 1636.¹¹⁶ Booth's payments in the second half of 1634/5 totalled £1,948, for the first half of 1635/6 £1,574, for the second half of that year (inflated by the royal visit) £2,525, for the first half of 1636/7 £3,873, and for the second half £2,231. As well as providing a daily record of disbursements, the volume also contains an analysis of the expenditure over these two years under a number

of different heads. All the entries have been meticulously checked by the countess, who has signed each page, as well as the reconciliation at the end of each half-year.

By Michaelmas 1639 Booth had been succeeded as steward by William Gough, whose disbursements for the half-year ending at Lady Day 1640 totalled £1,399, included the purchase of plate for £900 from a London goldsmith named Bishop.¹¹⁷ The family's principal London home at this date was Salisbury House in the Strand, which the earl and countess were renting for £250 a year from her family,¹¹⁸ while Countess Christian retained the house in Bishopsgate until her death in 1675.¹¹⁹ Gough was in turn succeeded by Thomas Allaby from Lady Day 1640, who was still in office when this series of accounts (entered in the Derbyshire receiver's disbursements brief book)¹²⁰ ends at Michaelmas 1642, about the time the 3rd earl (but not his mother) left the country.¹²¹ Allaby's disbursements in the second half of 1639/40 totalled £2,705; in 1640/41 he paid £4,719, and in 1641/2 £3,218. These figures were made up of a large number of personal and household items, together with some repairs and other work at both Salisbury House and in Derbyshire. A tennis court was built at Hardwick and the low great chamber at Chatsworth was gilded and painted.

The surviving house steward's accounts resume in 1658/9 and continue (in three books) to 1671/2,¹²² but are kept in a rather different way from those of the 1630s and 1640s. Each week of each half-yearly accounting period is numbered in two sequences. The first counts from either the previous Michaelmas or Lady Day, while the second counts from the week the family arrived at a particular house. Thus the first week after Michaelmas 1658 was also the family's eighth week at Chatsworth. Each week's accounts follow a similar pattern, recording 'achates' (i.e. purchases) for the household, travelling expenses, and other domestic items. Disbursements by sub-accountants are inserted at the end of each half-year, together with lists of servants' wages paid by the steward. Major recurrent items at the beginning of this period include a payment of £200 a year in rent for Little Salisbury House (which adjoined Salisbury House in the Strand)¹²³ to Lord Salisbury. The steward during the period covered by this first book was William Christian.

There is a slight break between the end of the first of these volumes in October 1662 and the start of the next in October 1663, in which the steward is named as Edmund Connold. There appears to be no means of establishing whether he was also the steward who kept the previous book. Connold was succeeded by Joseph Randall in July 1665, who was still in office when the last of the surviving books ends at Michaelmas 1672. All three books have been carefully examined by the 3rd earl, who in several places criticises the level of expenditure and warns that efforts should be made to reduce the figure in the next half-year. By contrast the receivers' brief books were generally signed off without comment.

The stewards' accounts contain a wealth of domestic detail not found in the receivers' accounts, which are concerned essentially with the running of the estate as a whole or, in the case of the Derbyshire receiver, the two houses in the county. By contrast, the steward was the head of the family's household staff: he travelled with the family and his accounts provide a running commentary on how they passed their time at different houses, and their expenditure on business and pleasure, both in London and the country. They also make it possible to work out the family's movements week by week over nearly fifteen years. This not only establishes the extent to which the two houses in Derbyshire were actually occupied but also whether the family moved from house to house, or from London to the country and back, on a regular cycle each year, or whether their movements were irregular and changed to suit their particular circumstances each year.

In fact, the 3rd earl and his family's movements did not follow a regular pattern between 1658 and 1672, and it is certainly not the case that they were in London for the winter season and Derbyshire for the summer. Indeed, they spent relatively little time in London during these years. They were there in the autumn of 1660, the spring and summer of 1661, the first nine months of 1662, and the spring of 1664, but after that, apart from a month in the summer of 1667, did not return until December that year, when they stayed until the July 1668. They also spent a similar portion of 1669 and 1671 in London.

In the country the family mainly divided their time between Chatsworth and Hardwick, sometimes staying at one house for several months, on other occasions travelling between the two for short periods, so that the steward treated their place of residence as both houses. Latimers, their Buckinghamshire residence, seems to have been used mainly as a staging post between London and Derbyshire, and possibly also a base from which they could travel to London for short periods. There was clearly some preference towards spending Christmas and New Year in Derbyshire and some bias towards Hardwick as the place to stay. For the years between 1658 and 1672 for which the information survives, the family spent only two Christmases in London and two at Latimers. Of the rest, the family were at Chatsworth in 1663 and Hardwick on five occasions; in three other years the family were in Derbyshire at Christmas but the steward did not indicate at which house. Occasionally it is possible to see something of how Christmas was celebrated in a great house of this period: in 1670, when the family was at Hardwick, 13 players came to put on a play and Mr Frescheville's trumpeter came over from Staveley to entertain the party. Gifts sent by local gentry to the earl were passed on to servants.¹²⁴

(ii) The privy purse

In addition to his own payments, the house steward was accountable for disbursements made by the housekeeper at Latimers, whose accounts were copied into his book at the end of each half-year, and (at least by the 1650s) for three sub-accountants based in London. Of these, the most important was the keeper of the earl's privy purse, who received money on imprest to meet his master's personal expenses. Privy purse accounts survive from 1638/9 to 1641/2 (when the funds came directly from the London receiver, rather than via the steward) and between 1653/4 and 1661/2, when they were issued by the steward.

At the beginning of this period the keeper of the privy purse was Christopher Hallely, whose accounts are summarised (as briefs) in the Derbyshire receiver's disbursements book.¹²⁵ In 1638/9 his payments included £300 for the earl's journey to Scotland (as well as £500 for armour for the visit), a further £500 for the earl's apparel, and travelling and other expenses of £83 in connection with the musters in Derbyshire, where the earl was appointed lord lieutenant in 1638.¹²⁶ Almost £300 was simply entered as 'Gifts' by the earl, who lost £48 that year 'at play'. Wages (of which no details are given), servants' diets and liveries, and other household expenses account for much of the rest of the steward's outgoings, which total £2,026 for the year. A similar pattern of expenditure is evident over the next three years, although the totals fall sharply, to £1,307 in 1639/40, £862 in 1640/1 and £420 in 1641/2.¹²⁷

A day book containing privy purse accounts for the 1650s also records personal expenditure under a range of headings, including travel, gifts, play, letters, physician etc. Thomas Hobbes's wages were among the charges on the account. Total expenditure was £869 in 1653/4, £694 in 1654/5 and £797 in 1655/6. The keeper of the privy purse, Edward Martin, died in July 1657, and the account for the remainder of the half year was completed by John Coale and William

Fetherston, who arrived at a figure of £986 for total expenditure in 1656/7. Fetherston had previously been the accountant issuing money to Martin on imprest and appears to have been the house steward in these years.¹²⁸

A day book of privy purse disbursements for the second half of 1660/1 and the whole of 1661/2 records expenditure of £1,503 between Lady Day and Michaelmas 1661, which contrasts with £1,073 for the next twelve months. The earlier figure is inflated by the purchase of long lists of expensive textiles (including cloth embroidered in gold and silver), jewellery and other items for the earl and countess's robes for the coronation of Charles II on 23 April that year.¹²⁹

(iii) The stables

Summaries of expenditure at the family's London stables between 1638/9 and 1641/2 have been copied into the Derbyshire receiver's disbursements books.¹³⁰ In 1638/9 Mr Carlton, who was in charge of the stables at the beginning of this period, received money on imprest from John Hanson, the London receiver, but from 1639/40 the imprests were on the house steward's account. A man named Challenor succeeded Carlton on 9 May 1640 and he was in turn replaced by a Mr Higham midway through the first half of 1641/2.¹³¹ The expenditure includes the purchases of both horses and feeding and bedding for them, as well as saddles and other equipment, repairs to coaches, smiths' and farriers' bills, stable rent, and wages for help in the stables. Some hay for the stables was got at Chatsworth and entries for travelling charges to Hardwick and Langwith may reflect procurement of fodder from the east Derbyshire estate as well. In 1638/9 stable expenses totalled £492. In 1639/40 they rose to £608, mainly because in the summer of 1640 the family bought a new gilt coach costing £224 and a new travelling coach for £66. They then fell to £377 in 1640/1 and £305 in 1641/2, a drop that mirrors the reduction in the house steward's and privy purse expenditure in the same period.

Some rather roughly kept stables accounts survive for 1666–9,¹³² which were clearly subsidiary to the house steward's accounts for the same period, since they use the same system of counting weeks in two sequences.

GETTING AND SPENDING: THE CAVENDISH ESTATE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The first clear view of the family's overall position in the seventeenth century comes from the account book kept by the Derbyshire receiver between 1619 and 1639.¹³³ The figures given there are not directly comparable with those that can be calculated from the payments books of 1599–1623,¹³⁴ and after 1639 there is a gap of a few years before the series of accounts that cover the second half of the century begins. The book of 1619–39, however, does yield useful data for nineteen years between Michaelmas 1619 and Michaelmas 1638; for 1638/9 there is only a half-year account ending at Lady Day 1639. The period covered has some unity, in that it begins shortly after the Hardwick and Chatsworth estates were reunited following Henry Cavendish's death in 1616 and ends just before the disruption caused by the Civil War and Interregnum starts.

During these years the family's gross receipts from rent averaged £13,300 a year, of which about £8,900 passed through the Derbyshire receiver's account and the rest through that of the London receiver, although in practice some of the northern bailiffs made payments direct to London. The southern rents did not vary greatly around a mean of £4,400 a year, but receipts

from the northern estates increased by about 15 per cent in 1634/5 compared with previous years. The average each year between then and 1637/8 was about £9,700, whereas up to 1633/4 the figure was £8,400. The increase does not seem to be attributable to the purchase of a new estate, or the transfer of any of the estate to the Derbyshire receiver's account from that of the London receiver, on which rent receipts show no significant change, up or down. It therefore seems likely that some or all of the northern manors were re-let at a higher rent in 1634.

Casual receipts in Derbyshire from the sale of farm stock, coal, wood etc. amounted to only a few hundred pounds in most years, although the total was occasionally inflated by receipts from land sales. The mean annual figure for casual receipts during this period is £1,267, but if one exceptional year is removed from the calculation (1628/9, when receipts totalled £7,481 because of sales of land following the death of the 2nd earl) the figure falls to £616. The median is lower still at £541. Casual receipts at London were considerably greater and also fluctuated more widely, since most proceeds from sales of land were booked there, and in some years there were large, one-off receipts from the profits of overseas voyages or the repayment of loans. The mean annual figure for the period as a whole is about £5,700, which conceals yearly totals ranging from £749 to £15,652 around a median of about £3,700.

The family's total receipts from rent and other sources of income in London and Derbyshire thus averaged just over £20,000 a year in the early seventeenth century.¹³⁵ Most of this money ended up in the hands of the London receiver, to whom the Derbyshire receiver remitted the balance left in his hands after meeting local disbursements on the Hardwick and Chatsworth estates. As a result of this transfer the London receiver's total receipts averaged £17,600 a year between 1619 and 1638. This, in round figures, was the sum available to the Cavendish family, after meeting the cost of running the two mansions and home estates in Derbyshire, for personal and household expenditure, the purchase of land and investment in overseas voyages, and from which they made loans.

Although the Derbyshire receiver on average remitted 70 per cent of the money passing through his hands to London, there is an important difference between the seventeenth century and the period after 1700 as regards the division between local disbursements in Derbyshire and remittances to London. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the balance sent to London was the sum left over after the receiver responsible for the Hardwick collection had made disbursements from the money he had received from that collection alone. In the seventeenth century, however, the receiver based at Chatsworth or Hardwick received about two thirds of the family's entire rent income, and thus disbursements equal to 30 per cent of his total receipts represented a far greater outlay in relation to the income he received from the Derbyshire estates. In the mid-1640s the Derbyshire receiver, James Ballechouse, collected between £800 and £1,000 of rent a year from the estates for which he was responsible as bailiff (Hardwick itself and manors and lands in Heath, Ault Hucknall, Langwith, Tibshelf and Pleasley),¹³⁶ whereas he was spending up to three times that amount on local disbursements at Hardwick and Chatsworth. Even after allowing for minor sources of income from the home estates, and the fact that some of the expenditure was at Chatsworth, considerably more money was being spent in the villages around Hardwick in this period than was being paid in rent.

After a short gap, annual summaries of the Derbyshire receiver's receipts and disbursements resume in 1641/2. The summary for 1664/5 is missing and the account for 1684/5 was not closed until 1703, when the 3rd earl's executors finally balanced their books, which makes it difficult to produce figures for that year, but otherwise the series is unbroken until 1698/9. For

the London receiver, however, apart from a summary for 1641/2, only the accounts between 1647/8 and 1658/9 have been copied into the Derbyshire receiver's book, and after this date it is impossible to get a overall view of the family's finances.

For the twelve years in which it is possible to make an estimate of the family's total income, receipts from rents payable to the Derbyshire receiver were much lower than before the Civil War, averaging only £3,970 a year.¹³⁷ Part of this drop is explained by the fact that several of the northern bailiffs were paying the London receiver, whose total rent receipts were higher than in the 1630s, averaging £5,840 a year.¹³⁸ Even these two figures combined, however, only produce a total rent income of £9,800 a year, a drop of about 30 per cent on the total in the last four years of the pre-Civil War accounts.¹³⁹ During the war and its immediate aftermath receipts in Derbyshire dropped much more sharply. About £4,000 was paid in 1641/2 (together with a similar amount at London), compared with a total of £2,760 over the next two years, and only £800 in 1644/5. The position recovered in 1645/6, when £3,840 was received.

Rent receipts by the Derbyshire receiver rose from 1662/3, following the earl's purchase of the manor of Hartington, and between then and 1668/9 averaged £6,700, an increase of about a third compared with average receipts of £5,000 over the three years up to 1661/2. They rose again, by about £1,000 in 1669/70, which seems to be the result of a general increase in rents, rather than an addition to the estate. Between then and 1698/9 rent receipts in Derbyshire averaged just under £7,400 a year.¹⁴⁰ Yearly figures fluctuated between £6,567 and £8,501 without any strong trend up or down over the period. If receipts in Derbyshire continued to represent 40 per cent of the total (as they do in the period for which figures are also available for rents paid in London), that would imply a total rent income for the family of about £18,000 a year in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Given the variations in the division of payments between the Derbyshire and London receivers evident from the accounts of the 1650s, however, it would be unwise to assume that a very precise figure can be estimated in this way.

Both receivers continued to receive small amounts each year in addition to rent. Over the period between 1641/2 and 1698/9 the Derbyshire receiver's casual receipts from the sale of coal, farm stock etc. averaged £370 a year. As in the period before the Civil War, the London receiver's casual receipts fluctuated more widely, mainly because they occasionally included loan repayments and the proceeds of land sales. For the twelve years for which figures are available mean annual receipts were £560, although the median was only £135. Taken together, casual receipts in Derbyshire and London probably added no more than £500 or £600 in most years to the family's income from rent.

As in the period before the Civil War, throughout the second half of the seventeenth century the Derbyshire receiver met various local expenses before remitting the balance of his receipts to London. Arrangements changed slightly in that, from 1646/7, as well as making some payments himself, he issued other sums each year on imprest to sub-accountants. Overall, however, during this period more money was coming into the receiver's hands from tenants in the Hardwick collection than was being spent locally, a reversal of the position before the Civil War and one which was to continue throughout the eighteenth century. As we have seen, imprests to the Hardwick bailiff dropped from about £750 a year in the 1660s and 1670s (some of which was being spent at Chatsworth, rather than Hardwick) to around half that in the 1680s, and then halved again in the 1690s.¹⁴¹ By contrast, rent receipts from the Hardwick collection, which averaged £1,220 a year in the 1660s, had risen to over £1,900 a year in the 1690s. Rents were increasing at Hardwick (as elsewhere on the estate) as local expenditure

was falling: more was being taken out of the local economy, to be spent either in London or, for a time, on the rebuilding at Chatsworth, than was being ploughed back in.

After making local payments and imprest issues, the Derbyshire receiver remitted the balance of his receipts to London. This longstanding routine was disrupted during the Civil War and immediately afterwards: only £1,400 was returned in 1642/3, nothing the following year, and about £330 in each of next two years, but from 1646/7 remittances recovered closer to pre-war levels. They might still drop in years in which there were unusually heavy local expenses to meet, as in 1658–60, when only £377 was returned over two years, but the only period when remittances fell for any length of time was between 1668/9 and 1693/4, during the main period of rebuilding at Chatsworth. Over those six years returns averaged only £1,420, compared with £3,840 in the years before and afterwards. In 1690/1 no money at all was sent to London from Derbyshire and in 1689/90 only £55. By contrast, issues to the officer in charge of the rebuilding raised the total imprest on the Derbyshire receiver's account to an average of £5,745 in the same period, compared with £2,950 for the years either side.¹⁴² Local disbursements during the rebuilding also dropped slightly, from an average of £376 a year to £276.¹⁴³ In round figures, rebuilding Chatsworth between 1688 and 1694 cost about £2,500 a year for six years, although the receiver's accounts clearly show that some work was being done, particularly on the gardens, before 1688, and other work continued after 1694.

In the absence of the London receiver's accounts for the same period it is impossible to say whether other money was issued from his receipts to fund the rebuilding of Chatsworth, or how the family adjusted to a drop in remittances from Derbyshire, and thus in their disposable income. What is clear is that once the new house at Chatsworth was ready to be lived in, it became the family's main Derbyshire seat, and, when the Derbyshire receiver who had been based at Hardwick for over twenty years retired a few years later, the Hall there also ceased to be the administrative centre of the estate. Thus ended an era which had begun almost a century earlier when the future 1st earl of Devonshire succeeded to the estates accumulated by his father and mother and made her family's newly rebuilt home his main seat.

APPENDIX

ACCOUNT BOOKS FOR SUBSIDIARY HOUSEHOLDS

When the Hardwick Manuscripts were sorted and listed in the early twentieth century it was assumed that all the account books related to either the family's estates or the household headed by successive members of the Cavendish family between the time of Sir William Cavendish (1508–57) and the late seventeenth century. A closer examination, however, makes it clear that some were created in the household of other members of the family. Leaving aside some fragmentary material relating to Bess of Hardwick before 1590, the other books relating to the period after 1600 are briefly described here.

Christian dowager countess of Devonshire

A volume of kitchen accounts running from Lady Day 1669 to Lady Day 1670, arranged weekly, with the weeks numbered from 1 to 26 in each half-year, and from 1 onwards for the number of weeks spent at different places,¹⁴⁴ appears at first sight to have been kept by a sub-accountant of the 3rd earl's house steward. The movements recorded, however, do not correspond with those in the steward's accounts for the same period.¹⁴⁵ The latter indicate that

the earl and his family were in London between January and August 1669, when they moved to Chatsworth, from where they returned to London in October, staying there until August 1670. The kitchen accounts, on the other hand, record a move from London to Roehampton at the end of May 1669, with a return to London early in December. These accounts must therefore have been created in the household of the 3rd earl's mother, Countess Christian, and relate to both Devonshire House in Bishopsgate¹⁴⁶ and her country home, Roehampton House in Putney (Surrey), to which she retired for the summer.¹⁴⁷ They also demonstrate that, even in a much smaller household, her own steward kept detailed accounts on the same lines as those she would have been familiar with when she had charge of the family's estates during her son's minority. Although they cover only a short period, the accounts provide a fascinating picture of daily life, or at least meal times, in a wealthy dowager's household. As well as itemising every pound of meat and bushel of flour consumed, along with a variety of other foodstuffs, they also list who sat down at Christian's table every day. Her son and his family were frequent visitors, as were her nephew Robert Bruce, 1st earl of Ailesbury, and his family.¹⁴⁸

A second volume of kitchen accounts, running from 3 April 1673 to Lady Day 1674, and relating entirely to the London house,¹⁴⁹ appears also to have come from Countess Christian's household. Although there are no steward's accounts from the earl's household for this period to check against, the earl's family never, at any time between 1658 and 1672, spent a whole year in London. Countess Christian died in January 1675 at Southampton Buildings, St Giles-in-the-Fields,¹⁵⁰ and these accounts appear to relate to her last period of residence, either there or at Devonshire House.

Elizabeth countess of Devonshire

The 3rd earl's wife, Elizabeth (Cecil), maintained a household of her own, with her own steward as well as personal servants. A volume of her steward's accounts for the period 1658–62 is arranged in weekly sections like those of the earl's steward and records household expenditure in a single-cash day book.¹⁵¹ Each page has been signed as correct by the countess and some entries, tidying up the accounts at the end of each half-year, have been added in another, neater hand, evidently that of William Fetherston, the earl's steward, or his clerk.¹⁵² The total expenditure, however, is not carried to any other book, nor are there any entries for money issued by another accountant to meet these household expenses.

Another day book records expenditure between 1656 and 1662 by the countess on domestic and personal items, chiefly clothing. This too has been signed off by the countess on each page and the totals worked out at the end of each half year by Fetherston.¹⁵³

William marquis of Hartington, later 3rd duke of Devonshire

A single-cash day book recording expenditure on personal and household items between 1720 and 1725 in which the only credit entry is for money received from 'my mother' in December 1725,¹⁵⁴ appears to have been kept by the 3rd duke (b. 1698) when marquis of Hartington. His mother, Rachel daughter of William Lord Russell, died on 28 December 1725, and Hartington succeeded to the dukedom four years later.¹⁵⁵

REFERENCES

- ¹ This article is based in part on a report I prepared in 2004 for the National Trust on accounting records in the Devonshire MSS relating to Hardwick, and I am grateful to the Trust for permission to reuse the material here. Both then and since I am greatly indebted to the Duke of Devonshire KCVO, CBE, DL for permission to make such extensive use of the Devonshire MSS, and to the staff of the Collections Department at Chatsworth for their assistance over many years. Archival references given in the end-notes here without a location are all from the Devonshire MSS.
- ² HM/7, HM/8, HM/9 and HM/10.
- ³ D.N. Durant, *Bess of Hardwick: portrait of an Elizabethan dynast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977).
- ⁴ University of Nottingham Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, David Durant MSS. The catalogue to this collection includes a key relating his transcripts to the original volumes at Chatsworth.
- ⁵ M.S. Lovell, *Bess of Hardwick: first lady of Chatsworth, 1527–1608* (London: Little Brown, 2005). Mrs Lovell notes her debt to Durant on p. 000. The date of Bess's birth is given wrongly in the title of the book (and throughout the text).
- ⁶ HM/6, which forms the basis of D.N. Durant and P. Riden (eds), *The Building of Hardwick Hall* (Derbyshire Record Society, 4 (1980) and 9 (1984)).
- ⁷ The most thorough use, once again, was by David Durant in *Arbella Stuart: a rival to the queen* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1978).
- ⁸ For a scholarly discussion of Arbella's life see S.J. Steen's introduction to her edition of *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- ⁹ HM/23 (1599–1608) and HM/29 (1608–23). Two other volumes (HM/10 and HM/10A) contain abstracts of some of the payments in HM/23 arranged by type of expenditure, of which HM/10 contains some earlier payments for 1597–8 taken from a lost volume that must have preceded HM/23. A third volume of this sort (HM/29*) was started, abstracting entries from HM/29, but does not contain any unique material. P. Riden (ed.), *The Household Accounts of William Cavendish, Lord Cavendish of Hardwick* (Derbyshire Record Society, 40–42, 2016) contains a calendar in modern English of the whole of HM/23, supplemented by material for 1597–8 from HM/10 (from January 1599 HM/10 and HM/10A simply repeat in a different format entries that were entered in chronological order in HM/23). D.N. Durant, *Bess of Hardwick: portrait of an Elizabethan dynast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977).
- ¹⁰ Chiefly S.M. Levey in *The Embroideries at Hardwick Hall: a catalogue* (London: The National Trust, 2007), and *An Elizabethan Inheritance: the Hardwick Hall Tapestries* (London: The National Trust, 1998).
- ¹¹ Notably N. Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).
- ¹² D.C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); W. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth I to Charles I* (Princeton NJ, 1948). The footnotes and introduction to Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts* discuss the poor use by both these writers of this source.
- ¹³ L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
- ¹⁴ F. Bickley, *The Cavendish Family* (London: Constable, 1911); J. Pearson, *The Serpent and the Stag* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983).
- ¹⁵ A brief account of the system was included in P. Riden and D. Fowkes, *Hardwick: a great house and its estate* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), 46–7. Its appearance does not seem to

have encouraged greater use of the records.

- ¹⁶ For Bess's earlier years only fragmentary accounts survive at Chatsworth, all of which were used by Durant in his biography, i.e. HM/1 (1551–3), HM/3 (1557–9), HM/2 (1559–60), HM/4 (1577) and HM/5 (1579–84). Most of these cover periods when Bess was married and are therefore more in the nature of privy purse, rather than household or estate, accounts. They do not form anything like a continuous series compiled on uniform lines, as the later accounts do.
- ¹⁷ For which see P. Riden, 'Bess of Hardwick and the St Loe inheritance', in P. Riden and D.G. Edwards (eds), *Essays in Derbyshire History presented to Gladwyn Turbutt* (Derbyshire Record Society, 30, 1997), 80–106
- ¹⁸ Durant, *Bess*, p. 181.
- ¹⁹ i.e. HM/7, HM/8, HM/9 and HM/10. HM/9 is a composite volume made up from what must originally have been small, paper-covered account books; the others appear to have been bound up in their present form while they were in use.
- ²⁰ The figure calculated by Durant (*Bess*, 228–9), from which I have no reason to differ.
- ²¹ Throughout the text most dates have been given in the form of accounting years ending at Michaelmas (29 September).
- ²² HM/27; below, p. 94 for the London receiver's accounts.
- ²³ I am indebted to Cliff Williams of Clay Cross, who is currently working on this topic, for discussing the evidence for mining in the seventeenth-century Hardwick accounts with me; see also Riden and Fowkes, *Hardwick*, 57.
- ²⁴ Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts*, passim; HM/29, pp. 518, 525.
- ²⁵ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 38–9.
- ²⁶ The receipts for 1621/2 are accounted for by Travice alone, and those for 1623/4 by Daintry. Those for 1622/3 were partly by Travice and partly by Daintry.
- ²⁷ Lichfield RO, B/C/11, 11 Aug. 1635 (admon to widow Margaret). The accompanying inventory was taken on 11 Dec. 1634.
- ²⁸ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/150/312.
- ²⁹ P. Kettle, *A History of the Hardwick Inn* (Author, 1991), 9–13.
- ³⁰ Lichfield RO, B/C/11, James Ballechouse, 22 Nov. 1648; Kettle, *Hardwick Inn*, 13–21.
- ³¹ C/34, one of the volumes transferred to the Devonshire MSS from the estate office at Edensor in 1957. Someone has since written '27A' on the cover, evidently realising that the book is a continuation of HM/27.
- ³² Throughout this article sums of money have generally been reduced to round pounds and most sums of £1,000 or more have been rounded to three significant numbers.
- ³³ Kettle, *Hardwick Inn*, 18–21.
- ³⁴ In the half-yearly account ending Mich. 1648 the parishes in question are listed as Wellow, Hayton, Gringley on the Hill, Scrooby, Everton, Sutton cum Lound and South Leverton, although it is not clear whether this includes all the places concerned.
- ³⁵ The collection is called 'Chatsworth cum Pecco' in the accounts but 'Chatsworth and the Peak' perhaps sounds better than a literal translation.
- ³⁶ D. & S. Lysons, *Derbyshire* (Magna Britannia, V, 1817), 175.
- ³⁷ HM/31, Lady Day 1667–Mich. 1667.
- ³⁸ Kettle, *Hardwick Inn*, 22.
- ³⁹ HM/13A; below, p. 89.
- ⁴⁰ i.e. C/33.

- ⁴¹ Kettle, *Hardwick Inn*, 22–49.
- ⁴² For the sake of simplicity the later spelling (also used by his son John) has been used throughout here.
- ⁴³ Lysons, *Derbyshire*, 265; it is not clear why its appearance in the accounts was delayed by several years.
- ⁴⁴ Below, 95.
- ⁴⁵ HM/31.
- ⁴⁶ HM/35.
- ⁴⁷ HM/40.
- ⁴⁸ HM/13A.
- ⁴⁹ i.e. HM/23 (1599–1607) and HM/29 (1607–23), with abstracts arranged by type of expenditure in HM/10, HM/10A and HM/29*. See above, p. 000 and the introduction to my edition of HM/23 and additional material from HM/10
- ⁵⁰ Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts*, discusses this point in more detail. The internal evidence in HM/23 is not completely clear.
- ⁵¹ HM/29, p. 43.
- ⁵² *Ibid.* p. 65
- ⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 214–15, 239–40.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 555.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 712–14.
- ⁵⁶ HM/34.
- ⁵⁷ HM/42A.
- ⁵⁸ HM/38.
- ⁵⁹ HM/39.
- ⁶⁰ Chatsworth Buildings Accounts, I. This volume has evidently been placed with the building accounts because it records imprest payments to two sub-accountants responsible for expenditure on the rebuilding of Chatsworth. It is not, strictly speaking, a book of ‘building accounts’.
- ⁶¹ Below, p. 97 for the house steward’s accounts.
- ⁶² For details of some of the individuals involved see Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts*.
- ⁶³ HM/27, ff. 18v., 23v., 29v.
- ⁶⁴ HM/30, ff. 4, 5, 8, 10, 12.
- ⁶⁵ C/34.
- ⁶⁶ C/32.
- ⁶⁷ These volumes do not have reference numbers but should probably be seen as part of the Hardwick MSS collection. They do not appear in the list of C series volumes transferred from the Estate Office at Edensor in 1957, nor in the inventory of the Hardwick muniment room prepared by I.H. Jeayes c.1910.
- ⁶⁸ C/33.
- ⁶⁹ HM/29.
- ⁷⁰ HM/23.
- ⁷¹ HM/27, ff. 18v., 29v
- ⁷² C/32.
- ⁷³ The accounts are found in both the unnumbered disbursements books of 1655–68 and 1668–94.
- ⁷⁴ R. Thornes and J.T. Leach, ‘Buxton Hall’, *DAJ*, 114 (1994), 33, quoting a passage from

- 'The Wonders of the Peake' by Charles Cotton (1630–87) (i.e. J. Buxton (ed.), *Poems of Charles Cotton* (1958), p. 63, ll. 390–401). The entries in Ashton's accounts noted here explain why Thornes and Leach were unable to find any evidence for the repair or rebuilding of the Old Hall in the Hartington bailiff's accounts (or on the Hartington rental) for the same period.
- ⁷⁵ This is the first year of Derrey's accounts in the disbursements book, although the Hardwick imprest for 1680/1 was made to Ashton and Derrey jointly, suggesting that the change took place during that year.
- ⁷⁶ Kettle, *Hardwick Inn*, 24.
- ⁷⁷ Alwood's function is not identified in the brief book for this period but can be established from the payment book catalogued as Chatsworth Building Accounts I.
- ⁷⁸ HM/19; below, p. 93, for a fuller discussion of Whildon's retirement.
- ⁷⁹ Millington's Christian name is given only as 'Ed.' in the brief books.
- ⁸⁰ C 32.
- ⁸¹ C 32; Disbursements Book 1655–68; 1667/8 is also the last year in which an imprest issue was made to him.
- ⁸² D.G. Edwards (ed.), *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1664–1670* (Derbyshire Record Society, (7, 1982), pp. xlix, 38.
- ⁸³ Chatsworth Building Accounts, box 3 (Stafford) and box 1 (Whildon).
- ⁸⁴ Below, p. 97, for a fuller discussion of the work of the steward of the household.
- ⁸⁵ This inference rests on the imprest payments mentioned here and his appearance as an examiner of the countess of Devonshire's household accounts in the 1650s (below, p. 000)
- ⁸⁶ Below, p. 98, for Christian's accounts as steward
- ⁸⁷ By inference from the period covered by the imprest payments mentioned here.
- ⁸⁸ Details from HM/39, amplifying the entries in the brief book.
- ⁸⁹ Chatsworth Building Accounts, I
- ⁹⁰ Below, p. 100.
- ⁹¹ The location of the officials mentioned in this paragraph is generally not given in the brief books but can be established from the corresponding entries in the more detailed payments books.
- ⁹² Cf. L. Porter and J. Robey, *The Copper & Lead Mines around the Manifold Valley North Staffordshire* (Ashbourne: Moorland, 2000), 41, 43–4, for further evidence of copper mining on the Wetton estate in this period.
- ⁹³ Identified from HM/39, 26 Aug. 1680.
- ⁹⁴ HM/27.
- ⁹⁵ HM/27, f. 66v. No probate grant has been found at Lichfield or in the PCC for Purslowe.
- ⁹⁶ C/34.
- ⁹⁷ C/34, note appended to the Derbyshire receiver's account for 1660/1. Jacson consistently spelt his name thus.
- ⁹⁸ Jacson's will, dated 29 July 1693, was proved on 18 Nov. that year (TNA, PROB 11/413, ff. 342v.–343v.); in a letter of 17 June 1694 to James Whildon (Devonshire MSS, W/C/7), Kinton refers to making up Jacson's account between Michaelmas 1693 and his death, the date of which is not given.
- ⁹⁹ His will was proved in May that year (TNA, PROB 11/533, ff. 98–99).
- ¹⁰⁰ These form the collection at Chatsworth with references beginning W/C (followed by a serial number).

- ¹⁰¹ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 39–40; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edn), III, 450.
- ¹⁰² HM/23, HM/29; see Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts* for the London payments in HM/23.
- ¹⁰³ HM/29, pp. 518, 525.
- ¹⁰⁴ Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts* attempts to do this.
- ¹⁰⁵ HM/29, pp. 27–34.
- ¹⁰⁶ HM/29, p. 547; cf. *Complete Peerage*, IV, 340 note a. Cavendish's expenses when he was first raised to the peerage in 1605 are printed and discussed in Riden (ed.), *Household Accounts*.
- ¹⁰⁷ HM/29, p. 573.
- ¹⁰⁸ HM/27, ff. 20v., 25v.
- ¹⁰⁹ HM/30, ff. 3, 6, 11. The period of the first account is not stated but the total expenditure is too small to be for a full year.
- ¹¹⁰ C/34.
- ¹¹¹ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 48–52 summarises Charles Cavendish's military career during the Civil War, which ended with his death in a skirmish at Gainsborough in 1643.
- ¹¹² C/32 (to 1653/4), continued in the earlier of the two unnumbered disbursements books to 1658/9.
- ¹¹³ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 148; *Oxford DNB*.
- ¹¹⁴ Above, p. 94.
- ¹¹⁵ HM/30A. The existing catalogue description of this volume wrongly states that these accounts were kept by Humphrey Poole and that they relate chiefly to London and Ampthill (Beds.). Nor do there appear to be any 'later notes' as the description suggests, unless these were on loose sheets that have since been removed.
- ¹¹⁶ HM/30A, f. 76; M. Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House by Bishopsgate* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1923), ch. 7.
- ¹¹⁷ Possibly Francis Bishop (d. 1675) of the parish of St Mary Wolnoth (A. Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 108), but the name is too common to be certain without other evidence.
- ¹¹⁸ C/32; *Survey of London*, XVIII, 120–3.
- ¹¹⁹ Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House*, 135.
- ¹²⁰ C/32.
- ¹²¹ *Complete Peerage*, IV, 341; Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 54–5.
- ¹²² HM/33 (1658/9 to 1662/3); HM/36 (1663/4 to 1667/8); HM/16 (1667/8 to 1671/2). A fourth volume (HM/66A) was listed by Jeayes as containing the house steward's accounts for 1663–7. This may simply be a ghost entry in Jeayes's list: no such book appears to survive today at Chatsworth.
- ¹²³ *Survey of London*, XVIII, 120–3
- ¹²⁴ HM/16.
- ¹²⁵ HM/30, ff. 14–15.
- ¹²⁶ *Complete Peerage*, IV, 341.
- ¹²⁷ C/32.
- ¹²⁸ HM/14.
- ¹²⁹ HM/15; A. Fraser, *King Charles II* (1979), 196–201.
- ¹³⁰ HM/30, f. 16 (1638/9); C/32 (other years).
- ¹³¹ Higham is called 'Jo. Higham' in the accounts but nowhere is his Christian name given in full.

¹³² HM/27.

¹³³ HM/27.

¹³⁴ HM/23, HM/29.

¹³⁵ This round figure is calculated by combining the mean annual amounts received by the Derbyshire receiver from rent (£8,862) and casualties (£1,267) with those for rent (£4,394) and casualties (£5,690) received by the London receiver.

¹³⁶ C/34.

¹³⁷ Calculated from C/33.

¹³⁸ The summary accounts in C/34 distinguish between rents paid by the southern bailiffs and those returned from the northern bailiffs, including the Derbyshire receiver. As the earl himself noted when auditing the accounts, however, the figure for money returned from Derbyshire in the London account rarely matches that given in the Derbyshire account in C/33. The figure given here for rents received at London includes both payments and returns, less the amount given in the Derbyshire account for money returned to London.

¹³⁹ i.e. after the Derbyshire receipts increased by about 15 per cent in 1634/5. Compared with the period 1619/38 as a whole, the drop is about 25 per cent.

¹⁴⁰ Based on the mean of 29 annual totals, since no useable figure is available for 1684/5.

¹⁴¹ Above, p. 92.

¹⁴² The comparisons are based on the mean of returns and imprests for 1685/6–1687/8 and 1694/5–1696/7.

¹⁴³ The same years before and after have been used for comparison, but election expenses of £573 among the disbursements in 1695/6 have been excluded from the calculation.

¹⁴⁴ HM/41.

¹⁴⁵ HM/16.

¹⁴⁶ Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House*. ch. 7.

¹⁴⁷ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 55–6.

¹⁴⁸ *Complete Peerage*, I, 58–9.

¹⁴⁹ HM/41A.

¹⁵⁰ *Complete Peerage*, IV, 341.

¹⁵¹ HM/32.

¹⁵² The hand is the same as that in which similar entries are made in HM/15A, where the writer is identified as Fetherston (or a clerk acting in his name).

¹⁵³ HM/15A; extracts were printed in F. Brodhurst, 'Extracts from book of accounts of lady's waiting woman for moneys disbursed in cloathes, etc. ffor Eliz. Countess of Devonshire and family. Beginning 1656. Ending 1662', *DAJ*, 27 (1905), 1–10. The title is taken from a description written on the front cover of the volume in a hand of the 6th duke's time.

¹⁵⁴ HM/17, listed by Jeayes as a private account book of the 2nd duke. This it cannot be, since the 2nd duke's mother died in 1710 (*Complete Peerage*, IV, 343).

¹⁵⁵ *Complete Peerage*, IV, 344–5.